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**UDF
UNITES
APARTHEID DIVIDES**



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YEAR OF UNITED ACTION

COVER: People who could not fit into the hall or marquee sat patiently in the rain, listening to the speeches relayed over loudspeakers at the launching of the United Democratic Front.



Editorial Comment

UDF—AN INVALUABLE WEAPON

Gerrit Viljoen, the racist Minister of Education and Sport expressed the determination of the apartheid regime to go ahead with the implementation of the 'new dispensation' for Coloureds and Indians in spite of our resolute opposition and rejection of this sham deal. In April he said that the proposed new constitution is a point of departure into a future in which there could be no absolute guarantees and it should be approached in the pioneering spirit of the voortrekkers. As of this writing the constitution bill has been pushed through parliament with satanic haste. Out of 102 clauses, (of the bill) only 34 were debated. With the bill now approved by parliament the only step left before the bill becomes law is the all-white referendum scheduled for November 2.

It is beyond question that the constitutional proposals are not going to introduce even an iota of change to the status quo but are designed to entrench racist discrimination. It (racial discrimination) is still enshrined in the constitution; mass removals and resettlement (today the number of people facing the threat of mass removals and relocation is the highest compared to any period since the National Party assumed power in 1948), bantustans, group areas, influx control, job reservation, etc., the cornerstones of apartheid will remain untouched.

The enormous power that the new constitution concentrates in the hands of the executive president turns him into a dictator. According to the *Rand Daily Mail* (2/8/83): "There are some astonishing provisions in the constitutional proposals. When all three houses of parliament have no confidence in the president or his cabinet, they can pass resolutions accordingly. But what happens? Parliament is dissolved and the president and his cabinet remain in office". Given that the members of the cabinet will not be elected or necessarily be members of parliament but will be appointed by the president himself, and in majority cases they will undoubtedly be from the army,

the implications thereof are clear. South Africa has been and continues tactically moving towards military rule. Seen in this light, the constitutional proposals are designed to place it firmly on this road, a process initiated by Botha's ascendancy to power and the consequent rise of the generals to prominence in the South African state's apparatus and government.

MILESTONE

The birth of the United Democratic Front (UDF) on August 20-21 at Mitchell's Plain in Cape Town, marked a milestone in the struggle of our people against apartheid tyranny. The moment could not have been more opportune in the face of such a determined offensive by the enemy as revealed by the 'new dispensation' and the Koornhof bills. These are attempts by the enemy to make further inroads on Black unity by falsely broadening its laager to co-opt Coloureds and Indians as junior partners of apartheid and to enhance the apartheid division of Africans into permanent urban residents and migrants.

These are attacks not only on one or the other community, class or racial group but on all the oppressed of our country. This is why our opposition can and will only be meaningful if we are united. We have seen the power of *United Action* in the recent battles of Lamontville people, where for the first time in the history of the National Party's rule, racist Piet Koornhof was forced to meet with the real leaders of the people. It is therefore the duty of all genuine patriots and revolutionaries to throw all their weight behind the UDF, an invaluable weapon to frustrate the enemy's offensive.

The same applies to the trade union movement. The President's Council proposals and the Koornhof bills are an affront not to workers in one industry or union, but to the entire working class. Likewise the trade union movement can only offer serious opposition to these apartheid schemes if united under a single federation. Hence the urgency of the call for "*one country, one federation*".

Our people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, is conscious of this powerful campaign that is building up against the President's Council and Koornhof genocidal bills and the duty that its fighting ranks are charged with. We are called upon to sharpen our spears and intensify the war against the racist regime. Only by so doing shall we create a favourable climate for the flourishing of the UDF and the overall advance to the seizure of power. Herein lies to a large extent the success of the fight against the constitutional proposals and the Koornhof bills.

FORWARD TO VICTORY!

TELL MORE LIES!

Today, four newspapers including the *Sowetan* are facing prosecution for reporting the evidence of racist brutality in Namibia as witnessed by archbishop Dennis Hurley. We are not saying that papers like the *Citizen* and the *Rand Daily Mail* which are also facing prosecution are reliable. We know that they report lies, having the interest of white South Africans and the criminal system of apartheid at heart. But what we are saying is that even these papers are not telling enough lies as it is, for Botha and Malan they have to tell more.

Radio Freedom - Luanda

Unity is Built in Struggle

SOME THOUGHTS ON THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT.

- ZAKES KHULU

A united democratic front is not a new phenomenon. The history of the African National Congress confirms this, that it advocated a policy of united action with all forces opposed to apartheid. In 1926 we had the Non-European Conference; in 1935 the All-African Convention; the Non-European United Front (NEUF) in 1938 and the historic Congress Alliance of 1953. The organisational structures and tasks of these fronts corresponded with the objective demands of their time. Noteworthy is that all of them were born in action. This also reminds us that 1983 marks the 30th anniversary of this historic Congress Alliance.

Today the United Democratic Front is of crucial importance to all democratic forces in South Africa. This importance lies in the urgency of revolutionary change and the absolute necessity of involving the greatest number of our people in the liberation struggle. In response to the increased offensive of the forces of change, the racist regime has embarked on divisive tactics to paralyse the democratic forces. Increased violence, deceptive constitutional changes, repressive labour laws, mass removals and bantustanisation reflect the enemy schemes to prolong the existence of white supremacy. However, contrary to the enemy's desires, his frenzy has led to an unprecedented growth of mass organisations in our country.

IMPETUS

The Labour Party's decision to participate in the bogus Presidential Council sparked off an intense battle in our country which gave an immediate impetus to the formation of a united democratic front. It crystalized the fact that only through united action shall we stop the designs of racist Pretoria. A call made by Rev. Allan Boesak in the Transvaal anti-SAIC meeting to form a united democratic front to oppose the racist fraudulent constitutional proposals was welcomed with overwhelming enthusiasm.

This became evident in the United Democratic Front launching rally at the Rocklands, Mitchell's Plain, in Cape Town. The words of the Reverend Allen Boesak set the mood of the 12,000 people, representing more than 400 organisations. He said: "*We want all our all our rights. We want them here and we want them now. We have pleaded, cried, petitioned for too long now. We have been jailed, exiled, killed for too long now. Now is the time!*"

The conference elected Oscar Mpetha, Albertina Sisulu and Archie Gumede Presidents of the UDF. Popo Molefe of the Soweto Civic Association and Mosiuoa Lekota, a former SASO National Organiser, were elected National and Publicity Secretaries respectively.

Among these leaders, Nelson Mandela was elected a Patron of the UDF, with Martha Mahlangu, Hassan Howa and all Rivonia Trialists imprisoned for life.

The UDF is a coalition of forces irrespective of size. It bases itself on the principle of unshakable conviction in the creation of a non-racial unitary state in South Africa. This principle binds the UDF to consult and reflect accurately the democratic aspira-

tions of the people. The success of the UDF lies on this and its ability to mobilise the people at grassroot level. Again the success of the UDF lies on its ability to maintain unity irrespective of ideological differences, while at the same time being able to implement a viable programme of action that will involve the masses in active struggle.



Part of the delegates outside the hall at the launching of the UDF.

The UDF emerged in struggle as a response of the people to the deepening apartheid crisis which the enemy tries to put on their shoulders. It is an off-shoot of grassroot revolutionary mass mobilisation. The UDF therefore is a product of mass action, bearing the stamp of the unflinching courage of our people. In the words of Archie Gumede, a Congress Alliance veteran: *"Slogans are not enough ... Sweat and labour, careful thought and careful actions are needed..."*

THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT AND THE UDF

The African National Congress and its allies believe that a determined and relentless struggle by our people opens up possibilities to advance our struggle further. At all times the ANC has stressed the strategic value of unity of all the oppressed and democratic forces in our country. In 1978 the ANC advocated a political programme which elaborated on the forms of struggle to raise our offensive. On the basis of this programme the masses formed their own mass political organisations. This initiative culminated in the historic anti-republic campaign of 1981.

On January 8th our President, Comrade Oliver Tambo, called on the people to form a united democratic front for national liberation to engage the enemy at all times in united action. Our role as an advanced contingent of this offensive should be to streng-

then all the forces for change. The UDF is a powerful weapon in the national liberation struggle. In reality in the UDF one can see the political and social edifice which also determines our forward drive to victory. Hence the ANC is obliged to support its (UDF's) actions politically and organisationally.

The ANC must strive to encourage the people to support and participate in the activities of the UDF. Our ideological work must be able to determine the behaviour and activities of the people at all times. Our ideological work must uphold the people's fighting tradition, mass heroism and an unbending revolutionary spirit.

For more than seven decades the ANC has been in the forefront of this battle. Long, fearless and persistent work by our underground units under trying conditions is paying dividends to our struggle. The ANC has won its rightful place in our struggle, among the masses, as the only reliable and revolutionary vanguard of our people.

Tru'o'ng Chihn, writing on the relation of the party and the front says:

"The Party cannot demand the front to recognise its leadership. It must instead show itself to be the most loyal, active and dedicated member of the front. It is only through daily struggle and work and only after the workers have recognised the correctness of the policies and leading capacity of the Party - that the Party can win the leading position".

Also we are not the vanguard because of what we say of ourselves, but because of what we actually do in the day to day life-and-death struggle and which the people see. The national liberation alliance headed by the ANC shall be able to guide the UDF only if we have our own underground structures within the UDF. These structures must be skilful, give the correct guide to the UDF and above all raise the tasks of the front.



Martha Mahlangu, Hassan Howa and Rev. Allan Boesak at the launching of the UDF.

THE WORKING CLASS AND THE UDF

Unity initiatives among workers continue as witnessed by the 5th trade union summit in Athlone. On their own workers can only elaborate trade union consciousness on the basis of their daily experiences at the point of production. By their nature trade unions are heterogeneous. Their daily experience is the only thing which unites them against the exploiter. A democratic union must be judged by its attitude towards the grievances of workers, the position it assumes in the event of action by the workers and by its policies as enshrined in its constitution.

Ideological differences among unions retard workers' unity and cannot be emphasised at the expense of the points that unite workers. The same with the tactics of registration and non-registration which affect unions equally through the Labour Registration Act. The UDF cannot supersede workers' unity. Instead the unity of the workers lays a wide basis for the success of the UDF.

The workers are a leading force in our struggle, not only because of their numerical strength, but because of the objective position they occupy in the South African society. They are the producers of material wealth, while being denied the leading position in the production of this wealth, moreover they are denied political rights. Because of this and their organisation and political consciousness, they are a decisive force in the struggle for the destruction of the racist colonial structures and to ensure that: *"ALL SHALL SHARE IN THE COUNTRY'S WEALTH."*

The workers therefore must contribute this revolutionary courage to the UDF by supporting and joining it. The numerical strength of the UDF depends on the extent to which the workers are unionised and politicised. The participation of the rural masses depends on the understanding that the rural people and farm labourers are the workers' time-tested allies in the struggle for change. Only when the co-ordinating centre of

MK**SOLDIER**

OUR ARMY NEEDS A DYNAMIC POLITICAL PROGRAMME

- ISAAC MAKANA

The article written by comrade Amos Aluko entitled *"Mastering the Art of Winning Victory"* raises topical problems of our revolution. In the article the comrade discusses, among other things, the important question of political education in the ranks of our revolutionary army. He argues, and correctly so, that in order to master the dynamic situation developing in our country, we must work out a political programme which will be geared towards producing political organisers, propagandists and agitators who will give solutions to the day to day political problems agitating our people

the workers has been achieved shall all unions and the UDF be able to reach the far flung areas of our country.

THE TOUCH-STONE OF PATRIOTISM

The strategic aim of the national struggle is enshrined in the Freedom Charter. Meanwhile that the implementation of the Charter has not yet been achieved, the national character of the present phase shall dominate and the Charter shall continue to be our basis for unity. All patriots must advance only those tasks which are warranted by the people's experience and must keep in step with the people. Only when we act, keeping with the tasks of this stage shall we be able to raise the consciousness and organisation of the people to utilise the revolutionary energies and potentials of all classes and social groups for people's victory.

To defend the Charter is to defend the broad class and national interests of the main social forces in the South African revolution during the democratic stage. The Freedom Charter is the touch-stone of patriotism. Today in South Africa there can be no patriotism outside the Freedom Charter.

The ANC and the entire people know from experience that the mass army of the revolution can only be created in the course of struggle. The people must be convinced through their own experiences that unity in action is correct. Persuading the people on the correctness of the policy of the ANC and those of the UDF on the basis of their experience is the most important tactical principle.

Change becomes visible only when the people become conscious of the need to effect revolutionary change. To avoid a determined fight with the enemy is to alienate oneself from the people and to condemn the struggle to failure. The masses derive their political and organisational lessons in struggle. Unless this struggle is conducted it is impossible to muster the people, and prepare the masses for the advent of democracy. Unity is built in struggle.

