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DAWN



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Journal of Umkhonto we Sizwe

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I cherish my own freedom dearly, but I care even more for your freedom. Too many have died since I went to prison. Too many have suffered for the love of freedom. I owe it to their widows, to their orphans, to their mothers and their fathers who have grieved and wept for them. Not only I have suffered during these long, lonely, wasted years.

DAWN



Monthly Journal of Umkhonto we Sizwe

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1985

YEAR OF THE CADRE



Editorial Comment

Year of greater victories

The new year, 1985 is a year of immense victories scored by our organisation, the African National Congress. Incredible achievements by a fledging army, confronted by an army with modern warplanes, battle tanks, armoured vehicles and heavy artillery weapons.

It is a triumphant year for us, who in the past year defied contingents of racist soldiers and armed police to bring down rents, busfares, and forced puppets to relinquish and abandon their fat salaries in black local authorities.

It is us, who with death defying valour foiled the racist constitutional plans. These campaigns we conducted in the presence of heavily armed racist troops, who fought tooth and nail to defend apartheid, yet, we emerged victorious.

These campaigns have enhanced our prestige the world over. On our behalf,

and in particular the religious community, Bishop Tutu was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

Mrs Albertina Sisulu was awarded the Eugene Cotton award in honour of the battles we have waged against the regime, and in particular, the struggles by our women against forced removals and the murder of unarmed youth and workers.

Comrade Nelson Mandela, the first Commander of our army, Umkhonto We Sizwe, was bestowed with the 25th April Association Award, also, in honour of our resilience and determination to fight for a just, free and democratic South Africa.

These awards reflect not only the support which we enjoy from all peace loving people, but, also the prestige and seriousness with which our struggle

is taken. This is a great achievement.

Within racist circles, 'talks about talks' are not a sign of a changing enemy, but a despondent enemy, whose changing tricks reflect a desperate wish to prolong its rule against our will. This is wishful thinking within the enemy ranks and a sign of its weakness. It is our victory.

Racist accords show that the enemy is worried about us. The enemy is worried about the ANC and Umkhonto We Sizwe. The enemy is worried about our determined forward strides when it thought it would oppress us forever.

We have forced the regime to shed its racist arrogance and enter into pacts with black neighbouring countries to expel the ANC. The enemy, realising its vulnerability has forced apartheid colonial partnership with people whose colour is a curse within its own borders.

This is a sign of the enemy's wavering confidence in its own ability to defend itself against us. This is the result of the blows we have delivered through Umkhonto We Sizwe. The not too many operations by our army have convinced the ruling circles that there is no target beyond our reach.

And, at the same time, the enemy is worried about the growing popularity of our army, and its growth among us inside the country. The enemy is very much aware that the newspaper vendor, the milkman, the postman, the delivery boy, the businessman and the chauffeur that he brushes shoulders with, could be members of our army, Umkhonto We Sizwe.

Time has shown to the ruling circles, that whatever action taken against us, the revolutionary forces, we shall emerge more stronger, more skilful and more daring in our attacks. This is precisely because we are a people's organisation, just as the people can not be destroyed, the might of our organisation can never be crushed.

The massive campaigns that we

launched against the racist constitutional plans are an indication of our growing strength and the formidable power we wield in our numbers — through our unity.

We have shown that, irrespective of how many accords Botha can sign, the destiny of MK shall always be in South Africa. Its devastating blows shall always be felt by each and every racist right inside South Africa.

We have shown that whatever models of apartheid can be presented, our strength, our striking power through our unity will always crush these racist manoeuvres.

Countrymen, these achievements are a result of our efforts, our battles, the blood of our martyres. Through the blood of more than 1,000 people murdered by the regime, only last year, we found ourselves marching more closer towards our goal, a free democratic South Africa.

In consolidating these achievements, in defending these victories and strengthening the unity of our organisation, we must give the enemy no respite. We must use our accumulated strength, our organisational muscle to make further advances — in rendering ourselves ungovernable. The victories that we have scored in the past year must be defended. And, Umkhonto We Sizwe is central to the accomplishment of this task.

*Umkhonto We Sizwe must find its home right in the factories where we work.

*In the homes of the 'baas' and 'madams' where we scrub floors and wash nappies.

*In the schools and universities where the enemy aims to mislead us.

*In police stations and army barracks where the enemy hopes to use our own people to kill us.

The task facing the Spear of Isandlwana has never been so great. Lets make the year of the cadre a memoir of doom to all racist formations.



Victory lies in the attack

MESSAGE OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS ON THE OCCASION OF 8TH JANUARY, 1985 DELIVERED BY COMRADE PRESIDENT O R TAMBO

Compatriots.

A new year has begun, bringing with it fresh hopes and new challenges. I am sure that I express our collective conviction when I say that during this decade, each year has brought us closer to our cherished goal — the total liberation of our country.

