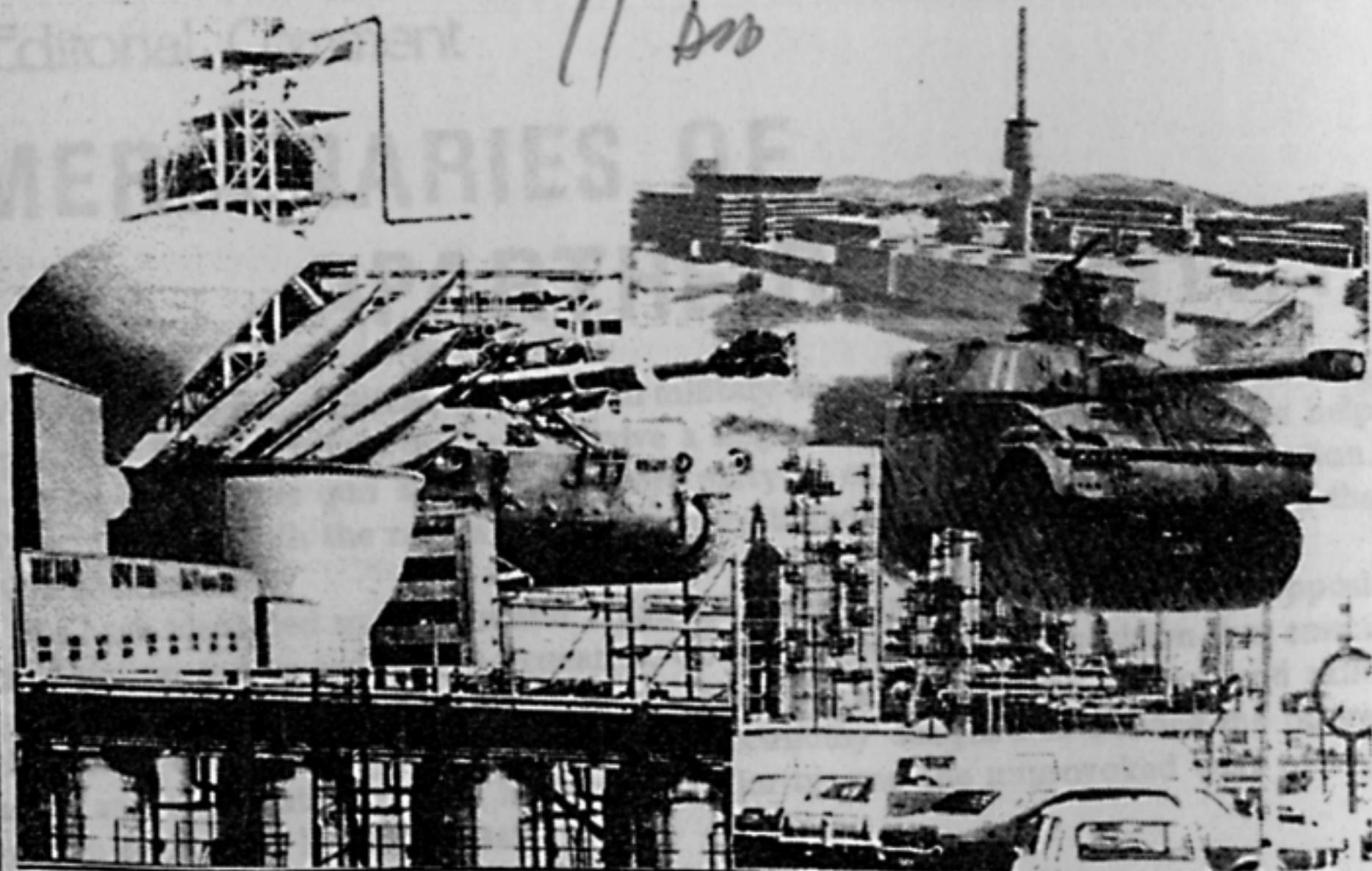


DAWN

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Journal of Umkhonto we Sizwe



REAGAN CONSTRUCTIVE ENGAGEMENT



DAWN

Monthly Journal of Umkhonto we Sizwe

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* COVER: *The fuellers of Apartheid, transnational corporations
and military industrial complexes.*

YEAR OF THE WOMEN



Editorial Comment

MERCENARIES OF APARTHEID INDUSTRY.

Without economic, political, cultural and military support from the Western countries, apartheid South Africa would not survive a single day. These Western countries help maintain the status quo and are therefore party to our oppression and exploitation. They, together with the racists, reap super-profits from the brutal exploitation of the African masses.

We have identified sportsmen and artists who visit South Africa despite our opposition and protest as veritable mercenaries. We need to reiterate our position that emigrants to South Africa are no less mercenaries. To the racist regime they lend skills that keep the apartheid economy going, an economy designed to finance the oppression and exploitation of the indigenous majority, and the unprovoked wars of aggression against the Frontline States.

COLLABORATION

In this field of collaboration with apartheid, it is Britain again which is leading. According to the Central office of Statistics, South Africa attracted 36 036 immigrants during the first nine months of 1982. Forty five percent (16 371) of whom came from Britain. Every white immigrant deprives an African of potential job. Racist South Africa can afford to offer so many jobs to foreigners while millions of Africans are starving to death in the ghettos and bantustans, as a result of unemployment which exceeds the two million mark by far.

Immigration is a cheap way for obtaining skilled labour for the apartheid economy. Some fifteen years ago it used to cost South Africa 77 pounds to recruit one immigrant. The then Deputy Secretary of Immigration, racist Piet Wiedman, disclosed that South Africa was gaining 90 million pounds worth of professional and technical skills from the labour of immigrants. That would be the cost of training the annual intake of 10 000 professional people. Meanwhile, the Black oppressed are denied opportunities of higher learning. Last year and the year before, the matric pass rate was 50,02 and 50,04 with only 10,04 and 11,02 respectively obtaining university entrance. As a consequence of this Verwoedian policy of producing "*hewers of wood and drawers of water*", the majority of African workers are uneducated and unskilled, and they provide a pool of cheap labour.

Together with white South Africans, immigrants (white they are, necessarily) are beneficiaries to our super-exploitation. At our expense South Africa offers whites one of the highest standards of living in the world. Immigrants enjoy privileges unimaginable in their countries. Wages are high, taxes low, and there is also abundant cheap servant labour. "*I enjoy privileges and a life-style that my family could not enjoy in Europe,*" bragged one immigrant (RDM 18/01/84).

CITIZENSHIP ACT

Now these immigrants are called upon to defend these luxuries. The regime is proposing an amendment to the South African Citizenship Act of 1978, to come before parliament this year. This amendment will require all male immigrants between the ages of 15 and 25 who have been living in the country for five years to automatically obtain South African citizenship. By becoming South African citizens they will be liable for call-up.

Immigrants will now shoot innocent and unarmed students in Soweto, Bontheuwel and Mamelodi for demanding better education. They will kill infants with teargas in Lamontville and butcher South African refugees in their sleep in Matola and Maseru. They are called to murder unarmed women and children in Cassinga, and hunt peaceful Angolan villages like game. They will be the tools for implementing the racist regime's policy of undermining African independence through destabilisation, and will spread death and carnage throughout the sub-continent, even as far as the Seychelles.

The reasons behind this move are obvious. The growing level of armed struggle inside the country, the continued illegal occupation of Namibia and the unprovoked war of aggression against the People's Republic of Angola, are having telling effects on the regime's manpower resources. Its defence and security forces are overstretched. Immigrants are to fill this widening gap and pose one more obstacle along our path to victory.

Umkhonto we Sizwe, our people's army, is enjoined to raise the level of our armed struggle and increase the prospects of death for those immigrants who might still feel undeterred even at this hour. We must make every form of collaboration with apartheid completely unprofitable. We are committed to the liberation of our land and people, and on our way to that goal we shall not only negotiate obstacles, but also destroy them.

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"MOBILISE AND MARCH FORWARD TO PEOPLE'S POWER"

JANUARY 8 1984 WAS THE 72nd ANNIVERSARY OF THE FORMATION OF OUR PEOPLE'S VANGUARD MOVEMENT, THE ANC. ITS NEC ISSUED THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT WHICH WAS PRESENTED BY OUR PRESIDENT, COMRADE O.R. TAMBO.

Dear Compatriots,
Brothers and Sisters in the Struggle.

Today, the 8th of January, your organisation, the African National Congress is 72 years old. In keeping with established practice, we ask you to share with us today some thoughts on the tasks that confront us during 1984. Allow me to begin by extending to you all, the wishes of the National Executive Committee and the general leadership of the ANC for great successes in the New Year.

This time last year, when we marked the 71st Anniversary of the founding of our Organisation, we pointed out that our long struggle had come to a point where the revolutionary ferment had reached unprecedented heights and had plunged the ruling racist clique into deeper and deeper levels of crisis. We went on to state that within the confines of the apartheid system there was no way out of this crisis situation. Apartheid cannot be reformed. The only real solution lies in the victory of the revolutionary forces, the dismantling of the apartheid machi-

nery and the transfer of political and economic power to the democratic majority.

MOMENTOUS STRUGGLES

Events of the past year have fully borne out the correctness of this assessment. The momentous struggles of the past year have driven the racist rulers into further acts of desperation. For us, the future is brightening daily whilst for the Pretoria racist clique, the future is getting darker each passing day.

We commend you on the sacrifices and dedication by which during 1983 you took our country significantly forward towards liberation. The past year, can have left our enemies in no doubt that we have the determination to struggle, the ability to organise for victory and the will to take power into our hands. The only question that confronts us all, singly and collectively, is how we should respond to the Order of the Day – mobilise and march forward to people's power!

Our revolutionary struggle rests on four pillars. These are first, the all-round van-

guard activity of the underground structures of the ANC, second, the united mass action of the peoples, third, our armed offensive spearheaded by Umkhonto we Sizwe and fourth, the international drive to isolate the apartheid regime and win world-wide moral, political and material support for the struggle.

GENERAL CRISIS

Dear Comrades and Friends,

Over the last few years, the guardians of reaction in our country have devised a programme of action centred on the twin notions of so-called national security and total strategy. This programme is based on the recognition that the apartheid system is immersed in a deep and permanent general crisis. The ruling group in Pretoria has therefore been addressing itself to the question of how to manage this crisis to ensure that it does not get out of hand.

The Bantustan Scheme, the militarisation of society; the new apartheid constitution and other recent pieces of legislation notably those covering industrial relations, the so-called community councils, the press and the economy, all are elements in this programme of crisis management. Coupled with the criminal war against the rest of Southern Africa, these measures point to the desperation of the regime as it battles for its survival.

The racists have decided, under mounting pressure from the revolutionary masses and the international community, to tinker with the Apartheid system, but in such a way as to further entrench racism and consolidate this illegitimate and criminal system. Despite all these manoeuvres, Apartheid has no future.

In other words, the fascists recognise that they can no longer rule in the old way. We recall how, at the height of the Soweto uprising, J.B. Vorster made bold to declare: »there is no crisis» — no crisis for minority rule. But a few years later P.W. Botha called on the whites to adapt to reality or perish with Apartheid.

This was a public admission that there is a crisis, threatening the destruction of the apartheid system. It is an imperative task of the revolutionary and democratic forces of our country to compound and further deepen this crisis by ever intensifying the struggle for national and social emancipation.

NO LEGITIMATE AUTHORITY

Compatriots,

The black people of our country have challenged the legitimacy of the South African racist State from its formation in 1910 and throughout the ensuing decades. As we fight the Apartheid system today, we should all speak with one voice in declaring that the present regime, like all others before it, has no legitimate authority to rule our country. Indeed, its central purpose is to perpetuate the illegal rule of the white usurpers of power in our country.

All revolutions are about state power. Ours is no exception. The slogan, — »Power to the People», means one thing and one thing only. It means we seek to destroy the power of apartheid tyranny and replace it with popular power, with a government whose authority derives from the will of all our people, both black and white.

The issue we have to settle together is what steps to take to attain that ultimate goal? What intermediate objectives should we set ourselves, building on what we have achieved, and in preparation for the next stage in our forward march to vic-

tory? The answer to these questions relates directly to what we have already referred to as the illegality of the apartheid state.

We must begin to use our accumulated strength to destroy the organs of government of the apartheid regime. We have to undermine and weaken its control over us, exactly by frustrating its attempts to control us. We should direct our collective might to rendering the enemy's instruments of authority unworkable. To march forward must mean that we advance against the regime's organs of state-power, creating conditions in which the country becomes increasingly ungovernable.

DESTROY ENEMY ORGANS

Comrades, countrymen and friends:

You are aware that the apartheid regime maintains an extensive administrative system through which it directs our lives. This system includes organ of central and provincial government, the army and the police, the judiciary, the Bantustans administration, the community councils, the local management and local affairs committee. It is these institutions of apartheid power that we must attack and demolish, as part of the struggle to put an end to racist minority rule in our country. Needless to say, as strategists, we must select for attack those parts of the enemy administrative system which we have the power to destroy as a result of our united and determined offensive. We must hit the enemy where it is weakest.

The goal we are setting ourselves today is dictated by the logic of our revolution. Its realisation is made possible by the fact that in our millions, we have already laid the basis for its accomplishment. Thus through our efforts, the so-called Coloured Persons Representative Council ceased

to exist; as a result of extensive mobilisation, the puppet South African Indian Council was brought in by a laughably insignificant minority; the entire Bantustan system faces overwhelming rejection and continuous resistance, and similarly, towards the end of 1983, we united in a massive rejection of the local management committees and community councils.

In certain areas and at different times, we have gone beyond rejection of this oppressive system of government, beyond a challenge to its legitimacy. In 1960 our people in Pondoland destroyed the regime's administration, and set up their own administration and people's courts. Likewise in 1976, we caused the collapse of the Urban Bantu Councils. In the recent past, in Sobantu Village in Pietermaritzburg, we destroyed the newly installed community council and frustrated the plans of the Drakensburg Administration Board.

DETERMINED RESISTANCE

Our determined resistance at Crossroads and at KTC in the Western Cape has made it impossible for Koornhof to carry out his schemes. He had been unable to govern at will. In Mdantsane our heroic struggle has shaken the puppet Sebe Administration to its core. Commenting on this situation, one South African political observer stated: »the stakes are high because the issues have moved beyond those of a (bus) fare increase. The boycott has become a conflict of will between the Ciskei (puppet administration) and its many opponents in Mdantsane, the second largest black township in South Africa.»

In the course of our struggles against rent increases and other facets of apartheid, such as the proposed incorporation of some townships into the KwaZulu

bantustan, we have gone further to destroy part of the administrative infrastructure of the Pretoria regime.

From these examples, it is clear that we have the ability to raise the struggle to greater heights. Having rejected the community councils by boycotting the elections, we should not allow them to be imposed on us. We do not want them. We must ensure that they cease to exist. Where administration boards take over their functions, then these must be destroyed too.

TAKE THE STRUGGLE FURTHER

In the Ciskei, as with the other so-called independent Bantustans, we must take the battle further. In the conflict of will between ourselves and the murderous Sebe regime, our will must prevail. And it will if we transform what began in Mdantsane as resistance to bus-fare increases into a nation-wide offensive against the Pretoria regime's Bantustan system. In Mdantsane the people have said — »Sebe must go! Power to the People!» That call should spread throughout the Ciskei to galvanise the people into united action for the destruction of the instrument of oppression — the Ciskei Bantustan.

