

# DAWN



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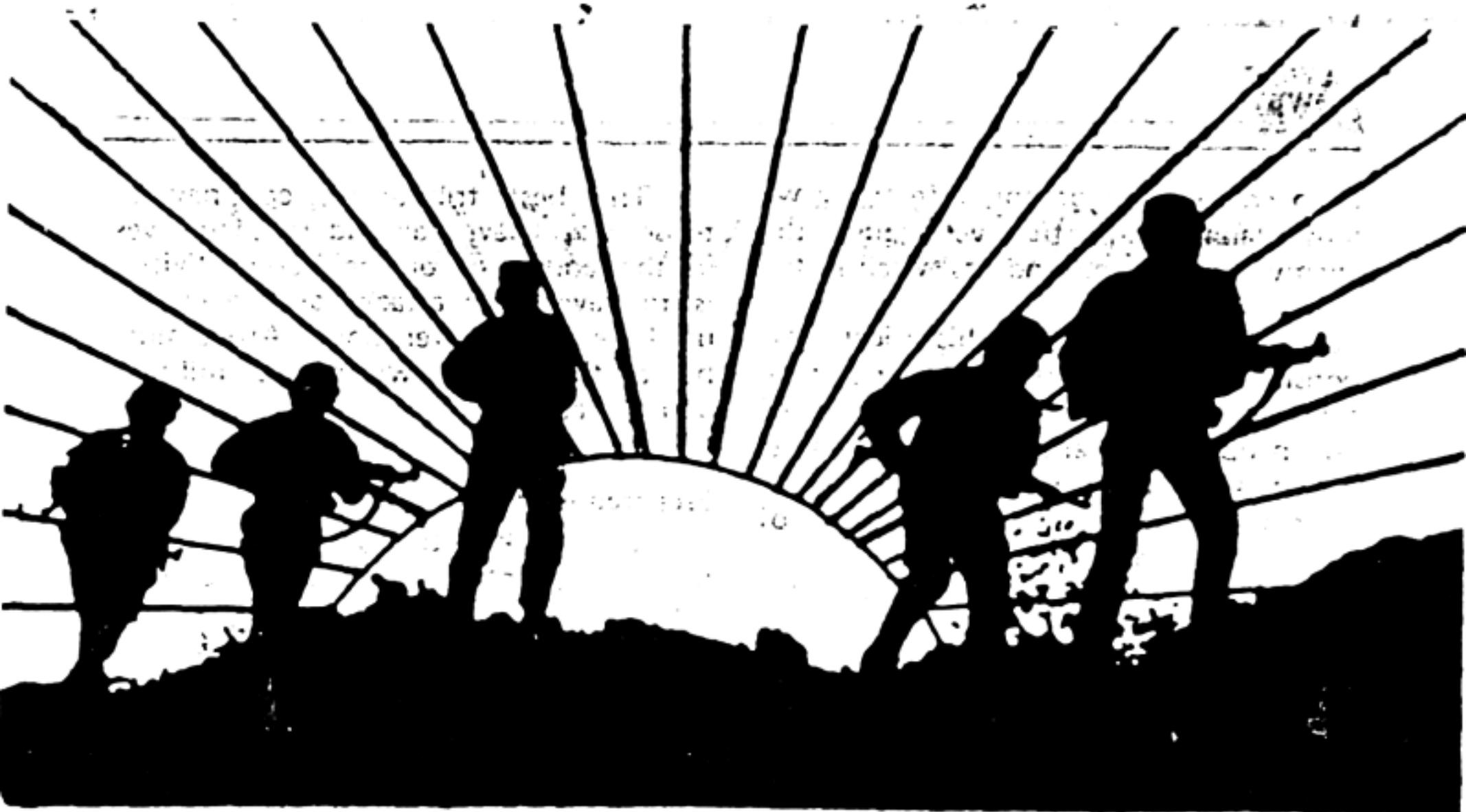
# DAWN

Monthly Journal of Umkhonto we Sizwe

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## Editorial Comment

# We have to destroy that regime!

### Message from Army Commissar

We are winding off a year of momentous events, a year of mass popular struggles.

1984 has been a year of popular victories as witnessed in the UDF-led massive boycott of the Indian and 'Coloured' elections in August. The year was also marked by a militant boycott of schools by students and the drawing of the education charter. We observed a remarkable growth of trade unions in the background of trade union unity talks which are nearing fruition.

We have died for these achievements. We are proud of them. It is MK who launched attacks against an enemy which seemed impregnable. Had we not have been there all the time, systematically attacking the regime, we would not be speaking of these achievements. It is through a combination of these operations that we are where we are today.

Our organisation has infused a new spirit in our people. They see themselves as their liberators. The ANC has never enjoyed such massive support. We have never received such a response to our message of the year. Our people are responding to calls made by the ANC to build popular organisations and render enemy control over them impossible. Dummy institutions have been rendered powerless while in some townships the regime has not been able to exert its authority.

The period ahead will be difficult for our army Urkhonto We Sizwe is faced with a crucial challenge to jerk up our military operations to correspond with the level of the people's mass struggles. Our army must continue to expand internally. It must train and equip units thrown out by the mass struggles of the people. We must deepen the process of making the country



ungovernable. To do this effectively we must launch an offensive against the enemy institutions and its vital installations.

Our army has a historical responsibility to make the enemy pay five-fold for the wanton loss of the lives of our people. The army must spread its activities to the rural areas. We must clear the bantustans and rural areas of puppet elements. This would be part of the process of making the country ungovernable.

We take this opportunity to salute our combatants who have risked everything to intensify and escalate our attacks against the enemy. We are proud of the glorious tradition of our army which they have upheld and defended.

## NKOMATI

We have done reasonably well in the face of the regime's concerted efforts to isolate us in Southern Africa. We have rendered useless what the enemy thought would be the gains of Nkomati and secret treaties with Swaziland. We have clearly demonstrated that the decisive factor is our people.

We have carried out impressive operations which among others include ambushes, attacks on police stations and car bombs. The operations came at a time when the enemy was boasting that it has finished us off. We salute our combatants and people who have made these operations effective and possible.

The struggle will demand more commitment and effort in the coming year. Our people are crying out for more MK actions. The time for serious sacrifices and serious action against the enemy has come. We have no alternative but to clear the enemy from certain areas. To match these tasks, we must have stamina to withstand the difficulties that are coming.

The best tribute we can pay to those who have laid down their lives in the course of our military activities is to have more attacks on the enemy until we seize power. South Africa must be a theatre of widespread military confrontations.

## Preparedness

Our basic task is to forge a soldier of a new type, imbued with total commitment to the revolution, and equipped with sterling revolutionary attributes.

We shall demand maximum political, mental and physical preparation that will produce a cadre that will cope with all eventualities — a soldier that is ready to give everything for our struggle, and understands that our lives, our people — our social and national emancipation depends upon destroying the enemy.

We must therefore master the skills of guerilla warfare. We must attain mastery in all weapons, mines, explosives, grenades and landmines to hamper the movements of the enemy. We demand that our army should be part of the oppressed — it must enrich the mass struggles of the people as well as the struggles of the working class.

## Conference

Umkhonto We Sizwe as an army of the ANC takes its political line from our organisation through its leadership. Therefore the army has a special responsibility to neutralise the activities of wedge-drivers and provocateurs. We must ensure that out of the conference the ANC will emerge out a strong, coercive organisation, capable to lead the politico-military offensive against the enemy.

We represent the highest in political consciousness, the highest quality in our organisation. Therefore it is our duty to ensure that the struggle forges ahead. We have to destroy that regime!



# WE ARE VICTORIOUS

address by Comrade Joe Slovo,

**"We have every reason to believe, to hope that, within the very next future, a free democratic South Africa will be realised".**

These words marked the culmination of a stirring address by Comrade Joe Slovo, our Army Chief of Staff when he visited the bases of Umkhonto We Sizwe recently. The same words had aroused a standing ovation for a delegation of the South African Communist Party at the congress of the Congolese Party of Labour in Congo Brazzaville.

"We are under attack, yet the strength of our organisation has risen like never before. For people who do not grasp what is happening, these events can be seen as a big blow. At the same time we cannot deny the fact that the enemy has won some substantial victories.

On the other hand, these very victories are an indication of the strength of the ANC. The last eight years have put the movement on a mark it has never been before. While it would be foolish to think that we are at a point of victory, nevertheless, it is accepted by everyone that there can be no long-term solution without the ANC".

## DIALOGUE

Already racist spokesmen are posing the question of a dialogue with the ANC. The racist foreign minister, Pik Botha, has also made such a vague suggestion to the president of Mozambique, Samora Machel.

As Comrade Joe Slovo pointed out, the gestures do not necessarily mean that we are at a point of victory. We should not think that there can be sincerity in the racist's gestures to talk to the ANC.

However, Comrade Joe Slovo highlighted two points:

- That the present events point out that we are an indestructible force. And the enemy had come to accept that fact.
- That the enemy wants to gain time, to adjust, to emerge from the economic and political quagmire in which it finds itself enmeshed.

The present peace initiative which gave birth to the Nkomati accord is evidence to this point. The regime has never been interested in any peace with Mozambique. It was just a desperate bid to defuse the threat of the mounting armed offensive posed by Umkhonto we Sizwe. This shows that we are a force to be reckoned with.

Inside South Africa the regime has been involved in a constitutional ploy which 'opened' the doors of the white parliament to willing Indian and 'Coloured' puppets. The aim, as the current racist president once stated, is to involve all population groups in the country's defence. That is the crux of the 'reform'. It is no reform but an increased burden on the apartheid slave.

In the background of all these manoeuvres, the racist regime finds itself in a deep economic crisis. Gold, South Africa's major source of foreign

exchange, has fallen to its lowest mark ever \$350 an ounce. By mid 1984, within just six months, 31% of South Africa's industry was declared insolvent. The economic situation was worsened by workers' strike actions in the past three years. Labour unrest in the mining industry has also made its mark.

Therefore we can safely claim that the financial and economic crisis the regime finds itself in today is definitely as a result of our work — it is our victory.

### OIL

South Africa is the only country in the world which produces oil from coal. The prestigious Sasol project was set up as a solution to oil sanctions imposed by the international community against the racist republic. Despite astronomical sums spent on research and tests, Sasol has proved unproductive and highly inflationary. In an article in the Rand Daily Mail (May 5 1983) it was revealed that about ten cars with clogged carburettors are received daily in major service stations in Pretoria. The damage is caused by ethanol and alcohol additives found in Sasol petrol.

It is an open secret that, despite the racists' boast of self-sufficiency and guaranteed oil supplies, it is involved in scandalous pirating of oil. In one incident the racists made an out of court settlement of R40m following the Salem affair. According to a research conducted by the Dutch Anti-Apartheid Shipping Research Bureau, the oil embargo has cost the regime about \$1,55Bn.

