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# DAWN



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**Monthly Journal of Umkhonto we Sizwe**



Political and Military Training in our Army  
 MK Soldiers' Viewpoint  
 The Road to Goliath  
 Struggle  
 DAWNLIGHT: A City Lesson  
 DAWN Politics - No. 3 - Answers  
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 Heroes of the Revolution  
 P O E M: The Fire  
 Naked Among Wolves - Chapter 2  
 DAWN Political Word  
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# DAWN

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## Contents

Editorial Comment: A Cry of Guilt . . . . .	1
A Variety of Methods and Tactics . . . . .	3
Political and Military Training in our Army . . . . .	7
MK Soldiers' Viewpoint . . . . .	10
The Road to Collaboration - Interview with Cde. Mac Maharaj . . . . .	14
S t r a i g h t T a l k . . . . .	21
DAWNLIGHT: Hands Off Lesotho . . . . .	24
DAWN Politixword No. 3 - Answers . . . . .	24
L e a r n W i t h D A W N . . . . .	26
Heroes of our Revolution . . . . .	32
P O E M : M k h u z e o n F i r e . . . . .	35
Naked Among Wolves - Chapter 21 . . . . .	36
DAWN Politixword No. 4 . . . . .	40

**COVER:** Monty Motloun, a heroic soldier of the South African revolution. He was arrested with Solomon Mahlangu in Goch Street. He couldn't stand trial as the sadistic fascist torturers had condemned him to insanity. To date his whereabouts are not known.



Editorial Comment

# A Cry of Guilt

We always find time in our editorial columns to address ourselves to the plight of the millions of Africans who have been condemned to slow but certain death in the Bantustans. We always point out without failure at the satanic motive behind this programme of the Balkanisation of our Motherland. The entire world is informed through us of the untold suffering, land-hunger, unemployment, disease and galloping death rates that has become the lot of our people in these areas. We have not failed also to expose the band of collaborators who assist the oppressor in the exploitation and destruction of our people. This grouping of self-centred gentlemen are junior masters who prank about in borrowed smiles whilst their own kith and kin groan under the yoke of apartheid. They are the running dogs of boer-fascism who bark the loudest and bite the deepest.

The Mphephus, Sebes, Matanzimas are known for their uncamouflaged viciousness against our people and representatives of the forces of genuine change in South Africa; Phatudi for his crocodile smile, Ntsanwisi for his quite greed - still waters run deep, the saying goes - Mopeli for his boyish obedience, Mangope for his obsession with good-boy-pats-on-the-back and Gatsha Buthelezi for his actor-businessman character and his role as the high priest of sly collaboration which occupation he practices with lunatic drive. He has suddenly become the most vocal of these coterie of spineless turncoats. But if confronted and accused of being one of the runners and loud-hailers of Pretoria he will not hesitate to break down in sobs. What an actor! Nay, Gatsha Buthelezi! by occupying t h e



throne of the Kwa-Zulu Bantustan might be myopic but for a long time now he is practicing the art of two-facedness with extreme dextrousness. One moment he claims to be following in the footsteps of Chief Albert Luthuli and that he has nothing against the objectives of the ANC and the next moment, in fact, very recently, launches a scathing attack against the ANC and tells the world that the ANC plans to assassinate him.

The pretext to this outburst is the discovery of arms caches near Ulundi the 'capital' of his Bantustan. Gatsha's behaviour is not surprising - he is suffering from a sense of guilt and self-invoked fear. He is quite like Faust who made an appointment with the devil to trade his life and went raving mad at the eleventh hour afraid to meet his promise and part with his life. Gatsha is now beginning to see the distant eleventh hour fast approaching, but he cannot reconcile himself to the reality of it so he blames the clock. The ANC has no intention of killing Gatsha and we of Umkhonto we Sizwe think he is not worth the bullet since he is but a tentacle of the octopus and we are after the octopus itself. He is therefore crying too early and quite unnecessarily. It is not the African National Congress but the despicable deeds of those who dine with the boers that are millstones around their necks.

The ANC is at the head of a historic drive for the liberation of all the oppressed people in South Africa. It draws its strength from the downtrodden masses for it is thrown up by the masses themselves. It believes in the patriotic participation of all forces ranged against the system irrespective of race or creed. It is to this noble tradition, which in itself is a firm political principle, that the ANC owes its popularity and strength. As a matter of revolutionary perspective our movement firmly believes that our victory will grow out of the United Action of all our freedom-loving people who will never ever give up the fight for to us it is a question of life and death.

The granite-like racist positions and terrorism of the apartheid regime has driven our people to the option of armed struggle. Umkhonto we Sizwe spearheads this war of the entire masses of the oppressed. It is war calculated to apex in the overthrow of the regime and the seizure of power by the people. In this direction and for the purpose of winning the conflict Umkhonto must nestle everywhere inside the country, move anywhere, strike everywhere at selected targets or enemy personnel - the entire country will become a theatre of operations as we continue to deal careful but serious blows against the enemy. And no wind-bag, nor any amount of ethnic oriented gibberish swallowed from Pretoria and transmitted in the interests of our oppressor, nor brainwaves of those gripped by a sense of guilt nor any other biased accusations dare scare us from our cou-



# A variety of methods and tactics

COMRADE CHRIS HANI, THE POLITICAL COMMISSAR AND DEPUTY COMMANDER OF OUR PEOPLE'S ARMY, UMKHONTO WE SIZWE, DISCUSSES THE MUTUALLY REINFORCING ROLE OF ARMED AND UNARMED STRUGGLE.

"The time of surprise attacks, of revolutions carried through by small minorities at the head of the unconscious masses, is past. Where it is a question of a complete transformation of the social organisation, the masses themselves must be always in it, must themselves already have grasped what is at stake, what they are going for with body and soul. The history of the last 50 years has taught us that. But in order that the masses may understand what is to be done, long, persistent work is required and it is just this work which we are now pursuing and with a success that drives the enemy to despair."

This quotation from Fredrick Engels' "Barricade Tactics" serves to emphasise the overriding importance of the deep involvement and the commitment of the oppressed and exploited masses in our national liberation revolution. Our revolution seeks to build a new society and thus bring about a very deep transformation in our society. Thus such a task cannot be carried out and executed by only a few, heroic and courageous group. It certainly requires the serious participation of all those who have a stake in destroying the racist capitalist system in our country. To set the oppressed masses into motion requires careful thought and preparation. We should begin from the basic premise that our struggle embraces a variety of methods and tactics.

We have got to destroy the often repeated error of isolating one form of struggle and raising it to a disproportionate position. Fortunately for us there is complete unanimity in accepting all forms of struggle as perfectly legitimate. We correctly stress the importance primarily of our underground units which are specifically deployed to provide leadership on the spot. The political training of this leadership is top priority because it must have a global view of the political developments in our country. Such a leadership must be capable of analysing the political situation and working out the correct tactics in order to draw into the struggle all classes and strata from the oppressed.



**KASS MOBILISATION**

The careful preparation of the objective conditions in our struggle forces us to pay considerable attention to all the aspects of mass mobilisation. Organisation is a hard and demanding pursuit, it requires perseverance, discipline and political maturity.

It demands an understanding and thorough knowledge of all the classes and strata ranged against our enemy. Such knowledge and understanding comes out as a result of collection of data, of our own political connections and inter-actions with numerous patriotic organisations, and trade unions. For instance, the past decade has seen an unprecedented growth of independent and democratic trade unions. These trade unions continue to wage relentless struggles for better working and living conditions as well as for recognition. Generally speaking, the struggles have been mostly economic. By so stating the intention is neither to belittle the trade unions or to reduce the significance of these struggles. Economic struggles and trade unionism do indeed represent the initial stages of class consciousness. Trade unions on their own are not going to embrace the concept and theory of national liberation. This is our task and we have to vigorously explain to the trade unions the indivisibility and inter-connection of the economic and political struggle.

**WORKERS UP IN ARMS**



In real terms this means a broad understanding of these trade unions. It actually enjoins us to deepen our influence at grassroot level. We have to participate covertly in all the topical discussions currently taking place within the trade union movement. Both the African National Congress and the South African Congress of Trade Unions have to make available all the experience of decades of struggle to the labour movement. As the enemy tries hard to work out sophisticated and subtle methods of trying to control the trade unions, it becomes necessary for us to help in working out tactics in fighting back to preserve the gains of the working class and also working out the way forward. The need to deepen our influence in civic, student and intellectual organisations cannot be over-emphasised. Like in the trade union movement, we need to elevate the quality of the struggle of these movements, drawing into their ranks large numbers of people and helping to transform them into grassroot oriented movements. Such a radical transformation of these organisations is only possible with the expansion and consolidation of our own underground.

#### OUR ARMY

This immediately brings us to the proper definition of the role of our army in the process of mass mobilisation as well as its own growth and development inside the country. We have correctly stated that ours is a People's Army fighting a people's war. Quoting Karl Marx, Lenin in "Lessons of the Moscow Uprising" stated:

"Revolution progresses by giving rise to a strong and united counter-revolution, i.e. it compels the enemy to resort to more extreme measures of defence and in this way devices ever more powerful means of attack."

With the steady progress of our political and military struggle, the enemy has intensified his attacks on our organisation and our army. In his frantic bid to destroy our movement, the enemy has devised a twin-pronged strategy, namely, the internal and external liquidation of our movement and army. Our reaction naturally has to be swift, well-planned and effective. Our People's Army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, has to fulfill two main elements in our strategy, viz:

- a) To raise the level of the limited mass actions in the country. This means that the army should reinforce the people's struggles. Such struggles are taking place along a very wide front. They are the militant struggles of the workers against retrenchments, against inflation and unemployment, against the constitutional proposals of the President's Council', Koornhof's



genocide bills, the struggle against removals and landlessness, the struggle against Bantustans and their puppet governments. Our army has to step up its operations in order to imbue the masses with confidence in their ability to fight back. We have to become a People's Army, rooted amongst the people and capable of quick actions as the situation demands.