The intolerable hardships and sufferings; the persecutions, detentions and murders of patriots and democrats in other Bantustans call for the establishment of fighting organisations to organise and lead the struggle for the destruction of these racist institutions of oppression.

This year, Botha and Malan will be busy implementing the provisions of their apartheid constitution. In this regard, our democratic movement must mobilise to ensure that the so-called Coloured and Indian sections of the black population to refuse to be recruited to play the role of partners in apartheid tyranny. White

South Africa alone should man the apartheid constitutional posts which it alone has created, for its exclusive benefit. Those who elect to serve in these apartheid institutions must expect to face the wrath of the people.

We must go further to say that our white compatriots, with even a modicum of anti-apartheid feeling, have to abandon the delusion that they can use Botha's constitutional institutions to bring about any change. The forces struggling for a new order in our country are outside of these structures. It is within the ranks of these extra parliamentary forces that the anti-apartheid whites can make a significant contribution to democratic change in our country. Now is the time to choose.

SHIFT TO THE OFFENSIVE

It is essential that we continue to shift our posture from the defensive to the offensive. The enemy has failed to destroy us and never will. But invincibility is not enough. It is in the attack that we shall find victory. Nor should we wait for the enemy to take the initiative and then react to its plans and schemes. We have a purpose, a goal, an objective, a historic mission to accomplish for our country and for humanity. Our historic duty is to pursue it with relentless determination and persistence, whatever the enemy does or omits to do.

We must apply ourselves with more vigour in our efforts to organise the unorganised, to consolidate, defend and expand existing people's organisations and engage the racist enemy in united action on all fronts. It is absolutely necessary to raise the standard of our organisational work as well as psychological preparedness, to the level of the major and complex tasks facing our revolution today.

AN HISTORIC ACHIEVEMENT

At this juncture allow me to single out the creation of the UDF as a historic achievement in our people's efforts to unite in the broadest possible front for the struggle against the inhuman apartheid system. The formation of the United Democratic Front was a product of our people's determination to be their own liberators.

The growth of the strength of the democratic trade union movement and its power to wrest recognition from both the regime and the employers, and the determined efforts to form one national trade federation constitute one of the most significant advances of our struggle in recent years.

Everywhere in the country, our people and youth have courageously confronted the regime in numerous encounters, whether against rent-increases, forced removals or in military actions, among them the attack on the Air Force Headquarters at Pretoria by Umkhonto we Sizwe.

This is the spirit that must guide and inspire the leaders, organisers and activists of our democratic movement. We are talking of a spirit of rebellion and frame of mind which puts to the fore the politics of revolutionary change.

A special responsibility rests on the shoulders of the ANC and the most advanced members of our broad democratic movement to act as revolutionaries, as such, to wage revolutionary struggle; and, basing themselves on the conscious and organised involvement of the masses of the people, to build a strong and discipline revolutionary movement. In this context, the further mobilisation and organisation of the masses of our country assumes special importance.

Quite clearly, we have made great strides in these areas of work. This is evident

in the strength of the UDF and the pace at which it continues to grow. It is evident also from the struggles we have conducted, in some areas for months on end. We can see it in the organisational growth of the trade union movement. There have been commendable advances in the development of the youth and students' as well as civic and Women's movements.

ORGANISATIONAL TASKS

We have built an organised mass democratic movement sufficiently strong to give us the possibility to tackle other uncompleted organisational tasks.

We refer here in particular to the organisation of the working class into a revolutionary trade union movement; the organisation of the rural masses, inside and outside the Bantustans; the organisation of the women-folk of our country and the religious community into struggle.

Let us now take a brief look at each of these areas of work:

Millions of workers in our country, including the unemployed and those engaged in the agricultural sector, remain unorganised. We have to make determined efforts to reach these unorganised workers, bearing in mind that it is the historic responsibility of the working class to take the lead in our struggle for people's power.

The task of forming one federation to unite the democratic trade union movement has not yet been accomplished. We should pursue this goal with even more determination and speed because, apart from anything else, a united democratic workers' movement would give us greater possibilities to advance our struggle.

We do not believe, dear comrades, that there are insurmountable or even very serious obstacles on the way to the creation of such a federation. We do not

agree with the school of thought which creates artificial barriers between the fight for trade union rights and the national liberation struggle under the racist conditions obtaining in South Africa. In our situation, the victory of the trade union struggle is unattainable except as an integral part of the victory of the political, ideological and military struggle. The struggle of the working class is, therefore, and must be, an integral part of the national liberation struggle.

The organisation and mobilisation of the rural population is clearly lagging behind those of our people in the towns and cities. And yet it is in these rural areas that the apartheid system has its most disastrous impact on our people. We have the organisational capacity to begin to tackle the rural areas seriously and continuously.

In the Freedom Charter we say that «the land shall be share among those who work it». As you will know, the situation today is that our people in the Bantustans have been reduced to landless and jobless outcasts. Many are condemned to a slow and painful death in the so-called resettlement camps. On the commercial farms, the most merciless brutalisation of our people, especially women and children, takes place, every day and every hour of the day at the hands of the landowners.

One of the fundamental elements for the solution of the problems facing our people in the countryside is the resolution of the land question in favour of the tillers. Our immediate task therefore, is to mobilise the rural masses around the question of land. It is only when the countryside is organised that the rural masses will be able to respond to the call: «seize the land!»

Brothers and Sisters,
Fellow-countrymen,

In the past period we have seen the increased involvement of the religious community in our struggle for liberation. In this context, you are aware that at the South African Council of Churches National Conference last year, a proposal was made to convene a conference in 1986 to decide on the issue of the contribution of the Christian church to change in our country. It was then said: «When peace is broken or threatened by injustice, the Christian has a responsibility to work for peace, to work for righteousness, by striving to rectify what is unrighteous, unjust».

Those words constitute a serious challenge not only to Christians, but also to people of other faiths in our country. While the evil and unjust apartheid system exists in our country, we cannot have peace, nor can the peoples of Southern Africa.

CONDEMN RACIST AGGRESSION

The fraternal peoples of Namibia and Angola, especially have for years now known no peace because of Pretoria's brutal colonisation and occupation of their countries. Daily, our Namibian and Angolan brothers and sisters suffer death and destruction from the regime's bombs, bullets and bayonets. This war of aggression is being conducted by a regime from our own country and we have a responsibility to ourselves and the children and people of Namibia and Angola, to raise our voices in condemnation of the aggression. We urge upon the people of South Africa to demand and fight for the immediate withdrawal of all South African troops, mercenaries, Pretoria-backed bandits and special assassination groups from Angola, Namibia and other affected countries of Southern Africa. In this

context, let the oppressed and democrats of our country assume their historic responsibility, recognising that the struggle in South Africa is the hope of the sub-continent.

We are entitled to expect that people of all faiths in our country, including the Christians, the Jew, the Hindu and the Moslem, will in fact act and act now, in defence of justice, peace and life: against a system that is totally evil and inhuman.

ORGANISE OUR WOMENFOLK

It will be our special task this year to organise and mobilise our womenfolk into a powerful, united and active force for revolutionary change. This task falls on men and women alike — all of us together as comrades in struggle. We wish to stress the need, at the present hour, for the emergence of the political scene of a women's movement that is politically and organisationally united. Our struggle needs and demands this potentially might force.

Our struggle would be less than powerful and our national and social emancipation could never be complete if we continue to treat the women of our country as dependent minors and objects of one form of exploitation or another. Certainly, no longer should it be that a women's place is in the kitchen. In our beleaguered country, the woman's place is in the battlefield of struggle.

ARMED STRUGGLE

We have come a long way from the time, as in the 50's when we fought bare-handed — disarmed and unarmed — against the military might and the trigger-happy army and police force of the apartheid regime. No black hand was allowed to touch a fire-arm or possess any instrument more lethal than a pen-knife.

Today, the racist regime's army and police generals who occupy a central posi-

tion in Pretoria's state machinery, through the State Security Council are making frantic efforts to recruit and arm the »Kaffirs, Coolies and Hotnots» of the 50's to serve as cannon fodder in the defence of a system that has fallen foul of the times, a system that has enslaved and debased us these past 70 years.

It is not that the military might of the regime has declined. It is rather that the people, determined to be free, have taken up arms and, through their own army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, have moved to the offensive.

Today, armed struggle is a vital, indispensable component of the struggle for national and social liberation in South Africa, where the apartheid regime relies for survival on its fascist army and police, on black mercenaries, and on puppet armies and murderous puppet administrations who slaughter men as readily they butcher children, the democratic majority in our country supports the people's army — Umkhonto we Sizwe — whose rising sophistication will yet compound the survival problems of the apartheid system.

C H A L L E N G E

But the challenge confronting Umkhonto we Sizwe in face of current developments in Southern Africa has never been greater. Therefore, in commending its units and commanders on the sustained offensive of the past year, we charge them, and call upon our people to carry the struggle to new heights, and sue for victory tomorrow rather than the day after tomorrow.

To this end, Umkhonto we Sizwe must deepen its roots and grow inextricably among the popular masses; among us — the workers, the peasants, the youth, the women; we, the unemployed, the landless, the homeless, and the starving

millions.

Umkhonto we Sizwe must grow in size, in the spread and quality of its operations, and in the weight of every blow delibered. The armed struggle must grow. We shall achieve victory through a combination of mass political action and organised revolutionary violence.

We address a special message to the white youth. Your future is in issue. The apartheid regime has no future. Like Adolph Hitler and his war machine, after spreading death and destruction everywhere, the regime will be defeated and destroyed everywhere.

The future belongs to the majority of the people of South Africa, black and white, who, in struggle, are today laying the foundations of a united, non-racial democratic South Africa in what will then, but only then, become a peaceful and rapidly advancing region of Africa.

Your proper place is among these builders of a new order in our country. Join them. Refuse to join an army whose sole function is to murder, murder, murder African people everywhere.

It goes without saying that Black youth — African, Indian and so-called Coloured must under no circumstances serve in Pretoria's army of violent repression and criminal aggression. The democratic movement should immediately take up this issue with our youth throughout the country.

Our democratic movement, our movement for national liberation is part of a multi-million strong world alliance of forces which fights for national independence, democracy, social progress and peace. On the other hand, the apartheid regime belongs firmly within the camp of imperialist reaction and is active within this camp to further counter-revolutionary goals.

INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATION

We therefore have an international obligation to be active in the struggle to defeat the counter-offensive that the imperialists, led by the Reagan Administration of the United State, have launched. We too must raise our voice against the war-mongers within NATO who have brought humanity closer to a nuclear holocaust by sabotaging all efforts at achieving nuclear disarmament and who have, instead, unleashed a new arms race and heightened international tension and insecurity. We too must struggle together with the world peace forces especially because the Pretoria regime itself possesses nuclear weapons and maintains secret military relations with the most belligerent circles on the world scene.

We too must speak out and have spoken out against the attempts of the United States to impose its will on the peoples of the world. This policy has already resulted in the criminal invasion of Grenada, the undeclared war against Nicaragua and the direct intervention of the United States in El Salvador, in support of a gang of murderers. It has led to a reign of terror against the people of Palestine and their organisation, the PLO, as well as the people of Lebanon. It has helped Morocco to ignore the resolutions of the OAU and to maintain its colonial hold over the people of Western Sahara. This policy has further delayed the independence of Namibia and emboldened the Pretoria regime itself to seek to impose its will on the peoples of Southern Africa by force of arms.

COMMON DESTINY

In this regard, through a policy of military terror and economic strangulation, the racists seek to compel independent states of our region to surrender their

independence and, as an important part of that surrender, to help evict the ANC from the whole of Southern Africa. Never was there a clearer illustration of the relationship between the struggle to liberate our country and the struggle to defend the independence and sovereignty of the countries of Southern Africa. The peoples of our region share one common destiny. Certainly, that can never be a destiny of subservience to the criminal regime of Pretoria.

As the Maputo Frontline States Summit of March 1982 agreed, the only way forward for the peoples of our region is to support the ANC and SWAPO in our common struggle against the Pretoria regime and to repulse the offensive of the regime against independent Africa.

For some time now, especially since the Maseru massacre, spokesmen of the South African regime have repeatedly boasted of the intimate nature of their collaboration and the happy relations they have with the Government of the Kingdom of Swaziland. The people of Swaziland, like most in the rest of Africa, will have resented that claim, especially if, as we suspect, Pretoria has in mind collaboration in the fruitless attempt to liquidate the ANC by assassinating and harassing its members and supporters in Swaziland.

The trouble about any alliance with apartheid is that the liberation struggle is growing and destined to grow and advance, no matter which or how members and leaders of the liberation movement are arrested in the doubtful interests of either white minority domination or good neighbourliness.

Of course the Botha regime is frantic about the emergence of the ANC as the alternative power on the South African political scene. The regime is frantic also because of its inability to block the

powerful and evidently dangerous thrust of the ANC and the people towards the goal of liberation. The regime is therefore blackmailing African States into an alliance targetted on the destruction of the ANC.

But the ANC has grown among the people of Southern Africa in the past 70 years. It has always embraced and always will embrace them as allies and comrades-in-arms. It is a child of Africa's determination to achieve and enjoy human dignity, freedom and national independence; it will never betray that parentage. It is an integral part of the revolutionary process; it will stay in the revolution until final victory. The ANC is at once the life, the national awareness and the political experience of the popular masses of South Africa. As the people cannot be liquidated, neither can the ANC. We take this opportunity to give a stern warning to some of our people against the dangerous temptation to work as enemy agents for the liquidation of the people's struggle.

INTERNATIONALIST SOLIDARITY

The Socialist countries remain a solid pillar of support to our national liberation struggle. We are assured of their continued internationalist solidarity till the triumph of our revolutionary struggle.

In the past year we have succeeded in widening and deepening our support in the western countries. We are particularly cognisant of the consistent support we receive from Sweden and other Nordic countries, from Holland, Italy and Austria to mention a few. We are happy to report the establishment of a new office in Australia, at the supportive invitation of the Government and people of that friendly country.

Our efforts to win international support have been significantly sustained by a

wide spectrum of anti-apartheid solidarity and mass organisations in almost all the western countries as well as the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. With respect to the latter continent, the occasion of the ceremony of the award of the Simon Bolivar medal of Honour to our people's hero, Nelson Mandela, served the great purpose of laying a firm foundation for the future development of our relations with the peoples of Panama, Venezuela, Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador and other South and Central America countries.

We pay tribute to the progressive forces in the USA for their valiant efforts to achieve wide-scale US disinvestment in South Africa. On them rests the heavy responsibility to defeat the Reagan Administration's racist »constructive engagement« policy with Pretoria, and to curb and confine the aggressive character of American imperialism.

We salute the heroic struggle of the Palestinian people fighting for their birth-right under the tried and tested leadership of the PLO and commend those Arab countries who are making a positive contribution towards the achievement of genuine and lasting peace in the Middle East.