S' VIEWPOINT

and chart the way forward to the revolutionary seizure of power from the oppressors and exploiters. (*The article herein referred to appeared in DAWN Vol. 7 No. 6*).

The basis of that programme would naturally be lectures on our pre-colonial history, wars of resistance, history of our liberation movement, theory of the South African revolution and the basics of Marxism-Leninism. This is done in our ranks to a considerable degree of success. However, we must guard against the danger of becoming prisoners of complacency. There is obviously still more room to improve the quality of the material we impart to our cadres. In our lectures we must guard against concentrating on the superficial elements of any issue, but must delve into the depth of its aspects, penetrate its essence in order to single out the roots, connections, problems, strong and weak points, achievements and set-backs for the purpose of isolating and

eliminating shortcomings and mistakes, consolidating achievements and strong points for the advance of our revolution.

Still we have yet to ask ourselves a question: *can a political programme of the character and scope described above be adequate to produce the political organisers capable of galvanising and welding our embattled people into a solid block that would crush the apartheid monster and build a South Africa of the Freedom Charter?* Such a programme would certainly fall short of its objective, so long as it does not address itself to the current political problems confronting our people and movement - problems connected with the political mobilisation of the millions of the masses of our people.

We usually say the people are the real makers of history. Yet we must never be hostages of the illusion that they make that history automatically, spontaneously. No, the people need a vanguard, they must be led. They must be organised, united and their consciousness must be elevated. It is precisely here that the role of Umkhonto cadres comes in as political organisers and propagandists. Concretely speaking, there are two related questions of crucial importance to which our political programme has to address itself. These are the politics of revolutionary trade unionism and the theory and practice of United Fronts.

One of the basic tenets of the theory of the South African revolution is that for it to be victorious, the working class must play the leading role. Our theory also moves from the premise that the maximum mobilisation of our people is the essential prerequisite for our victory. In our situation, the mobilisation of the oppressed and exploited people is in a real and significant way the mobilisation of the working class because the majority of our people belongs to that class. This statement must never be construed to suggest that only the working class must be organised. Such a position would be a sectarian approach to our revolution and it is alien to both theory and practice of our liberation movement. It further negates the very essence of the concept of United Fronts.

The political line of our movement is clear, all classes and strata of our people must be organised and drawn into the mainstream of our revolution. Here we are singling out one factor - that in our country unlike elsewhere in Africa - the working class is not only the most revolutionary class of all classes opposed to racist and capitalist tyranny, but also the most numerous of all those classes. But the working class cannot fulfil its role unless it is organised, unless its political and class consciousness is raised.

Who is going to do that? It is surely not only the comrades in SACTU. The cadres of the African National Congress must do it. We must devote some hours in our programme to the arming of our cadres with the necessary political weapons, and when doing so we must guard against the danger of divorcing the abstract from the concrete, of isolating theory from practice. These lectures on trade unionism will have real meaning only if they shed light on the problems at home, if they assist in solving those problems. Otherwise they would degenerate into old clichés. Where the situation allows it, experts on these problems could be called to give well-researched papers.

Many of us must confess that we are not so well versed with the chemistry of the trade union movement at home. That ignorance comes out clearly when we have to analyse the question of the different trends, problems of unity, manoeuvres of reform-

ist and reactionary international trade union bodies like ICFTU, AFL-CIO, AALC and strategy and tactics of the bosses and the state. The problem with some of our cadres is that instead of examining the situation soberly as it is, they are quick to hurl reactionary tags at an organisation or individual. One for instance, often hears that FOSATU is reactionary. When one asks for reasons for such a conclusion, it is said because its (FOSATU) unions are registered. Such an assessment is fraught with grave mistakes and is undoubtedly incorrect. FOSATU is definitely not reactionary, at least not at the moment. Of course we may not agree fully with some of its statements and actions. Our liberation movement has now and again raised such points of divergence. It is not the purpose of this article to discuss them. Anyway even if FOSATU was reactionary we would be doing violence to history if we were just to dismiss it and leave the whole thing there. A vanguard really worth that title has to take people as they are, with their prejudices, moods, fears and political backwardness. It will never find ready-made people. It must organise, educate and show them the way forward. Our attitude then to FOSATU would be to extend to that federation our influence of revolutionary trade unionism.

Now the question of *United Fronts*. Nowadays we are witness to a powerful upsurge that is unfolding throughout the length and breadth of our country. In the theatre of this political ferment, there are more than a dozen organisations and trade unions with different ideological orientations. On the whole, all of them are anti-racist and democratic, all strive for the elimination of the apartheid system. Of course the organisations differ in so far as their militancy, consistency and readiness to confront the common enemy is concerned. Some of them have already given their unqualified support to the Freedom Charter, others have not. The formation of the United Democratic Front recently is a practical realisation of the thesis that the maximum mobilisation and unity of our people is the fundamental requirement of our victory over the forces of racism and reaction.

TASKS

What are the tasks then in the context of the UDF? The ANC as the vanguard must consolidate, strengthen and broaden this front. It must deepen the consciousness of the thousands upon thousands of the people who swell its ranks. The political organisers must be in the front-line of these mass struggles in order to give the day to day direction and leadership. But to be able to do so effectively, these political operatives must be equipped with the necessary tools, with the proper theoretical knowledge. Practice is blind without theory. We must therefore educate our cadres on the role and significance of United Fronts. Our comrades must discard the dangerous practice of placing organisations under abstract categories of progressive and reactionary. Sometimes it is easy to say for instance AZASO is progressive, AZAPO is reactionary, SAAWU is progressive, CUSA is reactionary. But is it useful? Subjecting organisations to abstract revolutionary formulae is not a reliable criterion to judge whether an organisation is revolutionary or not, but rather what that particular organisation does in actual life. We must learn to adopt a concrete historical approach to problems, "*a concrete analysis of a concrete situation*".

Organisations might have different ideological inclinations, but that should not be a

barrier to united action. The experience of freedom loving forces the world over has confirmed more than a hundred times that ideological differences cannot be an obstacle to unity. The most important thing is to agree on a minimum programme of action against the main enemy and that programme must spell out categorically clear who that enemy is. Moreover, it is absolutely vital that in practical action, in the day to day battles, the main blows are directed at the common enemy. The organisations must have the inalienable right to safeguard their organisational and ideological independence. Nobody, for example, is saying to AZAPO that before it can join the UDF it must renounce its ideology of black consciousness. Although most of the organisations comprising the UDF subscribe to the Freedom Charter, they do not and cannot put it as a precondition for joining the UDF. On the other hand, they would naturally and rightly so resist any attempts aimed at watering down their ideological stand as organisations. In future there might be a further proliferation of organisations in our country. Some will appear only to fade away, there will be vacillations and betrayals. Yet others will endure. We must be ready and able to identify even the smallest pockets of resistance and draw them into the mainstream of assault on the common enemy.

In conclusion, it must be strongly suggested to have as part of the political programme lectures on research material based on the experiences of other revolutions. Problems connected with mass mobilisation, alliances, forms of struggle, propaganda and agitation would feature in that programme. Works by Lenin such as "Left-wing Communism - an Infantile Disorder" and writings by Vietnamese revolutionaries are a rich store-house of experience.

DEFENCE OF APARTHEID

Under the 'new constitutional proposals' the executive President, who is also the chairman of the cabinet is given dictatorial powers. He decides on the common issues which are to be discussed by the cabinet.

Falling under these common issues is what they term defence - the defence of apartheid; the defence of white racist privileges. Defence is common only in as far as it means increased repression against the people, detention without trial, bannings, deaths in detention, massacre of South African refugees and the destabilisation of Southern African states.

This is exactly the terms of the homelands, so that who says that the constitutional proposals are wrong and unacceptable because they exclude blacks is wrong. He may as well say that bantustans were wrong because they excluded Coloureds and Indians, because what the new constitutional proposals of 1983 stand for is what the old bantustans dispensation of 1929 stood for.

If the bantustan dispensation was able to boldly declare a conglomerate of scattered barren farms and dilapidated townships a country called Bophuthatswana, what can stop a racist mentality from declaring Allen Hendrickse a president of a certain Bophuthacoloureds and Rajbansi a president of Bophutha-Indians?

Radio Freedom - Luanda

DAWNLIGHT: back to tribalism



THE INGWAVUMA DEAL

VUSI ZULU, a combatant of Mk, discusses the reasons behind and the implications of the Swazi land deal, with a brief historical background on the territory and people of Ingwavuma.

A clear understanding of the present situation in Ingwavuma requires that the question be viewed from its historical premise. Furthermore an approach that looks at the specific history of the region in isolation would lead to wrong conclusions. Conversely, a similar situation would result if we ignored its specifics.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Facts reveal that the history of Ingwavuma as that of any other peoples dates back well beyond the conquest of our people by the colonisers (1). It was in the 19th century that this area came under the effective control of land-grabbers from Europe. On the other hand this area like much of Southern and Central Africa, was also affected by the inter-tribal wars originating from and around what came to be Zululand (2). It fell on the path of fugitives fleeing in the wake of the wars particularly between Zwide, of the Ndwandwe, and Shaka, of the Zulus. There are indications that even before these conflicts, part of the people of Ingwavuma were forced by wars between themselves and Zwide to trek to about the centre of Swaziland (3). In Cooper's account of Imfecane (4), he refers to wars waged by Swazis with some small Basotho clans in the North-eastern Transvaal which led to some Basotho clans being incorporated into the Swazi nation. This may explain the fact that the Mngomezulu know themselves to be originating from some Sotho-speaking people.



Sources indicate that by the time British imperialism intervened, the people of Ingwavuma still retained relative independence from their neighbours, the Zulus and the Swazis. (5) According to oral sources the British came at the invitation of one of the chiefs in Ingwavuma, Mbikiza of Mngomezulu. The British immediately sent a party to Mbikiza, who gave them land to set up their administrative quarters. No sooner had they come than they extended their jurisdiction over the areas of other chiefs. They then convinced the inhabitants of the need to pay taxes to finance the task of "stopping the spilling of blood". This irony, among other things, included the building of police stations.

This action indicated that the British saw the latter as their first priority. Consequently this intervention prevented the assimilation of these local clans into either of their stronger neighbours. By this time the British had finally conquered the Zulu speaking people and were in the process of fragmenting this ethnic group. It was not in their interest to add any more clans to Ingwavuma.

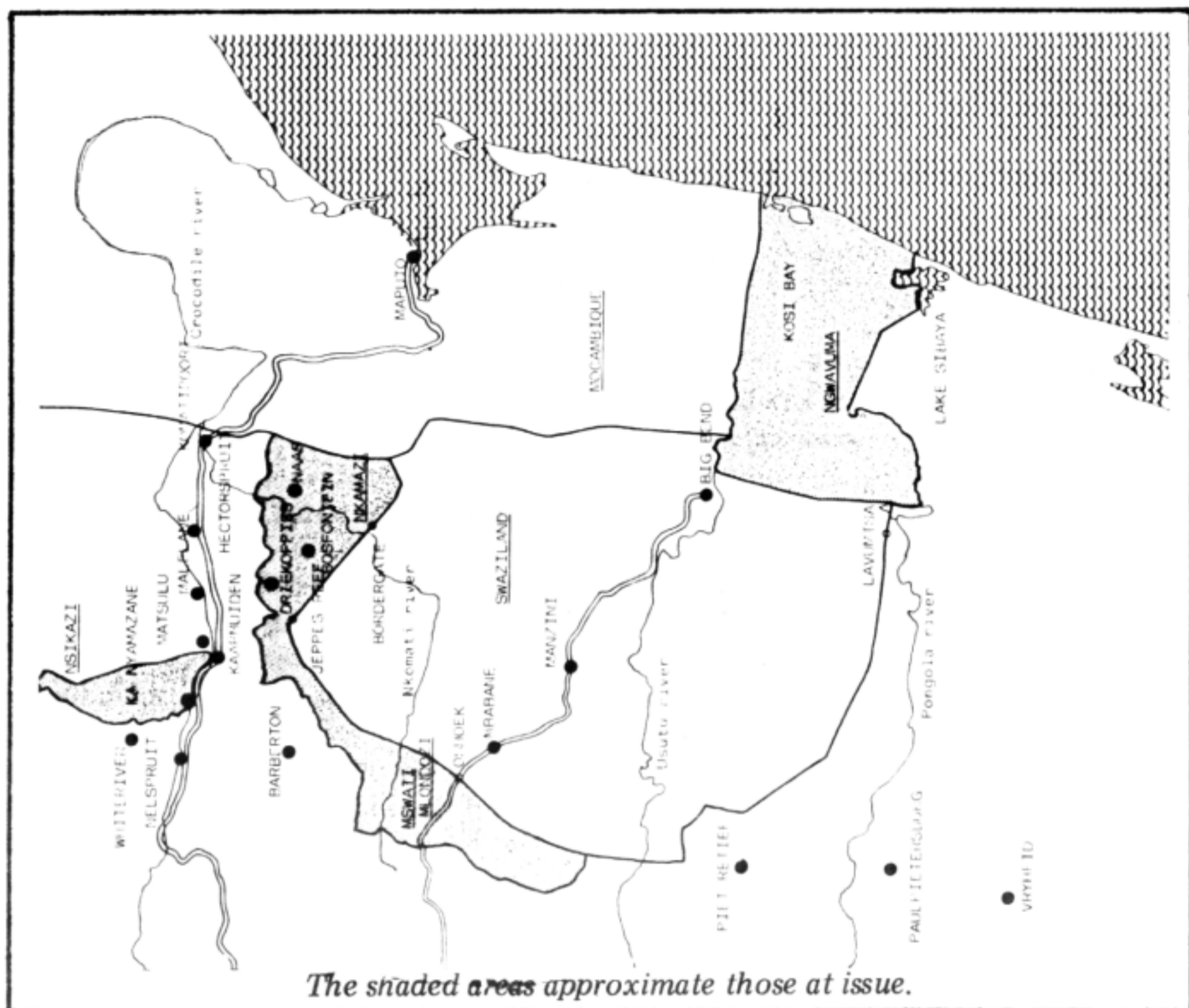
As regard to Swaziland, this was at a time of conflict between Boer and British colonialism relating to the territory. The Boers on the other hand coveted Swaziland for economic reasons. Already they had obtained farming concessions from the Swazi monarch by treachery. The Boers had entertained the prospects of mining including in particular the possibility of getting an outlet to the sea.