- b) Building a People's Army in order to fight a people's war actually means that our movement and our army must create and consolidate the conditions for the existence, survival, growth and expansion of our army among the people. These conditions should be so organised that no matter how hard the enemy tries to uproot us, our existence and our capacity to attack him over a large area increases. We have to prepare ourselves for every twist and turn in our situation and ours is not to wait and stand on the sidelines waiting for the 'great hour'; we look for and find all possibilities for active work even under the most favourable conditions. The task facing us is to bring closer the time of the decisive battle.

In our preparations to root our political and military units among the people we must take cognisance of the fact that we need to develop our work exclusively both in the urban and rural areas. We have to rally substantial numbers of the oppressed and exploited working class, the discarded, harassed and landless peasantry and persecuted and muzzled students and the intelligentsia. In the tackling of these countless tasks, let us regularly remind ourselves of what Lenin said:

"Let us remember that a great mass struggle is approaching. The masses must know that they are entering upon an armed, bloody and desperate struggle. Contempt for death must become widespread among them and will ensure victory."

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# **FORWARD TO WAR**



# Political and Military Training in our Army

— MOUNTAIN KEPADITSE

Our people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, is a product of centuries of struggles and sacrifices. It is an army composed of those sons and daughters of our oppressed people who have devoted their lives for the cause of their people and are ready to serve them dutifully to the bitter end.

As our struggle sharpens and pierces deep into the heart of the enemy, armed struggle continues to occupy an important role in our people's efforts to overthrow the Pretoria tyranny presently ruling our country. It is the striking force of the people whose ultimate goal is the seizure of political power. Therefore, our People's Army, as the cutting edge of our people's offensive, is spearheading this popular offensive to its logical conclusion.

Today it is a little over 21 years since our movement, the African National Congress, embarked on a course of building this army into an army which not only aims at overthrowing the Botha-Malan regime ruling our country, but an army which will become the spear and shield of the nation, the defender and protector of the gains of our revolution when we have hoisted our people's flag. Above all an army which aims at building and moulding our youth into a new man who will make South Africa a respected country amongst the community of nations.

Therefore, in order to ensure this and victory over our enemy, it is necessary to mould our army into an army of dedicated and committed combatants, not just of armed men but of professional revolutionaries whose devotion to the cause is borne out of political conviction.

## POLITICAL TRAINING

Much as we are convinced that armed struggle must now be the main form of our liberatory activity, we do not beautify war. We see war for what it really is — an extension of politics by other means. This is our starting point in our understanding of war, so any attempts to promote such ideas as militarism in our ranks should be combated mercilessly. We are waging a political struggle with arms in hand. So it is extremely important that we should have a very deep political understanding of our struggle, to know what we are fighting for, to believe in it very deeply and to carry it in our consciousness constantly in the course of our struggle.



When we talk of political training in our army, we are talking of quite a complex process, in that political training in itself entails many sided aspects.

Firstly, it is the dissemination of political knowledge by political workers in the army, i.e. political instructors and political commissars. This is an important aspect in training and in moulding the character of a soldier. It includes education about the history and policies of our revolutionary movement, the definition of the enemy, necessity of fighting with arms, etc., to cite but few. In our conditions where the working class is predominant and by the virtue of the black working class being the most oppressed, the most exploited and the most degraded section of our oppressed, it is necessary that our army should be reflective of this. Ideological orientation of our army to love and respect the revolutionary working class, the producers of all material wealth and the vehicle for social change is one of the tasks of utmost importance in moulding our army as a means of the politico-ideological education of the combatants and the inculcation of an elevated moral spirit in our soldiers. This is also a decisive weapon against our enemies who by the virtue of being an exploiter class are inevitably anti-worker.

Also included is the teaching about the experiences of other revolutionary organisations and parties in their struggles against colonialism, imperialism and for peace and social progress. Our struggle is linked up with the overall struggle against imperialism, so in our daily political training, emphasis is made to connect our struggle with this world-wide offensive against imperialist domination and our place and role in the world revolutionary process is stressed.

The second most important aspect of political training is the transformation of the already acquired political knowledge into political consciousness and conviction. In our conditions of underground struggle which involves thousands of extremely complex and difficult tasks, political consciousness and conviction should be at a very high level.

Political understanding and political knowledge should work in a close unity, for the disregarding of the former at the expense of the latter could lead one to serious problems and misconceptions. Working in unity, they help to establish military discipline, to strengthen the unity between word and deed which is one of the basic criteria for any revolutionary. It lays basis for mass enthusiasm in the soldiers, encouraging their creative initiative and inculcating in them the sense of duty and pride.

From the moral point of view it helps in resolutely struggling against all enemies of a revolutionary: reluctance, laziness, ignorance, subjectivism, despair, individualism, etc. It further instills the sense of respo-



nsibility, maintenance of vigilance against the enemies of our revolution, standing ready to fight and refuse to submit to the enemy, and above all subordination of one's interests to those of one's movement and the people as a whole. Lastly, political training helps a soldier to overcome all the difficulties and obstacles that arise in his path. A soldier who is not firm to his ideological and political commitment, who is without an unbending will, cannot cope with the difficulties and in moments of danger and setbacks is apt to lose heart. Furthermore this political conditioning of the soldiers in the army includes inculcating in them a sense of class hatred towards the enemy. This feeling of hatred should be based on the clear understanding of the iniquities and vile crimes the enemy has committed to his people. Hatred for those who keep the people you love under the jack-boot of colonial fascism and the country one love swimming in a pool of blood is a decisive component of the patriotic feeling.

#### MILITARY TRAINING

Political and moral training, while occupying an important place in moulding our soldiers, are linked with military training. A pre-condition for any victory in a battle is the effective military training of the personnel.

As we are forging forward to more SASOLs, Voortrekkerhoogtes, Paupietersburgs and more mkhuzes, the military training and education of our personnel is fast becoming more and more demanding and exacting, there be demanding not only effective group or unit training but a strict combination of both individual and group training.

One of the most important aspects of our military training is the cultivation of military traditions on the basis of the rich heritage inherited from the traditions of the armies of our heroic ancestors during the wars of resistance. This should not only be a matter of recreating that heroism of the past generations but also of maintaining continuity of generations and reminding the younger ones of their responsibility. "The glory of heroes gives birth to heroes", so goes an age-old Russian saying. The most important task facing us is to preserve and multiply what was achieved by our fore-fathers and borrow from them all that is invaluable and employ it creatively in our own conditions. We need to study these military traditions left to us by such great military strategists like Shaka, Makana, Moshoeshe, Sekhukhuni, Magoma, etc.

Our people have been deprived the knowledge of military skills by the cancerous apartheid regime, hoping that they would rule us by force forever. So the task facing our generation is the mastering of the modern military techniques. A soldier without the knowledge of his own weapon is not fit for any battle. With military science and technology advancing at



the pace it does, the need arises for raising our academic knowledge so as to cope up with the present demands of military science and art. This of course can be accomplished with no difficulties with the help the socialist countries, led by the USSR, are rendering us.

Our main objective should be to ensure that each soldier is helped to develop high combat, moral, political, psychological and physical qualities and is able to cement them into a single whole in order to attain high levels of combat skills, mental stability and flexibility in solving military problems no matter how complicated they are.

In our conditions where the enemy is desperately in need of doing the impossible - of crushing our army wherever he finds it - combat readiness

**MK****SOLDIER**

## **LET US ORGANISE**

(OUR TASK TO THE WORKING PEOPLE)

PART ONE

- KHUMALO MUGWE

The question *'What is to be Done'* is now a formal question for our entire movement. Comrade Oliver Tambo, our President, in the 1983 political yearly message from the National Executive Committee, has categorically declared that everybody, indeed each and every member of our glorious and popular vanguard movement, the African National Congress, should pose this question to oneself and seek to find an answer.

The question of *'What is to be Done'* is, certainly, the most burning question of our liberation movement, and no matter how we may twist and turn with the zig-zags of the struggle, it confronts us, South African revolutionaries, with particular stubbornness and insistence. It is not a question of what path we must choose (as was probably the case in the beginning of the sixties when new historic conditions forced our movement to adopt new strategies), but of what practical steps we must take upon the already chosen path and how they shall be taken. It is a question of the system and plan of practical work, a question of the character and methods of struggle. This emphasis has to be made deliberately in order to avoid the unnecessary differences of opinion within our ranks, differences of opinion often arising from a failure to distinguish the immediate demands (what is at issue right now) from the general tasks and permanent needs of our liberation as a whole.



is one of the most important conditions we need to meet. Having sound political understanding as the basis, one of the most important conditions for a soldier is the knowledge of military ethics. This, combined with the preservation of some traditions and norms of our society, builds conscious military discipline of a people's soldier.

In this Year of United Action, as we are celebrating 21 years of the existence of Umkhonto we Sizwe, a period regarded as that of maturity, we need to use this maturity creatively in hastening the liberation of our oppressed masses. Let us emulate those who have sacrificed their lives for the preservation and the consolidation of the rich fighting heritage of our people.

## S' VIEWPOINT

Understood from this angle, and this is the only practical angle, the call is meant to wake those of us who are basking in the glory of our popularity. The point is, of course we are very popular, and this cannot be denied, but how do we harness this popularity in order to guarantee the certainty of our victory? The point (in analogy) is not whether or not we are playing the soccer match (of course we are undoubtedly playing it) but rather whether or not we are scoring goals, whether or not we are marking time, whether or not we are moving closer to victory, and whether the gains so far achieved can be consolidated and guaranteed against reverses.