A mafia gang of robbers and pirates has been set up to be in charge of buying and stealing oil for the regime. The Protection of Information Act prohibits the disclosure of the activities of these bandits in the South African press. The same applies to their budget account. It cannot be vetted by parlia-

ment or audited by the exchequer. The same regime is a well-known, and reliable customer for arms smugglers. This is despite the much acclaimed self-sufficiency of Amcor.

Having briefly highlighted the regime's problems with regard to oil and military technology in the background of the drooping value of gold, it is interesting to note that expenditure on oil and military consume more than a quarter of the racist budget. Therefore we can safely claim that the financial and economic crisis the regime finds itself in today is definitely as a result of our work — it is our victory.

South Africa is entering a stage of being ungovernable, true to the call made by the Commander-in-Chief of our people's army, Comrade O.R. Tambo, to render the enemy's instruments of power unworkable. An impressive campaign against the black local authorities culminated in a massive rejection of the 'Coloured' and Indian tri-ethnic parliament by the respective communities.

As the racist regime relies on its army, police for survival, our people support Umkhonto we Sizwe.

### OPPOSITION

The voice of opposition is increasing, assuming new and higher levels of organisation each passing day. The political mass upsurge inside South Africa is evidence of the fact that nothing can stand in the people's way — nothing can stop the people's forward drive to freedom. As the people cannot be destroyed neither can the ANC.

As the racist regime relies on its army, police for survival, our people support Umkhonto We Sizwe. Our people's army has contributed massively to the present crisis gripping the regime. Since Umkhonto We Sizwe's three year programme (1979-82) to date, fuel



depots have been set aflame. Many electrical installations and transformers have been blown up. The Koeberg nuclear station which was built by huge debts from western countries, was visited by the gallant soldiers of Umkhonto We Sizwe in December 1982. The nuclear reactor encasings were rocked by four powerful bomb explosions.

By 'safety' standards the reactors cannot be operated without exposing human life to nuclear radiation within 80Km radius. Atlantis, a 'Coloured' township, is being built despite the fact that it is within lethal range. Considering the sums invested, to the fascist regime the loss of human life is secondary.

The irony of Koeberg is that it will contribute only 10% to the South African electricity power. There is something wrong here. Maybe it explains the fact that the International Atomic Energy Board cannot be allowed to visit and inspect the installation. The racists are still unwilling to sign the nuclear non-proliferation treaty.

The racist president, Wapen Botha, admitted last year that the striking capacity of MK is growing. He said the South African Defence Force has suffered heavier casualties within six months in military personnel against MK than in its eighteen year colonial war in Namibia. Following this statement in June, by September 1983 promotions were announced within the SADF into vacated posts. In the meantime we are expected to believe that only Ras died in the Pretoria bomb blast, and that no racist general died in the raid at Voortrekkerhoogte. Only one Black woman is supposed to have been injured.

Confronted on all fronts by our people, the racists are seeking other sources of income to prolong their unjust rule. This year a 10% general sales tax was levied on our people to supplement the regime's inflationary budget. This burden on our people came

just months after the IMF \$2Bn loan. As of this writing, the regime is desperately negotiating other loans with the Swiss bank.

What is compromised in apartheid when there is every guarantee that within the constitutional fraud the executive president will always be a white racist?

VICTORIES

These are the victories of our people, although they may seem insignificant. These victories have shown that the political super-structure cannot go unperturbed by these shock waves rocking the very foundation of apartheid rule.

There is also a subtle campaign to improve the image of apartheid by a malevolent scheme of granting 'Coloureds' and Indians second partnership in the white parliament. This move cannot be seen as a compromise of apartheid. What is compromised in apartheid when there is every guarantee that within the constitutional fraud the executive president will always be a white racist?

The executive president will have sweeping power to veto any decision which is not in the interest of apartheid. In the event of a vote of no confidence against him, which can only be voted for separately by each ethnic parliament, he has the power to dissolve parliament and appoint new members.

The white racists have a 20 member majority in the 50 member electoral college. The electoral college elects the state president who in turn nominates his cabinet ministers. This is the same constitutional proposal which scored 64 interjections on its first day of reading in the white parliament. It had to be shelved so that the honorary members of the white parliament could not contravene the Riotous Assemblies Act as tempers were running high.

Cont. on Page 26

# LEARN with DAWN

*You too Countryman, can be a Freedom Fighter*

## Simple firing cap

In our last issue we discussed about a simple firing cap. In this issue we will talk about a more sophisticated and stronger version of the simple firing cap which can be made by sealing the clamped wire (the bridgewire) inside or Eureka wire\* (see note.) instead of strand of steel wool or flashbulb wire (these can be used if you can't get Nickel-chrome or Eureka wire).

1. Instead of simply clamping the bridge wire by bending over the copper wire it should be wound around first, as shown. Note: You can't wind steel wool or flashbulb wire — it breaks too easily.

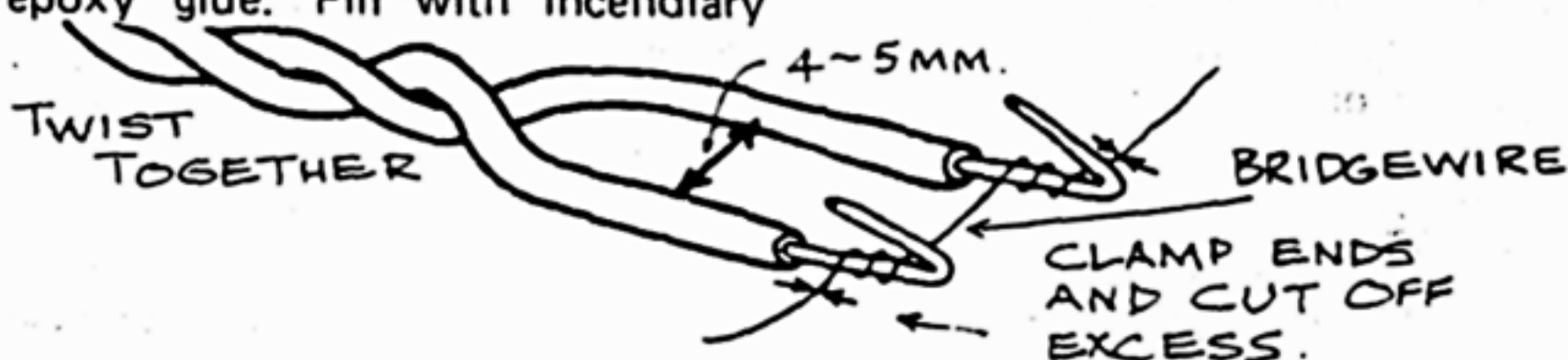
2) Clamp the bridgewire with pliers as before and cut off the excess. EITHER (A) fill half a gelatine capsule with incendiary powder and insert the bridgewire into it. Seal the open end with epoxy (Pratley) glue. OR (B), roll a piece of paper about 2cm long around something giving a diameter of about 7mm. (eg, a round pencil). Glue the edge to make a tube. Seal one end with epoxy glue. Fill with incendiary

powder, insert the bridgewire — and seal the open end.