TRIBUTE

Dear Compatriots,

On this historic 72nd Anniversary of the ANC, we pay undying tribute to the many patriots who have fallen in action since January 8 last year. Among these we remember, with great affection, especially Comrades Dora Tamana, Yusuf Mota Dadoo, Rev. James Calata — great stalwarts whose contribution to our movement shall be remembered by all future generations. We dip our revolutionary banner in tribute to the heroic combatants of Umkhonto we Sizwe,

including Comrades Jerry Mosololi, Simon Mogoerane and Thabo Motaung. We pay homage to the martyrs of our people like Saul Mkhize and Msizi Dube — all of whom were murdered in cold blood by the Pretoria regime.

We salute all our leaders and activists incarcerated in Pretoria's dungeons, and greet all those who are banned and banished. We greet you all our working people in the mines and factories, in the fields and highways, in offices, churches, schools, and hospitals and the various other socio-cultural services.

We greet parents, mothers and fathers who manage to raise families against tremendous odds in the face of the genocidal apartheid policies. The loss of life resulting from the operation of this system is staggering. The process and victory of our struggle will redeem the situation. In the meantime as a people, we need to address the problem of lack of respect for human life which is manifest in the growing number of deaths from unnatural causes in the ghettos of our country.

We have just brought to its close a year that we observed as one of United Action. During this year, we built up the unity of our democratic forces as never before. We must defend and consolidate these gains. We must build on them as we move to the next stage of our struggle. »The workers and peasants; women, youth and students; all of us black and white must continue to engage in an ever-broader and united assault on the racist regime and its policies«.

YEAR OF THE WOMEN

One of the principal tasks we have to accomplish this year is, as I have said, the organisation and mobilisation of our

Continued on Page 33

PAY SPECIAL ATTENTION TO THE PERFECTION OF OUR DEFENCE CAPACITY.

**Declaration of the Polit-Bureau of the Central Committee -
of MPLA-Workers' Party on the 23rd Anniversary
of the beginning of the armed struggle
for national liberation.**

"The Angolan people are preparing for the commemoration of one of the most important days of our history, the 4th February, 1961, the day which marks the beginning of the armed struggle for national liberation, an event which, with the development of the liberation war, permitted us to conquer one of the dearest things — Independence."

The significance of February 4th to the Angolan people and the entire people of the sub-continent will for generations remain undiminishing. It was on this day in 1961 when the people of Angola, led by their tried and tested vanguard, the MPLA, decided to launch armed struggle against Portuguese colonialism.



Paying tribute to martyrs of the armed struggle.

"We are living at a very crucial moment of our history as an independent nation, decisive not only for the future of the Angolan revolution, but also for the end of colonialism and apartheid, and for the development of the struggle for economic independence in Africa" the declaration continued.

"The peoples of the Southern region of our continent, with the support of all the democratic and progressive forces the world over, are engaged in these battles and are certain that they contain the basic premises for a lasting peace in this part of Africa. The Angolan people will thus achieve more favourable conditions to transform the large potential wealth of the country into an effective wealth and advance the revolutionary process more rapidly."

The ascendancy of the MPLA to power aroused the indignation of the entire imperialist world. Racist South Africa, with the full knowledge and encouragement of the United States, and allied with Savimbi's UNITA and Holden Roberto's FNLA, invaded the young republic. In seven months of fighting the South African Defence Force came within fifty kilometres of Luanda before they were routed and put to flight by the heroic Angolan army (FAPLA), assisted by the Cuban internationalist forces.

But that did not mark the end of the war for peace-loving Angolans. *"The MPLA has always been the target of imperialist manoeuvres due to its ideological, political and organisational principles, and the revolutionary approach with which it carried out the Angolan revolution."*

"These attacks intensified with its transformation into a party, with the formation of the People's Republic of Angola, with the proclamation of the socialist way of development, with the growing role played by our state in international relations, respecting the principles of peace, non-alignment, anti-imperialism and proletarian internationalism."

The SADF continued recruiting, training, arming and injecting the UNITA bandits into Angola to destabilise the young republic, cause economic instability and disrupt social order, with the ultimate aim of overthrowing the MPLA government and replace it with a reactionary South African-controlled UNITA government.

The racist regime has also been constantly invading Angola, under the pretext of "hot pursuit" or "pre-emptive strikes" against SWAPO guerrillas. We know this is a blatant lie as the main brunt of the South African attacks is borne by FAPLA, and often the victims are unarmed Angolan men, women and children.

"Thus, the policy of racist South Africa, commanded by the administration of the United States of America, has, as its aim, not only the securing of a neo-colonial solution for Namibia, but also and basically, the destruction of the Angolan revolution and the vanguard of the working class — the MPLA-Workers' Party."

On December 15, at the United Nations, South Africa offered a ceasefire and withdrawal from Angola. Like all previous offers, this one also was meant to pull wool over the eyes of the international public as it was followed by a massive invasion into the People's Republic of Angola. All South African aggressions: Operation Moscow (March 1978), Smokeshell (June 1980), Protea (June 1981) and Daisy (November 1981), have followed this pattern.

"The People's Republic of Angola has given proof of its spirit of goodwill in the search for a peaceful and internationally accepted solution for the Namibian question,

MADEIRAS



Scenes like these have become part of the life of the people in the Southern regions of the country.

in the framework of Resolution 435 of 1978. By contrast, racist South Africa, in violation of its recent "wish for peace", carried out a large-scale aggression, in an attempt to broaden the occupation of a major part of our territory. The deaths and destruction which racist South Africa wreaked in the martyred lands of Cunene and Kuando-Kubango are still fresh in our minds...

"The Polit-Bureau condemns the cynicism of the racist regime of South Africa in addressing itself to the Secretary-General of the United Nations proposing a thirty day truce at exactly the moment it was engaged in a new escalation of violent aggression against Cahama, Caiundo, Cuvelai and Mulondo."



Identity cards of a racist soldier killed by Angolan troops during the South African invasion.

According to the Angolan News Agency (Angop), South African planes bombed Caiundo on December 18, killing dozens of unarmed villagers and destroying a school and a hospital. By early January, Angola was reporting that the invading South African force could number 10 000. This makes it the largest South African invasion of Angola since August 1981.

Despite the enemy's vastly superior firepower, the Angolan armed forces (FAPLA) and militia have stood their ground and offered stubborn resistance to the racist invaders. They have successfully held back the onslaught and delivered heavy

blows on the racist enemy. In the recent battle South Africa has lost more troops than in any previous one. Not surprising though, since it is its policy to downplay its losses, Pretoria has only admitted that at least 21 of its troops had been killed.

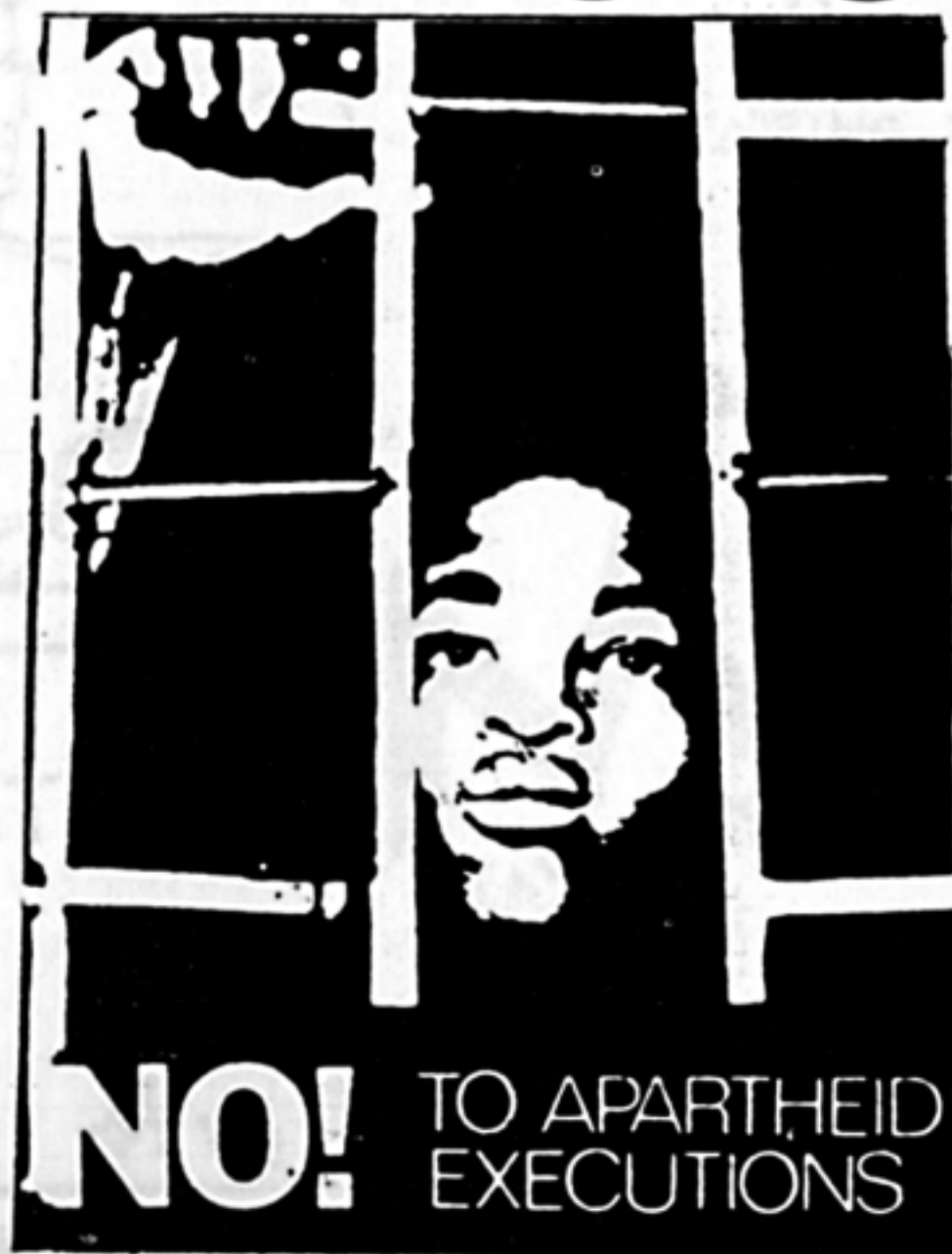
Racist South Africa's determination to play the role of a policeman of imperialist interests in the region, the same way as the United States in the Americas, was aptly summed up by Viljoen, the chief of the SADF, when he sought to justify the incursion into Angola in the following way:

"As little as the United States can afford a Grenada sitting on its doorstep, so little can we allow in our bordering territories the enemies to have a carte blanche."

The declaration continued: *"The aggressive character of South Africa, its massive support for the puppet bandits of UNTA, compels the People's Republic of Angola to continue paying special attention to improving and perfecting our defence capacity... The Polit-Bureau directs the defence and security forces to raise their standard of political and combat preparedness, improve the social conditions of the combatants and perfect the organs of military recruitment, to enable our armed forces to be always in combat readiness, necessary for the defence of our independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and our revolutionary gains"*.

SAVE MOLOISE!

ACT NOW!



NO! TO APARTHEID EXECUTIONS

STOP

THE

RACIST

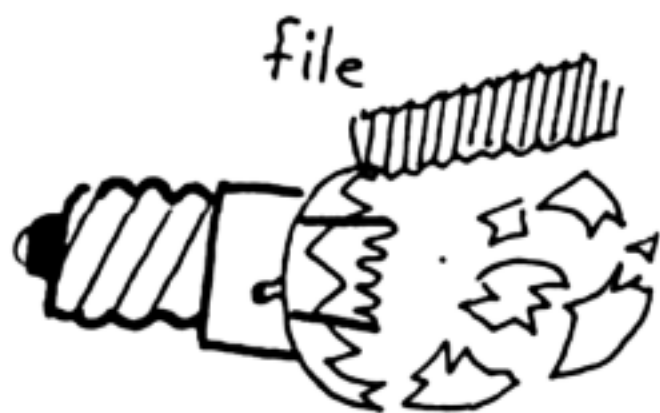
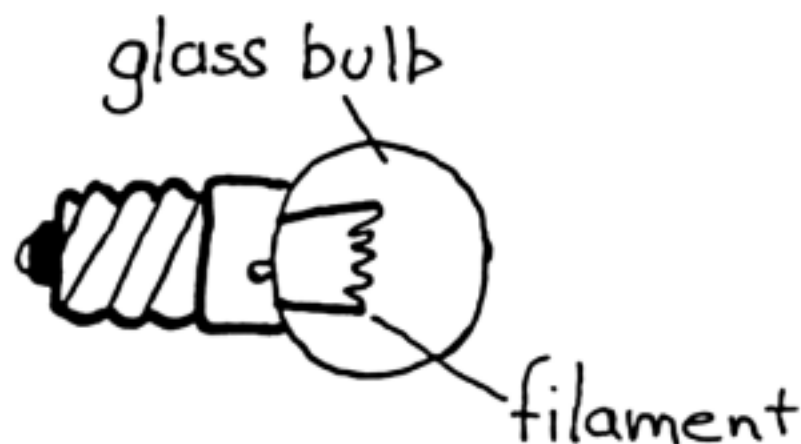
MURDER

LEARN with DAWN

You too Countryman, can be a Freedom Fighter

A common and easy way of making a time-delay is by electric means. If you are unclear about electricity, study diagrams 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9 carefully.

There are a number of ways to make electric igniters. One of the simplest ways is with a small light-bulb, the sort used in electric torches. With an iron file, gently break the glass bulb open, taking care not to damage the wire *filament* (i.e. the part that glows).



Remove the broken glass and fix your incendiary mixture (potassium chlorate and sugar or powdered match-heads) to the filament. The best way of doing this is by using a nail varnish brush dipped in colourless nail varnish which acts like glue, and sprinkling the powder gently over the filament. Next, using a small sol-

dering iron, solder two pieces of thin electric wire, each about 15 cm long, onto the bulb. One wire at the tip A, and the other on the metal side B.

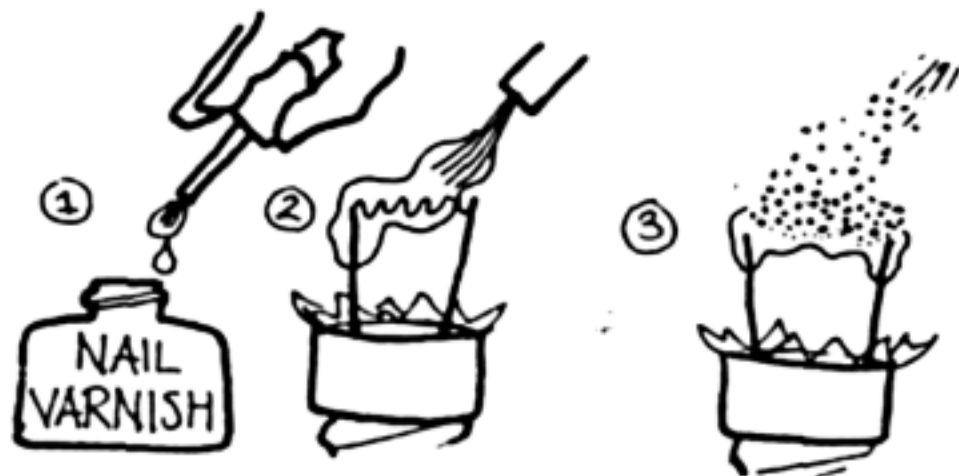
HOW TO MAKE POWDERED MATCH HEADS FOR ELECTRIC IGNITERS:

If you cannot get the chemicals to make incendiary mixtures for electric igniters (e.g. potassium chlorate) you can use the heads of matches instead; but they have to be grinded to powder first.