This is an approach that calls for a forward look, a judgement of our achievements in terms of the distance yet to be covered more than the distance already covered. These are the pressing requirements of the movement which can be answered only in a resolute, not feeble way. Now things have changed. The present situation can no longer tolerate timidity, hypocrisy and back-patting: it requires boldness, it requires revolutionaries to cry out: *"The Emperor is Naked!"*, if needs be.

### WHERE DO WE BEGIN?

*"Obviously", said Amilcar Cabral in Havana in January 1966, "other cases differ from that of Guinea, but our experience has shown us that in the general framework of daily struggle this battle against ourselves - no matter what difficulties the enemy may create - is the most difficult of all, whether for the present or future of our peoples." (Address to the Tri-*



continental Conference of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America).

Cabral was obviously referring to the struggle against our own weaknesses. This is where we should begin, for unless we check those things in our own movement that retard our progress and those that keep us away from victory, we are running a grave risk of being condemned to failure, a reversal of all that has been gained so far.

We, the advanced detachment and vanguard of our people, are we organised sufficiently to lead the masses of our people in victorious mass actions, in victorious combat, on our way to victory?

It may be said without exaggeration that we are now passing through a period in which our people, especially our working people, are engaged almost daily in sharp conflicts with the racist regime both at the factory floor and in the community (even the rural toilers of far-flung Mtubatuba in Zululand have come out to confront our colonial oppressors in outstanding mass engagements). The main characteristic of the present phase of our liberation struggle is the mass manifestations of our people, in action and in combat, of their refusal to remain in colonial slavery or to submit to racist violence.



*Workers on strike.*

In their thousands and tens of thousands, our angry people, men and women alike, who work all their lives to create enormous riches for their racist-capitalist exploiters, are no longer satisfied about perishing from constant starvation, dying prematurely from diseases caused by horrible poverty conditions, overwork and wretched residential conditions, now they are choosing rather to die like Lenin's hero, of whom he once wrote:

*"He is hundred times a hero who prefers to die fighting*



*in open struggle against the defenders of this infamous system rather than die the lingering death of a crunched, broken-down, and submissive nag."*

These desperate outbursts of our people - noble anger of the masses for their oppressor - point to the imperative necessity for a combat-ready revolutionary organisation. Without a strong organisation, an organisation that is in a constant state of readiness to launch organising activity among the spontaneous mass outbursts, under all circumstances and all times, there can be no question of waging a skilled political struggle for victory. We ourselves have first to be organised, be self-critical and strong, before we can be capable of uniting all forces and support every protest and every outbreak *"and use it to build up and consolidate the fighting forces suitable for the decisive struggle"* (LENIN). This is the first step.

Now, what does it mean to have our organisation organised? It means first and foremost having a common strategic and tactical perspective, a common political and military perspective of the line of march. We declare emphatically that under the present conditions, we should not only be clear of our general strategic orientation, but we need to elaborate a precise and definite plan for organising for this strategic direction, a concrete programme of action that shall involve all the sectors of our movement in one pace and common direction - the knitting into a single rope of the many organisational threads. Only this creates single team work in our whole organisation, only this overcomes petty differences of opinion on *'What is to be done'* and helps solve the problem of where two people - simply two people - in one organisation, have different understandings both of the strategic and tactical direction and also of how to go about achieving such goals.

In the final judgement, it shall not be the quantity of sweat and energies we have produced in struggling that will count for the certainty of our victory, but instead whether such sweat and energies were concentrated towards common achievement in each place and time.

In the second instance, we can only be called organised when we are disciplined, disciplined certainly in all respects. This is not a simple thing to achieve, no wonder not all the class forces and strata can ensure this discipline. To be disciplined or not, in the final analysis, makes all the difference as to whether an organisation is revolutionary or reformist. This is no exaggeration! When Karl Marx and Engels pronounced in the Manifesto of the Communist Party for instance that of all the classes that come face to face with the bourgeoisie only the working class is the most revolutionary class, they were implying among other things, that only this class has been created by the economic conditions to have a truly disciplined



character. Discipline means taking principled uncompromise on revolutionary positions, it means resolute defence of the organisation against opportunist corruptions and moral vacillations. Discipline is timeliness, not only in the attendance of meetings but precisely in the political field - a punctual response to a political situation. Untimely action, it has been said, is just as dangerous as untimely inaction. The working class alone is scientifically endowed with the capacity for consistent political positions under gruelling and torturing conditions. These then are the qualities that our organisation should acquire in order to fit the definition of an organised political movement.

TO BE CONTINUED IN THE NEXT ISSUE.

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## The road to collaboration

(EXCERPTS FROM AN INTERVIEW WITH COMRADE MAC MAHARAJ)

Q: How has the decision of the Labour Party to participate in the "President's Council" been received by the oppressed?

A: The decision of the Labour Party under the leadership of Reverend Allan Hendrickse at Eshowe in January this year has been received by the masses of our people with unqualified revulsion and anger. At the same time Botha and his racist regime have reacted to it as if it is furthering their cab and a triumph of the cause of racist domination. This decision has got once more sharply into focus a question that will live with our national liberation struggle, that has lived with it from its birth and will live with it to its triumph, a question of the road to collaboration, a question of the road to reformism. There is no doubt today in the minds of our people that the Labour Party's decision is the decision that has firmly taken it a step on the path towards collaboration. This is evidenced in statements made by Reverend Boesak and others. This is the time that whilst we mobilise our anger and increase our pressure to bring about the unity of the oppressed forces and all progressive forces in our country, we should also take stock and develop a better understanding of the roots of collaboration.

However, our starting point, the point that distinguishes those who take a road to collaboration and those who remain committed to the revolution, is what we should always remember in formulating our strategy and tactics. It is the question of the nature of our exploitation and oppression. We are assured of victory as every oppressed and exploited people in history were because any system of exploitation and oppression depends on the minority living on the backs of the majority. That is an objective in-built fact of a system of exploitation and oppression, and that means the



majority is capable of being organised, of becoming conscious of the nature of their oppression, of the need to unite and act in unity and also of the fact that no revolution, no people's struggle, has succeeded in history without it becoming part of an organised force, a force which will marshall every weapon in the armoury of struggle depending on the concrete conditions that one is faced with.

Now this question of the strength, the source of our ultimate victory, the fountain from which we are able to draw inspiration, courage and determination, the knowledge that we will win, rests therefore on the strength of the people.

Q: What distinguishes a revolutionary from a reformist?

A: What distinguishes a revolutionary from a sell-out, however much that sell-out may protest that he is opposed to the system by taking a path which he or she believes will make it easier for the people to achieve ultimate victory, is the lack of confidence in the people. A revolutionary lives and thrives in the consciousness that the masses of the people - the overwhelming majority - are going to rise and that their understanding, their consciousness, will match their objective situation. Therefore a revolutionary bases his strategy and tactics on developing that consciousness because he is confident that he will eventually achieve his end. And that confidence as I say depends on the objective fact that the majority are oppressed and exploited.

On the other hand those who wavered, those who begin to look for easier ways out will end up trying to suppress the militancy of the masses. They end up by trying to use the masses as cannon fodder, as people to be manipulated so that by their action, they nearly reinforce the position of the same 'great leader' or of some clique. This I think is the distinguishing mark and it is the framework within which we should be looking at the forces that are being engineered by the regime in order to perpetuate its rule. And we should look behind the protestation of all those people among the ranks of the oppressed and exploited who begin to betray these symptoms. We should always go back to see where the roots of their reformists thinking are.

Q: To develop our point further, how do you characterise the situation in the enemy camp in the light of the presently escalating struggle? What are the manoeuvres and tactics that the enemy is employing?

A: There are people who today look at the actions being taken by the South African regime and examine them as if they are something new. Obviously there are new elements but there is a continuing trend in what the enemy





*The Eshowe Congress of the Coloured Labour Party.*

today is planning to do. The first trend that I think we should isolate is the fact that even the current regime has in the history of its 30 odd years of rule shown at different moments of history that it is prepared to try to hoodwink our people by holding out all sorts of promises.

Today it is in our history that the constitutional proposals centering around the 'President's Council' are a measure devised by the regime with the aim of enticing the South African people of Indian origin and the so-called Coloured community into the camp of white domination. They think they can alter the balance of forces by juggling around with the constitutional arrangements and drawing off a large segment from the camp of the oppressed and exploited.

Now how and why does the regime come to this position today? The constitutional proposals are not an isolated development. They include the regime's labour legislation, its bowing down to the pressure and militancy of our workers who defied the law and created their own trade unions which today are growing at a tremendous pace. Our people in the same way defied the reign of terror that the regime unleashed in the 60's that suppressed all avenues of legal opposition and they created in the early 70's bases for themselves to act within the framework of the law. The regime, as I say, reacts to a particular situation.



Sometimes there are people who try to credit the regime with too much farsightedness, forgetting that the regime is caught up in a crisis of its own making. It is worthwhile recalling that in the crisis of the 50's, that in the face of the mounting campaigns organised by the ANC, the Massacre of Sharpeville, and the mass pass burning campaign that was launched by our late President Chief Albert Luthuli, the regime reacted from both sides of its security forces. They promised in the heat of that crisis that they will do away with the pass laws, a fundamental legislative machinery which is aimed at perpetuating the enslavement of our workers. It's aimed at being able to have for the sake of employers a labour pool which can be manipulated by the regime to supply the needs of the employers when required and make our people temporary and superfluous appendages to what they regard as a white economy. That response was made at a time when the enemy perceived a crisis and it became necessary for it to make promises which he believed could defuse that crisis and mollify our people.