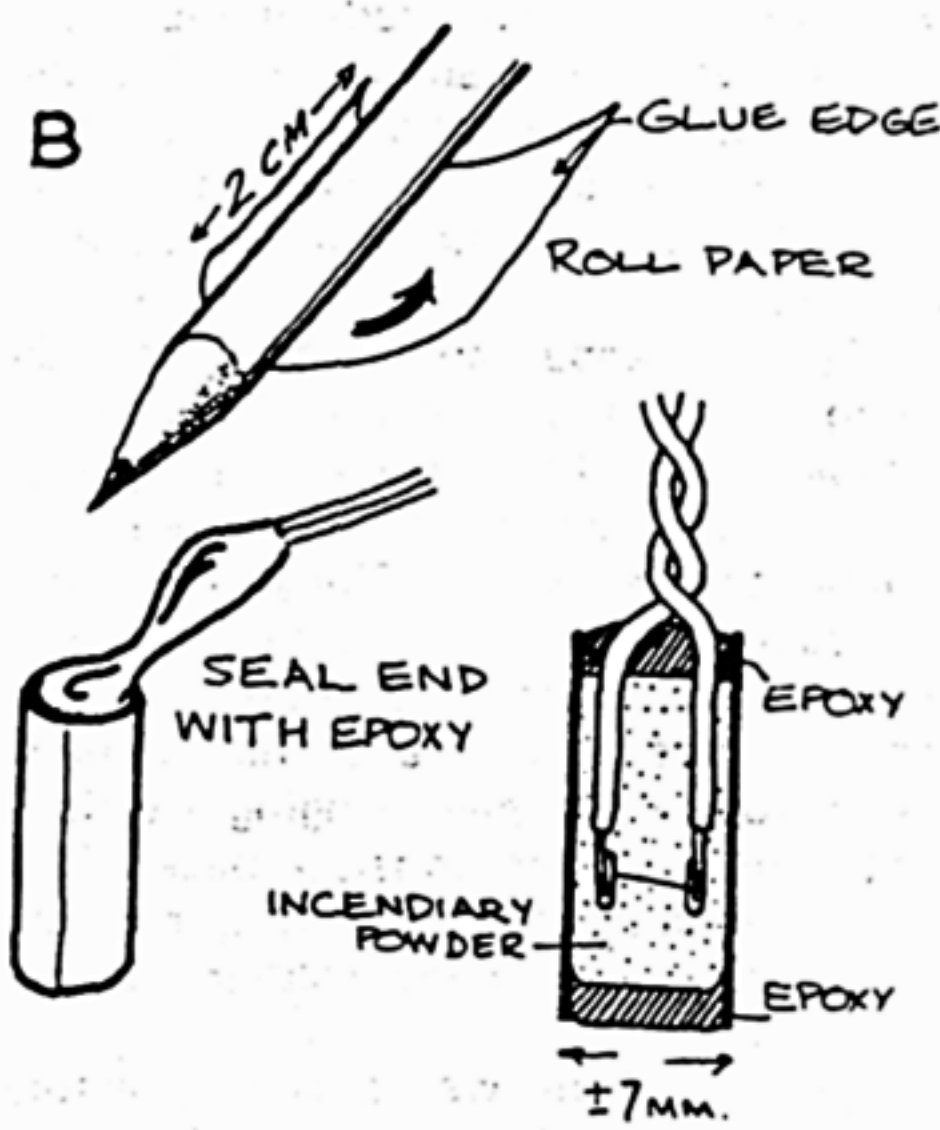
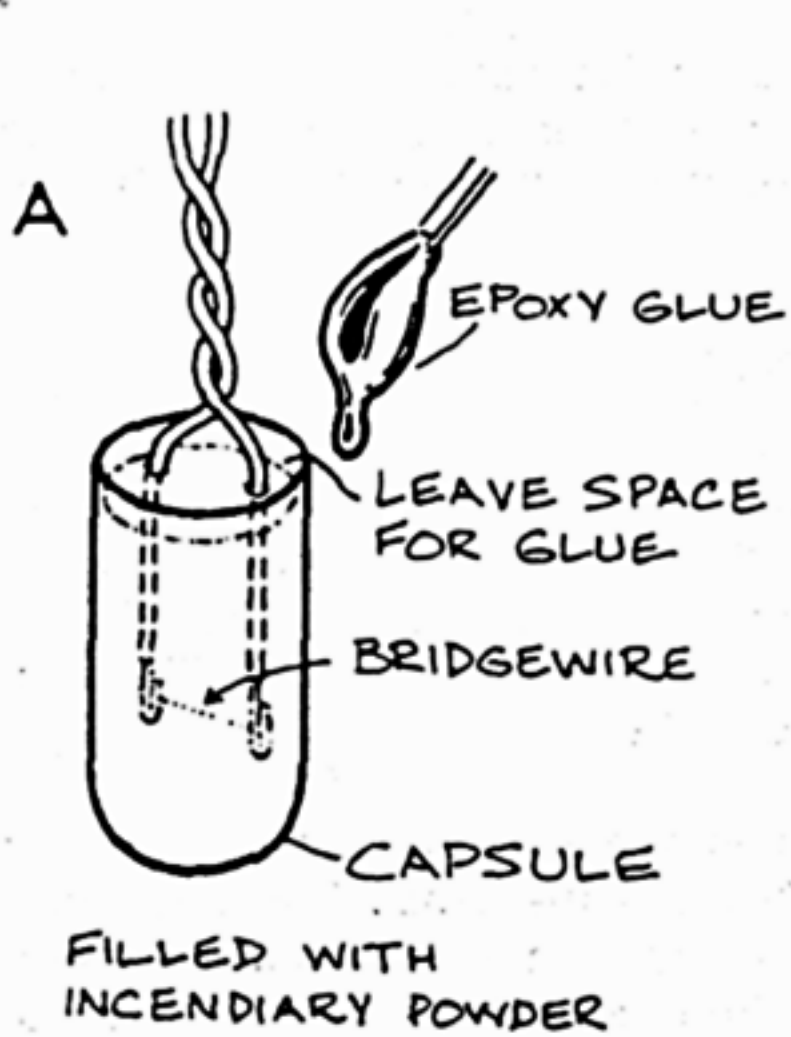
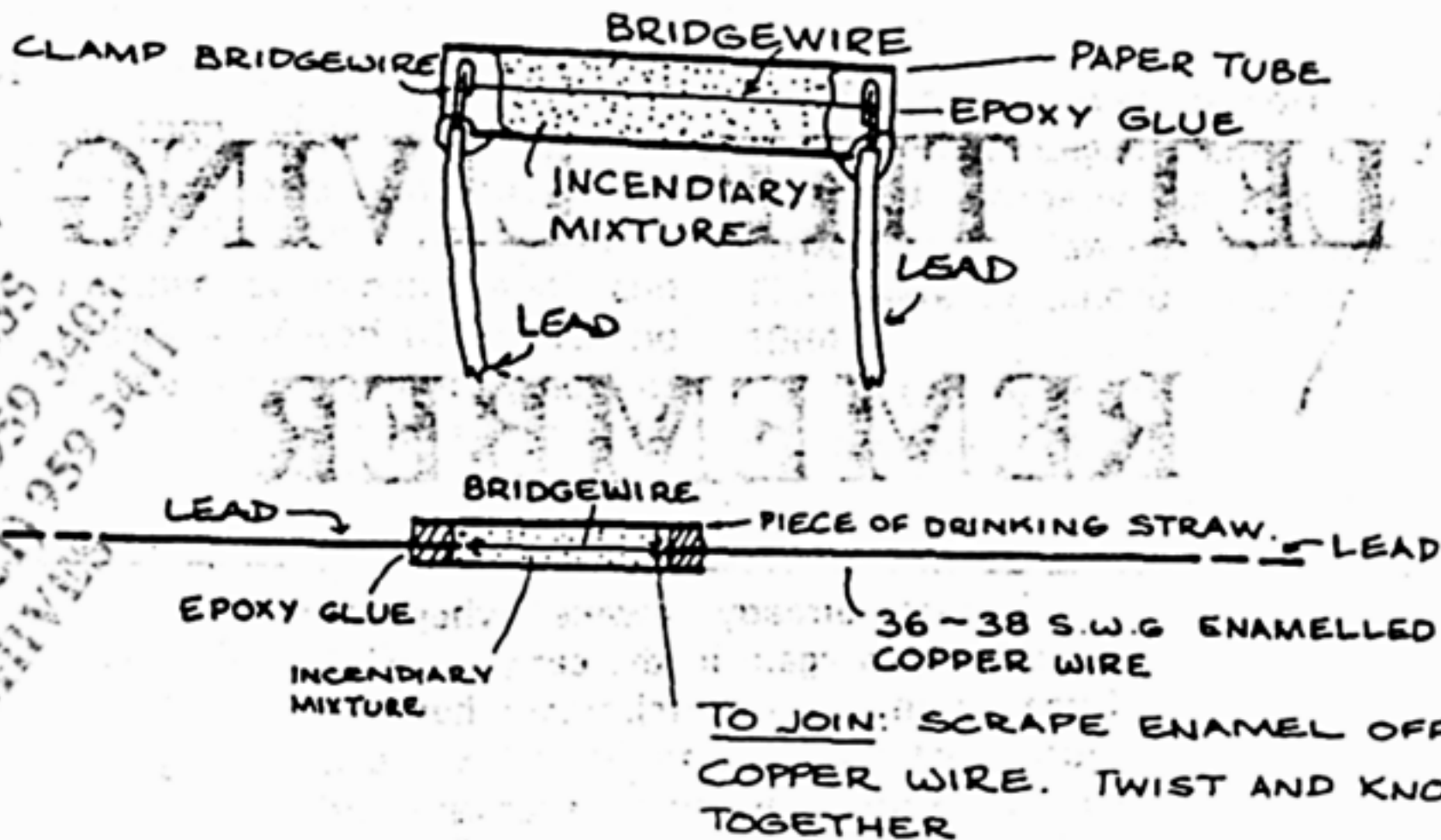
There are many other ways of making small electric igniters. With the ideas given on the previous pages you can invent your own. All of them work in the same way. An electric current passes through a thin wire (filament bridgewire) which becomes very hot and glows. This sets fire to the incendiary mixture which flashes or explodes.

Here are two more which are easy to make. The first is made in the same way as the firing cap except that the bridgewire is much longer and instead of both wires going in one end, one wire goes in each end. The second is a way of making a very small igniter and instead of using plastic insulated copper wire, it uses very thin enamelled copper wire\* (see note below). Note: the second example simply uses a piece of drinking straw instead of a paper tube.

\*Nickel-chrome resistance wire, Eureka wire and enamelled copper wire is bought







from electronics/radio dealers. To make bridgewires ask for a roll of 48 or 46 S.W.G. Nickel-chrome or Eureka wire S.W.G. is the measure of its thickness - the higher the number the thinner the wire). You can use 42 or 44 S.W.G. if

you can't get 48 or 46 but then you must use a bigger (9 volt) battery. Flash bulbs for cameras can be bought from chemists or photographic dealers. Steel wool can be bought from supermarkets.

# LET THE LIVING REMEMBER

I was already awake when the singing began again in the early morning. Once again the excruciatingly beautiful music floated through the barred windows, echoing round the brick exercise yard, losing itself in the vast prison yards.



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ARCI

Two decades ago, on November 6, 1964, the regime executed three patriots of our land: Vuyisile Mini, Zinakile Mkaba and Wilson Khayingo. Despite the many appeals for clemency, the hand of the racist hangman could not be arrested.

Mini, Mkaba and Khayingo, all members of the Eastern Cape High Command of MK, occupy a special place in the hearts of the soldiers of Umkhonto We Sizwe. They were the first cadres of our army to be murdered 'legally'. Besides, their conduct in the hands of the enemy, and their defiant march to the gallows, singing freedom songs, added to the annals a page of an undying example of heroism that remains an inspiration to many soldiers of the people's army.

Vuyisile Mini was a singer, actor, a poet and a revolutionary. He was born in Port Elizabeth in 1920 and joined the African National Congress at the age of seventeen. He actively participated in the struggles against mass removals in Korsten where he lived. As a volunteer during the 1952 Campaign for the Defiance of Unjust Laws he entered railway property reserved for whites. He was

arrested and sentenced to three months imprisonment, an arrest that earned him the loss of his job as a packer in a battery factory.

## ORGANISER

In 1952 he became a full-time organiser of the dockworkers. It is largely due to his contribution that the P.E. Stevedoring and Dock Workers Union affiliated to SACTU in 1956.

When the regime sought to behead the ANC and the broad Congress Movement through the infamous Treason Trial, Vuyisile Mini was one of the 156 leaders arrested and charged with treason. The basis of this charge was the formulation and adoption of the Freedom Charter by the people. In one of the longest trials in South Africa's history, the racist state eventually lost its case and all the accused were acquitted in 1960.

During the same year he was instrumental in the formation of the General Workers Union in P.E. When the Bay Transport increased bus fares in 1961, Mini led the resultant bus boycott.



**ARREST**

On 10 May 1963, while working at the Port Elizabeth Local Committee of SACTU, Vuyisile Mini was arrested with two other prominent ANC and SACTU leaders — Wilson Khayingo and Zinakile Mkaba — for committing acts of sabotage and complicity in the murder of a police informer, Siphon Mange, in January of that year.

Their trial was in Port Alfred, far from home. Legally they couldn't be defended properly because the racists forbade their lawyers to leave Durban. They were sentenced to death in March 1964.

Letters smuggled out of prison from the three patriots reveal abortive attempts by the enemy to break them. "On the 2nd of October"



Mini wrote, 'Captain Geldenhuys and two other policemen came to see me... They said there is still a chance for me to be saved as they knew I was the big boss of the movement in the Eastern Cape. I must just tell them where the detonators and revolvers were, and they would help me. I refused.'

**I REFUSED**

They asked me about Wilton Mkwayi. They said I saw Mkwayi in January 1963. I said yes. They asked me if I was prepared to give evidence against Mkwayi. I said I was not. They said there was a good chance for them to save me from the gallows if I was prepared to assist them...

They asked if I would make the 'Amandla' salute when I walked the last few paces to the gallows. I said yes. After a few more jokes of that nature they left.'

**IF NECESSARY**

**I MUST DIE**

Mkaba wrote, 'They said they were feeling sorry for me and were prepared to help me if I would tell them where the detonators and revolvers were. When I

said I knew nothing about that, they said they would be pleased if I told them anything about sabotage that I knew of, and if I am prepared to help them there was still a chance of being saved. When I denied knowledge of anything, they asked if I was prepared to die for nothing. I told them if necessary I must die.'