Remove the match heads from the match sticks either by chipping them off with a knife, or better, by squeezing them with pliers. Do not get any chips of wood mixed with the bits of match heads.

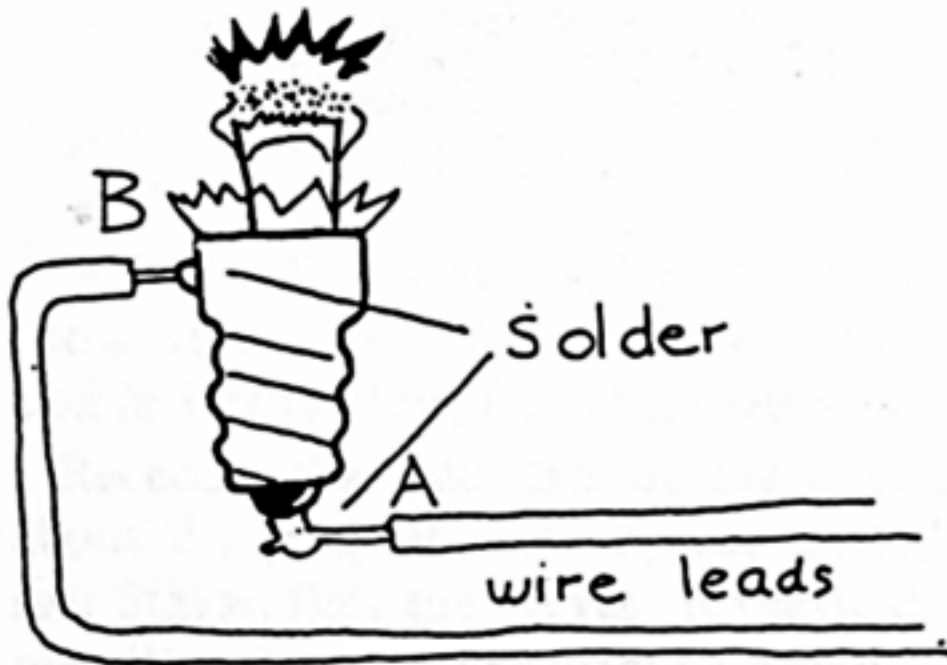
Then grind the match heads using a pestle and mortar; or you can grind them in one of those bowls used for grinding garlic and other spices; or use stones, etc. The match heads should be ground as fine as possible — like flour.

When using the match head powder it is not necessary to mix it with anything (e.g. sugar). Use it as it is. If using it on

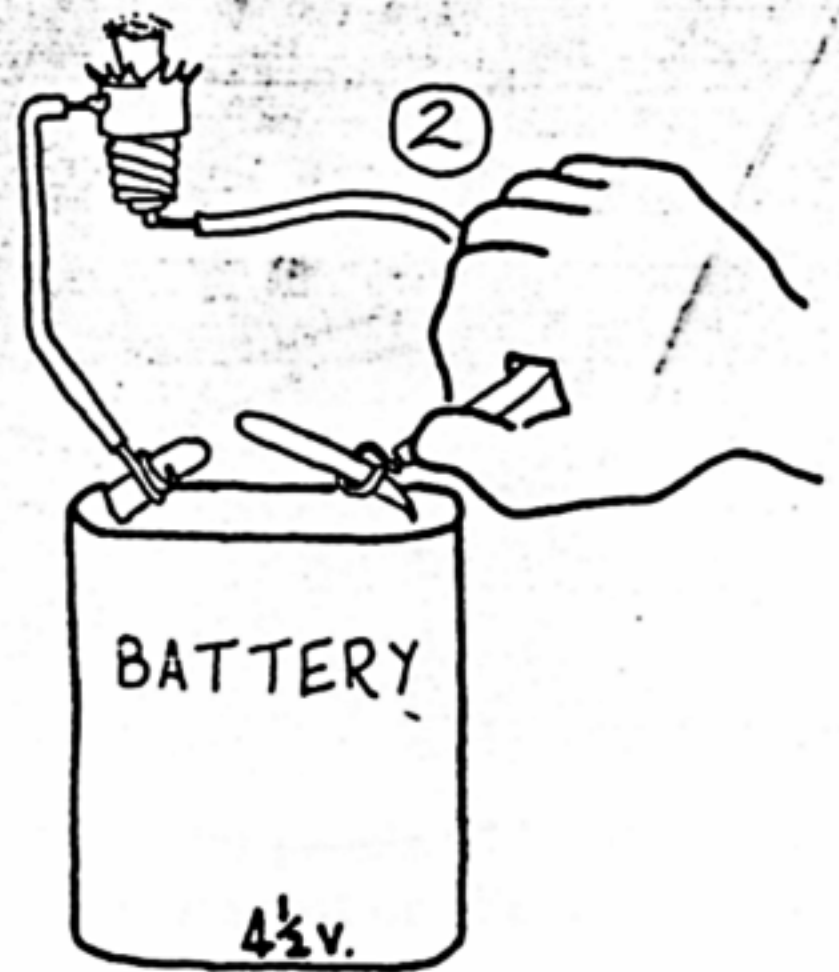


the open bulb igniter it is stuck on in the same way using nail varnish.

You can buy a small electric soldering iron, the solder, and the wire at a hardware shop. The shopkeeper will explain to you how to use them. Practise soldering until you do it perfectly. It is fairly easy to do.



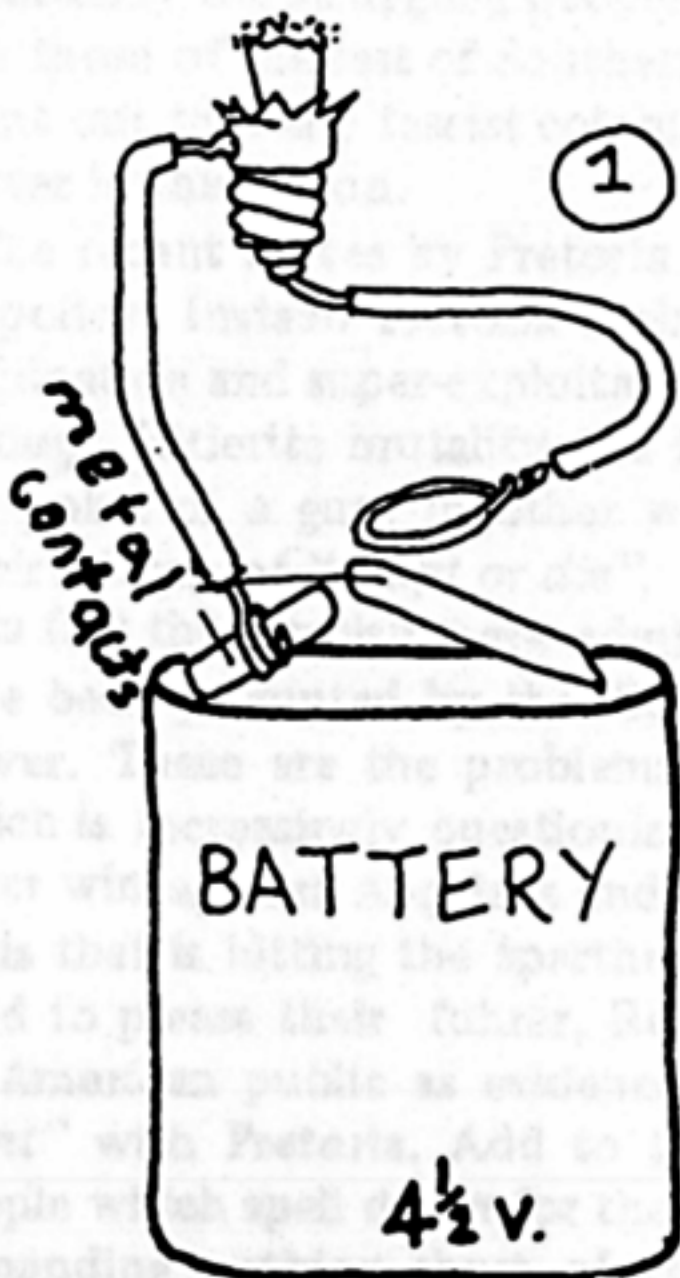
HOW TO CONNECT THE WIRES TO TEST THE IGNITER.



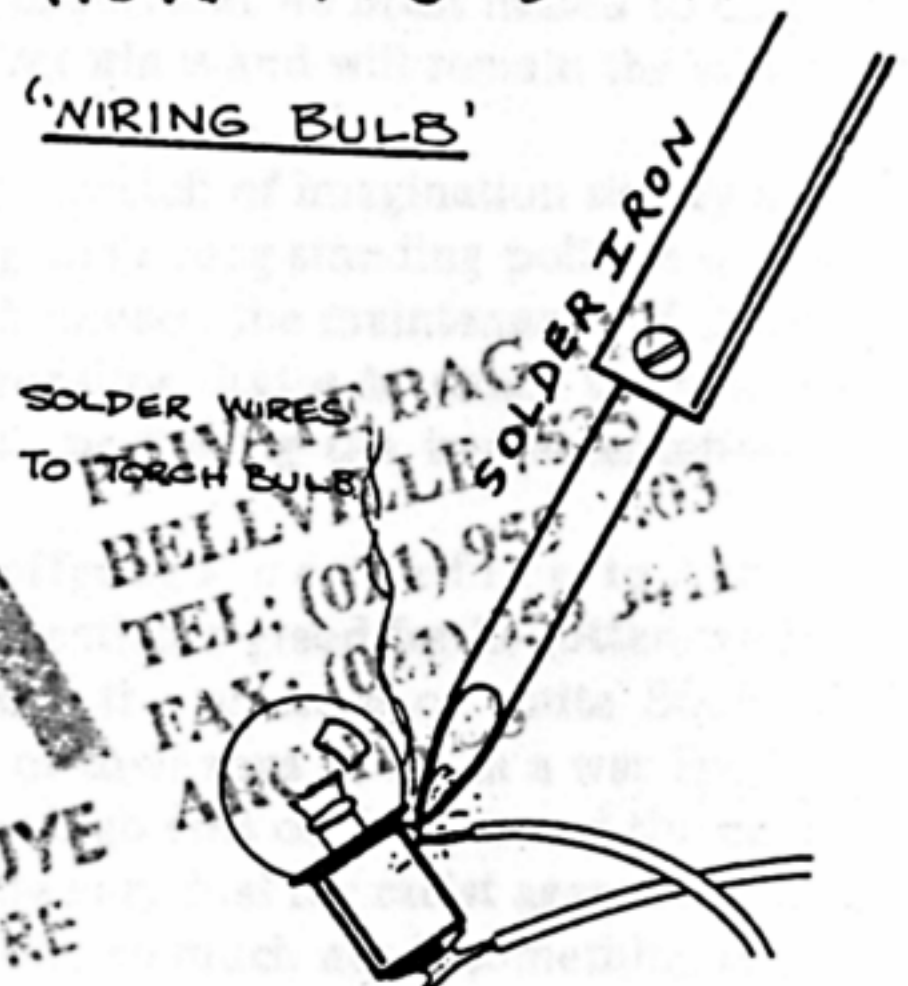
volt or 9 volt battery by touching the leads to the metal contact tags or points on the top (terminals). When both leads are connected to the battery, the filament will glow, causing the incendiary mixture to flash. The igniter can only be used once!

HOW IT'S DONE

'WIRING BULB'



Connect the wires you have soldered onto the bulb to a 4 and a half volt, 6



'PREPARING THE FLUX'

1. CUT THE PLASTIC INSULATION ALL THE WAY ROUND WITHOUT CUTTING THE WIRES INSIDE



2. TIN THE WIRES

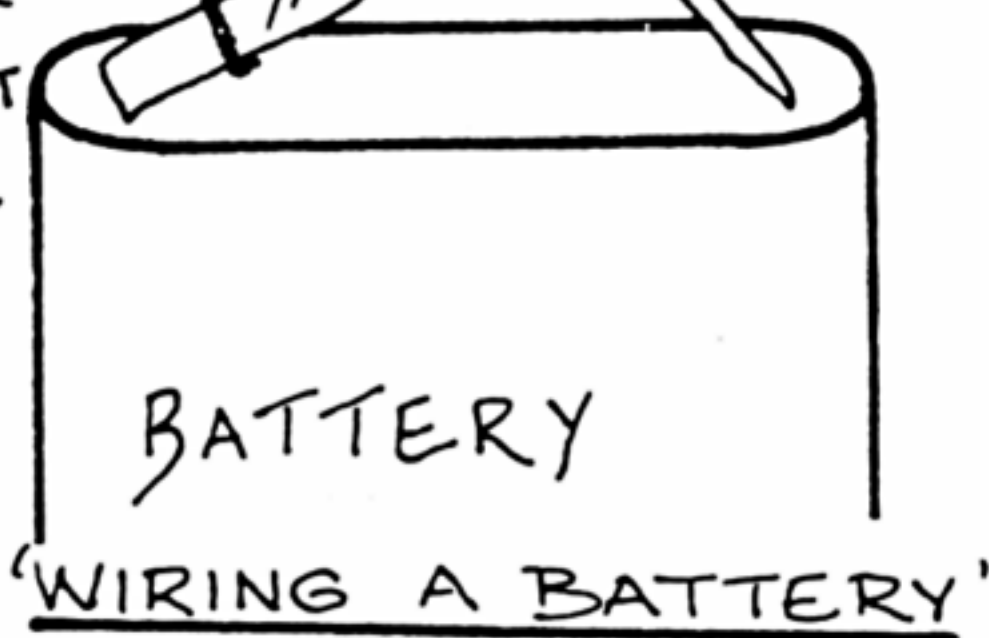
HOW IT'S DONE

IF YOU CAN
SOLDER THESE
JOINTS

MAKE LOOP, SLIDE
OVER CONTACT.

EVEN
BETTER
CONTACT
WILL BE
MADE.