The bells that rang in the New Year were, for us, a call to battle, summoning us to ever greater involvement and persistence in the struggle for democratic change. We can and will meet the new challenges successfully. The confidence with which we make this bold assertion is based on our unflinching commitment to fight with all our might, making all the necessary sacrifices, until victory is ours.

Today, January 8th, 1985, we observe and celebrate 73 years of the African National Congress. As has been the practice in the past, the National Executive Committee of the ANC addresses an annual message to you on this our national day. To do so is both a duty and a privilege.

It is a duty because history has entrusted us with the destiny of our country, and we therefore must together render to one another, to the allies and active supporters of our struggle, and to history itself, an account of our stewardship over the past twelve months. We must together analyse and learn from our experience on the battlefield to victory, to carve out the path to our historically determined destination.

A Future to Fight For, an Enemy to Face

To address you, compatriots, on January 8th, 1985, is a privilege. For we are addressing a fighting people, who, during a particularly ferocious offensive by the enemy, have accumulated a record of resistance and struggle worthy of our great heroes and martyrs, a people who not only have the resilience that defies defeat, but also the capacity to rise to the challenge of the hour and move on to the offensive, a people with a glorious future to fight for, a tough and brutal enemy to face, an assured and epoch-making victory to win.

It is five years since we rallied our people around the demands of the Freedom Charter during 1980, the Year of the Charter. This year, as we mark the 30th anniversary of that historic document, we can with confidence say that, in struggle, millions of us have reaffirmed that the Freedom Charter constitutes the embodiment of our deepest aspirations and the blueprint for a new South Africa.

1984 saw us take bold steps forward on the road to freedom. The path we have traversed was fraught with numerous dangers and hazards. But, despite these, it is clear at the end of 1984 — the Year of the Women — that we have succeeded in shifting the balance of power within our country in favour of the forces fighting for national liberation, social justice and genuine peace in Southern Africa. Through persistent collective labour and dedication, we have made significant progress in forging a mighty people's movement against the racist monstrosity. As we said last year, it is in the attack that victory is to be found.

Unity of the Oppressed

By attacking, we defeated the efforts of the racist regime to mobilise the Indian and Coloured, or so-called Coloured, sections of the Black population into acceptance of the apartheid constitution.

By our refusal to be bullied into acceptance of the enemy's constitutional schemes, we reaffirmed our determination to defend the unity of the Black people in pursuit of a common victory against a common enemy. We were asserting the truth that freedom is indivisible, that freedom for some is freedom for none, and hence, that no section of the Black people can be free while another is oppressed.

The defeat of the enemy's plans in August expressed our common assertion that apartheid cannot be reformed. By boycotting the apartheid elections we denounced Botha's 'reform' programme as a sham.

These victories were of great importance for the further advance of our struggle. They served to raise the degree of isolation of the oppressive regime, and strengthened the ranks of the forces committed to the victory of the democratic revolution in our country. They confirmed our commitment to the revolutionary perspective of the seizure of power by the people and the building of a new society in a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

Organised Workers of our Country

By attacking, we frustrated the enemy's attempts to contain the militant democratic trade union movement and transform it into a tame and timid shadow that accords with the regime's wishes. This increased the fears that the White minority regime has of the power of the organised Black workers of our country.

That is why, during the past year, as at other times in the past, it has imprisoned, banned, banished and even assassinated leaders and activists of the democratic trade union movement. We take this opportunity to salute the workers of our country, who, in the teeth of the most vicious racist persecution, have sustained and kept alive the spirit of militant democratic trade unionism such as is embodied in the policy and programme of the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU).

During 1984, in addition to the magnificent shop-floor struggles waged by the workers, we were inspired by the united action taken by Black and White workers, and their various unions, in their confrontation with Highveld Steel. Again, in October, for the first time in 38 years, the Black mine workers embarked on a co-ordinated national offensive in this most sensitive sector of the South African economy.

The lesson from the victories we have scored and the advances we have made is that, in future, our objective must be that wherever a struggle erupts — be it mine or factory, a farm or a building site, a shop or a service centre — we must emerge from such struggles with stronger workers' organisations, a higher level of political consciousness and a greater determination to fight on as a united force, whatever the cost to ourselves as individuals.



The historic Transvaal stay-at-home unity in action among all sections of the oppressed

The organised workers formed the core of the historic Transvaal stay-at-home which paralysed industry and commerce in the economic heartland of the country and compelled the capitalist owners of property to speak out. In an unprecedented move, the organisation of the leading capitalists drew the attention of the ruling group to the fact that the continued use of the old methods of repression would only serve to inspire the workers to intensify their offensive.

During this massive struggle, we achieved a level of united action among all sections of the oppressed, and the democratic forces as a whole, which must serve as a basis for the further escalation of the united people's struggle for the victory of the national democratic revolution. We warmly salute all the workers and trade unionists who, in action, affirmed the correctness of the perspective we put forward last year, and the offensive of the working class is, and must be, an integral part of the national liberation struggle.