**I REFUSED TO HAVE ANYTHING TO DO WITH THEM****Khayingo**

Khayingo wrote that they said they came especially to see him because if

he made a statement that was satisfactory then it was not too late to save him. "I refused to have anything to do with them."

**VUYISILE MINI'S LAUGH WAS UNFORGETTABLE**

Ben Turok, a fellow prisoner and Secretary of the South African Congress of Democrats at the time, wrote in Sechaba: "Vuyusile Mini's laugh was unforgettable. It rolled out in concentric sound-waves riding loud over the lesser noises around him, infecting everyone with his effervescent good humour. His heavy bass was unmistakable. It made one aware of his presence in a crowd when even those deep in conversation smiled involuntarily in unconscious response to such healthy mirth.

It was through his laugh that I became aware that Mini had arrived in the condemned section of Pretoria central prison. Isolated as I was in a tiny cell in the adjacent segregation section of the prison, and finely sensitive to the slightest variation in the murmur of life, Mini's incongruous laughter rolled out and it was apparent that Mini and his companions were situated in the 'last week

cell' of the condemned section in B2 on the second floor. I then remembered that Vuyisile Mini and his two comrades, Zinakile Mkaba and Wilson Khayingo of the Eastern Cape High Command of Umkhonto We Sizwe, had been committed for trial for ordering the death of an informer.

**DARING**

I marvelled at his daring. No one laughed out loud in central prison. It was absolutely forbidden. Subdued by the grey half light that filtered through the barred mesh, and ground down by the harsh presence of warders, it was understood that a prisoner must remain silent, especially in death row, where even the collective of 60 odd 'condemned' was insufficient to break through the iron rule of deathly stillness.

But Mini dared. And his comrades joined him in defiant mirth, thrusting



aside with unconcealed scorn the atmosphere of crushing gloom that clung to the massive grey walls. And as the three of them settled into their new surroundings, there issued out of the window of the 'last week cell' beautiful melodies of traditional African music rendered in the most perfect unison of long practiced harmony.

It was in the early evenings that they enjoyed their singing most. With the harsh clanging of iron gates reduced to a minimum; with only a skeleton prison staff on duty, and the prisoners at rest on thin mats in their cells, Mini and his comrades sensed the appreciation of their audience and gave forth in the subtlest cadences, telling in song the heroic stories of Xhosa history...

When their fate was finally communicated to Mini and his colleagues their defiant response was sounding through the corridors of the prison. "AMANDLA - NGAWETHU" they roared triumphantly, defiantly challenging with the most deep conviction the hateful oppressor in the very seat of his power.

#### LAST EVENING

The last evening was devastatingly sad as the heroic occupants of the death cell communicated to the prison in gentle melancholy song that their end was near. Even the heavy brooding stone seemed to respond to their mood by dampening the echoes of clashing gates and jarring keys. It was late at night when the singing ceased, and the prison fell into uneasy silence.

I was already awake when the singing began again in the early morning. Once again the excruciatingly beautiful music floated through the barred windows, echoing round the brick exercise yard, losing itself in the vast prison yards.

And then, unexpectedly, the voice of Vuyisile Mini came roaring down the hushed passages. Evidently standing on a stool, with his face reaching up to a barred vent in his cell, his unmistakable bass voice was enunciating his final message in Xhosa to the world he was leaving. In a voice charged with emotion but stubbornly defiant he spoke of the struggle waged by the African National Congress and of his absolute conviction of the victory to come. And then it was Khayingo's turn, followed by Mkaba, as they too defied all prison rules to shout out their valedictions.

Soon after, I heard the door of their cell being opened. Murmuring voices reached my straining ears, and then the three martyrs broke into a final poignant melody which seemed to fill the whole prison with sound and then gradually faded away into the distant depths of the condemned section."

They gallantly marched to the gallows singing Mini's famous song: "*Nants' indod' emnyama Velevutha*".

It was this legacy of collective heroism left to us by Mini and his comrades that inspired Mahlangu, Mosololi, Motaung and Mogoerane never to flinch for a moment before the racist hangman. It is also the unending source of inspiration for MK cadres as they continuously engage the enemy in various parts of our country, avenging their death.



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# A MERCENARY OF APARTHEID

## Talks with Dawn

**A Former Member Of The SADF Related To DAWN A Painful Ordeal Of Being An Outcast In The Eyes Of His People For Being A Mercenary Of The Apartheid Defence Force.**

"I was born in Zwelitsha in King Williams Town. I started schooling in 1968 at Vakpan Bantu School. In 1975 I changed to Zwelitsha Higher Primary School" the sad story begins.

He, like many students, was affected by the 1976 countrywide student uprising which displaced many Black students. With poverty throttling his family, and unemployment rampant, he found himself in the claws of the South African Defence Force. He joined batallion 21 at Lenz in 1977. He was seventeen at the time, still in standard six.

His basic training included rural and urban counter-insurgency operation (coin). Brutality Characterised their training course. As a result one troopie died during their training, while three others were disqualified due to serious injuries they had sustained.

He carried heavy electric pylons for distances as long as 500m and used to pull truck tyres for 40km. How much did he earn? "A pittance of R98 per month was worth the risk than to face starvation", he confessed. Another reason for joining the SADF is the exemption it grants from pass laws, bantustan classification, and the security the barracks provide as a home.



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of their trucks were destroyed by land mines.

**PUNISHMENT** — Inhuman methods of punishment were employed to ensure discipline. A 25kg sandbag for a two-hour physical training session, crawling for long distances, and carrying electric pylons for kilometres on end were the most common. One trooper died from heat exhaustion while being punished. Those who sustain permanent injuries are dismissed with a stroke of a pen.

Generally, for both Blacks and whites, hostility characterises the relations between the troopers and their officers. By 1978 the situation had extremely ran out of hand. Many troopers were getting injured or killed. Under pressure from the parents of white national servicemen, Constand Viljoen, the chief of the racist army, had to intervene and some restraint was noticed. For Blacks things continued the old way, nevertheless. Being privates in the permanent force, they continued their training under bestial conditions.

It is quite shocking to note that despite these conditions the number of Blacks in the SADF has made a dramatic increase. About 200 Africans appeared before the selection board in 1977. By 1979 this number had risen to 2,000. Most of the recruits come from Qwa Qwa, Transkei, Ciskei and Bloemfontein.

**RIDICULOUS EXERCISE**

To qualify, the recruits undergo an aptitude test. The test includes one of the most ridiculous exercises in the civilised world. One is presented a photo album with photos marked A and B. He is required to choose one and write what he thinks about it. The list runs as follows: — Farm labourers toiling on a very hot day, with a white overseer barking orders at them. Five sentences about one's opinion of the photo.

— An African at crossroads. One road leads to the city and another leads to the bantustans. Which road must the man choose, and why?

A — An African in traditional attire looking at himself at a pond.

B — An African in modern clothing inspects himself at a mirror. Which photo is good, and why?

A — A White man carried shoulder-high by cheering Africans.

B — Piet Ritief surrounded by angry Zulu warriors. Choose one photo and comment.

One would not expect such a test even at a mental hospital.

**RACIAL DISCRIMINATION**

Racial discrimination is rife in the SADF. Salaries reflect this colour-based disparity. A White 'baas corporal' earns a higher wage than his slave counter-part, a black corporal. As a member of the permanent force, our informant was not supposed to buy his uniforms, which he bought from time to time.

On a visit to the 'Coloured' Corps at Faure he discovered that their infantry unit at Lenz was charged with camp duties which otherwise were performed by a staff unit at Faure. The problem in their case was that the staff unit was White. He also found out that at Faure everybody used the swimming pool. At Lenz only the White administration and staff unit could enjoy this privilege.

To avoid the embarrassment of a slave who punishes his master, necessary precautions are taken. A soldier can only be punished by his unit and not by any officer. Therefore a black sergeant, the only rank an African can attain, can never find himself in a humiliating position of punishing his colour senior, a white soldier.

**OUTCAST**

When our informant was issued his first weekend pass he was warned that Soweto and Sebokeng were enemy territories and that going to any of the two areas in military uniform was at his own risk. Going to a disco in the neighbouring Indian township, Lenasia, was strictly prohibited.

In Soweto he was looked upon with contempt. Back at home during holidays, his friends, the young people he grew up with, completely avoided contact with him. "I seemed an anathema to people wherever I went. My girlfriend was dissuaded from associating with me. I became an outcast among my own people".

**TURNING POINT**

1979 was a turning point. He was deployed at Mpasha (sic) in Northern Namibia. His unit strength was about a company. They were sent on a search and destroy mission of a PLAN guerilla base. This abortive mission followed many other patrol missions they carried out while white units were taking it easy at base at Mpasha. They were also given orders to rape women who were suspected to be SWAPO members and kill locals who refused to co-operate. Defying orders in the operational area was out of question. This would earn one no punishment or detention barracks but death by firing squad.

They marched for a week without success. Every strip of information from villagers sent them on a wild goose chase. Finally a word came from the racist command that they were within seven kilometres from a heavily fortified Swapo base. They were ordered to retreat.

While retreating they were ambushed by the heroic fighters of PLAN. Their unit was completely overwhelmed. They emerged from that ambush very disorganised. Three members of their unit were killed and one lost. A number

of their trucks were destroyed by land-mines and shells.

They were quite shaken when they reported back at Mpasha. Discontent broited. Two soldiers of their unit lost their sanity. It was also at Mpasha where they met national servicemen (NS) who showed antagonism and distrust towards them. The NS were shocked to find Africans who were in the army for employment. According to these NS the army is not a workplace but a 'help-mekaar' institution for the defence of South Africa.

**RESIGNATION**

When they returned to Lenz in 1980 discontent was at its height. In September they defied performing camp duties and refused to wear military uniforms. Their list of demands contained only one item: immediate resignation. The racist authorities called this a mutiny and threatened them with the notorious detention barracks. They did not budge an inch and remained firm. Ultimately, after they could not be cowed even by the summoning of a SADF unit with gas masks that surrounded Lenz, they were discharged from the SADF.

But this happened not to be his last experience with the SADF. In no time they found him a job at Sanchem, an ammunition factory. He was employed as a security officer. To his dismay, he learnt that he had to undergo a six week training course in intelligence. His job was to be no simple guarding but to monitor ANC guerilla movements in Soweto, particularly those who might seek employment at Sanchem.

This had gone beyond his humble expectations. He wanted a job simply, with no strings attached. As a result he resigned again. The Soweto student uprising and the many heroic mass struggles in subsequent years made their mark on him. He realised that his future and that of his people lie in fighting with arms against the regime. He joined Umkhonto We Sizwe in 1983.