Incidentally, South Africa's wish could be realised only by gaining control of Ingwavuma. On the other hand British imperialism was opposed to both Boer wishes, in particular as relating to Ingwavuma. The independent Boer republics in themselves were a threat to British imperial interests. A position which could be more imperilled by the acquisition of an outlet to the sea. Moreover since this was at a time of the scramble for colonies by capitalist states.

It is thus clear from the above that British imperialism; for its own selfish interest, 'allowed' the continued independent existence of the clans in this region in relation to their stronger neighbours. This situation was deliberately maintained later by the 'Union of South Africa', later the 'Republic of South Africa' (more on this later). Small wonder therefore that the peoples of the area have retained some measure of clan identity.

In reality these peoples lost all their independence. This was a natural result of British imperialist activity in the region. For their part given (i) largely barren lands incapable of supporting a growing agrarian population; (ii) the imposition of taxes, which forced them to flock to white farms and industrial centres in search of wage employment, almost exclusively in racist Republic of South Africa. They then became attached to two worlds. Migrating to the mines on contract and coming to tend their barren lands and their diminishing herds of cattle back home. Before long every man, from the commonest to the future chief* could not escape this development. Needless to say that the discriminatory practices of the colonial regime, on which South African capitalism rests, were equally applicable to them. In a word, all aspects of their lives were now determined by the white capitalist exploiters through Pretoria.

* Ntunja is reported to have had his spell in the mines and industries of the Golden City, Johannesburg.



It would of course be wrong to assume from this that these people became passive, mere objects of history. On the contrary they became a constituent part of the broad national liberation movement that emerged in its modern form with the formation of the African National Congress, in 1912. As workers, they became part of the labour movement whose best traditions are today represented by the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) and the political vanguard organisation of the working class, the South African Communist Party (SACP). In the process they have therefore participated in moulding a new culture and a new democratic South Africa of the Freedom Charter.

RESPONSIBILITY FOR AREA PASSES TO UNION

However antagonistic and mutually exclusive Boer-British colonial interests may have appeared at one time, after several wars they reconciled. It soon became clear that despite superficial differences their attitude and policy towards the 'natives' was basically the same. They agreed that the continued subjugation of the indigenous majority was a necessary condition for the extraction of super-profits from its labour. When this Boer-British contract found political expression with the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910, the latter got control of Ingwavuma region as one of its prizes while Britain retained control over Swaziland, as a 'protectorate'.

RSA HANDS RESPONSIBILITY FOR AREA TO KWAZULU

After administering the area as an integral part of South Africa for over half a century, the 'Union of South Africa', then renamed the Republic of South Africa, handed over control of the area to its puppet creation, the KwaZulu government. The question may arise: *why to the Kwazulu bantustan and not to Swaziland who had claimed it for quite a long time?* Was it benevolence towards the Zulus or spite for the Swazis? Was it ignorance of the historical origins of the peoples of Ingwavuma?

It is very unlikely that Pretoria may not have considered giving this area to Mbabane. Later developments prove that spite was definitely not the reason for this oversight. Whatever reasons the Boers may have in records of confidential meetings in Pretoria, or with Mbabane-Lobamba, historical evidence show that they did not see this in their interest. We shall recall that South Africa always cherished the idea of ultimately incorporating Swaziland itself. It is therefore clear that whilst they could have given Swaziland this territory, such a step would have been self-defeating.

For as long as Mbabane remained beyond their reach, they had no intentions of doing them any favours. This belief was further strengthened by Swaziland's subsequent independence recognised as such internationally and capable of pursuing a foreign policy repugnant to Pretoria. It is in view of this situation that Pretoria saw Ingwavuma as a carrot that they could dangle in the eyes of Mbabane. This was correct from their point of view in the sense that it was the best way to serve their self-interests.

But why did they give Ingwavuma to the KwaZulu government? Was it a change of heart in the form of benevolence to KwaZulu? No way! Before the defeat of the Zulus by British imperialism the main aim of the Boers and the British was to break up the indigenous people's tribal authority and cohesiveness. This is also evident in Sir Theophilus Shepstone's policy of dividing Zululand into thirteen separate chieftaincies. This was no longer the case by the middle of the 20th century and afterwards. By this time the process of detribalisation was entrusted with Pretoria. The latter introduced the Bantu Authorities Act of 1959 which was accompanied by an accelerated implementation of the abhorrent bantustan system. Fortunately for Pretoria, Gatsha Buthelezi accepted the invitation to head the KwaZulustan. Geographical incorporation of Ingwavuma into the latter was the only logical result of Pretoria's policies.

The only obstacle had been the Mngomezulu led by Chief Ntondziwe II (Ntunja) who, like his father, rejected the Bantu authorities. However, Pretoria ousted him in favour of a rival who readily accepted this system. The resistance of Ntunja's followers, a preponderant majority, was brutally crushed and Ntunja fled into Swaziland with a number of his followers.

When Ntunja's rival died, Pretoria simply found another replacement, so that the present chief of the Mngomezulu is not of royal ancestry. Such is the 'good will' of Pretoria to 'its people'. A goodwill without consideration of consequent suffering of the people in the implementation of its unique policies to its unique problems. The result is continuous tension as the people resist these policies. As for ignorance of the origin of the local people, no one would charge Pretoria with that crime given the expertise of Boer - British imperialism in keeping colonial records.

With the knowledge of later events some liberals and reactionaries may argue that

Pretoria made a mistake by incorporating Ingwavuma into KwaZulu. Wrong, we shall say that Pretoria took the only correct decision in the circumstances, one that best served its racist capitalist interests. Others will say that Pretoria was grossly shortsighted by not giving the area over to Swaziland. To these we say you fail to understand that shortsightedness in this regard is inevitable for colonialists and racists alike.

1982 - THE PRETORIA-MBABANE/LOBAMBA DEAL

How are we to understand the 1982 turnabout when Ingwavuma once again changes hands, now to Mbabane? If the earlier decision was correct it is only logical that its opposite should be wrong. But nothing can be further from the truth. We have already pointed out that one thing - and one thing only - determines changes and the modifications of Pretoria's internal and foreign policy, namely, what best serves the interest of the extraction of super-profits from the super-exploitation of the subjugated. Having said this we must then determine what in Pretoria's viewpoint has changed greatly during this period.

For Pretoria the change is for the worse. Its position as the last bastion of imperialism in Africa has grown more untenable. The collapse of Portuguese colonialism in Angola and Mozambique, the final decolonisation of Zimbabwe, and the intensification of the liberation war in Namibia have seen racist borders contracting greatly. Its political isolation continentally and internationally is growing rapidly. Within her borders the struggle is escalating, the working class and the rest of the oppressed majority whose consciousness is growing by the day is more and more coming into the forefront of that struggle. These mass economic and political struggles are reinforced and enhanced by the growing armed resistance led by our people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe. Coupled with this is a deep economic crisis facing Pretoria and the whole imperialist world. A situation not helped by the growing awareness of the working masses that this crisis can only give way to an even longer and deeper crisis. We can thus see that it is no mere propaganda gimmick of Pretoria to claim that it is facing a 'total onslaught'. It is its interpretation of the causes of this situation, and therefore the solutions it comes up with that are all wrong (still 'correct' from its point of view). But that Pretoria's problems have grown much worse over the last decade cannot be doubted. No wonder Pretoria sees her deal with Mbabane as one of the essential steps in the implementation of her grand 'solution', 'total strategy'.

PRETORIA'S 'STRATEGY'

Seen in this light, Pretoria's benevolence to the Swazis acquires a very sinister meaning. Who can suggest a better way;

1. of 'solving' a growing unemployment problem, than simply changing borders so that over one million people cease to be Pretoria's responsibility;
2. for Pretoria to ensure that the million plus people stop struggling for their birthright under the leadership of the 'communist-backed' ANC;
3. of ensuring a serious and long-lasting conflict between the Swazi and South African peoples;
4. of ensuring that the Kingdom of Swaziland (part of the liberated zone in Africa) adopts a hostile attitude to the South African liberation move-

ment headed by the African National Congress;

5. of de-Africanising herself so that finally there may be no more oppressed majority with a right to African statehood; and
6. of including Swaziland to enter the 'constellation of states', becoming a full casino star in her own right; etc. All that at the cost of a largely barren tract of land which is difficult to defend, and a possible reward of getting some arch-reactionary imperialist power like the US to conveniently come to the 'aid' of Swaziland and building a 'seaport' for her which would then need to be 'defended' from the 'communists'?

Another important point is that, from the point of view of Pretoria, ceding land to a neighbouring country is not an irrevocable step. Activities against less tractable neighbours demonstrates this point. If Pretoria occupies Namibia illegally for such a long time, occupies part of Angola, invades any country, with the most feeble excuse, what can prevent her from repossessing land it has given away? All revolutionaries and anti-imperialist forces should do all they can to dissuade the Kingdom of Swaziland from taking a course hostile not only to the interests of the South African liberation struggle but to her own interests and those of the world anti-imperialist forces.

We must now look into the practical implementation of this 'solution' of Pretoria. The regime has been determined against opposition not only from the liberation movement, but also from within its own ranks. In the latter instance the so-called KwaZulu government managed to get court decisions against Pretoria. Evidently the latter had miscalculated and admitted this by 'agreeing' with puppet Gatsha Buthelezi and Mabuza of Ka-Ngwane, to form a commission of inquiry to investigate the matter and present recommendations. A no less important contribution to this retreat of Pretoria was the Mbabanne position that the former must sort out its 'problems' before it can accept the 'gift' (as if Pretoria could sort out such a 'problem') herself. What went wrong?

What went wrong is what inevitably goes wrong with all Pretoria's solutions to the political problems she faces. All never achieve the desired result. All are shorter or longer-lived. None is lasting. The much-proclaimed 'victories', be they the Kassinga, Matola or Maseru massacres, be they the 'acceptance of independence' by Xhosas, Vendas, etc., are hollow. All colonial and fascist regimes scored the same 'victories'. All were defeated finally. Pretoria will go the same way.

But this answer is too general and fails to clarify the issues sufficiently, if at all. Nor can it definitely be said that Pretoria's current retreat is final on the issue. The opposite is more likely though it may come in different garb. To give a more meaningful answer we need to look a bit more closely into what the people learned (or failed to learn) in their struggle against this 'solution'. For convenience and to assist better understanding we will begin by looking into the forces represented by the 'KwaZulu government'. This is not because this force played the decisive role. Quite the contrary as we shall prove later.

To be continued in the next issue.

HEROES OF OUR REVOLUTION

May Their Memory Never fade

Semano Mosololi, Thelle Mogoerane and Thabo Motaung

- TEBOGO KGOPE

On the morning of June 9, the physical count in our ranks registered minus three. Three combatants who had loomed like Goliaths and blazed a trail of valour in their revolutionary wake did not show up at the roll-call. Three warriors in the veritable tradition of our fighting people laid down their spears. Umkhonto we Sizwe felt forlorn and sad. Sadder still by the manner of the parting.