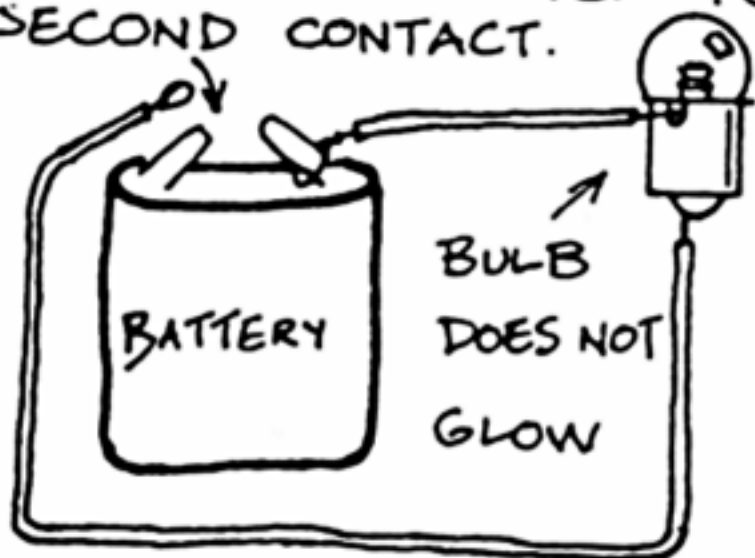
METAL CONTACTS
(TERMINALS)



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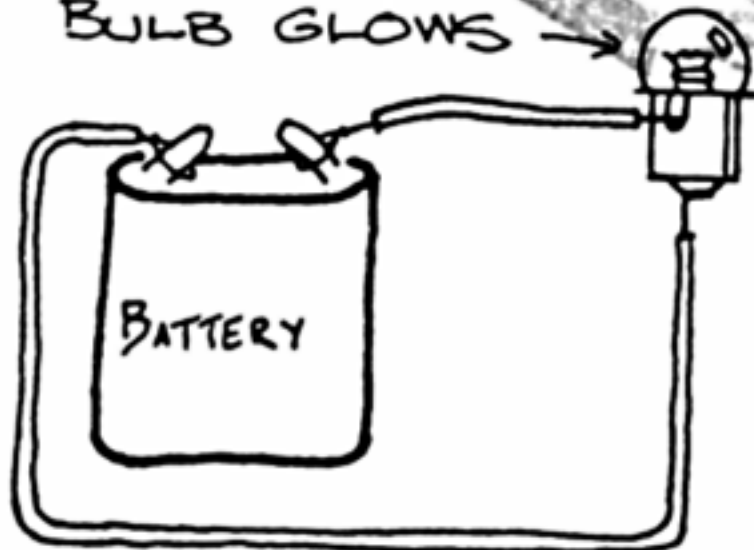
HOW IT WORKS

WIRE IS NOT JOINED TO
SECOND CONTACT.



1. CIRCUIT NOT COMPLETED.

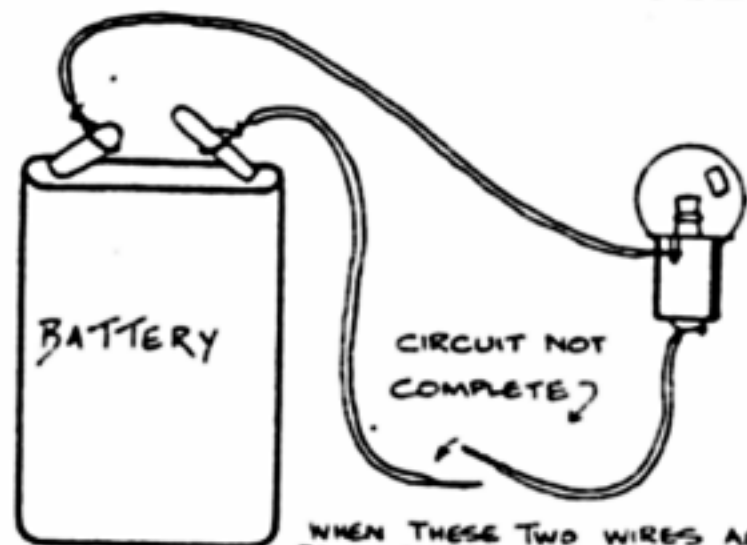
WIRE JOINED -
BULB GLOWS



2. CIRCUIT COMPLETED

'CONNECTING THE BULB'

AN ELECTRIC CIRCUIT



WHEN THESE TWO WIRES ARE
TOUCHED TOGETHER CONTACT
IS MADE AND THE BULB GLOWS. THIS IS
WHAT AN ELECTRICAL TIMER OR BOOBY
TRAP DOES. THEY SIMPLY COMPLETE THE
CIRCUIT AT THE RIGHT MOMENT

WHY THE BULB WILL GLOW.

The light goes on when the electric current from the battery runs along the wires, through the bulb and back to battery. Its path is called a circuit. If the cut wires touch, the circuit is complete and the bulb wire will light up.

NEXT ISSUE: How To Use An Electric Igniter.

STRAIGHT TALK...

PEACE FROM PRETORIA?

Angola continues to bleed, and bury her dead. The entire people of Southern Africa continue to live under a constant threat of death and destruction. Yet there is jubilation in Washington, London, Paris and Bonn.

Recently the paid liars of the imperialist mass media have been screaming hymns about the progress made by the Botha-Malan clique in seeking peace with the Frontline States; first the moves towards the so-called non-aggression pact with Mozambique, then the ceasefire offer to Angola.

SOURCE OF WAR

Certainly the struggling people of South Africa led by the African National Congress, like those of the rest of Southern Africa need peace. But we must hasten to once more point out that the fascist colonial regime of Pretoria is and will remain the very source of war in this region.

The recent moves by Pretoria do not by any stretch of imagination signify a change of policy. Instead Pretoria is simply adjusting their long-standing policies of colonial domination and super-exploitation of the black masses, the maintenance of this system through Hitlerite brutality and forcing the Frontline States to dance to their tune at the point of a gun. In other words Botha is perfecting the implementation of his fascist slogan of "adapt or die".

In fact these racists have admitted that in offering a ceasefire to Angola they have been prompted by the dictates of their insatiable greed for ill-gotten wealth and power. These are the problems stemming from the pressure of white South Africa which is increasingly questioning the sending of their sons to die in a war Pretoria will never win against Angolans and Namibians, the high cost of the war and the deepening crisis that is hitting the apartheid economy, the very fuel for racist aggression, and the need to please their fuhrer, Ronald Reagan who so much needs something to present to American public as evidence of the success of the so-called "constructive engagement" with Pretoria. Add to this the growing organised political actions of our people which spell doom for the entire apartheid system. Like all Africa our people are demanding nothing short of complete political independence over every inch of South Africa and full control of the wealth they produce.

Continued on Page 24

DOROTHY NYEMBE

**15 YEARS IMPRISONMENT
WELCOME HOME!**



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MAYIBUYE
CENTRE

**JAILED ~ 1969 * RELEASED ~ 1984
SYMBOL OF THE COURAGE AND
RESILIENCE OF OUR WOMEN**

DOROTHY NYEMBE

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Pretoria hopes that with its fake concern for peace it will succeed in reducing the leaders and governments of the Frontline States to puppets of the Matanzima, Sebe, Hendrickse and Rajbansi-type. In turn the Frontline States would be expected to assist the racist rulers in realising the dream of destroying the ANC and to turn a blind eye to the enslavement of their brother people in South Africa. In this way, the Botha-Malan clique reasons, the Pretoria reich will be assured of more decades of unchallenged rule over the whole Southern African region. The imperialist multi-national corporations will thus have a paradise of super-profits.

Do the Pretoria fascists also hope that the peoples of Southern Africa will ever forget their beastly crimes committed in Angola, Namibia, Matola, Maseru? **N e v e r !** The scars left by their bullets, napalm and poisonous chemicals will remain visible as a painful reminder even long after the Pretoria regime had been destroyed.

It was therefore in line with the long-standing policies of Pretoria that weeks after the world had come to hear of the latest ceasefire moves by Pretoria, on the 29th December the racist Air Force was continuing with bombing raids into Angola (Luivo near Lubango) as part of the so-called Operation Askari which was launched on the 14th of December. Likewise the report by the *Financial Mail* (February 3, 1984) that Pretoria "appeared reassured enough by the US to proceed with complex and highly significant moves..." can only be an indication of the treacherous plots being hatched by the unholy Reagan-Botha alliance against the peoples of Southern Africa. What is more the very source of aggression in the whole region, that is the apartheid system of fascist colonial domination and super-exploitation remains unchanged. Worse still, it is being entrenched through the racist manoeuvres like President's Council and Constitutional proposals and Koornhof Bills.

REAL PEACE

Contrary to the Botha-Malan's fascist colonial regime which uses its economic might and open military aggression against the Frontline States, Angola stands out as a true champion of peace. Although between 1976 and October 1983 1 500 Angolans have been murdered by the South African racist soldiers and their UNITA running dogs with over 2 100 wounded and over 160 000 villages turned into refugees by the same aggressors, Angola has never even for a single moment crossed her border to commit aggression against her neighbours. She continues to stand firmly behind the people of Namibia and South Africa led by SWAPO and the ANC respectively. Angola is striving for implementation of UN Resolution 435 for the attainment of Namibia's independence. Likewise Angola sees the destruction of Pretoria's criminal regime and the winning of national liberation by the people of South Africa as the only guarantee of peace in our region.

Our people led by the ANC in South Africa are more than ever before aware of their historic mission of destroying the fascist regime and replace it with people's power to build a new society which, as the Freedom Charter declares, "shall strive to maintain world peace and settlement of all international disputes by negotiation — not war." We are convinced that we will win no matter how high the price we will have to pay and lasting peace will finally prevail among all our peoples in Southern Africa.

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TO MY MOTHER

My dear parent,

Cordial and perpetual greetings to all at home. I suppose the whole family is apprehensive and to some extent bitter, over my sudden and unexpected departure. I am bitter myself but it could not be otherwise.

I admit that much was sacrificed to educate me in an effort to secure a better future for me. I assure you mama that all those painstaking efforts, the agonies you experienced for my benefit, were not in vain. I am what you dreamed of. The fruit of the tree you planted, nurtured with your blood and sweat, will be picked and enjoyed not only by you, but by all black parents who like you, are today experiencing untold suffering and humiliation, the African people who are brutally oppressed and exploited by the fascist minority regime and its imperialist allies.

Mama, the choice to leave my beloved country was forced upon me. I had to either lead my already miserable life in perpetual slavery or actively participate in the noble struggle to rid my country of apartheid and its evils. I consciously opted for the latter. My experiences as an African child, born and bred under an obnoxious political system led to a realisation that racist oppression and capitalist exploitation will certainly continue and intensify unless we not only echo even louder our demands for a free and democratic South Africa, but also arm ourselves with modern spears and confront the enemy with arms in hand.

Apartheid feeds on the blood and sweat of millions of the oppressed and exploited masses. I was ceaselessly haunted by memories of hundreds of my fellow-countrymen who were mercilessly butchered in cold-blood by fascist police and soldiers on June 16th 1976. I am deeply sorry to bring back the past mama but it is with a bleeding heart that I am writing this part of the letter. I just can't stop the flow of tears from my eyes. June 16 presented a challenge to the oppressed, particularly the youth. I could not mourn endlessly. I had to find my rightful place in the struggle for liberation, the struggle against the very system which breeds inequality and violence. Is it not this heinous system which conceived an inferior type of education and attempted to force it down our throats?

I learnt there existed a solution to our suffering: the African National Congress and our people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe. Together with my friends, we tuned in the voice of the oppressed, namely, *Radio Freedom* and was deeply touched and greatly inspired by the words of courage and determination I heard over the air. The bitter war of liberation that was waged by the people of Zimbabwe inspired me even greater.



I did not know much about the armed struggle raging in Namibia then, except what I got through racist-controlled mass media, which is most often than not permeated with pernicious lies. Nevertheless, I have since come to know that the people of Namibia, led by their vanguard movement, the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO of Namibia) are engaged in a life and death struggle against the very regime which is oppressing us.

Mama, do you remember the tumultuous situation which prevailed in our country in 1974? I mean the pro-FRELIMO rallies. I met a friend who vividly recalled these events to me. The victory of the heroic people of Mozambique against Portuguese colonialism inspired me greatly. It became very clear to my friends and myself that no force on earth, however heavily armed and brutal it might be, can withstand the wrath of a united and determined people fighting for justice and freedom.

Thus, when the time came, I did not hesitate. I joined my friends, who, like myself, were prepared to join the forces of liberation. It pains me a lot mama, but I couldn't bid you goodbye. Time was against me.

The architects of apartheid are sweating profusely at their drawing boards and a campaign of slander is in progress. Our vanguard movement, the ANC, is called a 'marxist-infested' and 'communist-inspired' organisation. Freedom fighters are referred to as 'terrorists' who commit horrible crimes against 'innocent civilians'. To crown it all, they also claim to be a 'God-chosen nation' to lead us, Africans, from bondage, barbarism and backwardness. As if these insults were not enough, Africans according to these self-styled 'pioneers of civilisation' are not developed and capable of ruling.

Mama, all these are frantic attempts aimed at discrediting the forces of freedom. The racist regime cannot stem the revolutionary tide sweeping across our country and is thus resorting to "every method in the book" to save their crumbling house, like a person applying first aid to a patient who needs a major operation. All these attempts are doomed to failure.

You may be asking yourself, what then is the ANC? The African National Congress is a people's movement representing the aspirations of the down-trodden masses for a free and democratic South Africa, free from racist tyranny and exploitation of man by man, a South Africa of the future based on the people's revolutionary document — the

RENDERING ENEMY SCHEMES UNWORKABLE

In December angry residents of Soweto threw petrol bombs at the Emdeni house of a Soweto councillor, puppet Patrick Gaboutloele, while stooge Joseph Mahuhushi, the 'mayor' of the Diep-Meadow Town Council, had his house gutted by

fire, causing damage to the tune of R320 000.

Gaboutloele is an incorrigible sell-out. He continued being a councillor, notwithstanding the wrath of the people. His house was petrol bombed again on Janua-

Freedom Charter.

Freedom fighters are patriots boundlessly devoted to the noble cause of freedom enshrined in the Freedom Charter. You need not be apprehensive, the ANC is my home, my educator. I am in excellent health and in good spirits. We are a big and happy family, united by our community of goals and interests. We value each other's lives. Even though I am not long here, I am now definitely a new man.

Mama, the knowledge that you are still chained to a vicious monster, apartheid, strengthens my courage and determination to execute my tasks with high morale and unswerving dedication. Your memories are a great inspiration to me. The task that lies ahead is indeed difficult. Have faith and courage. Our revolutionary struggle is not an isolated event. On the contrary, it is part of the international revolutionary movement, aimed at liberating mankind from the yoke of tyrannical regimes, colonialism and exploitation of man by man, for a better world free from national antagonisms, economic subjugation and war.

I have but only one request to make to you. I will be more than grateful if you could also join in the fight against apartheid. In the struggle such as ours there is a part and a role for all of us, young and old alike. Maybe you have already. Well, if that is the case, how wonderful it is to have a parent like you.

My fate is in the hands of the revolution. I hope I will be able to join the family in a liberated and democratic South Africa. If not, please weep not for I shall have laid my life for a cause so majestic. I don't regret. My life is with the revolution. Time is on our side and the world is with us. Think not about me. Surely our victory is in sight.

Do write to me but please take care. This letter is for your eyes only. Once more, please give my kind regards to all at home. Unfortunately I must say good-bye for time is really flying. Till we meet again.

From your son,

M.K. Cadre.



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ry 18, added, during the same week, to the houses of Soweto 'mayor', stooge Ephraim Tshabalala, and puppet Mashao of Dobsonville, which had suffered a similar fate.

What has driven the people of Soweto to use violence against the councillors? After all, some people may argue, these councillors were elected by the people. What can they have done, so soon, to arouse the people's anger and hatred? The answer is to be found in the manner in which the elections were conducted,

and the results of those elections.