To the memory of Kgotuduwa Molotsane

**RAI AND OUR FALLEN HEROES**

Legs apart  
firm  
firmly rooted  
in titanic battles  
an incarnation of our struggle  
both fists raised  
as anger mushrooms  
in a mortal threat  
bearing the face of tyranny  
unmasking the decay of domination

This X,  
an end to  
our blood stained history  
laced with unbridled barbarity  
persecution  
unrestrained  
in a land of torture chambers  
where the bleeding masses  
perish under the blows  
of capitalist plunder

Legs apart  
firm  
firmly rooted  
both fists raised  
This X  
is men and women  
initiating  
organising  
courageously  
slashing  
crushing  
uniting  
against the hangman of freedom

Legs apart  
both fists raised  
a new light  
of certainty  
of victory  
Ablaze!

— By Ilva Mackay

**DAWN POLITIXWORD NO. 4 – ANSWERS**

**ACROSS**

- |              |              |          |         |
|--------------|--------------|----------|---------|
| 1. NKADIMENG | 6. OMM       | 7. INST  | 9. TANK |
| 11. FAL      | 12. SWA      | 13. IMPI | 15. FIR |
| 17. GHANA    | 18. LODESTAR |          |         |

**DOWN**

- |             |           |          |          |
|-------------|-----------|----------|----------|
| 1. NKOMATI  | 2. ARMY   | 3. MAN   | 4. NATAL |
| 5. MAKUZENI | 8. STALIN | 10. TWIG | 12. SP   |
| 14. MONO    | 15. FAST  | 16. RA   |          |

# THE SOUTH AFRICAN

# INDIA

Following the 'Coloured' and Indian August elections, the threat of conscription for the two races into the SADF is looming like never before.

The case of private Mark Abraham is a sad reminder of the fate awaiting thousands of 'Coloured' troopies who will be drafted into the South African Defence Force in future.

Mark, a chef with the Cape Corps at Faure, went awol (absent without leave) to visit friends and attend a wedding. While waiting in the car outside the church where the wedding ceremony was held, two armed military policemen and a staff sergeant approached. They cocked their rifles and ordered him out of the car. The staff sergeant instructed the military policemen to open fire if Mark tried to escape.

He got out and stood by the door. "The bridal couple was about to come out (of the church) when Mark made a run for it. He only took three paces when they opened fire. While still in the road, he was struck by a bullet... After several more shots, he collapsed in a field next to the church... While Mark was lying there bleeding, he asked for water, but the military police standing over him refused to let anyone go near him... There was blood coming from his shoulder, arm, lung and stomach. The shirt he was wearing was in tatters". (Sunday Times, 22/1/84)

Mark suffered the fate of a colonial slave who offers his life for the defence of his master and the system that enslaves him and his people.



Your real enemy is the Pretoria...

## BACKGROUND

Uniform, the SADF newspaper (March 1982) boasts: "Did you know that the South African Cape Corps is the oldest corps in the South African Defence Force?"

The Cape Corps came into being in 1795 when certain sections of the 'Coloureds' were mobilised and used in a military capacity against our forefathers



# CAN CAPE CORPS

# DEFENCE OF

# SLAVERY



government not the the people of Namibia or of the neighbouring countries.

during the wars of resistance. Battles in which they were employed include the Graff-Reinet rebellion and the fourth frontier war (1810-11), the Slachter's Nek rebellion and the Makana war in 1835. They were also used to patrol the Fish river 'border' to repel the Xhosa who were rightfully claiming their land.

According to Janet Cherry's research paper (A Feather in the Cap?, The South African Cape Corps, Ruling Class

Ideology and Community Opposition), the Cape Corps existed until 1896, participating in sixth frontier war (War of the Axe) against Sandile, the Basuto and Zulu wars (1878-79), and against the Ndebele (1896). During those early years they were called the Pandours.

The Cape Corps was re-established in 1915, after the outbreak of World War 1.25,000 'Coloureds' enlisted, most from Stellenbosch, Worcester, Port Elizabeth,



Kimberly, and missions at Saron and Mamre. The regime reports that in one battle (at Jibeit) the Cape Corps (then called the 1st Cape Corps Battalion) suffered 152 casualties, sustained in a bayonet charge on enemy machine-gun positions. We can not help wondering how many whites were in that first echelon.

During World War 2 the Cape Corps was again mobilised. 45,000 'Coloureds' enlisted, deployed mainly in Madagascar, Egypt, Italy and Palestine. However, during this war the Cape Corps was used in a non combat capacity, i.e. as a service and support group.

When World War 2 ended all black soldiers were demobilised. The Cape Corps was constituted again in 1947, this time as a Permanent Force unit. However, when the Nationalist Party came to power in 1948 the Cape Corps was disbanded. The SADF, being one of the most conservative institutions of apartheid rule, had to be snow-white.

### MASS RESISTANCE

Following the heroic mass resistance of the late 50's and early 60's; the Sharpeville massacre, the banning of the ANC and the formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe, The Cape Corps was re-established in 1963 at Eersterivier. It had already dawned in the minds of the military, the present rulers of our country, that to prolong apartheid's life span certain sections of the oppressed had to be co-opted.

By 1967 490 men had undergone training in the Cape Corps. Throughout the 60's the Cape Corps was not armed nor regarded as a component part of the Permanent Force. It performed non combat functions, particularly in the navy. Most 'Coloureds' filled posts such as storekeepers, Stewards, chefs, waiters and engineer room mechanics. The highest rank a member could attain was Warrant Officer Class 1.



Fighting against himself, his people, his country and his future.

The Cape Corps only became an integral part of the Permanent Force in 1972, to change its name to S.A.C.C. (South African Cape Corps) Service Battalion in 1973. A year later the then minister of defence (today's executive president), Piet Botha, described it as a "feather in the caps of the defence force and the coloured population as a whole".

In 1975 the Defence Act was amended to give members of the Cape Corps the 'same status' as whites. Seven 'Coloured' soldiers attained the rank of full lieutenant, the first Black officers in the history of the SADF. At this stage 400 had received training since 1973. Two platoons were operating on the border, and in August 1976 the first company of 'Coloured' infantrymen left South Africa for border duty.

By 1979, out of 7,000 South African Black troops who were being trained and deployed, 'Coloureds' accounted for 4,000. 100 was in the Transkei Defence Force, 1,000 in the Bophuthatswana





With medals of dishonour, rape and murder.

National Guard, 600 Africans in the SADF and 750 Indians. 'Coloureds', and Indians alone made up 10 percent of the South African Air Force.

During the same year the S.A.C.C. Service Battalion is reported to have grown to full battalion strength. The following year it divided into three: the Cape Corps school, the S.A.C.C. Maintenance Unit, and the 1 S.A.C.C. Battalion. Members of the Cape Corps ceased to exist as a separate unit of the Permanent Force and were incorporated into it. 'Voluntary' national service was also extended to two years for the 'Coloureds':

**ECONOMIC CRISIS**

There are plans to establish a second Infantry Battalion but the economic crisis the racist regime has plunged into does not allow the allocation of the necessary resources. Nevertheless, today 40 percent of the private forces in the

operational area are Black, and, with the support of the South African Air Force, they do most of the fighting.

If during World War 2 the South African regime would rather have our country taken by fascist Germany and militarist Japan than arm the 'Coloureds' to defend it, why then the drive to recruit them into the SADF now, at this point in time? The reasons are:

— Political: To sow divisions and disunity among the oppressed. It is in pursuance of its same old policy of 'divide and rule'. That was the objective behind the use of 'Coloureds' in the colonial army during the Wars of Resistance.

— Ideological: To change the form of our war from Blacks fighting white colonialism to Blacks fighting Blacks. This, the racists hope, would give some credibility to their propaganda that we are 'terrorists' and 'communist lackeys' bringing discomfort on all South Africans.

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— **Economic:** Black labour is relatively cheap. In 1977 Black wages in the SADF averaged between 54 and 63 percent of white salaries — at comparable ranks. With the regime's finances drained as they are, hiring Black labour is economic.

Back during the 1882 wars one sir Thomas Scanlan, discussing the recruitment of 'Coloureds' noted: "If a force drawn this class could be raised, say 5,000, we should have confidence in them, and I think they could be more easily maintained..." Apartheid's job reservation also have its special effect. South Africa experiences a serious shortage of skilled labour and, consequently, the long periods the white males spend in the army have a disruptive effect on South Africa's industry.

— **Military:** The illegal occupation of Namibia, the endless invasions and occupation of parts of the People's Republic of Angola, and extensive use of the SADF in the regime's campaign of destabilising the neighbouring states have imposed enormous strains on SADF's 4.5 million manpower resource. Add to this the increasing use of the SADF in manning roadblocks, conducting house searches and suppressing mass demonstrations and protests, functions that used to belong to the police.

The changes in the duration of national service in the decade 1972-82 provide sufficient evidence. In 1972 national service was increased from nine months to twelve months, followed by a compulsory 19 days a year in the Citizen Force for the following five years. In 1977 national service was again extended to twenty-four months, while service in the Citizen Force was increased to 240 days spread over eight years. Citizen Force commitments were raised to 720 days spread over twelve years in 1982, and provision was made for compulsory commando service and



Your place is among these young people, in the army of your people Umkhonto we Sizwe.

the conscription of white men up to the age of 55.

### AUGUST ELECTIONS

The enemy's defeat in the August elections displays vividly the 'Coloured' people's rejection of apartheid and all its institutions, particularly the SADF. Conscription into the SADF was among the principal mobilising issues during the anti-election campaign. From all surveys conducted on reasons for the 'Coloureds' opposition to the new constitution, conscription was common. Correctly so for the sole purpose of the new constitution is to divide the oppressed and win over certain sections for the defence of apartheid.





**Mk stands in defence of the people and for a free democratic South Africa.**

In the words of F. W. de Klerk, the racist minister of energy affairs and Transvaal leader of the National Party: "You can't ask a man to fight for his country if he can't vote. Among the terms of the new dispensation is the guarantee that coloureds and Indians will get full voting rights. It follows that their responsibilities will increase accordingly, which means they will hold obligations to defend those rights".

However, though we can rejoice at the fact that the overwhelming majority of 'Coloureds' are opposed to conscription, the reality facing us is that thousands do participate in the SADF.

These are misled sons of our people who should be helped to find their place in the ranks of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the army of Basil February (Paul

Peterson) and Clifford Brown.

Most of the 'Coloureds' in the SADF, as was the case during the second world war, are from the rural areas. There's no doubt that unemployment is the main reason for joining the SADF. In its advertisements, the SADF is portrayed as offering security, regular pay, cheap alcohol, and skills like driving, mechanics, etc.

**NO POLITICS**

No description of Blacks in the SADF can be better than Grundy's who described them as "Soldiers without Politics". They are like slaves who willingly defend slavery, not even knowing who the enemy is.