Eternal glory to our heroes: Thabo Motaung, Thelle Mogoerane and Semano Mosololi, who perished by the scaffold holding aloft the banner of freedom and peace!

On that wintry day mankind was shocked by the cruelty of the regime that rules our country against our will. Mankind had protested, urged and pleaded against this cruelty. The racists' answer was a murderous rebuff. Mankind was justly appalled.

But in Umkhonto we Sizwe we stood crisp and solemn, in the well-knit ranks of their former detachments. Their cruel departure was not received with disbelief, nor with illusions in the fascist nature of the regime. Another outrage in the murder catalogue of the butcher boer regime is recorded. The perpetrators of this crime and countless others will one day appear before a people's court to answer for their bloody deeds.

We greeted this cowardly act with anger and let our indignation be known. Our mighty chorus of anger reverberated across our Motherland and echoed in the prison walls whence ignoble graves were being contemplated for noble men. Our loud pledge to redress this grave injustice, to avenge this crime, set fascist politicians on edge, got their generals barking, sent their judges hiding. For our dear comrades so cruelly wrenched from our embrace vowed to pay back.

There were tears for our martyrs... Our Motherland wept. She



wept as yet once more she sucked youthful blood so wantonly strewn. Mothers, fathers and children wept. Hearts wept. Celebrated ruins were being rushed for secret burial. But they were tears of resolution. Our heroes marched to the gallows upright, courageously. They spurned pity. They urged struggle. Fathers, mothers and children resolved to continue from where our martyrs left.

Let us call them as we did - Abbey, Seeiso, Dragon ... what were they made of, these bouyant, raging, fearless sons of our soil?

TOWNSHIP

They were the township element, the ragged boys who removed dustbin lids to scrouge for left-overs before they knew the lids would one day be used to fend off bullets. They are the lissom who whirled about the dusty streets in tattars, dodged knives, ducked bricks, parried blows in the seething township existence - and later ducked hot lead from barking muzzles.

They were the weary urchins who evened a thin blanket night-times over their brothers and sisters and locked together their warm bodies in mortal combat against the cold concrete floor; who barely caught sight of their fathers on week-days disappear and come back late at night with masks like death; who saw their kith and kin die from malnutrition and kwashiokor.

RESILIENT

They were the fortunate ones, the resilient ones who bore the screaming heat of crammed classrooms; who caught a glint through the fog that is Bantu Education; who said no to the fog, no to the wretched existence under apartheid and met with fists and fury the thunder of racist tanks. They saw their brothers and sisters no taller than broomsticks, no fatter than broomsticks, fall in the charged charging mass and vomit blood. These were young men who were steeled in the uneven combat of June 16. They were part of the heroism of these epic battles.

As we marked their untimely death we recalled that they were with us when we put the Matola heroes to rest, and we together sang in praise of our beloved Ruth as we laid her alongside the rest. Joe Gqabi, the Nyaoses, the Maseru martyrs, although their remains lie on foreign soil, we who struggled with them bid them fitting farewell. We touched their coffins, beheld their bloody corpses, dug their graves and buried them. But the celebrated ruins of the Moroka Three were made the property of the prison authorities.

We recited their obituaries from a distance...



SEMANO MOSOLOLI (DRAGON): Born on December 1, 1957, from working parents, he was the fifth child in a family of seven.

He grew up in Soweto and was in final year at Orlando North Secondary School when the Soweto Uprisings erupted in June 1976.

Semano was involved in the upheavals and he decided to join the movement when it became clear that the solution to the violence of the regime was revolutionary violence. He left the country in November 1976 to join the African National Congress and our people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe.



For him we shall only have fond memories.

After the initial training, Semano was selected for specialised training whereupon he was assigned tasks in different centres until he was requested to the front because of his outstanding performance.

He joined Mogoerane's unit in June 1981, took part in all their operations until his capture soon after the Wonderboom police station attack.

Mosololi was a quiet and unassuming young man. He was highly disciplined and

a fine example of what an Mk soldier should be. Prompt to the call of duty, he was cooperative and never allowed his spirit to be dampened by the difficult conditions under which he found himself and the others.

For him we shall have only fond memories.

THELLE MOGOERANE (SEEISO): He was born in 1957, the second in a family of five children. His father was a worker and his mother a nurse. Thelle grew up in Vosloorus and was doing form IV at Mampoi Government school, Witsieshoek in 1976, and was involved in the upheavals at the school following Soweto Uprisings. Students set the school on fire and burned down the house of a notorious school principal. He was one of the leaders and was as a result hunted by the police.



May his fine example be an inspiration to us.

Mobilised into the struggle by the heroic days of June 16, Thelle strode into our midst at the age of 19 wearing an eternal smile, with eyes eternally probing, and a mind eternally searching. Everyone warmed up to this kind young man who was however firm as a rock.

He was a keen reader, sportsman and

devoted revolutionary. After his initial training he went for specialised training and was soon deployed to the front.

For years Thelle stayed in the country, fighting and perfecting the art of war against the fascists. From 1978 to 1981 he was engaged in action against the enemy. For only brief spells did he leave for the rear, and always when he was in the rear he yearned for the front. It was his life, his beautiful, hard life. From Moroka to Wonderboom Thelle was the beloved indomitable commissar. Exemplary and highly disciplined, such men as he, it is impossible to keep idle. Whenever a difficult task came, he invariably came to mind.

Mogoerane was captured on December 31 1981 with Mosololi. In the hands of the torturers, he still fought tenaciously and refused to be broken in spirit. *"They can kill my body, but my spirits are high"*, were his last words to his mother.

The chronicle of his brief life is the story of devotion, maturity, love and struggle. May his fine example be an inspiration to us.

THABO MOTAUNG (ABBEY): Uncompromising Mk commander. He was born in 1955, the third of nine children. Thabo's father was a painter and his mother a worker at a laundry. He was caught up by the June 16 Upsurges while doing Form V at Madibane High School. He spent the next 12 months in the heat of ensuing battles. When Thabo left the country he had enrolled for a journalism course at Wilgespruit Fellowship centre. He spent the next 12 months in the heat. He convinced himself and others, among them Fanie Stephen Mafoko (who died in the Silverton Siege) to join the ANC and learn superior skills to confront the enemy. They left in September 1977 to join our people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The fire in Motaung was recognised instantly. Within eight months, he was called to the front and plunged in the thick of battle armed with courage and rifle.



May the fire in him enter hearts that beat for freedom.

This was a man you could not keep out of action or danger. He was fearless. All who worked with Thabo marvelled at his nerves of steel, and heart of a lion.

Quiet and firm, Motaung walked in and out of danger with the calmness and ferocity of a tiger. That much may be known, but little is known of the fact that he walked in and out of the claws of the devil itself with just as measured resoluteness. In 1979, immediately after the Moroka police station attack, he was arrested with a bag of pamphlets. Calm as ever, he went into the Protea police station assuming the legend of a misguided student, who had been duped by some old man in the street to distribute the pamphlets, a more rampant and lesser crime of course - which an itchy-fingered officer would be more willing to forgive if a carrot was dangled in front of him - than the unprecedented attack on Moroka. This is what Motaung did. He d a n g l e d a few ten rand notes, resi-

ed being fingerprinted, swore his innocence. The boer officer accepted this extraordinary fine, and Motaung walked out of the police station and back to the world of combat.

His calmness saved him and his comrades for a few more years of action. Thabo unleashed his tremendous capabilities during these years and was a veritable scourge to the butcher Malan regime. He could not be put down. Thabo was a keen thinker and sharp planner. He was made part of a broader planning machinery. But action was his element. Soon after his appointment he was assigned active control and direction of several units inside the country. With characteristic zeal, he steered them to action for some time.

But one of Thabo's men, who could no longer stand the rigours and risks of struggle succumbed to persuasion by elements of his relations to surrender to the enemy. This traitor, Lake Mpiyakhe (Moses Bafana Mbatha) betrayed Motaung and Suzman Mokoena. Others escaped by the skin of their teeth.

Motaung's boldness was probably his undoing. Although there were already indications that Lake was in the hands of the enemy, it was this traitor who lured him into a trap. Feigning injury, leg in plaster,

Lake the devil beckoned to Motaung, who strode towards him to render help despite warning from one comrade who was with him. The latter was shot three times by the former's accomplice, another traitor (Mosotho). He was brutally treated and tortured during interrogation. But Thabo still reached out from behind bars and kept touch with the movement he so loved, a movement which had schooled him, in his words, to hate apartheid and not a particular race.

Comrade Abbey ... forever riding on the wings of hurricanes. May the fire in him flee his tomb and enter hearts that beat for freedom!

These young men who were cold-bloodedly murdered by the racist regime were among the finest sons of our country. They yearned for equality. They yearned for peace. They strove to destroy the regime which practiced violence on them, to talk the language of the oppressor - the language of the gun. Their salvo rocked the purpled ease of the military regime, and ushered in the fierce tenacity of the new crop of Umkhonto we Sizwe combatants.

We salute these glorious harbingers of new warriors who sprang from Hector Petersen's grave. For their heroism, patriotism and love, they were put to death.

MAY THEIR MEMORY NEVER FADE!

DESPISED WHITE RACE

Racist Magnus Malan despises the intelligence of the South African whites, whose interest he claims to defend; to such an extent that, he thinks because they do not know where the African National Congress is. He can safely point at any place in Maputo as an ANC base and they will believe him; he thinks that they are so stupid that he can quote any figures about the ANC members who are supposed to be killed, and the whites will celebrate and praise him...

His gigantic hoax ended up being the massacre of two children, two women and the injuring of many innocent Mozambican civilians.

Radio Freedom - Luanda



A LEGACY TO BE ENRICHED

- GETTY LULAMA

August 9th 1956, stands out not only as a great achievement by women but also as one of the outstanding demonstrations of courage, a relentless struggle for our people's aspirations during the tumultuous decade of the fifties. This day was a resounding victory which echoed the resolute high mood of the Defiance Campaign and the Congress of the People.

The convergence of 20 000 women of different races and organisations reflected unity and a high level of organisation, which is an essential condition for victory. This victory underlined decades of struggle against racist savagery. Many women have always been an integral part of this struggle. Women have broken the shackles that discriminate against them and deny them their rightful service to our people, representing stars of hope for many to follow. On this note we remember and salute our leaders: Lilian Ngoyi, Mary Moodley, Albertina Sisulu and others. We also salute the cadres of our people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, like Thandi Modise; many women languishing in jails, Dorothy Nyembe and all other heroic daughters of our beloved country.

THE OPPRESSION OF WOMEN

Apartheid exposes women to untold racist brutality and exploitation. According to an informal survey of the Domestic Workers and Employers Project (DWEPE) domestics in the Witwatersrand are paid as low as R68 a month while in rural areas it can be as low as R25. These women in many cases are bread-winners in their families.

On March 27 women and 26 men went on a fast in St Georges Cathedral, for the right to live with their families. Apart from them there were two pregnant women and 15 children. Xoliswa Mgweba aged 35 was among them. She told a story of apartheid misery which is the daily experience of women in South Africa.

She was born in Cape Town and was taken to the Transkei at the age of 4 when her mother died. In 1965 Xoliswa came back to Cape Town looking for work where she realised that she had become an illegal immigrant in her land of birth. She lived with a man in Langa barracks and acquired a job as a domestic servant.

Xoliswa was evicted in July with 2 000 others and went to settle in a bush near Cross-

roads. Here she was uprooted again and arrested but came out on bail and returned to the bush. Racist thugs came again, demolished their shacks and carted them to the Transkei where there is no work or accomodation. Eventually they returned to Cape Town.

Xoliswa was arrested and deported to the Transkei innumerable times only to come back. This is the inhuman apartheid system at work which in the process relegates men and women to a position of abject poverty and humiliation. A system which the Reagan Administration has exalted through its 'constructive engagement' policies to be a terror squad in the sub-region.



This is the system that tries to deny to the whole world that 24 million blacks are citizens of South Africa. To justify this myth Africans are made immigrants to the 87 percent 'white South Africa', this process being facilitated by the migrant labour system, pass laws and influx control.

Mine workers are paid starvation wages which according to racist mentality is supplemented by subsistence farming in their tribal areas. Women are, according to this myth, keeping this subsistence base going, but we know this to be a lie. There is absolutely no land to farm.

The racist rulers are conveniently forgetting, too, that these fertile lands constituting the 87 percent of South Africa were expropriated by the 1913 Land Act and the 1936 Trust Land Act. These liars deny the fact that in Gazankulu and Lebowa a peasant

family's annual income is equal to the average white family's monthly grocery bill. The wealth and high standard of living achieved in white urban areas have been attained as a result of impoverishment and killer-diseases ridden conditions of the reserves.