The Youth, the Pride of our Nation

The student and working youth of our country have once more confirmed their place in our hearts as the pride of the nation. These relentless fighters for a South Africa that we can proudly call our own have, throughout this past year, swelled the ranks of the mass movement by joining the struggle in hundreds of thousands. Despite the campaign of murder and terror unleashed by the racists against them, including the very young, they have stood firm in their demands. They have refused to break from the ranks of the struggling masses. In saluting our students and working youth, we can truly say that they have earned for themselves the honour of being called the Young Lions.

Through their actions, supported and reinforced by the workers and the parents, they have forced the apartheid regime to give ground on many issues. To build on these advances, we must ensure that the Education Charter becomes the common platform of teachers, parents and students in the mass struggle for a democratic system of education.

A special responsibility devolves on our youth during 1985. By its decision to observe the International Year of the Youth, the racist regime has thrown down the gauntlet to the youth of our country. Among the numerous crimes this regime has committed and continues to



Heroic youth - the young lions

commit against our people, some of its most heinous have been specifically against our youth and children.

On the shoulders of the apartheid regime rest such crimes as the scandalously high infant mortality rate amongst Black children; the stunting of their growth through the use of child labour; the warping of their intellectual development through Bantu Education.

Youth Must Make this Year Their Own

South Africa is littered with the graves of young patriots who were massacred by the apartheid regime in 1976 and in the subsequent years. This self-same regime, which bears responsibility for these crimes, has, with great impudence, decided to observe the International Year of the Youth, whose motto is: Participation, Development and Peace! We call upon the youth to take this year as their own and to use it as a means to advance our own perspectives of youth participation in society, in development and in the struggle for peace. The gains we have scored in youth mobilisation and organisation provide a basis for greater progress toward the emergence of a society which will defend and promote the genuine interests of our youth.

We designated 1984 as *The Year of the Women* with the express purpose of concentrating our efforts on the mobilisation of our womenfolk as active participants in the struggle waged by our national liberation movement. The response to our call, *Women Organise and Unite for People's Power* has been commendable. New democratic women's organisations have emerged. Greater numbers of our womenfolk have been drawn into struggle.

We observed historic days like the 30th anniversary of the Federation of South African Women at impressive rallies. National Women's Day - August 9th - was turned into a week of campaigning against the fraudulent Coloured and Indian parliamentary elections. In this manner our womenfolk further promoted the unity of all the oppressed and democratic forces, transcending the barriers of race, colour, sex and creed.

Intensive grassroot mobilisation of women as equal participants in the overall national struggle has laid the basis for the creation of a national women's organisation which could be founded on the principles contained in the historic Women's Charter.

Women Fight in the Front Ranks

Our women were active in all the battles which confronted our communities during the Year. In many of these, as in Sebokeng, they fought in the front ranks. As parents, mothers and workers, they stood firmly beside their menfolk and children against forced removals, starvation wages, increased rents and taxes, inferior education and health services, demanding full citizenship rights for all our people in a unitary, non-racial society.

The encouraging response of our women to the call to join Umkhonto We Sizwe, which has resulted in more women joining the people's army during the course of the year, has been one of the best ways of observing the Year of the Women.

The reaction to our appeal by the international community in general, and women's organisations in particular, in practically all the continents of the globe, was most outstanding in mobilising more moral and material support for our struggle. This support was crowned by the presentation of the Eugene Cotton Award by the Women's International Democratic Federation to our dear sister and mother, Albertina Sisulu.



Women fight in the front ranks

We call on our women to build on these impressive achievements. We urge other sections of our people to continue to give their support and concrete assistance to our heroic women, mothers and sisters, so that they can play their rightful role as co-fighters and co-liberators of our motherland.

Trade Union Unity

Despite all the achievements we have so far made, we are still faced with the necessity of accomplishing other tasks we have set ourselves, particularly the unity of the democratic trade union movement. 1985 is the 30th anniversary of the founding of SACTU. During this anniversary year, let us consolidate the gains we have thus far registered. We need to intensify our efforts to form one united democratic trade union federation. No democratic trade union should be excluded from such a federation.

The working class of our country has demonstrated its combativeness in the unprecedented number of strikes that took place during the past year. So that this militancy will not be dissipated, we should now strive towards one union for each industry, the organisation of the unorganised and the unemployed, and the launching of a mass offensive against the reduction of our living standards. We should treat the injury done to the 6 500 SASOL workers as an injury to all workers, and to all of us.

LEARN with DAWN

You too Countryman, can be a Freedom Fighter

This article deals with the manufacture and use of simple home made explosives. Firstly we will show two types of home made grenades.