Elections for community councils under the new Local Government Authorities Act took place on December 3 1983 in Soweto. Pretoria had not asked the people whether they accepted these authorities or not. Despite that, the people of Soweto, through their organisations like the Soweto Civic Association, the UDF, etc, had repeatedly voiced their opposition to the local authorities.

According to Pretoria's reports, 80 per cent of the eligible voters boycotted the

Fire razes mayor's house

By SOPHIE TEMA
NEIGHBOURS battled frantically to free the wife of Mr Joseph Mahuhushi, "mayor" of the Diepmeadow

elections, thereby demonstrating that the overwhelming majority rejected local government authorities. But further investigations have showed that even that 80 percent boycott was not a true reflection of the election results. In a statement released to *The Star* by Frank Chikane, Transvaal UDF vice-president, the official results have been proved to be false and exaggerated.

According to the statement, the 1980 census showed that there were 615 000 eligible voters in Soweto and Diepmeadow. The number of people who are supposed to have voted is only 31 910. On the basis of these figures it becomes clear that the boycott of the elections was as high as 95 percent. Considering the fact that these are the 1980 census figures, and not the 1983 ones, then it becomes even worse.

Less than 5 percent of the people of Soweto voted for Tshabalala. This proves that the people of Soweto want to have nothing to do with Pretoria's schemes of robbing the black majority of their birth-right to South Africa by any form of constitutional juggling. Any normal state would have realised that the local government authorities are a non-starter. But the

minority racist regime is an exception to this rule, surviving as it does, by making it its policy to ignore the voice of the majority.

True to this policy, Piet Koornhof who heads the racist ministry of Co-operation and Development installed puppets like Tshabalala in spite of the 95 percent boycott. What must the people do if after using peaceful and non-violent methods, their voice is disregarded and spat upon by the racist regime? The answer is



The burnt out house of puppet Mahuhushi.

Another bomb attack on Soweto councillors

By STAN HLOPHE
PELLUCE tried to free the wife of the mayor of Diepmeadow when the house was hit by a petrol bomb.

The petrol bomb was hurled from the second floor of the house and landed in the garden. It exploded, setting the house on fire. The fire spread rapidly, and the house was completely destroyed. The petrol bomb was thrown by a group of young men who were protesting against the local government.



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Mayor's wife trapped in her mansion blazes

By SOPHIE TEMA
NEIGHBOURS battled frantically to free the wife of Mr Joseph Mahuhushi, Mayor of the Diepmeadow Town Council, when she was trapped in a burning house that gutted their Masakhelana home early yesterday morning.

The Soweto Fire Brigade sent a single fire engine which ran out of water at the scene. Firemen had to clear the fire in both water.

In another incident, a petrol bomb was thrown through the bedroom window of the late Masakhelana's residence.

Councillors' homes hit by petrol bombs

By STAN HLOPHE
MEMBERS of the Soweto mayor and a Councillor's council have been petrol-bombed by unknown people within 24 hours of each other.

First in the petrol bomb was the home of Mr Ephraim Tshabalala, Soweto's new mayor, at about 2.30am on Monday.

Three petrol bombs were thrown, causing an estimated damage of R1 000.

Mr Masha, said a school principal at the Bayikuru Higher Primary School in Diepmeadow, said he was woken by a bang and smelled something like petrol.

The curtains, sofa, and carpet had already caught fire. Fortunately there was enough water in the house.

institutions have failed to deceive the people, and, as a result only terror can keep these quislings in power.

It is against this background of the crumbling of puppet authorities that Pretoria, hiding its head in the sand like the proverbial ostrich, plans to go ahead holding elections among the so-called Coloureds and Indians, instead of a referendum on the new constitution. We are in no doubt that in this case also the regime intends to disregard the voice of the majority in the two communities. Of course the result will be the same. The majority will make it impossible for Pretoria's puppets to rule over them.

All puppet bodies: bantustans, local government authorities, the management committees, and second-hand participation in the President's Council, have one thing in common. In all cases the racist regime denied the majority a referendum on the issues involved. No referendum was held among the Black majority as to whether they want puppet regimes to rule over them in rural slums called bantustans, nor whether 'urban' Blacks wanted to have stooges to govern them under the Local Government Authorities Act, in what can only be ghettostans.

No referendum will be held among so-called Coloureds and Indians as to whether they accept participation in the sham tri-cameral parliament, whose sole purpose is to use the two communities as

Fire razes mayor's house

By SOPHIE TEMA

NEIGHBOURS battled frantically to free the wife of Mr Joseph Mahuhushi, "mayor" of the Diepmeadow

elections, thereby demonstrating that the overwhelming majority rejected local government authorities. But further investigations have showed that even that 80 percent boycott was not a true reflection of the election results. In a statement released to *The Star* by Frank Chikane, Transvaal UDF vice-president, the official results have been proved to be false and exaggerated.

According to the statement, the 1980 census showed that there were 615 000 eligible voters in Soweto and Diepmeadow. The number of people who are supposed to have voted is only 31 910. On the basis of these figures it becomes clear that the boycott of the elections was as high as 95 percent. Considering the fact that these are the 1980 census figures, and not the 1983 ones, then it becomes even worse.

Less than 5 percent of the people of Soweto voted for Tshabalala. This proves that the people of Soweto want to have nothing to do with Pretoria's schemes of robbing the black majority of their birthright to South Africa by any form of constitutional juggling. Any normal state would have realised that the local government authorities are a non-starter. But the

minority racist regime is an exception to this rule, surviving as it does, by making it its policy to ignore the voice of the majority.

True to this policy, Piet Koornhof who heads the racist ministry of Co-operation and Development installed puppets like Tshabalala in spite of the 95 percent boycott. What must the people do if after using peaceful and non-violent methods, their voice is disregarded and spat upon by the racist regime? The answer is



The burnt out house of puppet Mahuhushi.

Another fire bomb attack on Soweto councillors

By STAN KLOPPER
 A firebomb was hurled at the home of Mr Mahuhushi, mayor of the Diepmeadow, on Monday night. The bomb struck the house and the councillor's wife was injured. The firebomb was hurled from a balcony of a house at 11th Street, near the intersection of 11th Street and the Diepmeadow. The firebomb was hurled from a balcony of a house at 11th Street, near the intersection of 11th Street and the Diepmeadow. The firebomb was hurled from a balcony of a house at 11th Street, near the intersection of 11th Street and the Diepmeadow.



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 ARCHIVES

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Mayor's wife trapped in fire as her mansion blazes

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Councillors' homes hit by petrol bombs

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institutions have failed to deceive the people, and, as a result only terror can keep these quislings in power.

It is against this background of the crumbling of puppet authorities that Pretoria, hiding its head in the sand like the proverbial ostrich, plans to go ahead holding elections among the so-called Coloureds and Indians, instead of a referendum on the new constitution. We are in no doubt that in this case also the regime intends to disregard the voice of the majority in the two communities. Of course the result will be the same. The majority will make it impossible for Pretoria's puppets to rule over them.

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Petrol bomb



*IT HAS BECOME DANGEROUS TO
BE A PUPPET IN SOWETO. THE
PEOPLE'S PATIENCE HAS ENDED.*



cannon fodder in defence of apartheid. All because Pretoria knows that its policies are opposed by the overwhelming majority. It is this awareness that makes Pretoria's schemes a deliberate and cold-blooded design to trample on all norms of civilised behaviour, democracy and international law, thereby giving the racist regime the character of a criminal one.

But the voice of the majority cannot be stifled. On the weekend of December 16 and 17, the annual conference of the United Democratic Front held in Port Elizabeth discussed the necessity of calling for a national referendum, irrespective of race. In the proposed referendum, people will be asked to choose between the racist regime's constitutional proposals and the UDF's proposal for the holding of a national convention in which South Africans of all races will decide on a type of government they want.

CAMPAIGN

In mid-January a campaign to collect signatures from all over the country was initiated by the UDF. It is a foregone conclusion that Pretoria will not only lose in such a democratic process, but will also oppose a referendum and a national convention — specifically because there is no greater enemy to racist discrimina-

tion than democracy. It is therefore the duty of all South Africans who love their country to rally behind the call of the UDF.

As we mobilise ourselves for a national convention, we must not forget that whenever we push for our demands strongly enough to threaten racist supremacy, the boers never hesitate to use violence against us. Therefore let us at the same time prepare for war in defence of our demands, ourselves and our country as we mobilise and march forward to people's power.



*Adapted from a Radio Freedom
Luanda, broadcast — 23/1/84*

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RE ARCHIVES



NOMALIZO KOMANI IS A LEADING CADRE OF UMKHONTO WE SIZWE WORKING IN ONE OF THE FRONTLINE COUNTRIES. SHE SPOKE TO DAWN ON THE STRUGGLE OF WOMEN INSIDE THE COUNTRY. RESPONDING TO THE QUESTION WHY THERE SEEMS TO BE A RELATIVE WEAKENSS IN THE VOICE OF WOMEN COMPARED TO THE 50's, SHE SAID:

“The mobilisation and struggles of women in our country cannot be isolated from the general mass struggles. This means that when we analyse the activities of women we have to take them within the context of the general trend in the national liberation struggle. Also to understand properly the events now we have to briefly look into our history.

“The revolutionary path to victory is not and cannot be a straightline of successes without problems and setbacks. It is a difficult road, going upward in spirals, with moments of offense as well as defence, with eras of onslaught at high level and seeming lull, with consistent recovery and growing strength from whatever setbacks or blows of the enemy. In our case the roaring 50's as that decade is known, were a decade of offensive, a decade of decisive onslaught against the enemy. Our women under the leadership of the African National Congress and umbrella women organisation, FEDSAW, occupied the forward trenches in the fierce battles waged against all manifestations of apartheid. The role played by the women in actions like the Defiance Campaign in 1952, Congress of the People in 1955, formation of FEDSAW itself in 1954, anti-pass campaigns in 1956, and so on, are a reflection of the offensive of the masses in our country.

“However, the banning of our organisations as well as detentions, bannings and banishments of our leaders and cadres in 1960 dealt the national liberation movement a blow from which we were to take a long time to recover. A new and difficult era of illegality and the consequent resort to armed struggle was ushered in. Therefore, FEDSAW, though it was not banned, its effectiveness was crippled by the victimisation of its effective leadership and exile of others.

“The period between the Treason Trial and perhaps early 70's was a period of repression and reaction from the ruling clique where all forces of reaction were let loose on the masses. It was a painful and testing period of regrouping and reorganisation on

the part of the masses and their vanguard movement, the ANC, actually a period of defence. We had to defend against the onslaught. As such all the resources, both human and material were concentrated on this mammoth task — regroup, reorganise, defend and prepare for fresh offensives.

“This then means that our women, who earlier had been charged with the task of mobilising the women openly, had the urgent task of organising the regrouping of all our forces, as well as creating conditions favourable for armed struggle. This then is the era that people always refer to as a period of lull in the national liberation struggle. Actually it was no lull but regrouping in view of the offensive of the enemy.

“However, in the 70’s another decade was ushered in. Whereas in the 60’s we were fighting to keep our heads just above the water, in the 70’s we had clearly come out. We emerged fighting strongly. The 1973 workers strikes, the 1972–73 students boycott and so on, were heralding another era of growth in the liberation struggle. Militant organisations like SASO, SASM and BPC were gaining strength. In 1974, the pro-FRELIMO rallies, formation of the Black Women Federation, in 1975, and the heroic uprisings in 1976 are but a few landmarks demonstrating the return to the offensive position by our people.

“Definitely our women were in the forefront of these actions. We only have to check within the ranks of the ANC both inside and outside South Africa to find women thrown up by these upsurges. So that what you call relative weakness in the *Voice of Women* has to be seen in the light of the past decades and the objective situation prevailing all over our country.

“But I want to hasten to add that if we correctly analyse this decade of the 80’s, which our people have declared the *Decade of Liberation*, we will find that it is the decade of the most militant resolute onslaught against the enemy on all fronts. For proof, if any doubting Thomas needs any, we only have to look at the working people of our country, their daily strikes, their consistent efforts to fight for a single democratic trade union federation, their economic and political demands and so on; look at the militant campaigns of the masses against the Community Councils, the Indian Council, the President’s Council, the racist independence celebrations, the forced removals, the hikes in busfares, rents and many such daring actions.



Women fight police at Crossroads.

"We will also realise that the people have unbanned their movement, the African National Congress. How many times has the black, green and gold people's flag been hoisted in public gatherings, funerals, etc? Are the people not currently fighting for the unconditional release of their leaders? We can, if we are honest, definitely salute the formation of the long awaited United Democratic Front which unites our people into a strong, united and democratic fighting front. The women can never be left out here. In what I have mentioned above, the indomitable spirit of our women came out clearly. The women at Nyanga, Crossroads, Kliptown and many other places are certainly leading the battles against removals. We also need to mention the role of the working women in the democratic trade union movement and in the current strikes.

"The political consciousness of our women has grown tremendously — after all their number in industry has increased and so has their class consciousness. The assaults against our masses have increased too, and have made it clear to all freedom-loving people in the country that their only salvation is through united action. In essence all the conditions for an increase not only in the political consciousness at home but conscious action against the enemy exists and our women have taken their rightful place in the upsurges currently sweeping across the country.

"Needless to mention, even the women organisations have grown. We are witnessing the growth in numbers and strength in organisations like UWO, FEDSAW, etc. Our women are currently working towards a National Congress of Women at which they have already declared that the question of a United Women's Front will be discussed. They are therefore aware that the differences that exist among them are not fundamental and can only serve the enemy.

"We can only salute our women and urge them on to greater victories. We call on them to work tirelessly for one united and democratic women's organisation. Our battle-cry is — *Women Unite for the People's Power!* and make the call **ALL FOR THE FRONT! ALL FOR VICTORY!** a reality."

Continued from Page 12

»... MARCH FORWARD TO PEOPLE'S POWER»

womenfolk into struggle. For this reason in the name of the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress I declare 1984 **THE YEAR OF THE WOMEN**, and charge the entire democratic and patriotic forces of our country with the task of joining in the effort to mobilise our women to unite in struggle for a people's power!

To all true patriots of our country, we extend best wishes for success in our common struggle during this, **THE YEAR OF THE WOMEN!**

MOBILISE AND MARCH FORWARD TO PEOPLE'S POWER!

A m a n d l a n g a w e t h u !

M a t l a k e a r o n a !

P o w e r t o t h e P e o p l e !