WHAT THEN IS THE CONTENT OF WOMEN'S EMANCIPATION?

This must show the women that their problems are a component part of the liberation struggle which is based on all our problems in South Africa. It is imperative that women must rally and work together, directing the main thrust of their struggle towards the destruction of fascist dictatorship. The main duty facing the women in South Africa is to participate at all levels in the liberation struggle and in our people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, in particular.

It is very common for women to confine the content of their struggle to a struggle against male domination. Capitalist production has created this contradiction between men and women. Apartheid is used to entrench it. Men and women are used as pawns, they are pitted against one another to prolong the existence of capitalist relations and keep our people in perpetual subjugation. These are divisive tactics. They have had their effect, men feel superior to women and women feel inferior to men.

But it must be stressed that in our case these contradictions cannot be allowed to be antagonistic when we know who the enemy is. Women and men must join hands. The emancipation of women in South Africa lies on their full and unconditional participation in the struggle for the liberation of our country and people.

Let us not be side-tracked into the world of false glitter. At this present stage of our struggle there are burning issues around which all South Africans must rally. The enemy is getting more aggressive and repressive. Notwithstanding this brutality it is panic-stricken. While the creation of a black 'middle class' is a ploy it shows that the enemy is aware of its doom. It is desperate to create collaborationists who will have a stake in the apartheid system. Let the women fight relentlessly inside the country, joining all the organisations that rally around the people's document, the Freedom Charter. Let us join the struggle and campaign against rent increases, rising cost of living and for the release of Nelson Mandela, our leaders and all other political prisoners. Let us campaign against puppet institutions and genocidal legislation. Let us not hesitate to denounce and deal accordingly with those who are traitors to their own people.

As women we must take our place in the fighting ranks of our people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe. This is a task which must be fulfilled urgently. The enemy has declared an unprovoked war on all our people, young and old, men and women. We must get trained and armed to defend and liberate ourselves together with our entire people. Countless examples of heroism displayed by women of our land in the face of a vicious enemy are enough proof of our ability to fight with guns in hand. As the Vietnamese put it: "*Women are the greatest victims of the war, but they are also its greatest heroes.*" This is what the spirit of August 9 is about - the heroism of women of our embattled Motherland, a legacy left to us by brave and determined women. It is a legacy that must be preserved and enriched at all costs.

STRAIGHT TALK...

The spirit of United Action

“WE WANT ALL OUR RIGHTS, WE WANT THEM HERE AND WE WANT THEM NOW”.

The line cited above is extracted from the key-note address delivered by Dr A. Boesak at the inauguration of the United Democratic Front (UDF). Therein is captured the seriousness and resolve of the down-trodden masses of our people (to crown the long struggle for liberation with victory). A victory for which over a period spanning centuries so many lives have been lost and yet so many sacrifices are being made.

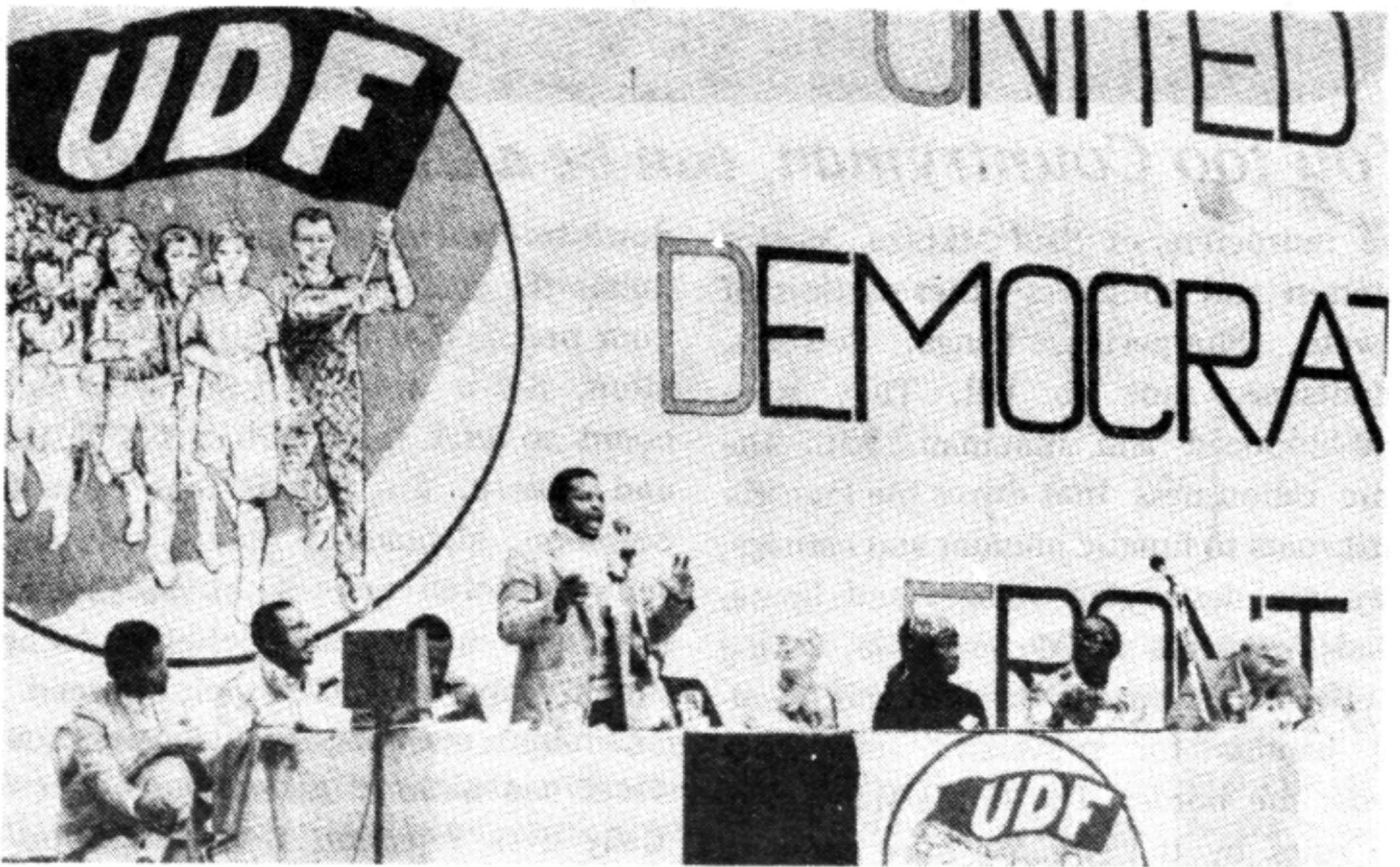
It is not so much the magic of the ‘little words’ underscored in the citation that motivates this **Straight Talk** but the fact that they put into capsule the irrepressible courage and determination of our people and indeed a fearlessness that rises with danger. Would Luthuli was nigh to see with his very eyes the blooming of the flower of Kliptown. For in many ways than one the UDF launch and the Congress of the People of 1955 are monumental episodes whose very occurrence fuels the fires of popular revolution and inspires all of us even to greater heights - towards the majestic summit of the establishment of a South Africa which shall belong to all who live in it on the basis of freedom and democracy.

The oppressed have once again delivered a resounding rebuff to the system of apartheid with all its trappings and schemes. They have correctly condemned the Presidential Council proposals and the Koornhof Bills to where they belong: into the dustbin of history where the yawning abyss of time waits to serve them right. The black deprived masses have come to understand the urgency of moving in the spirit of united action towards mobilising the broad masses into conscious political involvement for an all-round offensive against the obnoxious apartheid system of race rule and capitalist exploitation.

This has not come of its own; it is the result of a prolonged principled struggle that has gone through peaceful and stormy periods, but thanks to the selflessness of our leadership and organisations at the hub of this historical process all along, now we are fully astride the mighty crest of revolutionary ferment and are determining as we do, the rate and direction of march. We have captured the initiative under the steadfast guidance of the revolutionary movement as headed by the African National Congress.

Within the context of this year’s campaign for United Action the launching of the UDF constitutes a phenomenal stride towards the consolidation of our politic-

al arsenal. Yet we must be warned against overstating our people's victories, thus running the risk of getting stuck in our own glee, at the expense of greater vigilance in the face of a wounded beast - the Pretoria regime. The August 20 event, therefore, was a historic milepost which brings with it new and greater challenges.



It brings to mind the instructive dictum: the challenge mounts with each advance. Already the UDF has the backing of more than 400 popular organisations and the support of close to a million people. *Yet for victory we need the conscious support of the millions of the oppressed.* The crying need for an unabating drive for drawing more people into the UDF fold, for mobilisation and recruitment into the ranks of revolutionary vanguard and its fighting arm, Umkhonto we Sizwe, remains.

We must also never fail to deliver our prodigals who are wandering towards if not into the gates of Black revanchism. We must pull them to line and knock sense and sound logic into those who seek to poison the popular cause with inverted race hatred, who pursue a struggle based on the skin strategy under the slogan of an anti-racist future, which is unfathomable.

We, militants of the African National Congress and its allies, organised into the fighting ranks of Mk vow to improve our combativeness. In the words of our Mk Manifesto we shall continue to *"be in the front line of the people's defence"*, sparing neither strength nor effort. As the struggle continues, so shall we continue to spearhead the popular offensive, cutting deeper into the heart of boer-fascism and bleed it to death.

UDF UNITES - APARTHEID DIVIDES!
FORWARD TO WAR!

LEARN with DAWN

You too Countryman, can be a Freedom Fighter

The murderers of Saul Mkhize, Hector Petersen and countless other victims of Soweto, Sharpeville, Langa, Bulhoek, Mdantsane, shot to kill. They were cold-blooded and inhuman. With the same callousness that drives the Pretoria cutthroats to lunatic plunder and carnage, they are destroying villages and homesteads in parts of Mozambique, taking pot-shots at innocent Basotho and breeding bandits for subversive ends from across the border. The Botha-Malan regime rules by the gun. We have come to learn through bitter experience that the gun in the hands of the boer-fascist bullies is an instrument of human destruction and untold coercion, a tyranny enforcing device.

The time has long come for you countrymen to learn the manipulation of guns for the purpose of making your voice louder, making your political demands more boldly and effectively.

The gun in the hands of an oppressed people should be used as an instrument of political struggle for political ends, for the conquest of a free and democratic South Africa where the rule of law will aim at the welfare of the people and the benefit of social progress. You of the

down-trodden must know how to manipulate the weapons that are used to press your people down to positions of humiliation. Know how to make each bullet count so that those butchers of Matola and Maseru, the villains that came for Solomon Mahlangu, Marcus Motaung, Jerry Mosololi and Simon Mogoerane's lives with noose and cold-bloodedness should reap the fruits of their evil seed.

Combine our everyday struggles around local and national issues that affect our daily lives, rejection of the farcical political schemes of the enemy such as the Presidential Council, bantustans, etc. Confront the enemy on all fronts and forge an unprecedented mass political offensive. Seek out for our People's Army and swell its ranks so that the van of this, our struggle, the spearhead of revolutionary armed struggle, should cut deeper across all sorts of apartheid fortifications. Umkhonto we Sizwe will continue to play its part in the front ranks of the people's defence.