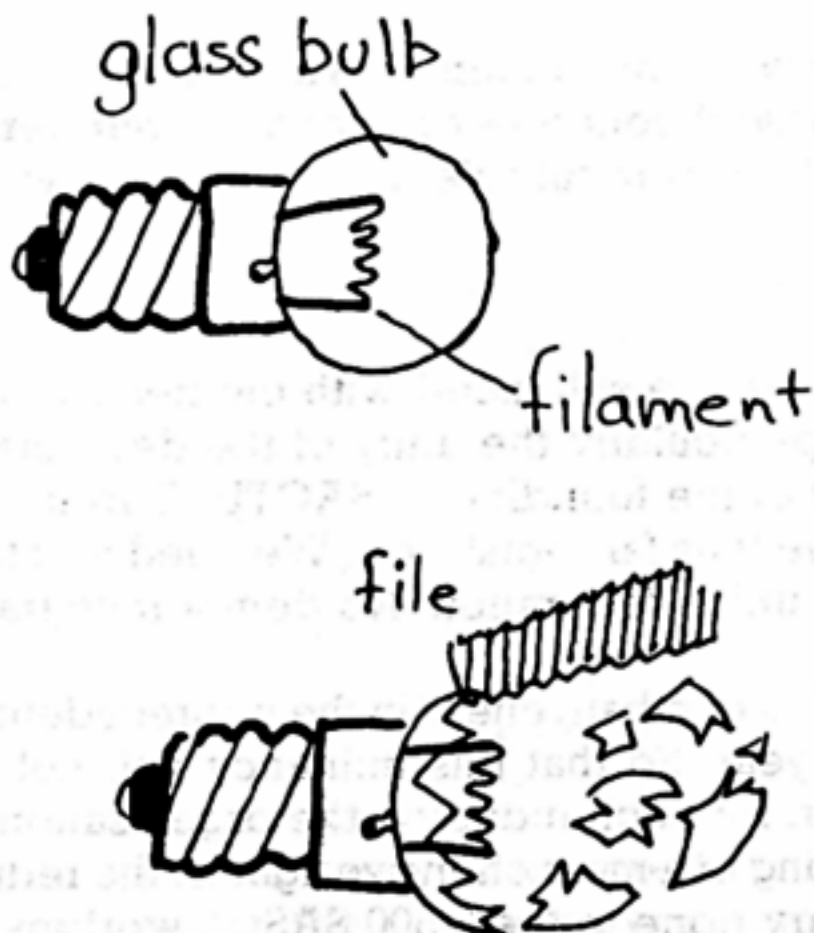
- (a) Electric type
- (b) Chemical type

Requirements

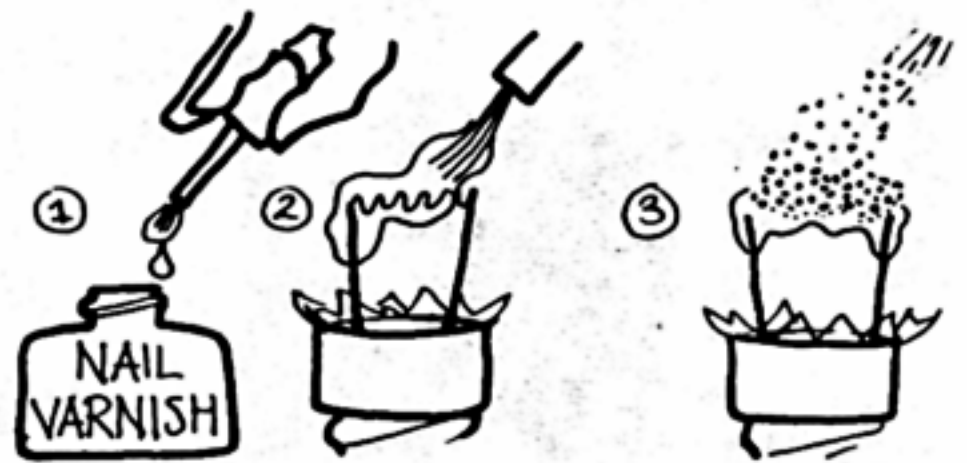
*Matches, safety fuse, blasting cap, explosive charge, Hack saw blade, battery.

(a) Electric Igniters:

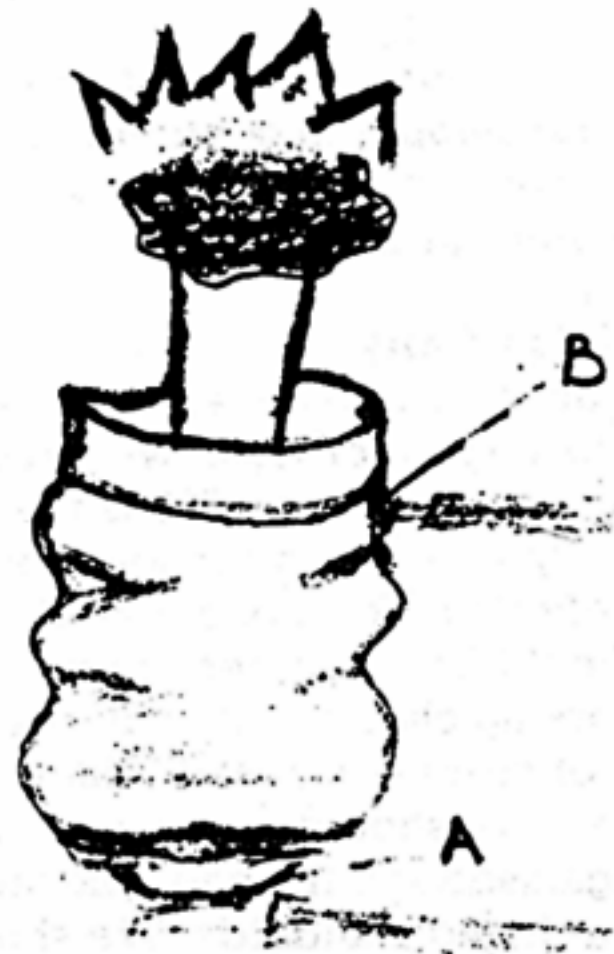
There are a number of ways to make electric igniters. One of the simplest ways is with a small light-bulb, the sort used in electric torches. With an iron file, gently break the glass bulb open, taking care not to damage the wire *filament* (i.e. the part that glows).

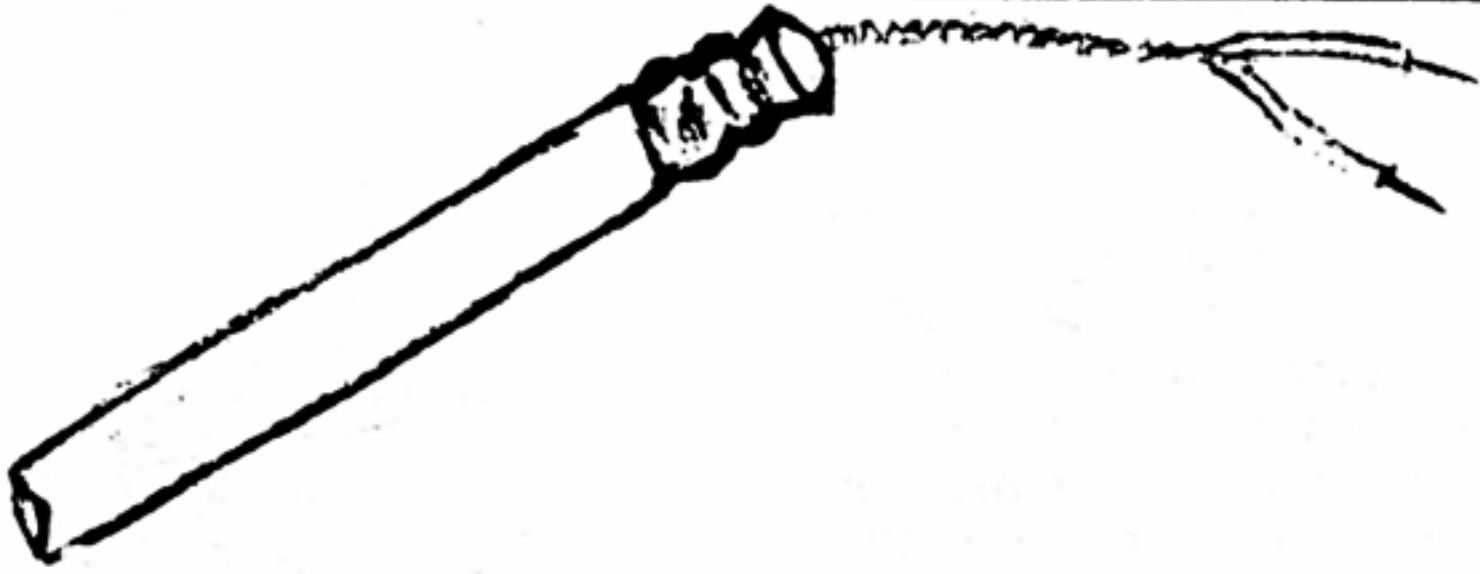


Remove the broken glass and fix your incendiary mixture (potassium chlorate and sugar or powdered match-heads) to the filament. The best way of doing this is by using a nail varnish brush dipped in colourless nail varnish which acts like glue, and sprinkling the powder gently over the filament. Next,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



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





Use a hack blade and around the pinched part of the plastic plug of an electric detonator, after pulling out the filament (squib) of an electric detonator.