COME SEE US MR. PRESIDENT

President Ronald Reagan

*Now and again I hear your name called
People say you're some movie star
You might say I've got some airs
I'm just not calling anybody Sir
Even if they're a president of the USA
I hear you call Pretoria allies
That's something serious I reckon
So I'm writing this humble missive*

*I invite you Mr. President
To the carpet of smashed black skulls
Upon which towers majestic Jo'burg city
A desecration of the gold-vein-milker's grave
The yellow earth his sepulchral pity
For a piece of protective apparel
For a wisp of imprisoned justice
Locked away in steel vaults*

*I invite you Mr. President
Visit Crossroads the city of sack and tin
Across white-on-black asphalt highways
You may snap-shot Dimbaza even
From the skyscrapers beyond the eye away
The rats and mice make quite a scene
While disease pursues a strategy based on skin
So bring your fair children along*

*I invite you Mr. President
To follow undulating plains of Transkei
I reckon that'll suit you good
Your synthesized food has sure markets
You may try quarantine Lebowa too
I know you won't mind the cholera*



MAYIBUYE
CENTRE

*Come play with tummies that hang like buckets
For rodeo here is unknown Mr. President.*

*I invite you Mr. President
For a jolly afternoon train ride
Down to Soweto in the yellow dust
By the station a-shooing clouds of carrion
Join the queue and buy your offal fast
Then select some bones for soup
The maggots you won't mind I know
Not for utopian alternatives.*

*I invite you Mr. President
Oh, for the spell-binding PUTCO ride
Across the Rand to laconic Pretoria
Many people there will recognise Mr. President
As my fate cannot be foretold
Sure I will be unsupportable an aria
Sure you can't forget the old American way
»I brought me-self one nigger miscreant»
What a jolly good ally they'll sing*

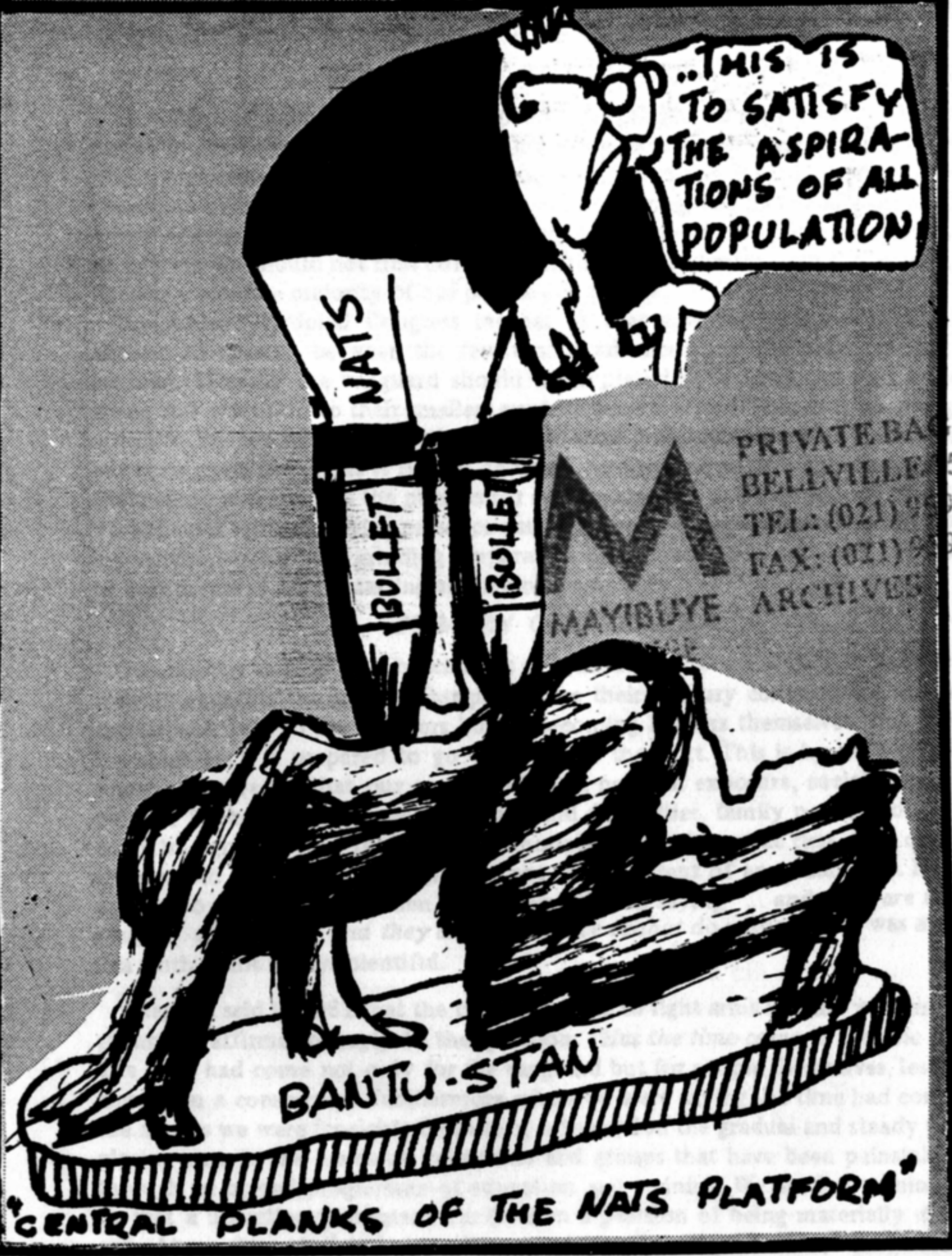
*I beseech you Mr. President
Sure you can't let slip this chance
I know you are busy – try just once
You'll see our scars
You'll see our tears
And we'll demonstrate we're in the right
For pretend as you may
You know why we fight.*



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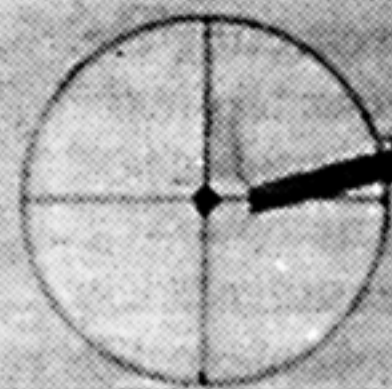
– LOVEJOY KARAS

DAWNLIGHT: BANTU-STANS



MK SOLDIERS'

VIEWPOINT



MASS CREATIVITY, MASS WARFARE

— BRYCE MOTSAMAI

As revolutionaries it is never out of place to assess and address ourselves to the new challenges that must inevitably emerge from a situation as dynamic as our own. New challenges, which do not just switch on like bulbs do, but that build up and accumulate from the old. When we correctly say that the mass upsurge at home knows no precedent we are voicing the view that the demands upon the vanguard have never been higher. Furthermore, when we say the enemy's brutality equals none of its previous spates of terror we are imposing upon ourselves the duty of tightening loose ends like never before.

Nothing is being left to chance in the gambling hope that it shall develop on its own, nothing should be left to spontaneous action when it is within our means to give organised command and control. To disperse the enemy, waste his resources, put him on edge, destroy his confidence, generate a psychosis of panic and stoke the fires for a crisis, the smallest of the people's actions has to be encouraged.

SEASONED EXPERIENCE

Each sacrifice we count should have been called by necessity in all situations where the seasoned experience of the African National Congress can be brought into play. It is never enough to say we are with the people. It is, as our President says, the people that are saying the ANC is their sole and legitimate vanguard. It should never be said that the people's initiative, no matter how primitive in form, has never been given proper consideration.

To say that people are a blank sheet of paper upon which some leader writes is both Maoist and criminal, reducing people to rocks that must be mechanically moved from one spot to another in endless-succession. Our revolution is a mass and conscious realisation by our people to fight. The approach of our organisation is that of mass mobili-

sation, mass participation and mass fighting which is the only way in which the mass creativity of our people shall not be layed to waste.

SIMPLE TO COMPLEX

As a fighting people we do not move from complex to simple tasks but from the simple to the complex as a sign of our maturing growth. More appropriately, we move from simple to developed warfare. To say that the enemy is sophisticated, strong and developed does not divorce us from not only engaging, but by actually promoting the simple and easily accessible methods of war. As we ascend into more complex methods of fighting we should not find ourselves making sudden breaks with the lower levels of fighting which the majority of our people still pursue.

The African National Congress teaches us that yawning distances should not be allowed to develop between the few that is advanced and the majority that is still learning. Literally the vanguard should be so placed as to carry the people along by giving full attention to their smallest contributions and sacrifices. It is by giving recognition to the simplest contribution that we shall make each feel that his participation has been given the credit it rightly deserves. As we conquer this approach we shall be channelling and building the nucleus for entrenching our political and military footing. To sustain a self-magnifying presence demands that we prepare ourselves not for jumping victories but a hard grinding preparation and organisation and only then shall we be best prepared for the testing and trying endurance.

PRIMARY CONTRIBUTION

Our country is inhabited by millions of individuals that are willing to partake effectively in engaging the enemy. Our people see their primary contribution not as giving shelter and food to the fighters but in becoming fighters themselves. But the extent to which each is prepared to go differs from the next. This is by no way surprising knowing as we do that our social positions, political exposure, social commitments, cultural backgrounds, physical abilities and disabilities, family position differ. But all want to fight in ways that shall accomodate them, at least at first. The one may be prepared to carry a petrol bomb but not to the extent of an assault rifle. How do we conduct ourselves here? When Bertolt Brecht was saying "*... and there are those who struggle all their life and they are the ones we cannot do without*", he was aware that this truth is not always plentiful.

When we said in 1961 that the time had come to fight arms in hand we were actually giving the affirmative reply to the question: "*Has the time come to arm the masses?*" The time had come not only for the vanguard but for people themselves, lest it would have been a conspiracy. Furthermore when we were saying the time had come to arm the masses we were far-sightedly putting into motion the gradual and steady process of placing arms in the hands of individuals and groups that have been painstakingly put through an overall programme of education and training. We need no reminder to tell us that a liberation movement works from a position of being materially disadvantaged. At no time shall it be possible to place rifles, explosives and landmines in the hands of each individual willing to contribute.

But fight, everybody must, not only give support but fight. Vietnam has a popula-

tion far more numerous than our own and it was in this country that we witnessed one of the most massive people's wars. Not all those millions were armed, but all fought. In the Soviet Union, a country of enormous might, during the Great Patriotic War, it was not only the tank divisions and Katyushas that won the war but also the employing of ordinary tactics of blowing railway lines in the enemy rear. The might of the country notwithstanding, simple methods were used.

When a farm worker, for whatever reason, it could be to settle a personal score, sets whole fields of a boer to flame, using a box of matches, we begin to think whether such action cannot be given proper control and impetus. When an ANC flag is suddenly hoisted in the Lamontville upsurges we have reason to rejoice but also to ponder on whether our grandmothers cannot be given the task of sewing together black, green and gold strips of cloth to be hoisted more often, so that at the most our national days are properly honoured.



When administrative buildings are gutted to ashes by petrol bombs, the ANC thinks of how better to employ this weapon to needle the enemy with havoc. When slogans on walls appear saying "*Long Live the ANC*", its cadre gives this process encouragement and better organisation. When workers go on strike and decide to pour corrosive sugar into the machines, the vanguard becomes concerned about how to promote this assault. Each action is uplifted by us on the theatre of organisation and specialisation, monitored and developed.

The revolution does not demarcate between first and second rate forms of participation but honours and promotes every form. Each small action that erupts needs to be subjected to our advanced discipline of organisation. The consciousness of the people does not develop independently, the vanguard gives it better content and form. In each action the vanguard sees the birth pangs around which future battles shall be fought. The vanguard harnesses the mass creativity of the people to enjoin it firmly and unbreakingly into a winning people's war.

THE REAL LIFE OF DOMINGOS XAVIER

José Luandino Vieira

A novel of Angola

CHAPTER 7

The lad went on with his talk about a job, and if it were true that there was work in Luanda it could be a good thing. But she could not say anything. So she turned her back on him:

"You understand, sir? I've still got clothes to wash. ..."

She went back to the place where she had left her cloths on the water. Miguel followed, with hands in pockets, talking quietly, pressing the point about a job, adding details, trying to persuade the woman. But it was no use. She bent over the cloths and went on scrubbing.

Miguel had often been in such situations, and he did not give up easily. The sun was sinking fast from the sky into the river. Soon it would be time to return to the *sanzala*, to prepare lunch for the men coming off work. Some women had already begun to tie up their bundles; others in a greater hurry were already on the way up commenting on the boy talking to Mama Zefa, and she already on in years. Miguel was asking how Sousinha was, when he had last been seen, and Mama Zefa, having packed her washing into a small tub, asked with greater confidence:

"Do you want to come with me, *mano*? I can make you lunch. If you're

a friend of my son Sousa you can at least stay for lunch. But where he is, look, no, *mano*."

Miguel, still talking inconsequentially, then threw in:

"You know, madam! I heard that they had arrested one lad..."

"Ooh, *mano*, that's the truth! My neighbour, poor chap! At night along comes a truck, and he's gone! A good man that Mr Domingos."

"What was his name?"

"Domingos. Domingos Xavier. He was a tractor driver down there. Do you know him?"

"No, Mama, I don't know him."

And Miguel went on climbing the narrow path to the *sanzala* and drawing out of Mama Zefa details about the arrest, and the prisoner; and in his mind something began to take shape.

He smiled, accepted gratefully the invitation for lunch, and said to Sousa's mother, climbing at his side, "Aye, madam! Our life is difficult. But one day everything is going to be all right. I am sure. And then, Mama, you will see your son. ..."

Mama Zefa for the first time gave a great gale of laughter, as she thought, this lad is a rascal, he will end up knowing

where Sousinha is. Hum, the youngsters of today aren't stupid, no. Goodness, you have to be careful! They start by talking about trifles and then there they are! A body starts telling them everything they want. Only what he wanted to know she wanted to know too. So she laughed with contentment and confidence.

When the thunder rent the city sky and the heavy rain began to fall, Domingos Xavier awoke in fear. Lying on his belly, soaked to the skin, he groaned at the pains that ran through his body and tried to feel his swollen lips with his thick fingers. The pain was so intense that his head fell and hit the wet floor. Outside, the rain fell in great buckets on the township and from the red earth there came a good smell to freshen his lungs. Then, as the gentle beating of the rain soothed him back to somnolence, he imagined rivers of water spreading under his body, right through the cell, running through the township and changing into the strong broad waters to the great river, there below, far below. ...

Below, the Kuanza roared in anger, with a presentiment of the concrete jaws which were waiting to swallow it, making it drill through the hill in a course of a few hundred yards instead of through the thousand-year-old bed it had carved with its own flow through hard rock or hot sands. The river flow spoke its now impotent rage, remembering the rapids beyond the wall, which were drying up in the sun, spreading moss over pools of stagnant water now stilled. The bend no longer existed where the Kuanza had narrowed with the last cries of those waters which had rolled invincibly through the rocks from its birthplace on the plateau. Its granite walls now dried in the sun. Up there on the hills the rage of the colossus diverted in its course was mocked by buildings of aluminium and cement, by sheds and offices, and by electricity generators with powerful diesel motors belching

smoke. By the exit of the deviation tunnel, the waters committed suicide, climbing desperately many yards into the air and letting themselves be dashed down on the stones and on the defensive walls which the tractors had built by the banks. But very soon amid trees and grass, the mosses and the familiar sounds, trickles of water moved the old colossus to pity: the memory returned of the course followed through the long stretch of the green plateau of Huambo, of the friends received in its bed, and so the voice softened, the roar disappeared, in front of Dondo it only purred, and then it wore a smile on its face further on towards Muxima in the direction of the sea.

Before Domingos Xavier's tired and swollen eyes passed a parade of women going down the path their feet had made in the grass, downwards to the stones where they washed their clothes. The din of the machines at work or the explosions of the charges in the quarries came there muffled. The wind from there only carried to the hills burst of laughter, the talk and the shouting of the *sanzala* women at their task of washing. And the Kuanza flowed roaring and rushing against the steep stone walls which waited for it. ...