One may recall that this is the time when the Coloured Representative Council and the South African Indian Council (SAIC) were created by the regime to try and entice Indian South Africans and so-called Coloureds into the regime's camp. Diedericks went on record as calling on Indian

## Transvaal Anti-Saic Committee CONGRESS 1983



*Helen Joseph addresses the Anti-SAIC committee congress. The congress unanimously decided to form a United Democratic Front to oppose the President's Council's proposals.*



South Africans and the so-called Coloureds to join the white oppressors and he called for "five million hearts to beat together". This was a dramatic statement, poetic in its content but without any substance. What they offered was the SAIC of 1960 and the Coloured Representative Council of the mid-60's.

So you see we have to look at the enemy and see what he is trying to do. I believe the South African racist regime today is caught in a crisis. It recognises that the mass of our people, that the organised forces of our revolution, spearheaded by the ANC and its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, are today on clear record visibly acting in unison and signalling that victory is going to come. Against this situation they too, amongst themselves see the danger signals but, like all the oppressors, they believe that by manipulating, lies, hoodwinking and cheap tricks they can stave off what is inevitable. To do so they have to dress their real design in the line they think will win them more supporters.

Q: There are some people who want us to believe that through the "President's Council" the enemy has taken a step towards reforming apartheid out of existence. How do you respond to this?

A: Let us be clear again that the package deal it likes to dress up as a reform is not really a reform in any way. It accompanies this process of ever-increasing repression and it is the combination of these two, of repression and so-called reformism that betrays the nature of the regime. The constitutional proposals therefore must be looked at from the process in which the racist regime of South Africa is embarking, seeing the rising tide of the revolution. The centre underpins of the regime's proposals of course is the scheme of separate development which it initiated at a constitutional level with the Bantu Authorities Act of 1954. That act and the so-called bantustan law brought on to the South African scene a concerted drive to divide our people. The regime had to find collaborators amongst the Blacks around promises of accommodating them within these sorts of constitutional structures.

To look at the roots of that collaboration let us just go back to the beginning of separate development in terms of Bantu Authorities and Bantustans. In the 50's in the face of the opposition being mobilised by the ANC and the Congress Alliance you had people like the puppet Matanzima Brothers who argued that it was correct for them to go into the Bantu Authorities scheme. But at that time they dressed their argument around the idea that it is facilitating the process of liberation for our people. They argued that by going into the Transkei arrangement of a Bantustan they would open up more avenues, more space for our people to wage a struggle along constitutional lines. So at the beginning of the highlight of



their approach was to protest that they were there taking the steps to serve the masses and it is now opened for the people to argue how sincere they were. That process, that road they had once launched themselves on had led to its natural conclusions today.

There is no one in our country who fails to recognise that the Matanzima regime is a regime of sell-outs. The warnings that were issued by the ANC and the national liberation movement as a whole were ignored and every step in their progress underlines those warnings. These warnings centred around the fact that they were now on the road to collaboration and that in that process they will have to serve their real masters and demonstrate their services. Indeed that is precisely what they have done. That road has led them today to become amongst the black community the clearest example of black serving the white fascist state, forgetting those statements of protestations. There's little reference at the surface which brings them from time to time to statement of conflict with the South African regime. In fact they know that they are not in power but just sitting on the backs of the black people as intermediaries between the South African racist state and the oppressed majority. The result today is that it is a logical part of their development that they should have the organiser of the sellous scouts in the struggle of Zimbabwe in Transkei organising the Transkei armed forces. The trust of all their activities therefore is to sit on the black people, to find them and mushroom themselves on the side of the South African state against the national liberation movement.

We can see this pattern of development repeating itself in various other communities. Whether we look at the Ciskei, the Sebe brothers, Coloured Representative Council which was created by the regime in the 60's or the so-called Freedom Party. We look at individuals in the Labour Party that has gone into the Coloured Representative Council with their advert purpose of bringing it under the leadership of Sonny Leon. When he fell it was because he had become entrapped in the system and was now prepared to go along the road of further collaboration. The same process overtook Hendrickse in the Labour Party. We see the same process in the SAIC. The road to collaboration is clearly paved, all the signmarks can be discerned. But what is more, it is in the process of what they are doing that you can see more into the regime's designs aimed at dividing the forces of liberation.

The effectiveness of those manoeuvres in using the collaborationist forces can be seen in what happened in the so-called Bantustans. There you have, right after its formation, the Transkei demanding land from the next Bantustan, Kwa-Zulu, so that black fight black for the slice of 13% of the land which has been allocated to the black communities by this racist re-



gime. You have the same situation of struggles and quarrels between Xhosa and Sothos. You have the struggle between Xhosa and Xhosa as represented in the struggle going on between Transkei and Ciskei. You also have the regime creating mini-Bantustans (Bantustan itself being mini). Now the regime is creating a mini-mini-bantustan in the form of Kwa-Ndebele, a new Bantustan to accelerate and sharpen the quarrel between the black communities, between the Tswanas and the Southern Sothos.

Q: How do you respond to the argument prevailing in white circles that a kind of middle class among black people should be created, that is black should have a stake to defend in apartheid? Would you say this is in line with the Bantustan and the "President's Council's" policies of the enemy?

A: There are many people today speaking of the regime's designs to build a black middle class. I would like to trail on this argument today and as a dimension we have to ask ourselves whether to term "middle class" the people reflected by this process. For an example it is my view that the Transkei collaborationist stratum, that section of the Transkei people who are associated with the Matanzimas can hardly be described as a middle class. All the Matanzima brothers have done for themselves is a space to grab land and the right to open bottle stores. The regime has therefore created this structure which is more close, in my view in certain respects with what the Chinese called the compradore bourgeoisie, the running dogs of imperialism. Their whole existence doesn't even near, in any way the real aspiration that one can associate with the middle class in the classical development of capitalism with the classes that saw their way into a developing bourgeoisie. I think therefore it is a correct characterisation of these forces that their whole existence depends on serving the South African racist state.

We can see it even in the bantustan that could be described by some people as one with the greatest economic potential of developing and some viability, that is Bophuthatswana. The first act the Mangopes did to convince their masters was to call for a border fund where they asked their own impoverished people to contribute ten cents for a border fund which was going to help the South African state fight against so-called terrorists who, in fact, are revolutionaries of our country.

So there you have a glimpse of the logic of that collaboration atmosphere. The regime is only prepared to sponsor you, to set you up in the position of a running dog, if you will serve its needs.

TO BE CONTINUED IN THE NEXT ISSUE.



# STRAIGHT TALK...

## *There's a Pattern Here*

In 1902 at the close of the Anglo-Boer war, the belligerent parties convened to shake hands and with due apologies for the carnage and mutually inflicted wounds agreed that henceforth the sole guarantee for their common future would be the treatment of the Black man as an instrument of labour, an item of enterprise and above all, a political nonentity condemned to chase the footfalls of white trusteeship. How arrogantly they wove their satanic schemes way back in 1902.

To our people's cry for accommodation in the constitutional process blazing the way to Union they replied with "segregation in Church and State" in the former Boer republics of Transvaal and the Orange Free State, a token qualified non-racial franchise in Natal and a carefully manipulated "pay-as-you-vote" system which only a tiny black minority could afford - by the grace of God Almighty, let it be assumed.

Nay, there is a pattern in racist-colonial behaviour. Once the country became a Union - there had been an All-White National Convention in 1908 at which the Black majority had no representation and were scarcely mentioned except as a "Native Problem" - the white government fervently rode roughshod over remnants of African rights, enacting as they did a galaxy of draconian laws calculated to condemn the people to the outermost margins of South African society. Our people fought back heroically on both sides of the water through their African National Congress, African People's Organisation and the Indian Congress. But White racism was relentless and continued on the warpath.

The Land Act was passed in 1913, later amended and thrown against us in 1936 - the white racists greedily arrogated 87% of our land to themselves, their offspring and coming generations while we received 13% as a gesture of benevolence from the white master, perhaps. The people protested and fought. The Union government then presented us with a "toy telephone", the Native Representative Council (NRC) to cry into whilst the Broederbonders were sowing Apartheid and sounding the chorus of a White Republic in the mould of the old Boer republics. In 1948, to correct old omissions, the White-only elections returned the 'Nazified'



Nationalist Party with Malan at the head pointing to the Swastika. The government proceeded with haste to wage war against our political organisations and to legislate against all opposition to official policy - a deliberate ploy calculated to push the Black man further into the background and gag him. We fought back; there was the Defiance Campaign, the Defend Free Speech Convention, the Franchise Action Council, but the enemy was getting ever more vicious - he brought the whole weight of the legislature against all popular opposition.

The time came in 1955 when we declared that "... South Africa belongs to all who live in it, Black and White, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people." Pretoria cried: "Treason!" and 156 men and women amongst whom were the best minds and hearts in leadership the country has ever known were dragged through a marathon trial. Union policy had all along been bad and intransigent, now it had come to worse.

The worse got to the worst in 1961 when in the face of heightened opposition that climaxed with the All-in Pietermaritzburg conference decision to demand a National Convention, white racism stood granite-like and resorted to saracens and sten-guns in mad rage, the purpose of which was to impose a fascist republic and throttle the popular cry for a democratic alternative. Our people have since lived through the hell of the 'republic' for close to 22 years. The history of this period reads like a catalogue of pogroms and the death registers of Buchenwald, to say nothing of the denigration, destitute and hunger that continues to be the lot of the Black man in South Africa.