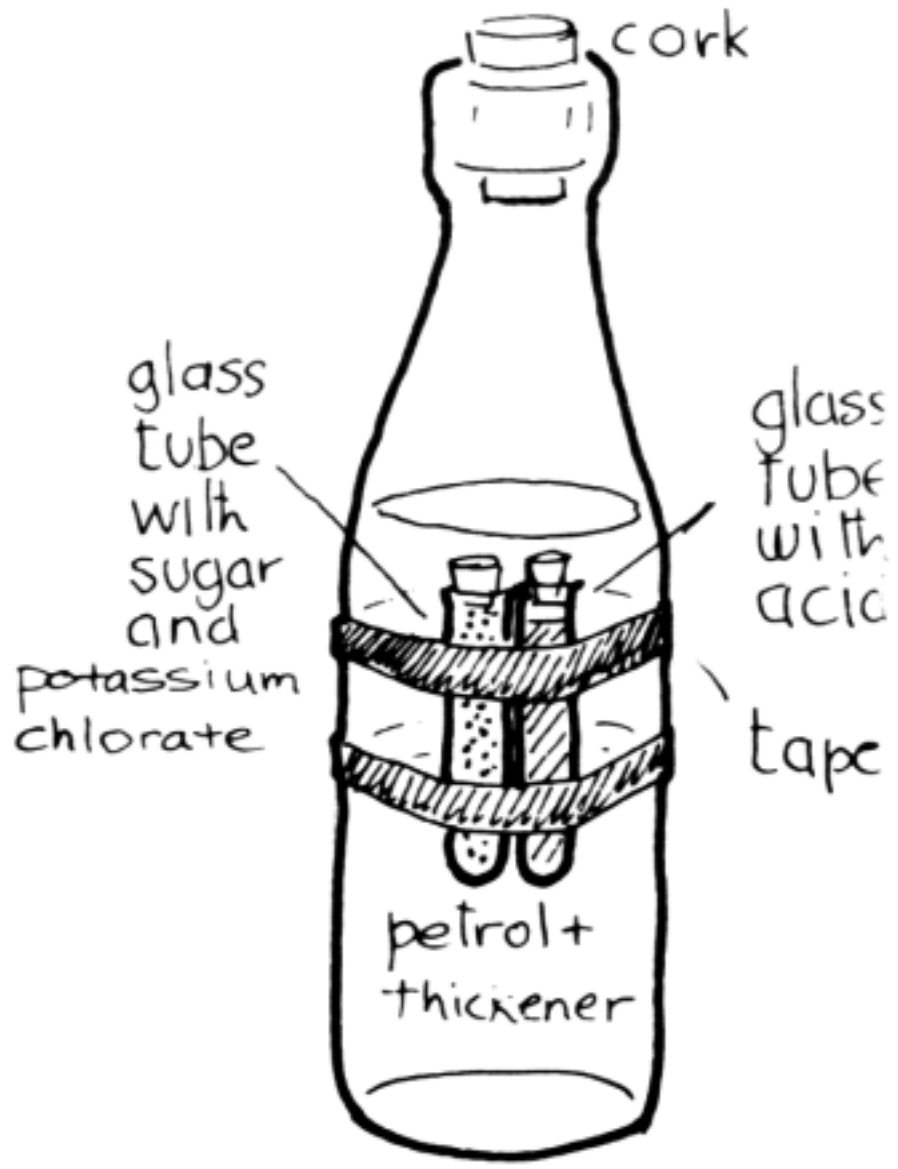
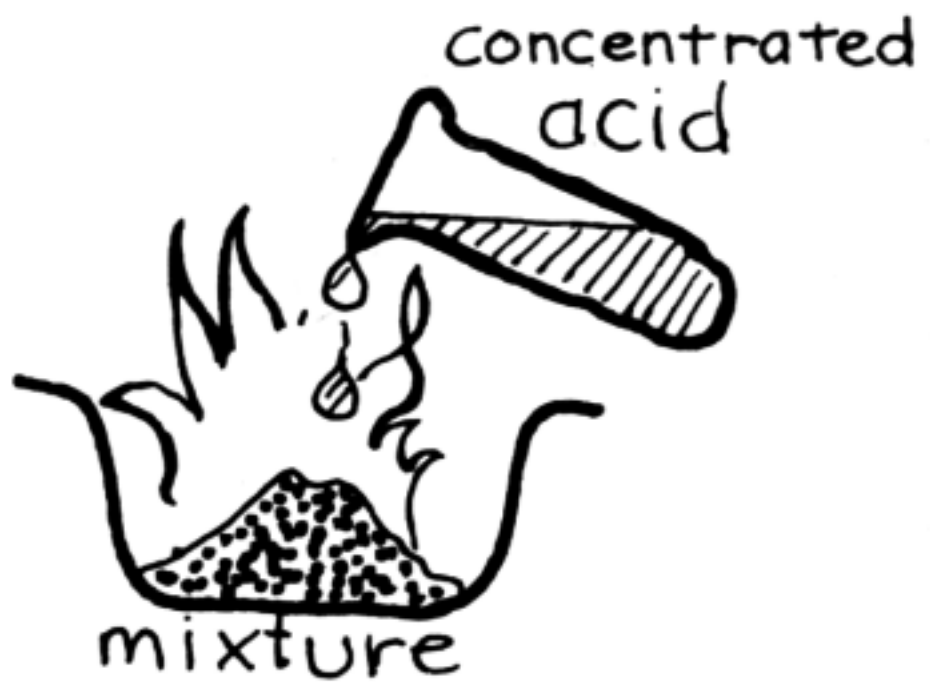
Learn with Dawn how to help augment the armed might of popular struggles. In this issue we give some instructions on the manufacture of the *self-igniting petrol bomb*.

THE SELF-IGNITING MOLOTOV COCKTAIL

For this you need to know little simple
28

chemistry. Fire bombs require air to burn but the oxygen of the air can be trapped in certain chemicals, such as potassium

chlorate or sodium chlorate (common weed killer). Mix equal parts of chemical and sugar. When concentrated sulphuric acid is added, the mixture bursts into flame. We call this mixture a *primer*. A primer detonates or activates a main charge.



A primer is an in-between stage. When the acid comes into contact with the mixture there is an explosion which gives off a lot of heat. The more chemical, the greater the explosive force. The more sugar, the more heat.

HOW TO MIX

Potassium Chlorate is not difficult to obtain. You can make an igniter for your petrol bomb by taping a glass tube of potassium chlorate and sugar to the bottle. Next to this tube place a tube filled with sulphuric acid. The bottle is firmly corked. When it is thrown and breaks, the acid will ignite the mixture.

NOTE: You must use *concentrated* sulphuric acid. This acid is also used in car batteries but is diluted with water so it will be too weak for this purpose.

When mixing, follow these steps carefully:

- (a) Take care. With an explosive or incendiary mixture the separate chemicals and ingredients must first be carefully

grinded into a fine powder and then mixed together. If you fail to do this properly the mixture will not work.

- (b) Chemists use a Pestle and Mortar for grinding powder. This works well and there is no danger of causing sparks through friction. You must not use metal tools, as these can cause heat. If you cannot get a Pestle and Mortar or something similar, use clean hard stones to grind the powder. Use a wooden or ceramic bowl or box.



(c) When the separate ingredients are ready, mix them gently together. Mix them in a paper bag. Stir the powders together with a wooden spoon or stick. Avoid causing friction. You must make sure the ingredients are thoroughly mixed together. Shake the mixture up in the bag several times.



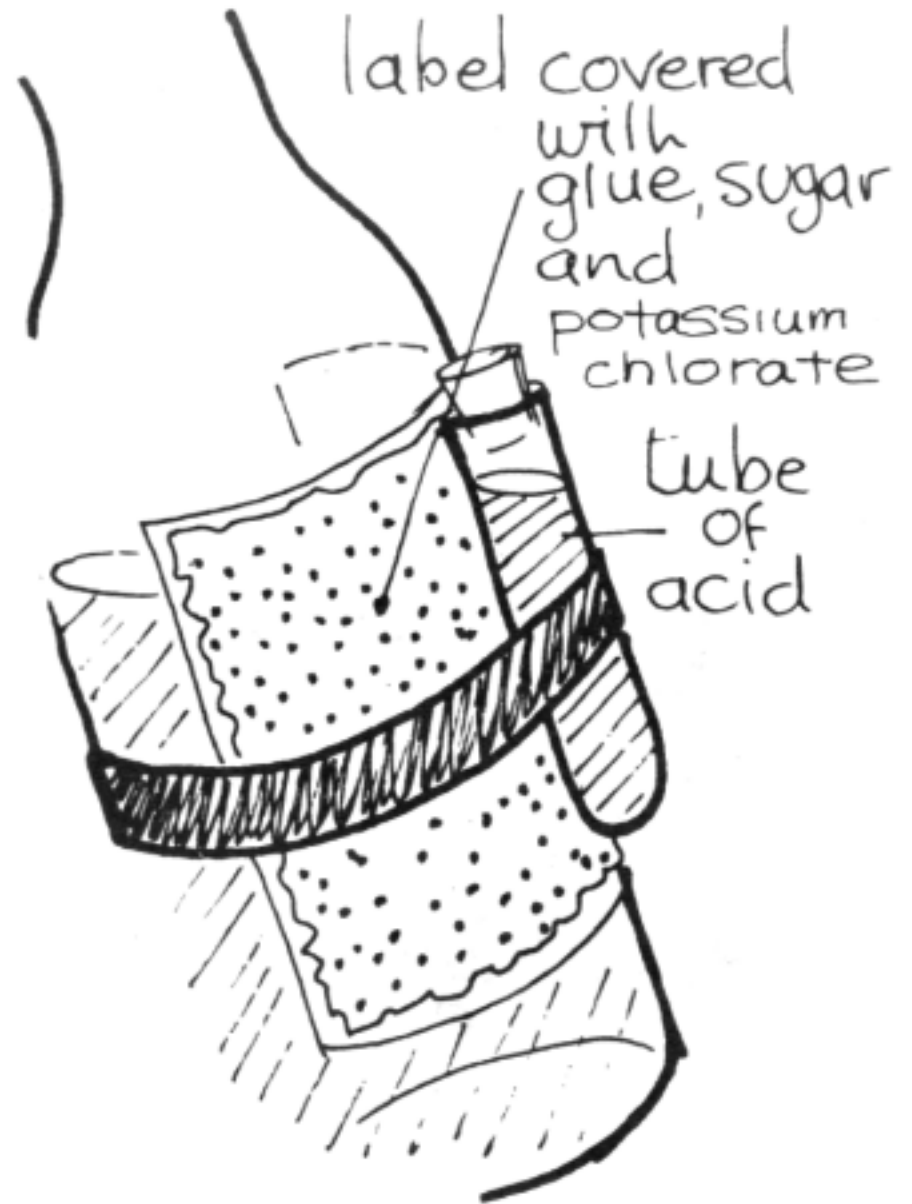
- (d) Test a small sample of the powder a safe distance away from where you have been working. If you do not get a good reaction, you probably need to carry on mixing the ingredients.
- (e) Do not store mixed chemicals. After mixing and testing a small sample successfully, they should be used on their targets immediately.

SAFETY WARNING

Take care when handling and pouring acid. It can burn you badly and can suddenly ignite chemicals sensitive to it.

Another way of making an igniter is by taking a gummed label. Smear glue on the ungummed side. Sprinkle potassium chlorate and sugar mixture on the glue and allow to dry. Stick label firmly on the bottle, using the gummed side. Fix single glass tube of acid to bottle, so that when glass tube and bottle break, acid will ig-

nite mixture.



Make sure that the outside of the glass tube is free of acid. Wipe it carefully with a damp cloth. If there is any trace of acid on outside of tube it will instantly ignite the chemical on the label. Carry the Molotov with care so that the acid tube does not break.

HERE IS ANOTHER METHOD:

Mix two parts of petrol and one part of sulphuric acid. Take a piece of paper, approximately 4 cm squared and in the middle of it put one teaspoonful of potassium chloride and paste it (paper) with glue on the middle (outside) the bottle. Close the cap of the bottle tight and shake well before throwing to the target. When the bottle hits the target and breaks, it will burst into flame because the mixture of sulphuric acid and petrol ignite potassium chloride. This method is called *non-contact*.

THINK CLEARLY! KEEP COOL AND CALM! NEVER RUSH THINGS! ESPECIALLY WHEN HANDLING EXPLOSIVES!

Ten Days of PAYM Festival

A great contribution to the African revolution, is how one can describe the tremendous work done by the African youth during the ten days (22nd to 31st) of the Socond Pan-African Youth Festival which was held in Tripoli, Libya.

It was the most representative gathering of the African youth since the 1973 festival in Tunis. Delegates came from Algeria, Angola, Benin, Cape Verde, Congo, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea Bissau, Guinea Conakry, Libya, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Morroco, Mozambique, Namibia (SWAPO Youth League), Seychelles, Senegal, South Africa (ANC Youth Section), Saharawi (Youth of POLISARIO Front), Sudan, Tanzania, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, Upper Volta, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Inspiring messages of solidarity in the common world-wide struggle against imperialism, for national and social liberation, peace and social progress were presented by representatives of the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY), International Union of Students (IUS), the OAU, All-African Students Union (AASU), Young Communist League (KOMSOMOL) of the Soviet Union, Free German Youth (FDJ) of the German Democratic Republic, Union of Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia, Union of Cuban Youth (UJC), the Youth of the Democratic Republic of Korea, Nicaragua, El Salvador and Syria.

Comrade President Oliver Tambo sent greetings on behalf of our people and their vanguard movement, the African National Congress. He said:

“Imperialism is intensifying its global offensive against the forces of progress. Dark clouds, formented by the enemies of our continent, are gathering around every step we take. Needless to say, imperialism is meeting with stubborn resistance and continuing victories by peace-loving peoples determined to win self-determination, independence and social advancement. We need however to remain vigilant and united against this offensive. Unity must be fought for and defended. The striving for unity is an ongoing challenge which must be met at every level and by the people of Africa in all their various organisational formations. Unity poses a special challenge to the youth of Africa. In this struggle against imperialism and its agents, we wish to commend for your support to the heroic struggle of the Palestinian people led by their great movement, the PLO”.