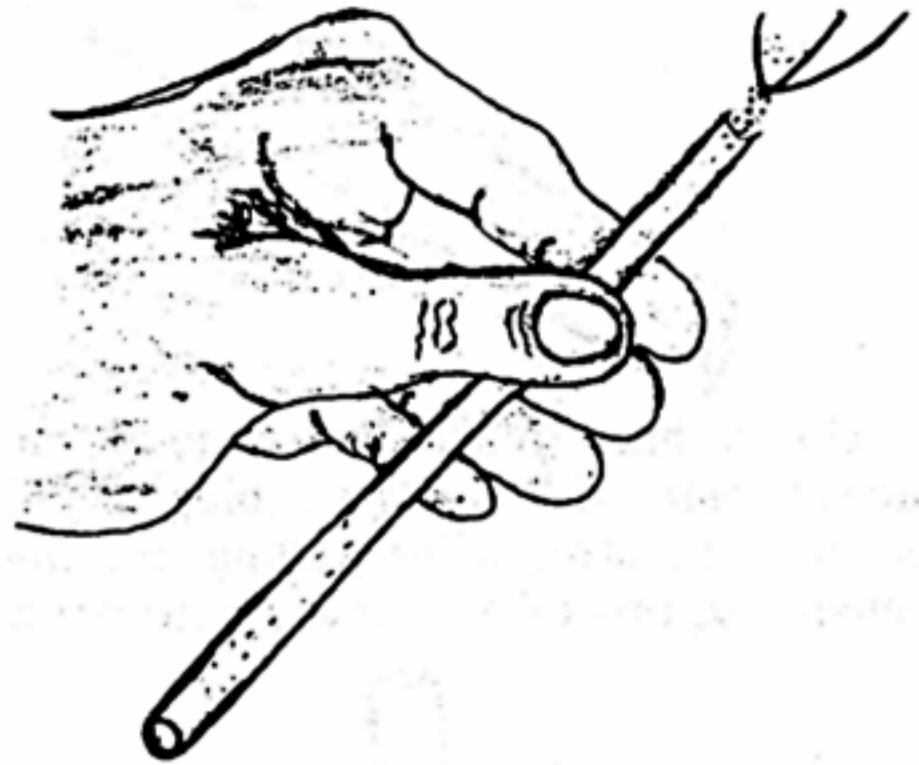
Insert it to a safety fuse so that it is directly attached to the black gun powder, (propellent).



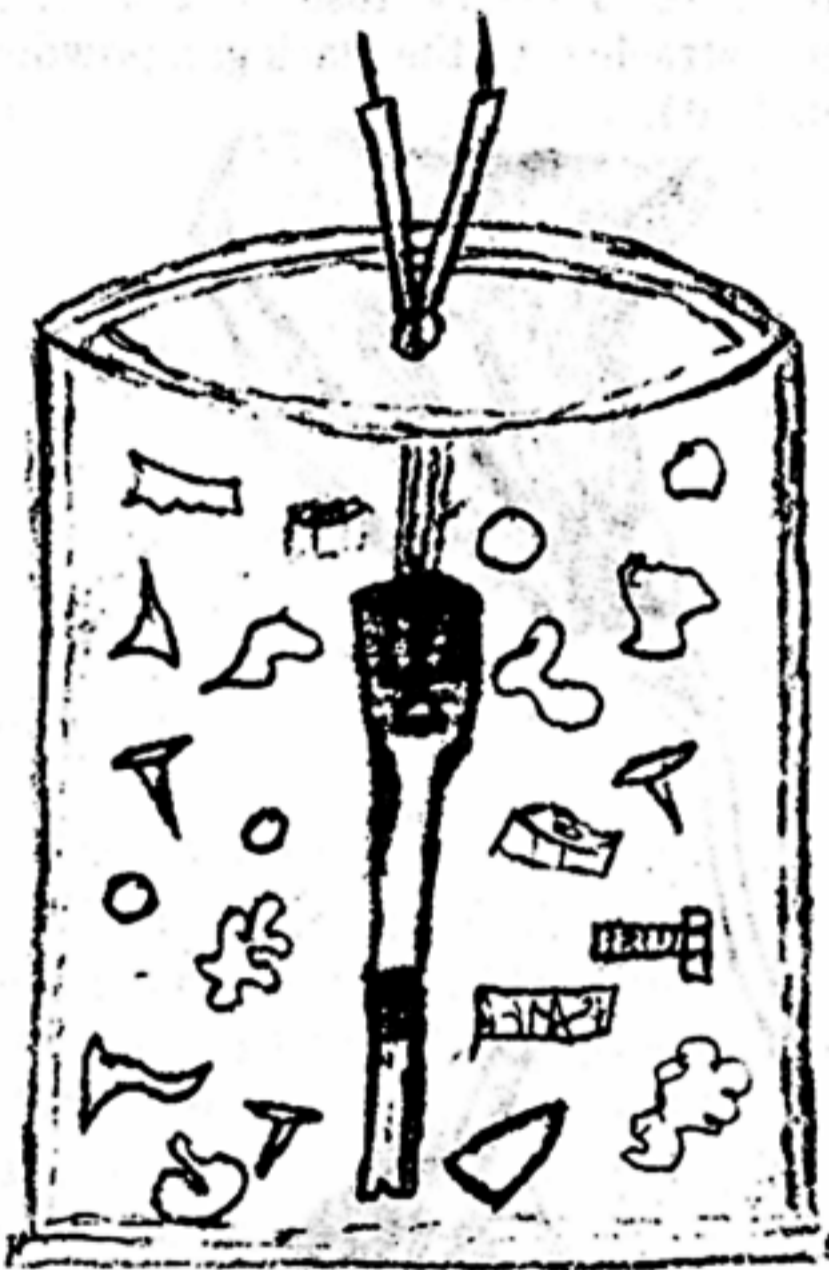
Insulating tape is placed around as to keep the joint firm, and the blasting cap pinched to a 3-4cm long safety fuse.