It is indeed a pattern of genocide that has been unfolding. The regime, in typical colonialist and racist arrogance hardly referred to the feelings nor considered the desires of our people even when hatching the Bantustan programme, euphemistically called the 'Homeland Policy'. They considered none of our sentiments when they decided that the tag 'Plural' would be more 'acceptable' than 'Bantu'. They have never consulted, are not consulting and will never ever consult with our leaders on all socio-economic and political problems of our country.

Their carefully selected catch-phrase of 'constitutional dispensation' has not succeeded to screen off our fascistically ascribed role of beasts of burden. Behind the elevated design of a Presidential Council we can read the graffiti clearly: DIVIDE AND RULE, plus the annexure: the Africans will be allowed to remain in the urban areas "for as long as they continue to minister to the needs of the White man."

The boer-fascists have a one-track mind, their thinking compares to the movement of a locomotive train - once on the rails there's no turning. Thus the sudden trumpeting of a so-called referendum is no turn in Nati-



onalist Party policy, it does not even qualify as reform. Nay, it is a modern aspect of the old pattern. In this direction, therefore, the results of the forthcoming referendum are a fore-gone conclusion. As in 1908, 1948 and 1961 the hardened element within the white group - in fact the majority - will express support for Botha'sso-called constitutional dispensation. What a farce! We spit at this show of boer-fascist prank.

We salute our heroic people who continue to frustrate enemy manoeuvres through mass agitation, organisation and action. We bid them courage. Ours is a rough road fraught with difficulties but we have the elan to blaze it through. We of the African National Congress and Umkhonto we Sizwe will be in the front ranks of the popular fight. Let those who allow themselves to be cogs in the apartheid machine be warned: The tide of revolution sweeps everything that dares to fetter its flow!

Our bedrock continues to be unity and let our watch-word remain UNITED ACTION.




CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2.

rse and thus disarm our people of their superior means of hitting the enemy - armed struggle.

Let Gatsha Buthelezi and his ilk be warned! We are not playing at politics and war. In the name of our people and country we have to go on fighting with weapons for the realisations of the demands enshrined in the Freedom Charter. Ours is a just political struggle that employs means including armed struggle. As for those who grow fat at the expense of the people and crown themselves heroes, they are sure to choke. And shame on them for posterity will remember them for their deeds and their children and grand-children will refuse to be called by their names, they will refuse to be associated with traitors.

Voice  
Of  
Women

READ



Journal Of The ANC Women's Section



# DAWNLIGHT: hands off Lesotho!



## DAWN POLITIXWORD NO. 3 ANSWERS

### A C R O S S

1. Sortie 4. Bar 7. Wanton 9. NE 10. Dogfight 12. Rome  
14. About 17. An 18. Knot 19. And 21. Delirium

### D O W N

1. Steadfast 2. Raw 3. Inn 5. Referendum 6. Lonhro  
8. Neto 11. Frunze 13. Man 15. Ok 16. To 20. Or





The African National Congress is a movement of patriots. It leads the masses in struggle for the destruction of the fascist regime, the transfer of power to the people and the realisation of the objectives contained in the Freedom Charter. It upholds a strategy which combines revolutionary mass political action with revolutionary armed struggle. As members of the ANC we must, together with the people in fact, help to solve all problems that serve to slow down the progress of the struggle, provide a clear perspective of where we go from here and translate that perspective into a practical programme of action.



# LEARN with DAWN

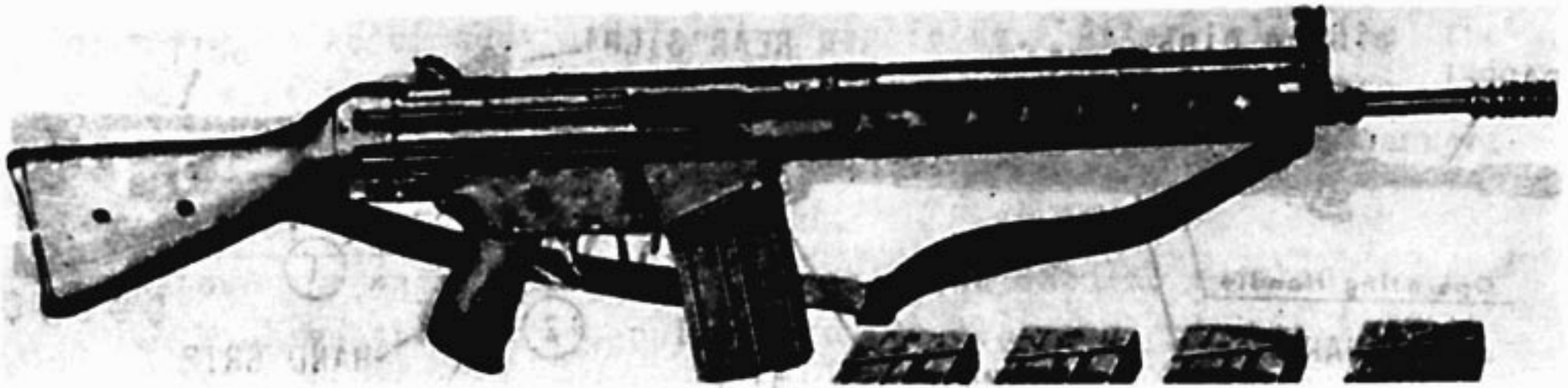
## *You too Countryman, can be a Freedom Fighter*

1. The colonisers conquered our people and our country because they were armed with superior weapons. They had guns and cannons against people who were armed only with spears and shields, sticks, clubs and stones. For three hundred and thirty-one (331) years our country and people have been groaning under the rule of the gun. All protests, peaceful and unarmed, have been suppressed by the gun. Bondelswaart, May 1st 1950, Sharpeville, Soweto, etc, the list is endless. We cannot allow this to continue forever.
2. Throughout these years we have been denied the knowledge of weapons and deprived by the law the acquisition of military skills. They would rather have had our country taken by fascist Germany and Italy in alliance with militarist Japan during World War II than give us arms to defend ourselves and our country. Why? Because the enemy knows it is true what Comrade Nelson Mandela exhorted in his message smuggled from Robben Island: *"Those who rule by the gun shall perish by the gun"*.
3. The enemy fears an armed Black man. We have seen how he has been put to flight during encounters with the heroic combatants of our People's Army, Umkhonto WeSizwe. It is no exaggeration that in all our attacks against his personnel: Moroka, Orlando, Soekmekaar, Mabopane, Fort Jackson, Wonderboom, Sibasa and Voortrekkerhoogte, the military H.Q. of the 'invincible' SADF, there is not even a single occasion when the enemy managed to gather enough courage to fire just one shot in reply to MK's fire.
4. Every able-bodied being can be a fighter for freedom! The time for all of us, countrymen, to take up arms and destroy the oppressor is NOW! The enemy boasts of having a big army and superior weapons. We can cut it down to size, render his weapons inferior and useless and ultimately destroy it (his army) if we are on the same wavelength with him, i.e., if we speak the language he understands best, that of the gun.
5. Only when we are skilled in the use of firearms shall we extract "a to-



oth for a tooth, an eye for an eye". We shall have to do this discretely and with extreme caution since the enemy has infiltrated his spies and quislings in our ranks. Our army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, is among us specifically to teach and train us in the use of fire arms, assist us in the selection of targets and lead us in combat. Let us all: workers, peasants, intellectuals, youth, students, churchmen, businessmen, etc, swell its ranks and destroy the enemy!

6. The path you are called upon to tread is no bed of roses. It calls for courage and self-sacrifice. But it is worth the price since history leaves us no choice. It is better to die fighting with arms in hand. Besides, while death is no kin to us, we have been visiting the graveyard regularly and alone for just too long. Now the time has come for the enemy to weep, bleed and get used to burials.
7. NEXT TIME YOU COME ACROSS THIS WEAPON, KNOW HOW TO MANIPULATE IT. (You'll probably remember seeing it during the Soweto 1976 and subsequent upheavals where it was used against our unarmed youth).



*West German Rifle 7,62mm G3*

- a) The G-3 Assault Rifle is one of the standard NATO sub-machine guns. Though it is of West German make, it is produced in several western countries including South Africa. The G-3 incorporates many features which make it easily adaptable to mass production. With the exception of the bolt and barrel, most of the parts are stamped and drawn from sheet steel.
- b) The weapon has a combination flash hider and grenade launcher fastened to the muzzle. Models are available with bipods and with folding metal stocks.
- c) The purpose of the weapon is to eliminate personnel of the opposing side. In our case this means that it can be used against enemy soldiers and police.
- d) Purpose and Design of some mechanisms and parts:

BARREL

- It directs the bullet



- It has a bore inside with grooves which make the bullet to spin;
- the bore breech portion is made to fit a cartridge and is called the cartridge chamber;
- as stated above, attached to the muzzle (the open end of the barrel) is a combination flash hider and grenade launcher.

### RECEIVER

It accommodates the firing mechanism and serves to join together all parts and mechanisms of the sub-machine gun and to ensure proper closure of the breech with the bolt, etc. It has:-

- i) Inside slots to lock the bolt, a lug to eject fired cartridge and a guide rib to guide the travel of the bolt.
- ii) At the bottom there is an opening for the magazine and trigger.
- iii) On the left-hand side there are three notches marked S, R, and A (S=safety; R=semi-automatic, single fire, and A=automatic fire).
- iv) On the left-hand side again there are two pins for joining the stock with the receiver. They (pins) are called the stock retaining pins.



### THE SIGHTS

They are mounted on the top of the weapon, the front sight towards the front end of the barrel and the rear sight slightly above the Stock Retaining Pins. The front sight consist of a circle and a pin at the centre. The rear sight bears an adjuster for setting the sights at appropriate distances, i.e., 2, 3, 4, 5, etc., where 1=100m. When aiming, aim at the centre bottom line of the chest target. The target must appear through the sights in the manner indicated in the diagram.