FOR INDEPENDENCE, UNITY AND ANTI-IMPERIALIST SOLIDARITY

The festival's opening ceremony was marked by a colourful parade of participants at the City Stadium, Tripoli. Its slogan was *Independence, Unity and Anti-Imperialist Solidarity*. The Pan-African Youth Movement is a continental organisation



The festival's opening ceremony.

of the African youth with clear-cut basic principles which guide its activities: to ensure that the youth plays an active role in the ongoing struggle for the total liberation of our continent. This means:

- strengthening and defending African unity against imperialism;
- clearing the way for united action in the struggle for the total liberation of the continent;
- the implementation of the OAU programme of economic reconstruction; and
- joining hands with the world progressive forces in fighting for peace and progress on our planet.

It is in keeping with its democratic and anti-imperialist traditions that the Pan-African Youth Movement dedicated its Second Festival to rallying the youth to make a concerted effort in meeting the crucial challenge facing our entire continent. Considerable success was achieved in this direction.

The programme of the festival consisted of four major issues and the participants accordingly formed themselves into four commissions:

1. Political;
2. Economic;
3. Culture; and
4. Interest groups.

Each of the four areas had a number of topics on which delegates presented papers throughout the duration of the festival.

There were also solidarity meetings including one with the Libyan people on the last day of the festival. All this activity was further enriched by cultural performances and sports activities by different delegations.



One commission in session during the Pan-African Youth Movement Festival.

The ANC Youth Section deserves special attention. The delegation which represented the youth of the African National Congress and the entire youth of our country was led by its Head, Welile Nhlapo, with other members of the National Youth Committee: Mongezi Stofile, Joyce Dipale, Jackie Selebi, Kgomotso Mogase and Klause Maphepha. The "Amandla Cultural Ensemble" of the ANC directed by Jonas Gwangwa, a renown trombonist and a musician of international class, constituted a vital component of the ANC delegation.

DAWN SPOKE TO ONE OF THE DELEGATES:

Our delegation went to the festival to represent our fighting people in the revolutionary tradition of the ANC. From the beginning to the end our delegation worked tirelessly. We participated actively in all commissions: political, economic, cultural and in interest groups. On every platform our speakers told the story of the brutal oppression, starvation, hangings, humiliation, etc., on the one hand and mass action by workers, youth, women, military action by Umkhonto we Sizwe and the community at large on the other. We told them of the sacrifices made by the workers, peasants, children and women of the Front-line States like Angola, Mozambique, Lesotho, Zambia and Zimbabwe. All of whom are daily victims of Pretoria's campaign of terror, destruction and destabilisation simply because the political and social systems they are creating are a direct opposite to apartheid domination and they support our just struggle for national liberation. We made it clear to our African friends that the fighting peoples of South Africa, Namibia and Saharawi led by the African National Congress, the South West Africa People's Organisation and POLISARIO Front respectively are fighting against colonial domination just as any other African state which have since won independence. And we went further than that: we called on the delegates to ensure that their countries increase their support for our peoples struggling for

national independence and to the Front-line States. This included suggesting practical action like forming Release Mandela Committees in their respective countries.

In addition to the work done in the commissions, units of bilateral discussions did tremendous work. We met with a number of delegations ; Cape Verde, Seychelles, Ghana, Gambia, Mauritania, Upper Volta, Djibouti, Madagascar, Congo, Mali, Guinea Bissau, Mauritius, Zimbabwe and a few others. In the discussions we were able to ensure that even those youth groups who are distant from the Front-line of the struggles for the total liberation of our continent get a clear picture of our situation.

The performance of Amandla crowned it all. I can only describe it as being heroic. Only a week earlier these comrades had been sweating it out, performing twice daily for the embattled people of Mozambique. They kept the audience spell bound throughout their performances. Their political message resounded in the music from the ghettos of South Africa and the majestic traditional dances of all our indigenous people, the wrath of our fighting black working class, women and youth, all unmistakably expressing the justness of our cause and people's certainty in final victory.



The fantastic Amandla Cultural Ensemble setting the pace during the cultural opening ceremony.

VALUABLE EXPERIENCE

The Second Pan-African Youth Festival left a lasting impression on all of us. It gave us an opportunity to get a closer look at young Africa, which to a considerable extent reflects the pains felt by all generations, their hope in, and determination in striving, for a brighter future.

The anti-imperialist principles on which the Pan-African Youth Movement is founded became the guiding force of the collective activity of the participants.

At the same time the fact that African countries are still striving for economic independence against an intensified imperialist campaign to entrench neo-colonialism and that they have different ideological lines showed itself. This showed itself in the different approaches to certain problems.

This, however, did not prevent the over-whelming majority of participants from boldly declaring that Africa's enemy number one is world imperialism led by the Reagan Administration, the force behind the terroristic destabilisation campaign of the Botha-Malan regime and the continuing massacre of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples by Israel. In the same spirit the delegations condemned the inhuman policies of Pretoria and the reactionary regime in Morocco and Tel Aviv and reaffirmed the right to self-determination for the peoples of South Africa, Saharawi and Palestine as led by the ANC, SWAPO, POLISARIO Front and PLO respectively.

To have been part of this battle for the defence of the basic interests of the suffering millions of people of Africa which demanded an uncompromising stand against imperialism was a rich experience for us.

As was the case before we went to the festival, we still do not harbour any illusion that the implementation of the resolutions taken at the Second Pan-African Youth Festival will be an easy matter. We always have and will be convinced that only a determined and united struggle by the working masses in every country and by the continent as a whole in alliance with the world peace and freedom-loving people led by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries against imperialism, that Africa will win genuine liberation - when hunger, diseases, ignorance and war will be swept from the face of our continent once and for all. The struggle of our people for a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa as outlined in our people's programme, the Freedom Charter, is both our guarantee to a prosperous future and contribution to the African revolution.

DAWN PolitiXword No. 7 - Answers

ACROSS:

1. Harmel 4. NFC 6. Muster 8. Napalm 10. Ultra 11. Cue 12. ECT
14. O.R. 16. Zini 17. Form 18. MAWU 19. CUSA

DOWN:

1. Hammock 2. Rescue 3. Event 4. Nama 5. Calm 7. Rare
9. Pacific 13. AAM 14. On 15. Rig

THE REAL LIFE OF DOMINGOS XAVIER

José Luandino Vieira

A novel of Angola

CHAPTER THREE

Only much later, in the autumn when many of the brothers from Botafogo went to prison because of the club's primary school (which did not have permission; which was not in the Education Plan - that was how the whites put it, meaning that no one can do anything on their own initiative, still less if it is a black man who wants to do it), Mussunda met Chico one afternoon and put a proposition:

"You know, *mano* Chico. We've been watching you for a long time now. You're a good lad, there isn't another half-back like you. But now your head doesn't only hold brilliantine. The lads are asking if you are willing to be director at the club. With Maneco and Johnny in prison, we need people or the club will collapse!"

Chico Kafundanga felt great happiness. For a long time a demon of jealousy attacked him when he saw others working together and he remained on the outside, just kicking a football and dancing *massemba* and *merengue*. He did not easily find words for his friend Mussunda; his eyes narrowed and he felt them misting over as he replied:

"I accept. It's for you to decide." It was the start of a new life. Heavens,

already twenty-four years old, how could he have wasted so much time? Now at night, by the light of a paraffin lamp, it was reading in French and English with that brother from the industrial School. By day it was work as a messenger, learning everything he could in the Company. Ah, if some day he could show the head of accounts that he already knew how to operate the machines! He had learned to clean them after five at night, worrying in case they came back and caught him. But he did not abandon the dances, no! When he spoke there, everyone began to listen; many a mother said to her daughter:

"You be careful with that Chico. Uhm! That lad has a way with words..."

So now he goes, in his khaki uniform, thinking about old Petelo's information, about the devotedness of the old sailor, always at his post to carry out his task, and smiling at the memory of Zito. A clever lad, it was clear, and starting so young in the work would have to be one of the good ones. A pity if he could not go to school. This was a problem he must solve: to enrol Zito in school. At the Bota school they had filled the places more than twice over when they were

ordered to close. At the official school you needed tennis shoes, you needed a school smock, you needed this, you needed so many things. What he must do is talk to Mussunda: it would be wrong to let young Zito grow up without books. A clever lad, he would stake his life!

In the square, the old bus was already waiting. *Mano* Chico climbed on and sat well to the front, for he liked to catch the breeze on a journey he made often. The breeze came from the sea-shores, from the islands of Mussulo. Nearly full, the old 'International' started in a billow of smoke. Chico paid for his ticket and sank back into his thoughts, remembering old Petelo's story, not wanting to miss a single detail: a prisoner, tall and thin, young, a blue Chevrolet truck, very dusty, had arrived early in the morning, the sun was still rising behind Bairro Lixeira. The number of the truck even was written on a paper - to be torn up later. Who could it be? According to Petelo and Zito - and the child roamed all the townships, hunting with his catapult and bird-lime - the face was not familiar to them up their way. The important thing was to find Miguel, perhaps he would know who it was. If he did not know, he would tell the person who should be given word of the arrest of the *companheiro*. So, lost in thought, he missed the beauty of the setting of the sun bathing the blue sea in a mass of colour. He did not see the coconut palms silhouetted on the Mussulo horizon, or the fishing smacks pulling away from the Corimba shore through the surf.

It was the ticket-collector's voice from the back of the bus which woke him. A brother, a workman by his appearance, had come in at the stop by the Baleizao snack-bar and rushed to seat himself hastily on the back. The ticket-collector

had complained to him something about his shoes, but he shrank more into his corner, with his hands between his knees. And now the ticket-collector's voice clearly reached Francisco John's hearing:

"Next time, you know! I'll throw you off."

"But ... I paid for my ticket."

"Wrap up. It makes no difference. I told you yesterday: you can't come into the bus all dirty like that."

The man looked up and down, lowered his voice, tried to escape notice, but everyone turned round and one passenger was urging the ticket-collector to throw him off the bus.

"But I've just come from work, I live a long way..."

The driver was looking on, grumbling something. The workman, a stonemason or a house-painter, had a coat stained with lime and his feet were tucked into some old tennis shoes. The ticket-collector thought that he could not ride in that state. Two white ladies agreed, adding that soon no decent person would be able to ride in the buses because of the smell of the blacks. Two youngsters said to the ticket-collector:

"Leave the bloke in peace. He's going to his place, at the terminus."

Chico John witnessed many similar incidents. Every day, at every place, they were the daily bread of all his countrymen. Much more so after being taught by Mussunda, he could never watch these arguments without the urge to leap to the defence of the brother who was hurt and insulted. Now it was only with great effort that he restrained his normal reaction against the unfairness of which he was a spectator. So he turned to face forward, escaping the glare of the two ladies who were eyeing him, and tried to

concentrate once more on his own problems. He knew that if he said anything the argument would turn into a scrap, then the police and the cells for days or weeks. Because police justice is justice of the bosses, he and the workman would certainly go to prison. Old Petelo's message had to be delivered and his own feelings did not count now. But it was difficult! It would be good to take a good swing at the ticket-collector. To avoid further trouble he left the bus two stops before his destination, not without hearing the two ladies going on:

"That one, there at the front, looks pleased with himself. Don't they know how to keep in their places? The blacks belong there at the back."

Francisco John left without giving them a glance. The murmuring sound of the sea, brushing along the sand, came from far away. It brought too, on its journey, the good smell of the Angolan coast, from the Bay of Tigers, from Kikombo and from the mouth of the Kuanza, with the muddy waters of the great river. The sun had already sunk and sunset cast a red blush over the black silhouette of the coconut palms. The fishermen's huts on the beach could be made out in the gloom; one could hear the chirping of the hens and chickens as they returned from foraging, and often the grunt of a piglet in a backyard. Fishing nets slept under a cover of coconut palm leaves on the deserted beach and canoes hollowed from the trunks of cotton trees rested after their long journeys. In the still warm water naked toddlers were still playing with a broken bit of canoe, giving a puppy a bathe. Women were blowing on their tin stoves, grilling fish or cooking a pan of beans. Old fishermen were smoking their pipes at their doorways or philosophizing in groups. Girls in cloths with the smell

of sea and sun were laughing as they gossiped. And at the end of a quiet afternoon the smoke and the murmur of talk rose from the *sanzala* at the sea's edge.

Chico crossed the asphalt road, went down the gully between the high grass and, turning round the yard, went softly up to the woman who was grilling fish in her doorway. Despite all his care, his shoes rasped in the sand. The fat woman, noticing this, smiled and exclaimed as she hugged him:

"Oooh, little Chico! It's been so long! Goodness, it's been a long time. How are you?"

"Well, Mama Sessa."

"Bebiana, Bebi-a-a-na!" Mama Sessa shouted.