Our grenade is ready to be initiated

Our grenade is ready to be initiated and thrown at the enemy by means of a 1.5v battery, which must be attached to the wires exposed through the lid. The charge contained can be TNT or home made explosives of 50 per cent of NH_4NO_3 + 50 per cent Al — that



drinking straw until it is full, and one initiates it, it will burn just like the fuse used in fire crackers. This is due to black home-made powder inside the straw.



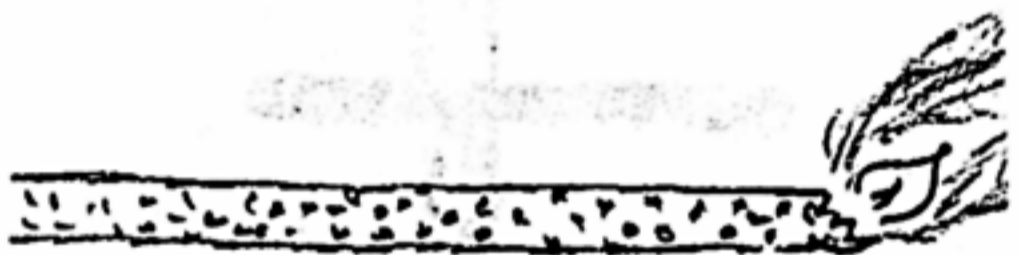
is equal parts of Ammonium Nitrate (Fertilizer) plus aluminium powder (silver point powder).

How to make a safety Fuse

Mix two teaspoonful of KNO_3 (potassium Nitrate) /salt petre used for treating meat, plus one teaspoon Al (Aluminium powder /silver paint plus half teaspoon — S. (Flowers of Sulphur/medical laxative) plus — C. (Carbon/charcoal).

Formula: $50\% \text{KNO}_3 + 25\% \text{Al} + 15\% \text{S} + 10\% \text{C}$.

If this mixture is poured into a



How the treason trial was won

Keith Shapiro

Histories of countries, cities and organisations are multifarious and unpredictable. They are made up, in cases concerning liberation movements, of a struggle between the masses of the oppressed and exploited and the cruel exploiting cliques. This struggle is often bitter and lengthy. Punishment is meted out by the oppressor and many mistakes made by the righteous. But at the end of this just war for freedom, the unbreakable spirit and determined resolution of those who enter into such struggle, prevails.

Such an history-making epoch is characterised by years of tough, grinding work. By deep serious changes of tactics and strategies. It is thought provoking and dangerous. It requires resolute implementation and often leads to sad casualties along the way.

But this sort of history can also have its amusing side as well. And one will find that this lighter side is often based on the traditions of the people engaged in this mighty struggle.

LEGENDS

We in the ANC are no exceptions to this rule. Legends of our vibrant organisation are generated by these "behind the scenes" incidents.

Which takes me to the second half of the historic fifties, a decade in which our movement was involved in so many successful and hard-hitting campaigns: the Defiance Campaign, the Congress of the People, the Great Women's March

on Pretoria, the various Bus Boycotts and finally the Treason Trial when 156 leaders were arrested and charged with fomenting communism by preaching and circulating the Freedom Charter. This was construed as seditious and could carry the death penalty and long prison sentences for the accused.

Some of the most brilliant legal brains like Maisels and Bram Fischer were brought together in defence of our comrades. Amongst the many well-known arrested comrades were giants like Mandela, Tambo, Kotane, Slovo, Kathrada and many others too numerous to mention here.

Serious and momentous meetings — legal, political and financial were taking place every hour of every day. The whole movement was geared to gain support from the millions of the oppressed in our land; to ensure that the legal costs were met; and to enable everyone of the accused not only to be fed daily but also to receive sufficient allowance to sustain them over a long period.

INFLUENCE

The influence of this trial reached to every corner of the world. The corridors of power everywhere were affected by it.