### MAGAZINE

Metal case with capacity to carry 20 (twenty) cartridges. N.B.:To load magazine, feed in the cartridges one by one. To empty magazine eject also one by one.





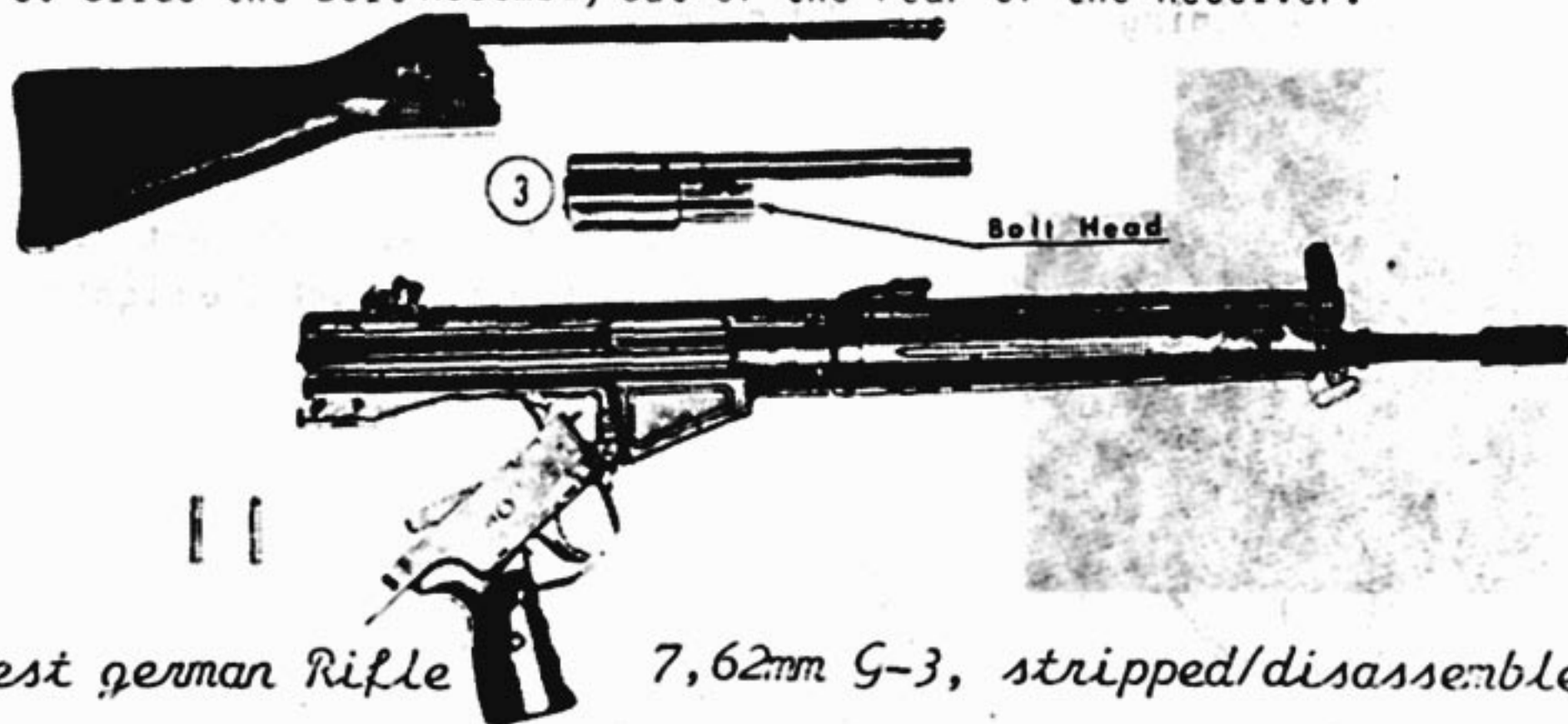
*Model with bi-pods. It's called the 7,62mm FN Rifle G1*

### MAINTENANCE

Each firearm needs to be kept clean and oiled. This guarantees its combat readiness. Weapons that are neglected tend to rust fast and will cause stoppages and develop other problems during firing. The barrel must be poked with a rod fitted with a piece of cloth, the gas chamber thoroughly wiped and the interior of the receiver mechanism kept free of dust and foreign particles. After cleaning the weapon must be oiled (lightly) and kept until required for use. To clean the weapon thoroughly, disassemble it in the following manner:

### DISASSEMBLY PROCEDURE

1. Remove the magazine. grasp the Operating Handle, located in the tube above the barrel, pull it to the rear and release. Pull the trigger (this is to ensure that no cartridge is in the chamber before disassembling the weapon). Never forget this rule or take things for granted. Military history teaches that "an empty gun once fired".
2. Pivot the trigger group down (like in the diagram below).
3. Slide the Bolt Assembly out of the rear of the Receiver.



*West German Rifle*

*7,62mm G-3, stripped/disassembled.*





*Model with folding metal stock. Its called the G3 A4.*

#### ASSEMBLY PROCEDURE

Assemble in the reverse order. Slide the Bolt Assembly into the Receiver. Swing the Trigger Group up into place and slide the Stock onto the rear of the Receiver. Place the two Stock Retaining Pins through the Receiver and Stock.

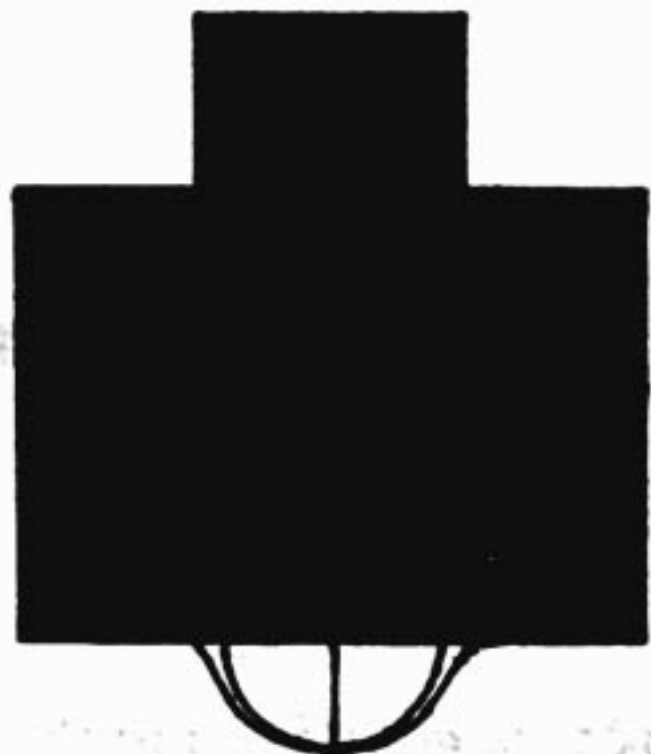
#### LOADING AND FIRING

To load: Insert a loaded Magazine. Grasp the Operating Handle, located in the tube above the Barrel, pull it to the rear and release. The Bolt will move forward and chamber the first round when the Operating Handle is released.

To fire: Pull the trigger and the weapon will fire. If the Select Lever is set for single fire, the Trigger must be pulled for each shot. If the lever is set for Automatic, the weapon will fire until the Trigger is released or the magazine is empty.

#### CHARACTERISTICS OF G-3 SUMMED UP:

1. The calibre of the weapon is 7,62mm.
2. The weapon has an effective range of 540 metres.
3. The range of aiming is within 800 metres



N.B.: When aiming at a target it must appear through the sights in this manner.



4. The weapon's rate of fire is 550-600 rounds per minute (technical) and 150 rounds per minute (practical)
5. The weight of the weapon (without magazine) is 4,318kg
6. The overall length of the weapon is 1,02 metres.

*"Learn well how to seek revenge. Courage but intelligent courage"*. So that we may preserve our strength by manoeuvring with skill for the purpose of building a most powerful revolutionary armed offensive for the conquest of power and the creation of a South Africa of the Freedom Charter, a society of hope that will abound in peace and brotherhood.

"Inside South Africa, repression has been escalated with more frequent detentions, torture, murder in prison, new restrictions on freedom of movement and expression, and the banning of persons and publications. Even you, Madam Chair, have not escaped the attention of the racist police. Just as this conference was about to open, a message you sent to South Africans of Indian origin was banned and students distributing it were arrested because that message was fully supportive of the struggle of the oppressed masses in South Africa.

Assassination has become an instrument of policy, and members and leaders of the ANC have been kidnapped or murdered in South Africa and across the borders. Countries bordering on South Africa and the Indian Ocean have been subjected to an intensified campaign of destabilisation in which large numbers of bandit groups have been committing aggression and sabotage as part of the South African army. The sole and exclusive aggressor in the region, the racist regime, is now offering to sign non-aggression pacts with the victims of its aggression, even as it escalates its offensive. But it is not peace that Pretoria offers its neighbours.

Emulating the Zionists in the Lebanon, who are also part of the strategic alliance with Washington, the apartheid regime demands the acceptance of continued racist domination throughout Southern Africa as well as the expulsion of the ANC from the region. The political and economic price it demands for ending its aggression would render valueless the hard-won victories of the liberation struggles in Southern Africa. As a result, the last and final stage of the struggle for total decolonisation of Africa has become more than a struggle in one or two countries: it has embroiled the entire Southern African region. Perhaps nowhere is the independence of so many sovereign governments threatened simultaneously as in Southern Africa by a single regime. Some countries have never known peace and all of them are members of this Non-Aligned Movement."