Rain fell heavily in the yard, soaked the red sand of the streets and even came into the cell, making the clothes stick to the prisoner's aching body. Keeping in one position, Domingos Xavier managed to fall asleep dreaming of the Kuanza and of other rivers.

It was the hard, hate-filled voice of the pock-marked policeman which woke him. That voice and kicks from a *cipaio*. He made an effort to get up which stretched all his muscles and made him cry out. The *cipaio* helped him but the hard voice sounded against his ears:

"Let's get going with his bloke."

Domingos Xavier leaned on the cell wall. He felt his body go cold, his blood run much faster in his veins and pins and needles in his feet and hands as the swelling went down. But his shirt stuck to wounds caused by the bull-hide whip on the back and his lips cut by the glass had swollen his face so much that even to blink was painful. He looked at the policeman through closed eyelids and bleary eyes. Then slowly, dragging his feet and leaning on the corridor wall, he went forward, pushed from behind by the *cipaio*.

Outside it was night. A cheerful, fresh sea breeze after the rain blew above the city. The washed trees carried their rustling sound right inside the high walls, and in the black sky the stars were like tiny oil-lamps in a large village. The moon was just a small white disc above. The wind brought sounds of people talking, children playing, girls laughing. Everything was peaceful in the night. And very secretly this feeling of peace came over the hated high walls into the hearts of the prisoners, some already lying down, others stubbornly peering through the steel mesh at that life outside, a life which filled them with hope or with melancholy.

Domingos Xavier was taken by the *cipaio* to the room where the second interrogation had been held. Everything was the same, but the glasses and the bottle had gone, giving place to a standard lamp placed in a corner. The sheet of blue paper, already in the machine, was waiting. When the *cipaio* went out and he was alone, the tractor driver felt hunger pains and realised that since leaving the *sanzala* he had eaten only scraps of bread and had drunk his breakfast coffee.

Outside he heard the voices of the policeman and the Inspector talking and laughing about something he did not understand. Then someone shouted an order and the *cipaio*'s steps in the yard could be heard running in the direction of the Post prison on the other side of the high walls. Then abruptly the door was opened and the Inspector came in with a sarcastic greeting. His eyes seemed even smaller behind the glasses, his rachitic figure more shrunken, giving the sinister appearance he wanted.

"Well, then, good evening! Here we are again. How's it going, laddie?" ::

The tractor driver closed his lips and thought of what was coming. From behind him the pock-marked policeman pulled his ears with vigour and then letting go gave him a rabbit punch. Domingos saw everything spin, and the Inspector's thick face whirling in a ball of fire from the lamp. He reeled, but the policeman came and settled him upright in the chair with a smile and an apology. The Inspector, seated at the desk and calmly cleaning his glasses, was already asking:

"So, lad! it's today that you are going to talk, eh? I don't like stubborn types. ..."

Domingos Xavier did not answer. He sensed, understood the cat-like gestures of the Inspector, in the brutal and deliberate manner of the policeman, that nothing could save him. They were ready to do anything to make him talk. He swore to himself that he would not talk. Not even if they did want to kill him. That body all aching and wounded no longer belonged to him. What was his, what he guarded, that they were never going to know. He made his oath, and closed his bruised lips, twitching at the pains from the swollen cuts.

"So you don't know who the white

man is?"

"I don't know!"

"You don't know where Bernard de Sousa is?"

Domingos did not answer. The policeman went behind him again and, while the Inspector changed the lamp bulb, calmly tied his feet and hands to the chair. And while he tied the ropes, he was saying slowly and softly in the prisoner's ears:

"We're giving you fair warning. But you blacks don't want to believe it. Now it will be worse. Here, if you don't talk willingly, we make you talk. You understand? We've got all night for this, we sleep all day. ..."

The tractor driver felt the pain of a needle stuck into his buttocks and his shout made the policeman laugh.

"That was just a tickle. The fellow still had some feeling."

The Inspector then came and turned the reflector on his eyes. The ceiling light was turned off and Domingos Xavier suddenly had a sensation of live coals in his face, burning his eyes which he had to keep open. Everything turned red in front of him. The policeman slapped him and turned red his face towards the reflector. Then the Inspector, trampling on his swollen toes in heavy soled shoes, began to ask:

"Do you know who the white man is?"

The other questions followed in various combinations, and some were occasionally dropped, but this one was incessantly repeated. The light was in his face but his eyes were closed, and he felt his ears bleeding from the blows and his toes smashed under the heavy shoes. Domingos resisted. The enraged policeman suddenly switched from methodical slaps to punches and kicks without aim and as he

became more worked up by the beating, he breathed heavily like an angry buffalo. The Inspector had sat down on a chair and, mercilessly continuing to break the prisoner's fingers, was asking:

"who is the white man? Tell us!"

But the sound of his own voice, Domingos' silence and the panting of the policeman behind the chair began to annoy him. His blood was heated, and his hatred demanded more. His voice went higher and the question was put more repeatedly. Domingos Xavier, opening his lips, could croak, as he spat blood in all directions:

"I am not saying anything."

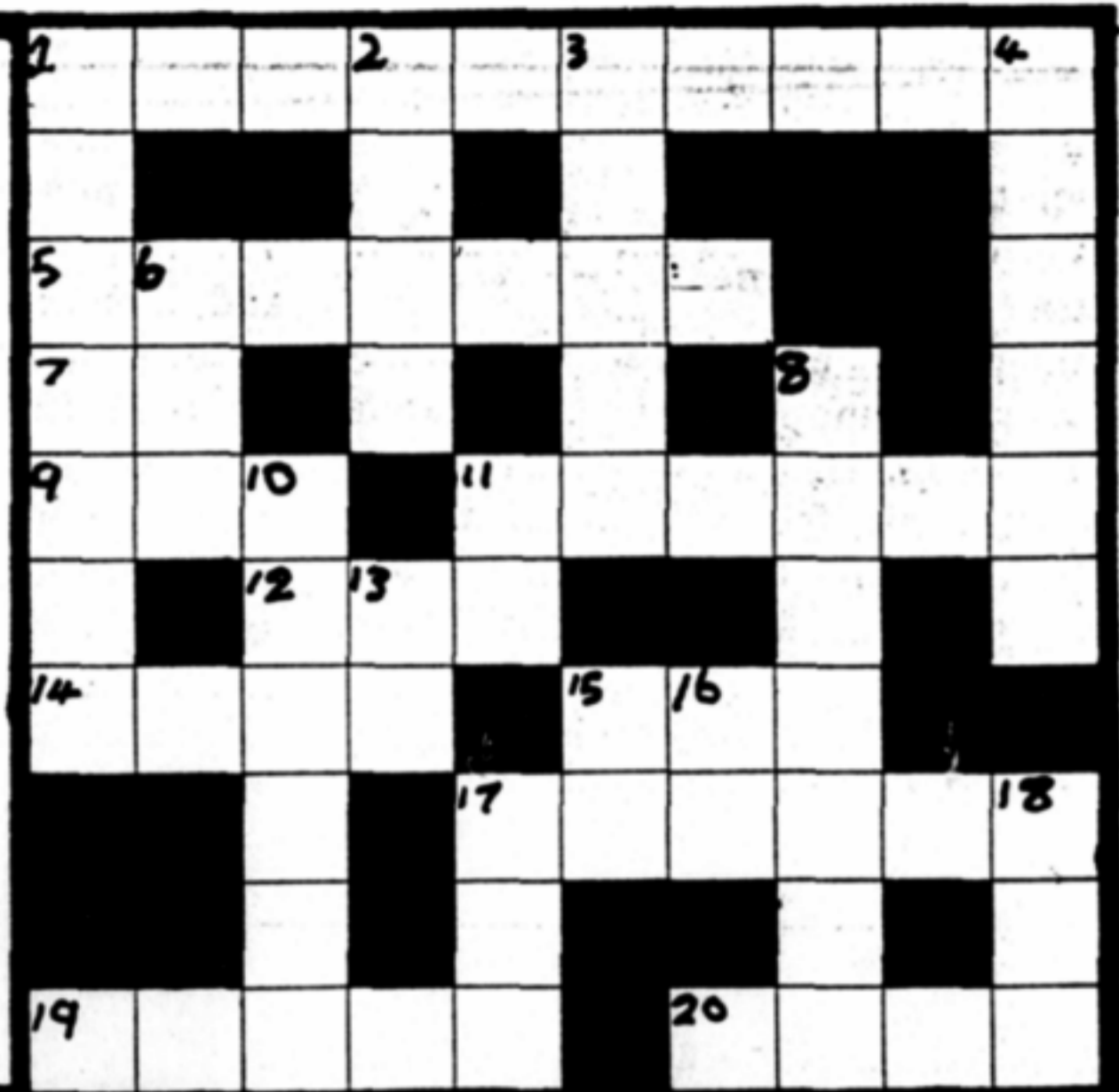
The small thin face of the Inspector was lifted, the projector was thrust violently aside and Domingos Xavier felt for some time punches and kicks, thrown wildly at his face, his chest, his kidneys, while the chair to which he was tied fell to the ground. The Inspector jumped on his chest, bellowing:

"You bastard black. You don't know, you won't talk? I'll break you, let's see if you'll talk or not. Pereira da Cunha, for goodness' sake. What are you waiting for? Beat this bloke until he does talk."

The policeman was astonished at the rage of the Inspector, puffing and blowing. He jumped on Domingos Xavier and lifted him like a bundle. He battered him until the prisoner's head dropped. The tractor driver could no longer even feel the force of the policeman's systematic, violent blows on his liver, his stomach and his kidneys, or the kicks in his face, his back and his knees. He heard distantly behind the reflector's strong light the Inspector's voice bellowing:

"You must talk, dog! You must talk! Or I'll kill you!"

To Be Continued in the Next Issue.



Clues

ACROSS:

1. President of the Natal Indian Congress.
5. (In football) a position where one may not legally play the ball.
7. Prefix.
9. United Action is the to freedom.
11. It's an artillery piece.
12. »The is at once the life, the national awareness and the political experience of the popular masses of South Africa.»
14. NATO secretary-general.
15. Distress.
17. To catch fire.
19. President of the Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF).
20. To excite.

DOWN:

1. A breathing tube to enable a person to swim under water.
2. A military attack made in order to advance.
3. Used for sending and receiving messages.
4. Risk.
6. Charges for instruction at a university.
8. A person who does not believe in the existence of gods.
10. United States of America.
11. Master of Ceremonies.
13. Nova Scotia.
15. Champion was once president of the Natal ANC.
16. Preposition.
17. Once president of the ANC Women's League (ANCWL).
18. Part of the body.

See Answers in DAWN Vol. 8 No. 3

DISCIPLINE IS THE MOTHER OF VICTORY

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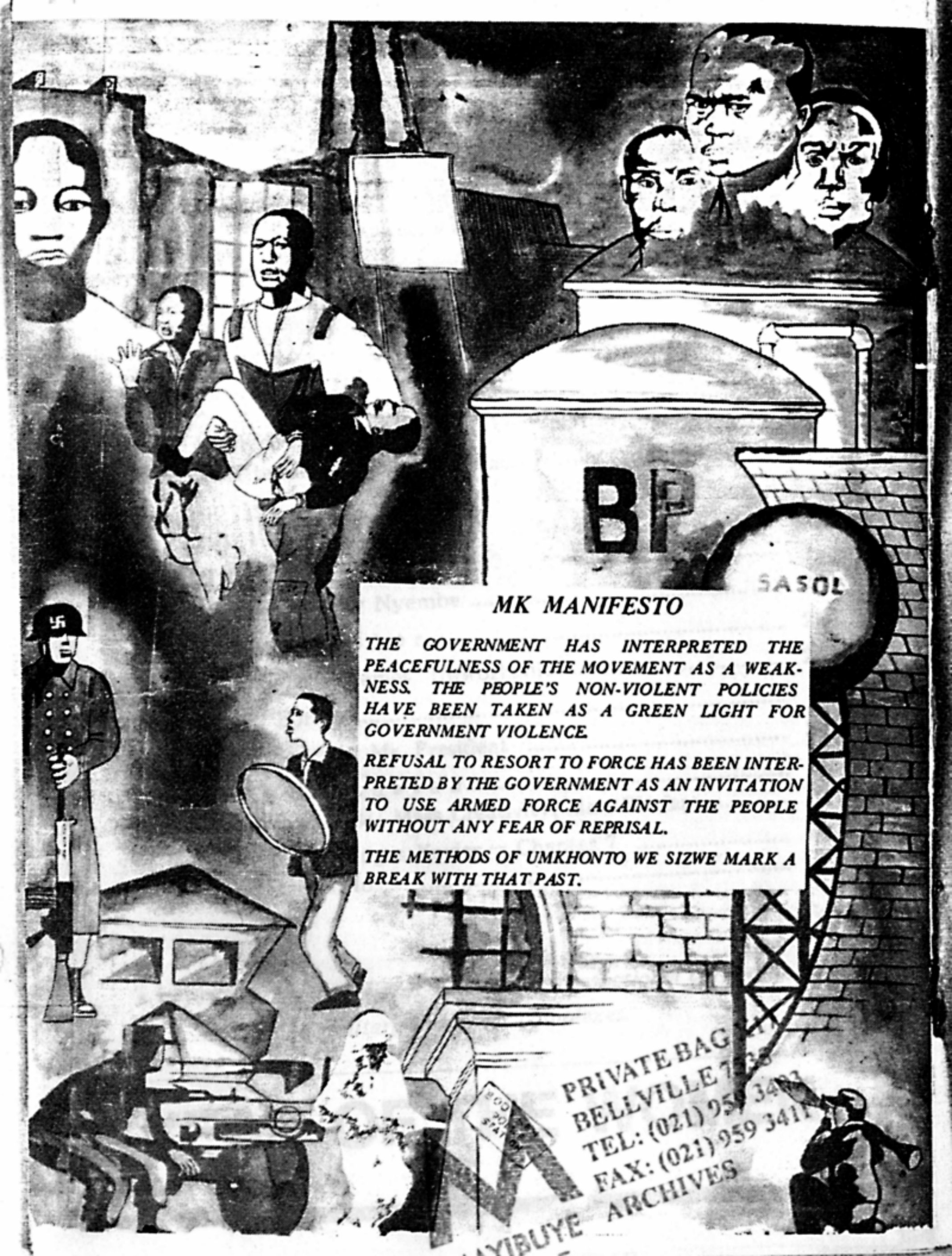
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THE GOVERNMENT HAS INTERPRETED THE PEACEFULNESS OF THE MOVEMENT AS A WEAKNESS. THE PEOPLE'S NON-VIOLENT POLICIES HAVE BEEN TAKEN AS A GREEN LIGHT FOR GOVERNMENT VIOLENCE.

REFUSAL TO RESORT TO FORCE HAS BEEN INTERPRETED BY THE GOVERNMENT AS AN INVITATION TO USE ARMED FORCE AGAINST THE PEOPLE WITHOUT ANY FEAR OF REPRISAL.

THE METHODS OF UMKHONTO WE SIZWE MARK A BREAK WITH THAT PAST.

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