"Eh? Bebiana's here? I thought she still went to that lady's, to do the sewing."

"Not at all, child! This week she is with her own people. Miguel has injured his hand. He says it was at the fishing, but that's all lies. That Miguel, I don't believe him! It seems to have happened in Mr Fernando's shop, where he got into a scrap with that mulatto, the son of the old man who has the fishing smacks."

Bebiana came out from the hut. She was barefooted and in light clothing and her body had the stir of the sea. On Chico's delicate face such a smile shone that the mother laughed gently:

"That lad ..."

Bebiana came and smiled sweetly at Chico, who greeted her formally. Then Mama Sessa went on:

"You understand, Chico? You stay here to eat today. Miguel is in Mr Vincent's house. Go and call him,

They went lowly across the beach, at Chico's pace. Bebiana was very quiet and looking down shyly; Chico gave full expression to the smile which had come to

his face when he had come out of the hut.

"So we don't see you any more?"

"Oh Bebiana! Don't talk like that, you know ..."

"Yes, I know. My girlfriends have told me that they are always seeing you dancing with Carlotta."

"Ooh, it isn't that. You know that you are the only one I like"

"L i e s ! "

"On my honour, I swear! You are the only one I like, Bebi, but you know ..."

At this point Chico put on a serious expression, a little self-importantly to make an impression on her, then said:

"You know that my life nowadays is not as it used to be. Now I am not always going to dances, not at all. Now I use my head to think. If I tell you that you are the only one, it's because it's the truth."

"Eeh, Chico! How can I believe you then? Everyone sees you with Carlotta and with Joanna!"

"Oh! Leave off. That's old wives' tales.. If you don't believe me, just ask *mano* Miguel. He can tell you, Bebi, he can tell you."

With these words, Chico took her hand and so they arrived at Mr Vincent's hut where, seated on the sand at the doorway, Miguel was chatting to the old blind man.

"Good to see you, *mano* Chico, I was just talking about you to Gran'pa Vincent. He doesn't believe that you've changed. He was telling me: "Never! Not that one! His reputation has reached Samba, no one can get him away from the dances, he won't be anything but a swinger."

"It's true, Gran'pa Vincent. On my honour. Now I use my head to think. Just believe it! What's more, to show everyone that I have good sense, I am going to

marry Bebiana."

The girl snatched free the hand he was holding and feeling insulted said firmly'

"Good heavens! You think you can marry just as you please? Have you asked me? Have you spoken to me? Do you think I am one of those girls you pick up at a dance and then sleep with, is that it? Goodbye! "

In a temper she went away across the sand, with her hips giving a sway learned from the sea. Chico Kafundanga and Miguel laughed, but Grand'pa Vincent, stretching his spent eyes to the night sea, mused:

"It's like this, young Chico. We reap what we sow, but to reap we have to treat well. You youngsters think a girl is trash; then, look out! ..."

The two friends said farewell to Gran'pa Vincent, who stayed facing towards the sea, and they went to Mama Sessa's house.

"Well, *mano*, what's been happening? "

"Listen, Miguel There's bad news. Only today, at noon.

Some people came looking for me to say that a prisoner arrived. So I asked permission to leave work early and came to tell you."

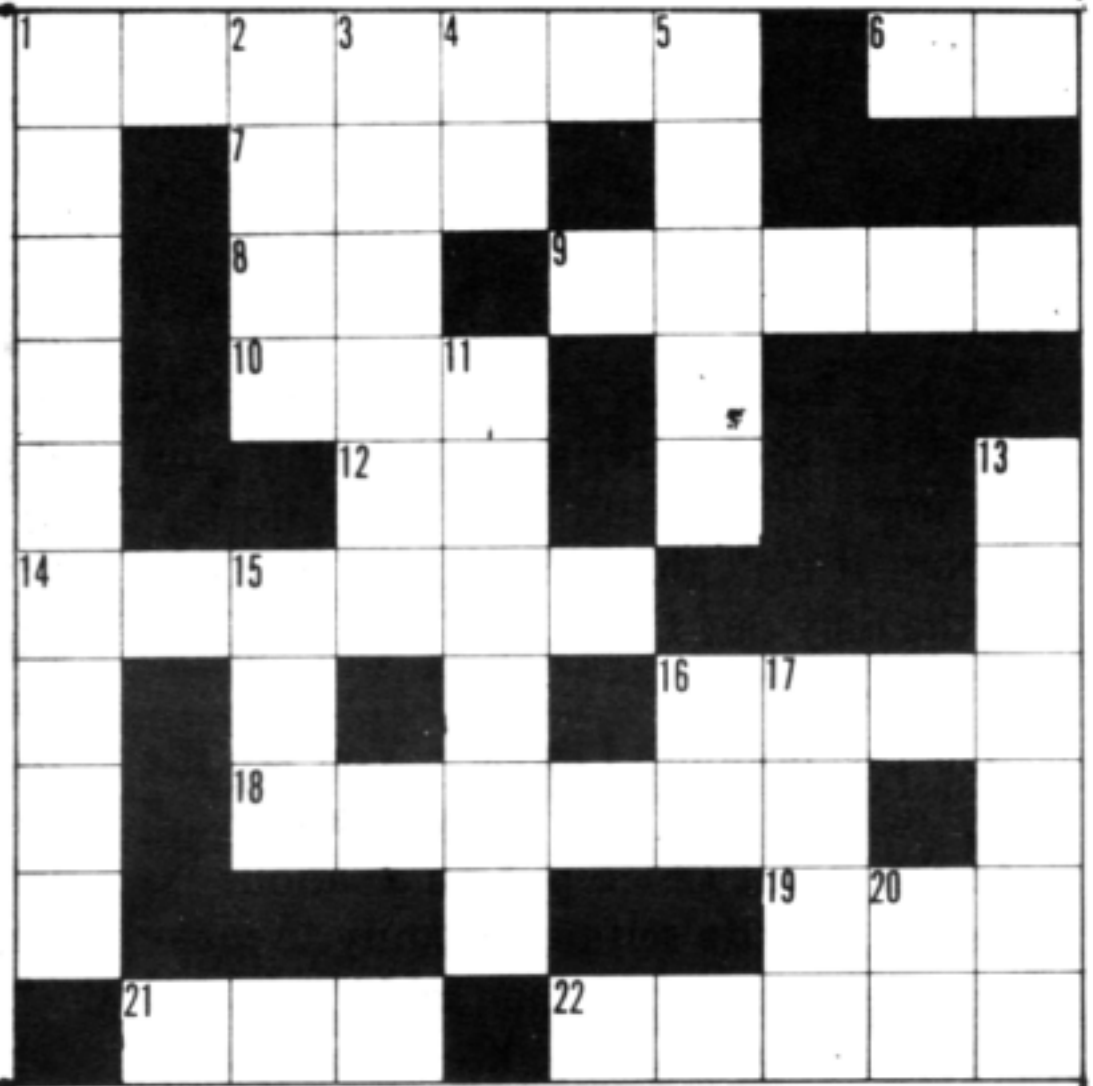
"Do you know his name? "

"No. No one knows him up their way."

"So what's up? "

"The person who saw him has explained everything. He arrived in a truck, and we even have the licence number, colour and other particulars. I'll tell you everything at home so that you are in the picture."

To be continued in the next issue.



Clues

ACROSS:

1. Recently awarded the International Simon Bolivar Award.
6. Dr. Dadoo's initials.
7. Belonging to us.
8. Commander-in-Chief of Mk.
9. A town in Transkei.
10. Clothing and personal equipment of a soldier.
12. Mandela's initials.
14. Can capture ideas and concepts in a few words.
16. To have a common boundary.
18. Chairman of the Transvaal Committee of the Release Mandela Campaign.
19. It was led by G.M. Naicker.
21. To carry on a rivalry.
22. Weapon used for spearing fish.

DOWN:

1. Second biggest black township in Southern Africa.
2. A secluded place.
3. At a point in the continuance of.
4. Elizabetha Regina.
5. To make bad use of.
11. Transvaal Council of Sport.
13. To attract by offering something.
15. To possess.
16. Opposite of B.C.
17. Capital of West Germany.
20. Industrial Council.

See Answers in DAWN Vol. 7 No. 9

DISCIPLINE IS THE MOTHER OF VICTORY

Radio Lusaka

Shortwave 31mb, 9505 KHz

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

Shortwave 25mb, 11880 KHz

8.00-8.45 a.m. Sunday

Radio Luanda

Shortwave 31mb, 9535 KHz
and 25mb

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

Radio Madagascar

Shortwave 49mb, 6135 KHz

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

Radio Ethiopia

Shortwave 31mb, 9595 KHz

9.30-10.00 p.m. Daily

Radio Tanzania

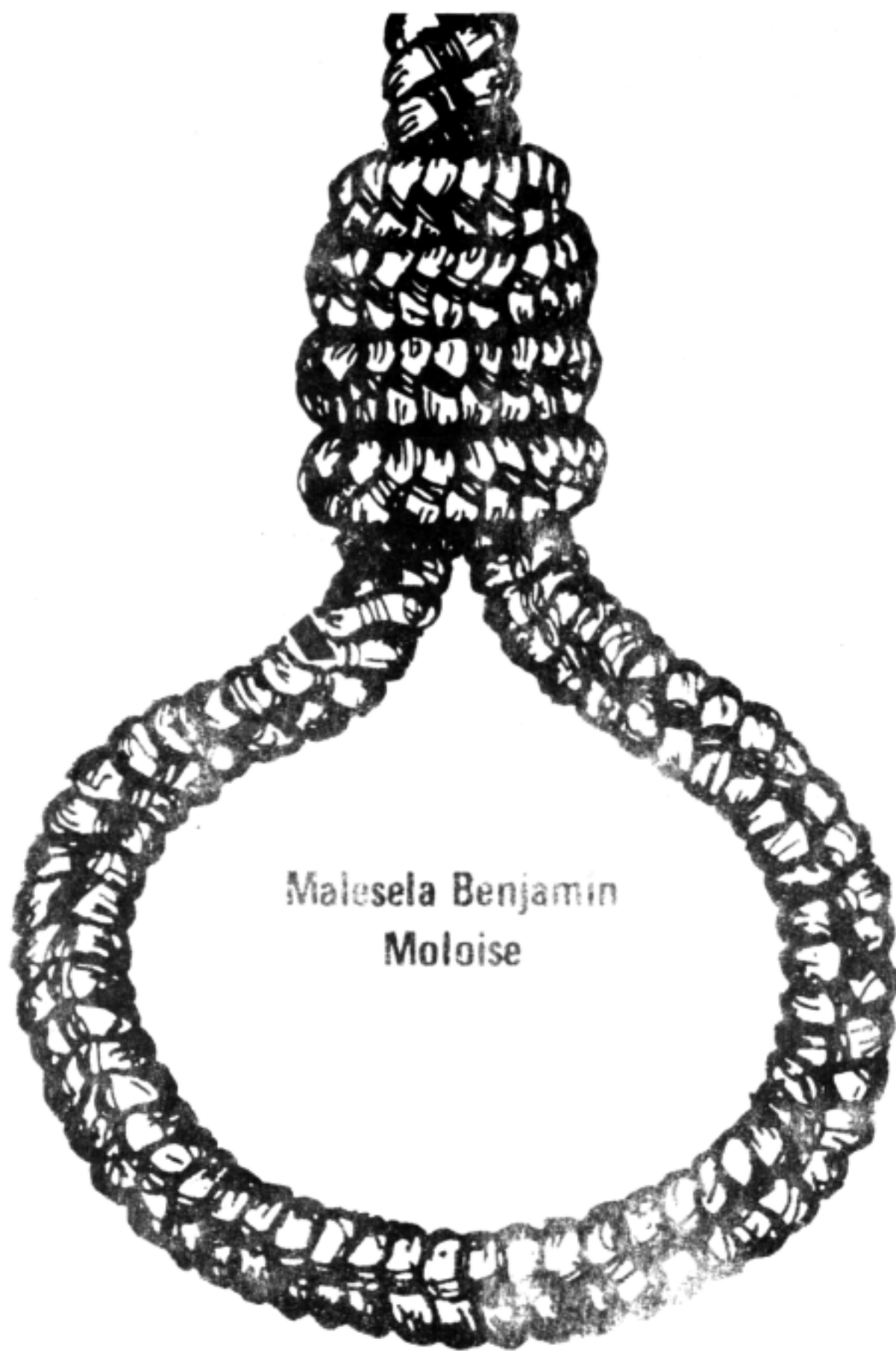
Shortwave 31mb, 9750 KHz

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

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

ACT NOW!

STOP THE RACIST MURDER OF COMRADE



**Illegaly senteced to death for
fighting against Apartheid**