Comrade President O.R. Tambo at the Non-Aligned Summit of Heads of State and Government, New Delhi, 7-11 March, '83.

# HEROES OF OUR REVOLUTION

## JOSEPH MDLULI (1925-1976)

- LUCAS DLADLA

*"ONE MUST HAVE AN INNER UNDERSTANDING OF THE NEED TO ACCEPT DEATH FOR THE SAKE OF LIFE AND PRISON FOR THE SAKE OF FREEDOM".* - FELIX DZERZHINSKY -

These are the words that inspired and will continue to inspire those who are fighting for a just cause against an oppressive regime based on terror and repression for the continued subjugation of the oppressed and colonised people. It is such words that inspired and made a man of the calibre of Comrade Joseph Mdluli to overcome all obstacles created by the monstrous South African fascist regime to frustrate the efforts of people in their entirety, led by the African National Congress, in a bid to maintain itself in power and continue usurping the wealth of our country. He (Comrade Mdluli), a father to us the youth in the ranks of Umkhonto we Sizwe managed to evade enemy arrests after the arrest of our national leadership in Rivonia and continued sparing no quarter in the underground endeavours of the ANC until he met his death in the hands of the apartheid butchers. He was a true patriot of the South African revolution who tirelessly fought for a harmonious future society based on the Freedom Charter, that is why he accepted "death for the sake of life."

### EARLY CHILDHOOD

Comrade Mdluli was born in 1925 in the district of Ingwavuma. Like all boys who grow up under peasant conditions of life, he looked after his father's cattle and goats. And being the only son, he had no brother to help him when he took the cattle for dipping and as was the custom of time and place, he got himself involved in the only sport of the day, stick-fighting. He always emerged triumphant in these fights and this alone indicates the fact that he was a "broad, powerful man" as it is said in one of the many poems about him.

To earn a living, Joseph Mdluli was a hawker all his life. In this way he experienced a great feeling of independence because he was a man who liked being on his own. It was this inner longing for independence that





*The opening of the historic Defiance Campaign.*

attracted him to joining the African National Congress in 1952, the year of the historic Campaign for the Defiance of Unjust Laws. He was inspired by the heroism of the volunteers who defied arrests, imprisonment and in many instances death singing: "Andisoze ndalaxandithunywa" with pride. After joining the ANC, he added his full weight in the heroic mass struggles of the fifties, through the sixties until he was arrested in 1966 and subsequently sentenced to one year three months imprisonment. Upon his release in 1968 he was banned for two years.

#### INTIMIDATION

But still, despite these intimidations by the fascist regime to try and drive away his militancy from the mainstream of the revolution, Joseph Mdluli continued to fight for his aspirations. He never tired to serve the oppressed people of our country as we have witnessed in the course of the evidence led during the "Pietermaritzburg ten" trial, a trial that showed a significant role he played in the struggle against racist rule in our country. In the outline of the trial it was alleged that he attended meetings of the ANC in Durban and had paid for the transportation of a number of young militants to Swaziland. And this was part of a detailed plan to overthrow the government by receiving trained revolutionaries through the coast and forming them into a sabotage force. He was also alleged to have incited people at Lamontville to undergo military training outside South Africa.

For his unflinching role in the struggle for a democratic society, Mdluli was taken by the notorious special branch from his home late at night on the 18th March, 1976 wearing a raincoat and slippers, and the following day he was reported dead. His family, after months of his death, could not obtain the truth from the regime and its abominable Ministry of Justice and Police. And through their relentless efforts to expose his murder, they succeeded in having four security branch policemen brought to court charged with culpable homicide arising from the death of Comrade Mdluli. In the travesty of justice that was staged nobody was surprised by the court's ruling that Mdluli 'committed suicide'.



*Masobiya Joseph "Mkhuthuzi" Mdluli.*

We in Umkhonto we Sizwe, having in mind that we are duty-bound to fight the racist, fascist murderers of our fathers, mothers, sisters and brothers until apartheid is destroyed in our country, say to the enemy: "We shall extract a tooth for a tooth and an eye for an eye." The death of Mdluli, our comrades in Matola, Maseru and other patriots of our country shall be avenged.

We are inspired by the deeds of our heroes killed in detention, those who have fallen in battlefields of our country and those incarcerated in the dungeons of Pretoria. The apartheid regime is a relic of colonial domination that will soon be swept away by the fighting people of South Africa. We shall always refuse to be cowed.



# MKHUZE ON FIRE

"With unprecedented force  
The sound bugled into his ear  
With a start he jumped out of  
His bed, crudely he elbowed his stunned  
Yet cool wife.  
Couldn't make head or tail of it all.  
The eyes were blurred with red light,  
Fast as lightening he woke his entire family.  
Instructions, orders and commands  
Came as forcefully as the sound he heard.  
Clearer were his commands than his head,  
'Dress upshsh Move out, let's go!'  
Like a bullet he shot out of the house,  
Letting free every stock and pet he had,  
Goats, cattle. The lot were stunned.  
When experiencing his unceremonious freedom,  
'Out! shsh he shouted to all of his -  
Children, wife, animals alike.  
'We don't know what next will come?'  
'Wait, pause awhile' the wife pleaded.  
'MKHUZE IS ON FIRE!!!'  
'Ohshsh Yes indeed, for long we heard it spoken of,  
Today we see it done,  
Oh, yes' he sighed  
'It's KHONGOLOSE'  
To bed like evening he went with rest he  
Blessed his soul."

- MOTHUSI DICHABA

# NAKED AMONG WOLVES

by Bruno Apitz

## Chapter 21

Riomand's machine gun spat irate bursts at the towers on either side of the gate, and under the protection of this flank cover the special detachments of the camp patrol reached the wrought-iron gate and forced it open with crowbars.

"Cease fire!" Bochow shouted at Riomand, and immediately the machine gun withheld its wrath. At the gate, almost at the same moment, the special detachment was hastening up the steps of the main tower, and hundreds of men from the other groups were storming through the breach of the opened gate, left and right along the barbed wire. Hand grenades were hurled at the charging men, machine guns rattled, but the rebels rushed into the towers like swarms of hornets. Their battle cries and the detonations and gun chatter all about the fence mingled with the tumult of war out in the countryside. Behind the hill brownish-yellow mushrooms of smoke rose into the sky. The observation plane had appeared again; now it was describing its slow circles almost directly over the camp. Low flying planes were shooting at the ground. The rattle of their machine guns could be heard distinctly; they were shooting at fleeing fascist tanks.

Abandoned by their leaders and confused by the sudden attack, the sentries could not cope with the charge. The fury of the prisoners, stored up for years, was like an explosion. Wedged between the now visible front and the thousands of raging prisoners, whose fighting strength grew greater with every captured carbine, with every dismounted machine gun, the sentries no longer had the moral stamina to defend themselves against the storm.

Those who had not fled were taken prisoner, those who would not surrender were put to death. Tower after tower was conquered by the fighting groups and immediately occupied.

When Riomand whipped out the first volley, when the thousandfold cry went up and the mass of people rushed across the grounds, Förste, who had still been lying on the ground weighted down by exhaustion, jumped up. He saw the storm through the window of the bunker, and the cry he let out at this unbelievable happening nearly tore his breast apart. As the iron gate outside was being sprung he burst out of the room and ran, stumbling over the corpses, to cell number 5.

Höfel and Kropinski were drumming wildly on the door and shouting. För-



ste ripped back the latch, but the cell was locked. Suddenly Bochow, Rio-  
mand, Kodiczek and van Dalen appeared. They stopped short at the sight the  
corpses lying about. Bochow shouted into the semi-darkness of the corridor:  
"Höfel, Kropinski! Where are you?"

"Here! Here!"

Förste rushed towards them. "The door is locked, I have no key!"

Bochow sprang to the cell. "It's me, Bochow. Do you hear me?"

"Yes, yes, yes! O my God! Herbert! Yes, yes, yes, we hear you!"

"Get away from the door. I'll shoot the lock through!"

Bochow pulled out the pistol.

"Take care, I'm going to shoot!"

The shots cracked out. Bochow emptied the magazine. With united strength  
they shook and pulled at the door. The burst lock was wobbling and clatte-  
ring. Höfel and Kropinski threw themselves against it. The door flew open  
and they both tumbled out. The men caught them. Gasping, Höfel hung like a  
limp rag in Bochow's arms.

Hundreds of prisoners had climbed onto the roofs, and the roads were  
alive with milling people. Where the fence was visible, the wildly excited  
prisoners saw the rebels racing off and forcing their way into the towers,  
they saw fighters appearing on the platforms.

"They've got the towers!" Hundreds ran towards the open ground on the  
north slope. A mill was burning in the valley near Hottelstedt. The thund-  
ering explosions succeeded one another at ever briefer intervals. Smoke and  
fumes rose to the sky. Armed with clubs, stones and branches, whatever they  
were able to pick up on the ground, the prisoners rushed towards the neut-  
ral zone climbed over the barricades and plunged shouting through the  
holes. The captured SS men were torn from the hands of the fighters, brought  
back into camp through the holes in the fence and driven forward amid the  
raging shouts of the mob into Block 17, which was surrounded by barbed wire.  
Armed prisoners were already standing guard there with seized carbines.  
Müller and Brendel had put the quaking Zweiling in there as the first pri-  
soner.

Pribula and his group had stormed into the woods and onto the road to  
Hottelstedt.

\* \* \*

Meanwhile Bochow and his comrades had brought the freed men into Man-  
drill's room. The bunker filled up with fighters. Some of them pitched in  
and dragged the corpses from the corridor into the bunker washroom. Höfel  
and Kropinski sat on the army cot. Förste had brought them a cup of water.  
Greedy the exhausted men drank the restoring draught.