*Cont. on Page 28*



**WE CAN NO MORE**

**ENDURE**

**THE PAIN**

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**Ellen Musialela**

**DAWN:** Addressing the first Regional Conference of SWAPO Women's Council you called on Namibian women to unite to crush colonialism. What was the significance of that call?

**Ellen:** It is true that I called on all Namibian women to unite to crush and eradicate colonialism in Namibia. In the olden days before the colonisers invaded our country — before the racist regime

came to Namibia, the life of our people was different. We worked together with little difference between our roles in society.

Women were not so much regarded as minors by their husbands. With the advent of colonialism in Namibia, we saw a change — women became victims of domination and exploitation.

Women were not so much regarded as minors by their husbands. With the advent of colonialism in Namibia, we saw a change — women became victims of domination and exploitation.

That is why it is important for the Namibian women to unite to ensure that the oppressive system in Namibia is destroyed.





**DAWN: In view of this background, is there any form of resistance by women in Namibia?**



There was resistance during the German occupation of our country. Even now, women continue to resist South African occupation. We women are responsible for lives. We bear children. Women are tired of giving birth to slaves. We can no more endure the pain of seeing our children debased into slavery.

Our Women have realized the need to struggle alongside our men in every form of resistance in Namibia. In December 1959 our people marched to the Bantu Commissioner's office in Windhoek in protest against forced removals.

**FOREFRONT**

Women were in the forefront in this protest which was spearheaded by a courageous woman, Kakurukaze Mungunda. She died under a hail of bullets while setting the superintendent's car on fire. Eleven people were killed by the regime, the majority of them being women and children. We were inspired by what Mungunda did and we shall continue to fight against the racist regime alongside our men, until all oppression is completely wiped out from our country.

**"We can no more endure the pain of seeing our children debased in to slavery."**



**DAWN: How do women in PLAN contribute towards a free independent Namibia?**

**Ellen:** Women in Namibia were inspired by the defeat of the Portuguese in Mozambique and Angola. They came out in great numbers into one front where they learn that for us women to be free, we have a duty to destroy

the colonial system in Namibia.

We explained to them the constitution of SWAPO which bears no discrimination between men and women. It is up to us to show our talents and capabilities through our participation.

SWAPO women can participate in any form of work to advance our struggle.

The role of women in the People's Liberation Army of Namibia is not restricted to any one form. They play many roles as communication, medical, intelligence officers; commissars and commanders of our army.

Some of the women have already engaged the enemy in battle. When the racist regime attacked Cassinga in 1978 two women, Maria Katoko and Ester Naboth manned an anti-aircraft gun defending the camp.

When the racist regime bombed and shelled the camp, these women never gave up. They stood their ground, holding onto the anti-aircraft gun until they were gunned on the spot-fighting. They defended unarmed women, children and old people until the last minute.

Our women are not people who only carry guns and food; but they have to physically participate in active combat.

Women inside Namibia also come out openly in support of the People's Liberation Army of Namibia. Women like Ida Jimmy, addressing a rally, called upon women to actively support our army.

Making this call, she gave an example of her own son, saying if he came back she could not reject him. It is her own child that she gave birth to; she would not regard him as a criminal but as a freedom fighter. She reiterated that it is our duty as women to work with PLAN combatants, because they are our own liberators and not criminals as the racist regime of Pretoria is trying to portray them. Getrude Kandanga, the Deputy Secretary of Swapo Women's Council is another example of resistance by our women in Namibia. Rauna Nambinga was victimised and tortured by racist police for giving shelter to Swapo combatants.



**DAWN:** So what you are saying is that the struggle for women's liberation is very much linked with the struggle against the racist regime.

**Ellen:** Exactly. If we want to be emancipated as women we must first destroy the system which denies us the right to forge ahead and be emancipated as women. The apartheid system divides and separate people. There is no way in which we can work together with our men as equals under that system.

It is difficult for women to confine themselves to sexual discrimination without addressing ourselves to the system which is hindering our development. The constitution of Swapo guarantees the

right of women to equality and all-round participation in the liberation struggle.

We must pay special attention to the development of our women during the liberation process — to give them the all-round education and professional training. If we upgrade and educate our women, then by the time we attain our independence we will be able to have a high number of women in professional and skilled jobs. And it is through our participation in the liberation struggle that we can also help to liberate our men from backward attitudes.





**"SWAPO is giving us a chance, to show that there is a difference between life under the racist colonial regime and what SWAPO stands for and is doing for our people."**

**Ellen:** After Swapo was formed we had a Consultative Congress in 1969 in Tanzania where the Swapo Women's Council was formed. This wing was formed in recognition of the contribution that women have made in the struggle. But, despite the low number of women at that time, the few that were there made their mark. Comrade Putuse Appolus is our representative at the Pan African Women's Organisation in Algeria.

**DAWN: "What is the role of Swapo Women's Council in ensuring that women play their role within the People's Liberation Army of Namibia?"**

Also, another worthy contribution was made by Dr. Libatina Amathila who is still working hard in trying to develop the Health conditions for children and mothers.

We run political classes to deepen our women's consciousness and expose the enemy's divisive tricks against our people. The enemy divides our people because it wants to continue to exploit their labour in the mines and as domestic servants.

Today Swapo women can go and address the United Nations Organisation on behalf of our organisation. This is something which the racist regime could have never dreamt of. They are surprised when they see our women in these forums. The boers instil in us the myth that a black woman is incapable of doing anything.

I was also surprised when I came to Swapo and found women doing everything. The South West Africa People's Organisation is giving us a chance to show that there is difference between life under the racist colonial regime and what Swapo stands for and is doing for our people.

We women have to put more effort and energy in fighting side by side with our men because it is within these conditions created by our organisations that our emancipation will come. At least, now we can see that there is light coming in, whereas in the past we were just left in the darkness to rot.

The struggle continues and victory is certain.

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25  
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*Cont. from Page 5*

What we see are signs of a decaying political system, a slave system which has outlived its era. This clearly strengthens our belief that there can be no viable political system in South Africa without the armed seizure of power by the oppressed majority. The rise and level of mass opposition shows that our people are more than ever prepared for this destiny — people's power. The fierce and violent battles between our people and the racist regime are an expression of the pledge made by our people in 1955 when they met to draw the Freedom Charter: *These Freedoms We Will Fight For Side By Side, Throughout Our Lives, Until We Have Won Our Liberty.*

The prospects of a free democratic South Africa have never been so bright as they are today. The situation calls on all democratic and patriotic forces to unite under the leadership of the African National Congress and intensify our onslaught against the regime. It also calls on the combatants of our people's army, Umkhonto We Sizwe to thrust the spear of our people deeper into the racist citadel.

The racist regime is very much aware that these are signs of its down fall. This is our victory against the racist regime. That is why it is talking about entering into a dialogue with the ANC.

#### ORGANISATION

The growth and the organisation of Black workers into trade unions has reached a level unprecedented in our history. For the first time Black workers are better organised than their white counterparts. They have become an invincible force in the labour field. This is a result of our efforts. Therefore it makes it necessary for more workers

to be organised into trade unions and a single trade union federation to be realised.

Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, that genius of the Soviet people, spoke of the youth as the 'shock force of the revolution'. The growth of youth and student organisations is a formidable force for the triumph of our revolution, and this has never been more evident than with the nation-wide youth and student action against the racist bogus elections.

The racist regime is very much aware that these are signs of its downfall. This is our victory against the racist regime. That is why it is talking about entering into a dialogue with the ANC. Even its imperialist allies are very much aware that there can be no long term solution in South Africa without the ANC.

But we must be vigilant as ever, because combined with this talk of dialogue is a concerted campaign to change the nature of the ANC. We must be firm and staunch in our ideological conviction. Even the racists' imperialist mentors feel that if the ANC was not what it is today, 'they would make more progress.'



Joe Slovo — the army Chief of Staff

"They would like us to say we shall drop armed struggle and let capital continue exploiting our labour power."

Comrade Joe Slovo remarked that they would like us to say we shall drop armed struggle and let capital continue exploiting our labour power, and that



we shall break our alliance with the South African Communist Party and drop our relations with the Soviet Union.



Commander in Chief O.R. Tambo.

*"They want something different which is not the ANC."*

**CLIMAX**  
One does not need to be communist to know that freedom without the seizure of the economic power from the monopolies will not be genuine liberation. We also need to emphasise that the ANC-SACP alliance is not an accident of history. It is the climax of long principled battles fought by our people in search of unity. It is a historical heritage, a precious gift we are prepared to defend and if need be even with our lives. That is why the Commander-in-Chief of our army, Comrade O.R. Tambo says: "They do not want the ANC. They want something different, which is not the ANC. And that something they already have in their Gatshas and Matanzimas".

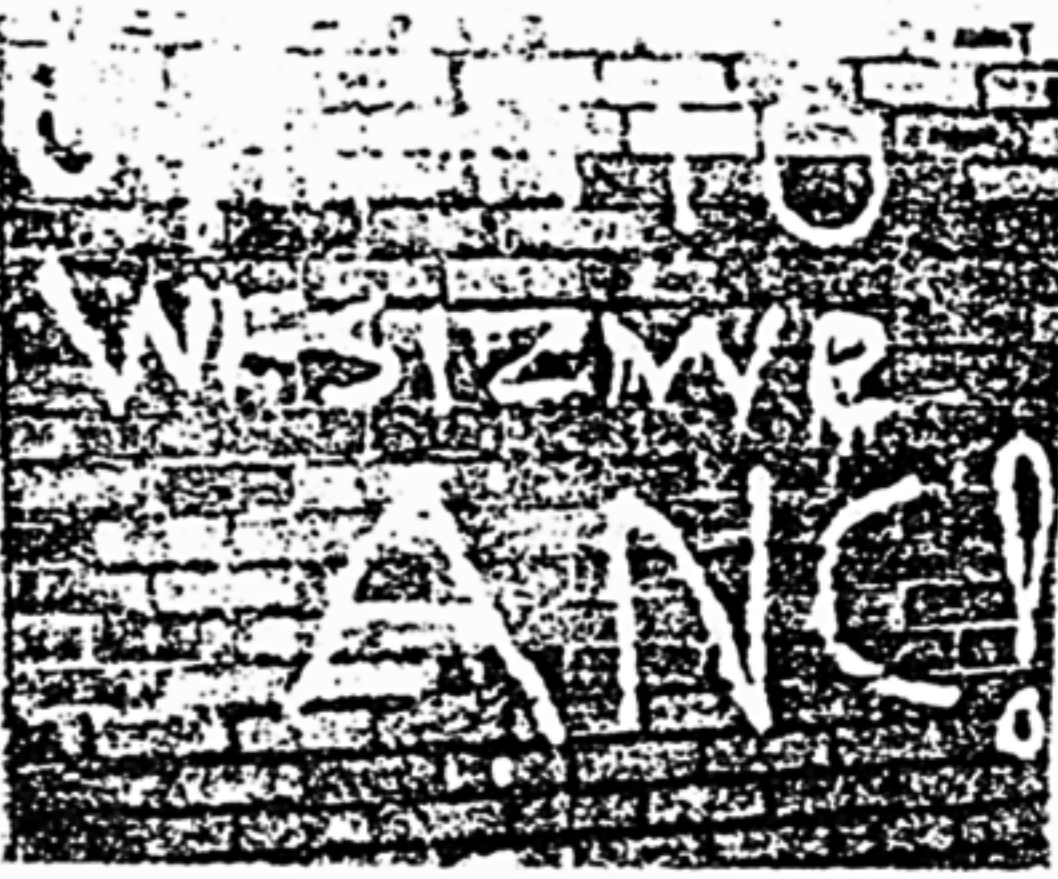
It is also unthinkable to speak of the ANC without Umkhonto We Sizwe. Comrade Mandela emphasised this point in court when he said:

*"The African National Congress was formed in 1912 to defend the rights of the African people which had been seriously curtailed... For thirty-seven years — that is until 1949 — it adhered strictly to a constitutional struggle.*

*It put forward demands and resolutions; it sent delegations to the government in the belief that African grievances could be settled through peaceful discussion and that Africans could gradually advance to full political rights."*

He went on to say the white government remained unmoved and the rights of Africans became less and less. The government's reaction was to introduce new harsher laws. It mobilised its armed forces, and sent saracens and armed vehicles. In conclusion he said:

*"This was an indication that the government had decided to rule by force alone, and this decision was a milestone on the road to Umkhonto... We had no doubt that we had to continue the fight. Anything else would have been abject surrender..."*



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"It was only when all else had failed, when all channels of peaceful protest had been barred to us, that the decision was made to embark on violent forms of political struggle, and to form Umkhonto We Sizwe. We did so not because we desired such a course, but solely because the government had left us with no other choice."

On the same point, Commander-in-Chief O.R. Tambo goes further to say the question is not whether the ANC is prepared to talk to the racists or not. The main question is what we are to discuss. It is only the question of complete dismantling of apartheid that we can discuss.

**"The fact that the enemy is prepared to talk proves that we are a force. It proves that we are an indestructible force.**

Comrade Joe Slovo's address ended with a profound analysis of these racist moves. He said:

"The fact that the enemy is prepared to talk proves that we are a force. It proves that we are an indestructible force.

"This has not come about by magic, but through blows delivered by Umkhonto We Sizwe, which have earned the ANC this reputation. It is through sacrifice by our heroes and martyrs, through patience, morale, belief in our victory and trust in our revolution.

"Despite problems which we will find solutions to, the situation at home gives a feeling of optimism. It will lead to a greater advance in our struggle. We are victorious, that is why the enemy wants to talk to us!"

*Cont. from Page 21*

The following excerpts from interviews conducted with two members of the S.A.C.C. reveal how pathetic their position is:

1). Q. Who is the enemy?

A. It's a good question. When they told me to shoot somebody I asked them why, but they didn't give me a straight answer, they said that if you don't shoot him, then he will shoot you. It's not an answer... It's communists, Russians and Cubans, they want South Africa, it's very rich. But people in South Africa are fighting among themselves, the people in SWAPO are from SWA. People who leave and join 'ander regering', SWA is independent now (Another C.C. member corrects him: No only next year). If there's an election, South Africa will win.

Q. But the election is only for SWA people?

A. Ja, then SWAPO will come in, it will become the government.

Q. So why fight?

A. I don't understand - it's not a war. I don't know what it is.

2). Q. Who is the enemy?

A. They say it's the terrorists, but they are ordinary people like us. They are just well-trained. They are 'n bietjie slim'. If maybe they come in and blow up a building, then they are called terrorists, but they are just people like us.

Though the inflow of the 'Coloureds' into the S.A.C.C. necessitated changes to the Defence Act, the equal status spoken of will always remain a pipe-dream as long as apartheid exists. The SADF, being the armed repressive machinery of the apartheid state, cannot present an image different from the South African society. Racial discrimin-



ation is rife. Black wages, as pointed out above, average slightly above half the salaries of their white counterparts, while Blacks do most of the fighting.

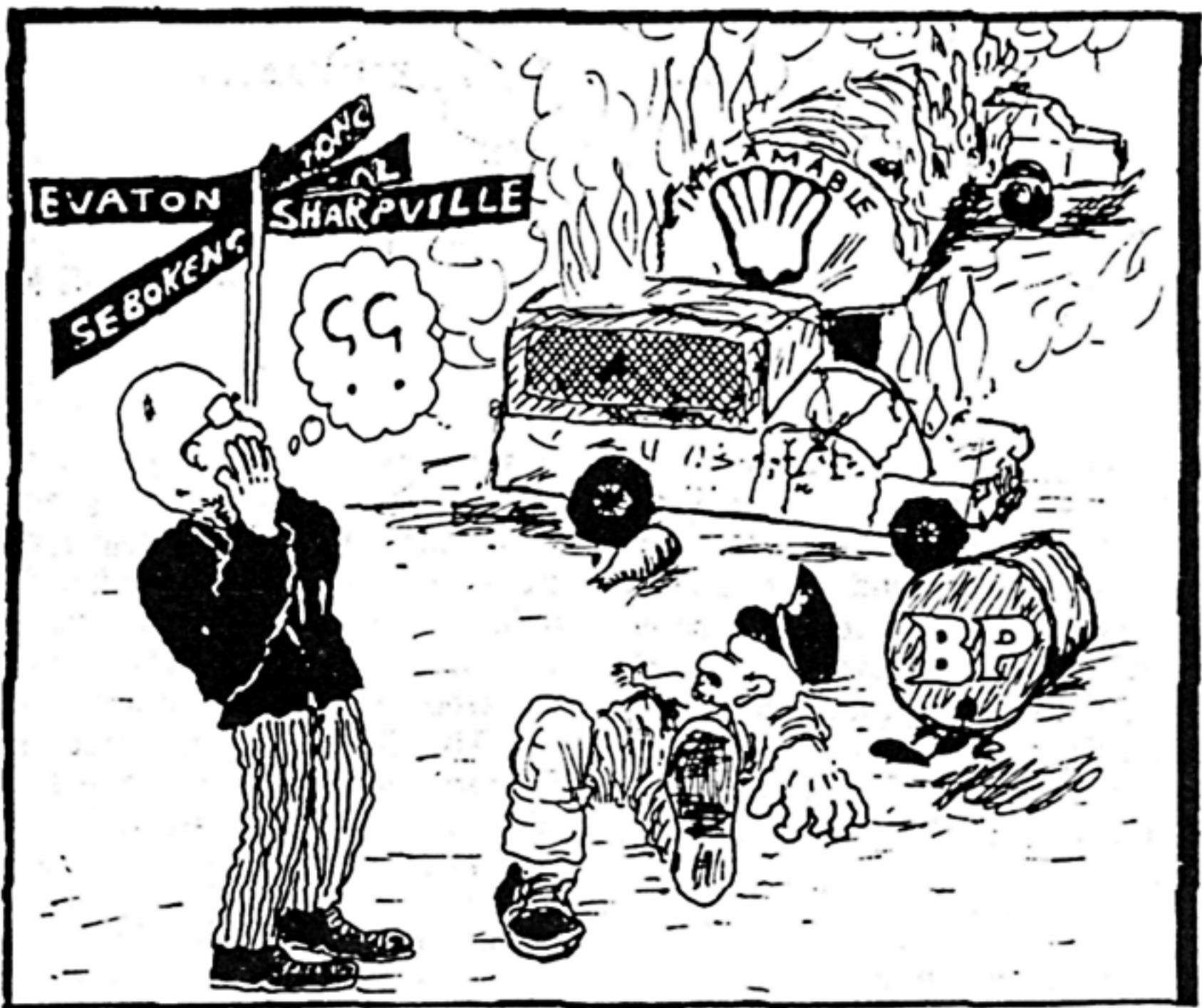
**BRUTALITY**

SADF's brutality towards these soldiers is appalling. The case of Private Mark Abrahams is one out of many

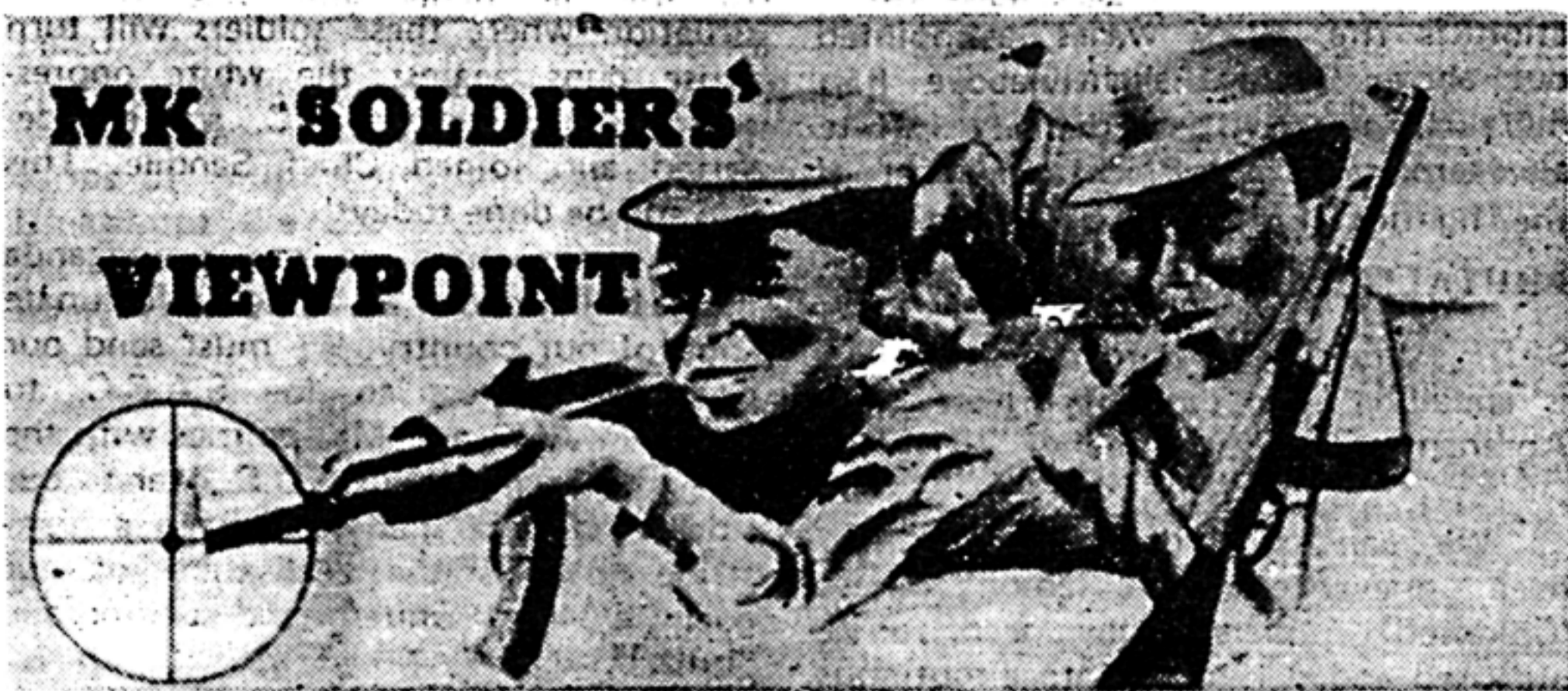
We can conclude that seeds for deep grievances exist among these 'Coloured' soldiers. They need to be nurtured and developed into a mutinous

situation where these soldiers will turn those guns against the white oppressor. In 1850 many C.C. soldiers deserted and joined Chief Sandile. This can still be done today!