A messenger rushed in to inform Bochow that every last tower was occu-

ped.

Running over with joy, Bochow embraced Höfel and Kropinski. "Free, free!" he shouted into their faces, and laughed, because at this moment there was no room in his breast for anything else.

With the ILK comrades he ran to the other side of the gatehouse, into Reineboth's office.

Up on the main tower one of the fighters tore down the swastika flag and hoisted a white cloth that he had brought from somewhere.

Bochow had quickly found out how to work the radio apparatus. He switched on the microphone and his cry rang out over the camp into all the blocks:

Comrades! We are victorious! The fascists have fled! We are free! Do you hear me? We are free!

Bochow sobbed and pressed his forehead to the instrument, and his overpowering joy melted into tears that he could no longer hold back.

But in the blocks the penned-in people leaped to their feet. The flame of the cry set off a conflagration of thousands of voiced shouting! There was no end to it and it roared, generating itself again and again:

Free! Free!

The people laughed, wept, danced! They jumped onto the tables, threw up their arms, shouted it in one another's faces, shouted, shouted, as if madness had come among them. There was no stopping them any more. They burst out of all the blocks. Everyone rushed outside, and like a tidal wave the drunken mass flooded the mustering ground.

One cry and one flood: to the gate!

Not in senseless flight, but carried away by the intoxication of pouring at last, through the hated, terrible gate, with wild shouts of exultation, reeling into the wide-open arms of freedom.

The people who happened to be in the block with Krämer were also swept outside by the tremendous jubilation. Free! Their happiness was so great that they suddenly forgot him and ran off. Krämer laughed and cursed at once: "They've forgotten all about us, the bastards, damn them, forgotten to take us along!"

He shouted so boisterously at the little thing that it burst out into loud and terrified crying. "Roar, that's right, roar! Come on, roar outside with the rest of them! They're all roaring! Don't you hear?"

Forgetting his weakness he bundled the crying child under his good arm and staggered out.

On the way he was caught up by rejoicing prisoners. They wanted to support him and relieve him of his screaming burden.

"Hands off!" he roared jealously; happy, he gasped up the road to the



mustering ground.

He saw them all standing at the top of the hill already, among them Bo-chow who was helpless against the flood he had unleashed.

And Krämer saw - and his heart nearly stopped for wild joy:

"André!" he shouted. "André, André! Marian!"

His cries made no headway against the turbulence, but they had already discovered him.

"Walter!" Höfel exulted, and tottered towards him, the noose dangling from his neck.

"Take the kid, he's getting too heavy for me."

The others had already reached Krämer. Riomand and van Dalen supported the collapsing man. Höfel snatched the child from him. It cried in still greater terror as the man with the unkempt beard pressed it to him. Höfel staggered forward as if his knees would give way, Kropinski caught the child. Laughing, shouting, bubbling over in a remarkable mixture of German and Polish he showed everyone the beloved bundle.

Suddenly Kropinski ran off, holding out the child in front of him, towards the gate, into the raging flood.

"Marian!" Höfel called after him. "Where are you running to?"

But the vortex had already swallowed him up.

Kropinski raised the crying bundle over his head so that it should not be crushed in the irrepressible torrent.

The child bobbed like a nutshell above the surging heads.

It twirled in the eddy through the narrows of the gate. The current swept it along on its liberated billows, which were no longer to be restrained.

## NEXT ISSUE...

# THE REAL LIFE OF DOMINGOS XAVIER

José Luandino Vieira

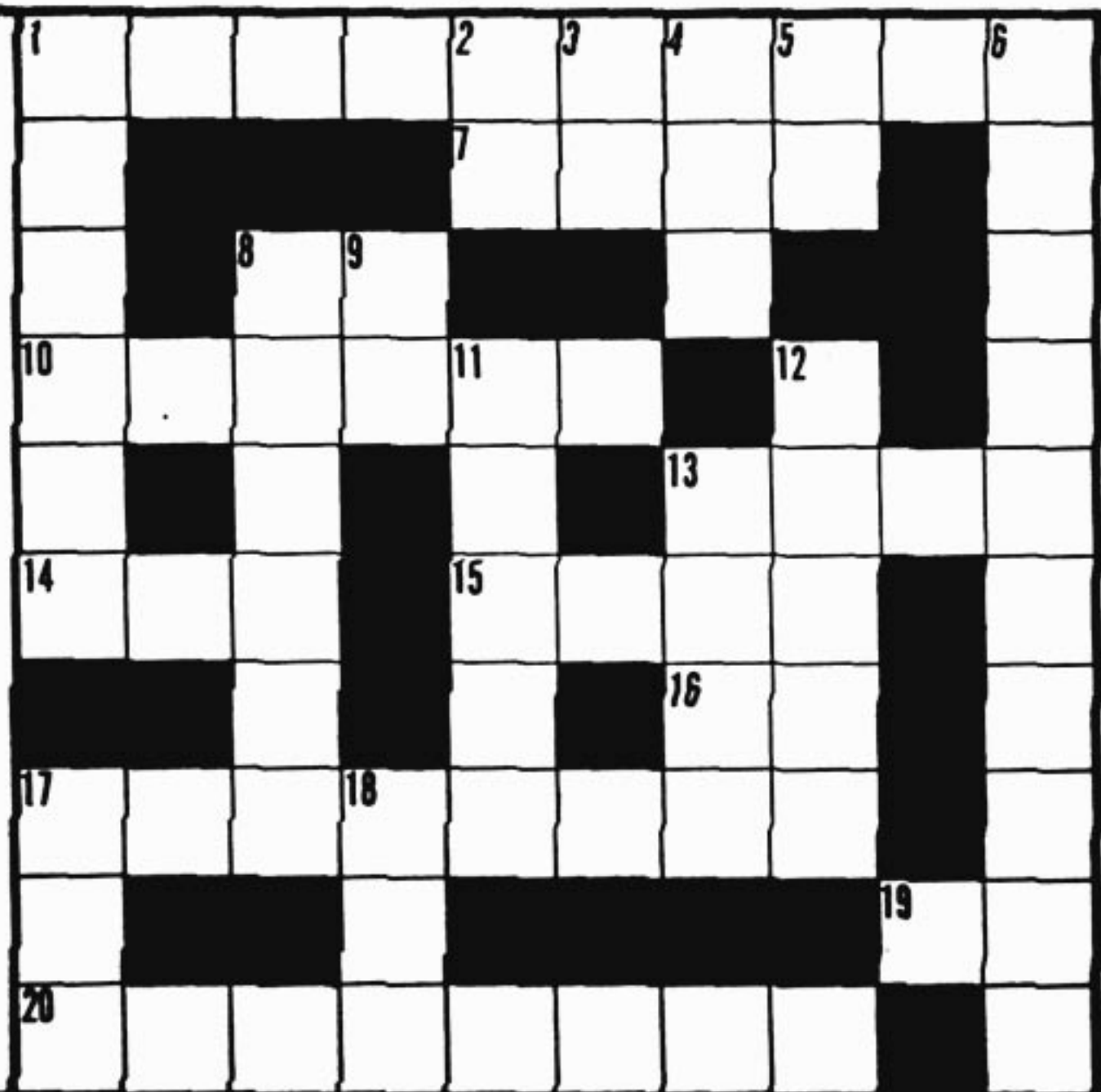
A novel of Angola

# DAWN



## Political Word

No. 4



### Clues

#### ACROSS

1. Head of the ANC's International Department.
7. A human being has ten.
8. The letter  $\tau$  in the Greek alphabet
10. To send forth by thrusting.
13. A small mountain lake.
14. To break a promise.
15. Information.
16. Pronoun.
17. Transported by the air.
19. Cde. Mandela's initials.
20. A series of military operations.

#### DOWN

1. Chief of the SAAF.
2. Preposition.
3. ... and fro.
4. The objective case of she.
5. Present tense of was.
6. Designed to cause a fire.
8. Chief of the S.A. Navy.
9. Fashionable.
11. A country in central Africa.
12. An adhesive.
13. To combine as a pair.
17. Used to transport troops.
18. Trained and armed by South Africa.

SEE ANSWERS IN DAWN VOL. 7 NO. 5



# **DISCIPLINE IS THE MOTHER OF VICTORY**

## **LISTEN TO RADIO FREEDOM**

**VOICE OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS AND  
UMKHONTO WE SIZWE, THE PEOPLE'S ARMY**

### **Radio Tanzania**

External Service, Dar es Salaam, on:

1035 KHz, Medium wave; 9685 KHz, 31mb shortwave  
Mondays, Wednesdays, Fridays at 8.15pm (S. A. time)  
Tuesdays, Thursdays, Saturdays at 6.15am (S. A. time)

### **Madagascar**

6135 KHz, 49mb shortwave. Monday — Saturday 7—9pm  
Sundays 7—8.30pm.

### **Ethiopia**

9545 KHz, 31mb shortwave; 9.30 — 10.00pm daily.

### **Lusaka**

9580 KHz, 31mb shortwave, Monday-Friday 7.00 — 7.45pm.  
Wednesday 9.30 — 10.00pm, Thursday 10.05—10.30pm.  
Friday 10.30—11.00pm, Saturday & Sunday 7—8pm,  
Sundays 8—8.45am, 25mb, 11880KHz

### **Luanda**

11955 KHz, 25mb and 9535 KHz, 31mb  
7.30pm (S. A. time)

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

# STOP THE HAND OF THE APARTHEID HANGMAN!



tsotsobe



shabangu



mosolodi



mogoerane



moise



motaung

FREEDOM FIGHTERS SENTENCED TO DEATH  
FOR UMKHONTO WE SIZWE ACTIVITIES  
**SAVE THEIR LIVES!**