A fair share of our propaganda must be directed at these unfortunate sons of our country. We must send our political workers to the S.A.C.C. to pump in ANC and MK politics with the aim of winning the S.A.C.C. over to our side. And that shall have been a giant stride towards the realisation of our goal, a free, united and democratic South Africa.



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# our presence is needed

A MATURING REVOLUTIONARY  
SITUATION

—ZAKES KHULU

Since the June 16 uprisings we have witnessed our people taking into the streets, confronting the enemy with everything in their hands to achieve freedom and independence. This active participation of the masses in struggle gave birth to the UDF, the many Youth Congresses, Civic Associations, and above all organisation in the working class ranks — the vanguard of the people and the revolution.

It has been the conviction of these confident marching masses that revolution is about state power. The fascists also understand this. The political defeat of racist politicians is clearly shown by the destruction of community councils

as the organs of the apartheid state. Not to mention the unwavering and consistent fight by the heroic youth and students against bantu education. This defeat is also symbolised by the constitutional reform policy which was declared fraudulent by our people.

The South African state is fascist. Fascism is genocidal, murderous and criminal. It was characterised by concentration camps in Germany, and by the systematic extermination of Palestinians by Israeli zionists. Today it is characterised by 7,000 troops at Vaal Triangle and the total siege of that part of our country. Of course they will fail as they did in Sobantu and Lamontville.



Fascism, in every campaign it undertakes, seeks to intimidate, to inflict fear, and display strength. But everywhere they go they meet resistance on the part of the people. At Vaal triangle people burned buses, erected barricades and fought. They set up obstacles to block the advance of the racist army and police. They turned knives, spears and stones into weapons

Similar incidents were repeated in KwaZakhele, Cradock, Grahamstown, Queenstown and in many other areas. This confirmed one thing — that the political march of our people must be backed up by advanced tactics of MK. The army of our people must grow out of these masses behind the barricades. Combat forces along the lines of the S.A. Suicide Squad (never mind the name) need to be built immediately.

This ever increasing popular mass opposition to fascism gains strength everyday, even in our rural areas. These areas only need a spark to initiate direct confrontation of the people with fascism and lay bare the fundamental contradiction also in the rural areas, the contradiction between fascist-colonial rule and the masses of our people.

**REVOLUTIONARY SITUATION**

There is in our country a maturing existence of certain elements of a revolutionary situation. Poverty is rampant. Rents, food, prices and transport fares are skyrocketing. The masses are forced to shoulder the burden of the economic crisis the fascists' economy finds itself in.

This unbearable situation and the work of the revolutionary alliance together with the entire democratic movement has led to this heightened mass upsurge which has demonstrated that our people do not want to be ruled in the same old way.

Despite the political defeat in many areas, the enemy can still rule in the same old way. It can deploy its hordes everywhere it wants. The contradictions in the enemy camp, though they should be studied and exploited, do not gravitate towards the demands of the people. They evolve around how best to deepen fascism, how best to oppress and colonise us.

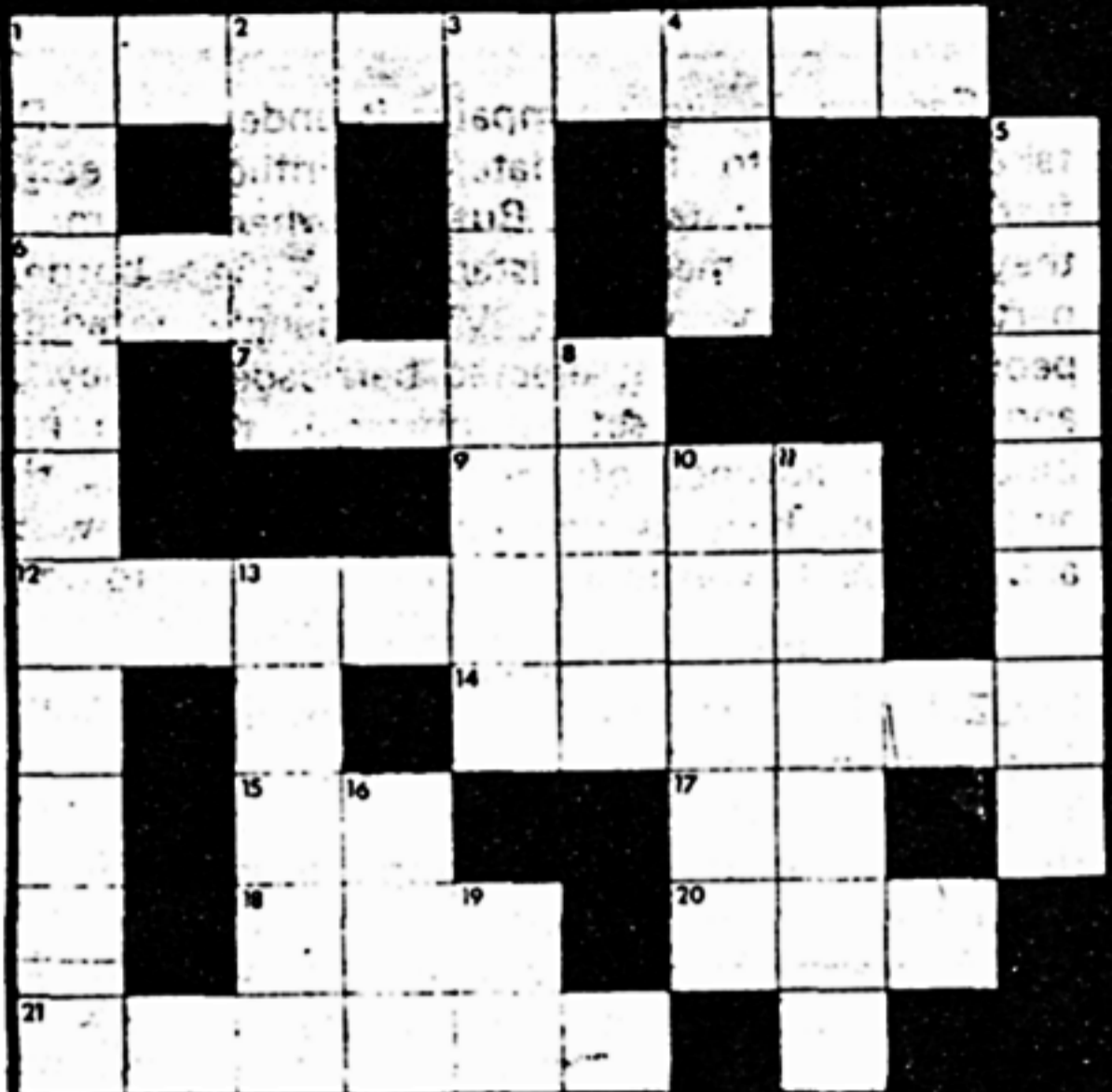
Another important factor is the degree of organisation of the vanguard movement, the ANC. Events in our country confirm more than ever before that our presence is needed. We must not confuse the unbanning of the ANC objectives and the unbanning of the actual organisation by the people. There has never been a time like now in our history where the necessity of the existence of ANC leadership inside is so apparent. For what purpose?

- Building of ANC structures throughout the country and give on-the-spot guidance to all revolutionary activity.
- The 'nationalisation' of local issues.
- Building and deployment of trained ANC cadres in all fronts of the struggle.

We need to deploy the cream and our best cadres in the most strategic and sensitive areas of the revolution.

Revolution relies on the morale and discipline of the vanguard movement. The ANC was born in 1912 and its struggle during all the years of its existence explains the reasons why we have been able to win the confidence of our people. This entire experience which we have won under most testing times, must be the source of our iron discipline.

PRIVATE BAG XI7



## Clues

### CLUES

#### ACROSS

1. A law officer
5. Part of the body
6. Length of time a person has lived
7. To connect an electrical circuit to earth
8. A report spread by gossip
9. In the same degree
11. A tropical plant with seedpod that are used as vegetable
14. To poison by gas
16. Very smart
17. Group of islands in the West Indies

#### DOWN

1. A flag
2. U.D.F.'s Publicity Secretary
3. Fast military aircraft designed for attacking other aircraft
4. South Africa's vice president
10. Frame holding the glass panes of a window and sliding down in grooves.
11. Singular of ova
12. In the past
13. Piece of work
15. A small poisonous snake
16. Post script

See answers in DAWN Vol 9 No.1



# DISCIPLINE IS THE MOTHER OF VICTORY

## Radio Lusaka

Shortwave 31mb, 9506 KHz

7.00 p.m. Daily  
10.15-10.45 p.m. Wednesday  
9.30-10.00 p.m. Thursday  
10.15-10.45 p.m. Friday

Shortwave 25mb, 11880 KHz

8.00-8.45 a.m. Sunday

## Radio Luanda

Shortwave 31mb, 9535 KHz  
and 25mb

7.30 p.m. Monday-Saturday  
8.30 p.m. Sunday

## Radio Madagascar

Shortwave 49mb, 6135 KHz

7.00-9.00 p.m. Monday-Saturday  
7.00-8.00 Sunday

## Radio Ethiopia

Shortwave 31mb, 9595 KHz

9.30-10.00 p.m. Daily

## Radio Tanzania

Shortwave 31mb, 9750 KHz

8.15 p.m. Monday, Wednesday, Friday  
6.15 a.m. Tuesday, Thursday, Saturday



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CENTRE

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To move forward we must attack,  
act in unity and unite in action.



It is MK who  
launched attacks  
against an enemy  
which seemed  
impregnable



The best tribute we can pay to those who  
have laid down their lives in the course of  
our military activities is to have more  
attacks on the enemy until we seize  
power. South Africa must be a theatre of  
widespread military confrontation!