It is in this atmosphere of intense political and legal fervour that those old stalwarts: Willian Letlalo (who recently died at the age of 93) "General" China and Hosiah Tshehla enter into the picture... I was working at "New Age"



Demonstrations outside the court: We stand by our leaders...

at the time. Comrades William and Hosiah were our best sellers; "General" China a leading agent of our Xmas Hampers. Comrade William had possession of the keys to the sales office.

The Treason Trial had been in session for several months. It had been transferred to Pretoria and was held in a recently converted and renovated old oblong-shaped synagogue now the newly constituted court. Everyday busloads of the accused were being ferried from various points in Johannesburg to this court nearly forty miles away.

I had decided to come into the office much earlier than usual as I had some urgent unfinished business to attend to. As I climbed the stairs towards our offices, I heard loud, rasping voices tearing at the stillness of the morning. When I reached our landing, I was startled to see the front door open and these sounds coming from behind the open door.

INCREDIBLE

I entered upon an incredible sight. There were these three comrades sitting on the floor throwing bones. They explained that they were involved in

casting a spell upon the enemy so as to ensure the release of all our comrades.

Comrade William took me aside and confided that they had been gathering early every morning at the office prior to the journey to Pretoria. After throwing the bones they would take the first bus or cadge a lift with the first car to the capital so as to implement daily the second phase of the ritual. This entailed walking seven times round the synagogue before the trial began. These were the walls of Jericho which had to fall down!

"Comrade, don't worry", whispered old William in my ear, "you'll see, we will make Rumpff (the senior judge at the trial) bring in a verdict of not guilty". He went on to add: "Just leave it to us, you don't have to worry. All will come right."

What comrade William "forgot" to tell me was about the third phase of their operation. A phase in which he alone with the consent of the other two, was involved in.

I found out about this quite by accident one bright sunny morning when I was asked by our manager to attend some sessions of the trial in Pretoria. The oblong-shaped court was

in session. Upstairs the gallery was crowded. The trial court was down below with the three judges raised above on a seated platform and clearly in view of both the court itself and spectators above.

As I took my seat and gazed around at the rest of the spectators, my eyes alighted on old William sitting in the front row facing the judges. The sun threw strong beams of light through the window and as I gazed a little more intently at the old fighter, I was startled to see a glint of metal shining from the sleeve of his jacket and ending in his half clenched hand resting on the rails. I noticed that it seemed to be aimed at Rumpff.

I thought that comrade William had taken leave of his senses and was concealing a revolver with which to shoot the Judge-President. I had to move quickly without disturbing the tranquility of the court. I was in a deep, agitated sweat as I eventually squeezed silently on the bench beside him. He looked at me, smiled and immediately

resumed his vigil.

WEAPON

"Comrade William", I hissed through the side of my dry mouth, "are you mad? Put that weapon away immediately." He took no notice, so I had a closer look at the object and discovered it was part of a spoke of a bicycle wheel reaching up his sleeve and with the sharp edge protruding between two fingers of his clenched fist. It was pointing very definitely at Rumpff and whenever that judge moved, so did that spoke in unison.

During the next break in the proceedings, comrade William very patiently explained: "*You see comrade, I keep this pointing at Rumpff's heart all the time. So when he moves I must still keep it pointing at his heart as well. Then one day, when the verdict comes, this together with the other two things (phases) will change his evil heart and force a right decision from him.*"

At every stage thereafter when



..... and the police baton charge

more and more of the accused were released, I'd get an excited phone call at "New Age" office from William saying: "You see comrade, it is working." This continued right up to the final day when the last of the accused were released.

I am sure that comrades William, Hosiah and "General" China fervently believed that their three phase ritual behind the scenes was instrumental

in saving our leaders from the gallows or imprisonment. Both Hosiah and William have gone to their rest. I have not, as yet, been able to trace the fate of "General" China.

But one thing that is certain is that their memory lives on in the hearts of thousands of comrades who participated in those historic events and contributed to the many legends of our invincible movement.

From page 7

We must harness the collective strength of the working class not merely to improve the immediate economic conditions of that class, but to bring about democratic change in our country. The ANC joins those trade unionists who call for greater involvement on the part of workers and their unions in the struggle for democratic change.

1985 falls on the centenary of May Day. In recognition of the bonds that link the workers of South Africa with those of other lands, May Day was marked in a number of industrial centres throughout South Africa during 1984. We call on all our workers to ensure by their actions that May Day is recognised as a paid public holiday.

In a unique show of international solidarity, the Black mine workers, who are amongst the lowest paid and most brutally exploited of our workers, dipped into their over-lean pockets and made a modest donation towards the strike fund of the British miners, who are waging a life and death struggle to save their jobs. We take this opportunity to commend this exemplary action on the part of our miners.

The Rural People's Right to the Land

The dispossession of our people of the land that is theirs remains one of the most burning national grievances. The gross injustice of this historic crime has been compounded by the racists' arrogant attempt to deprive the African majority of their inalienable birthright as citizens of their country, South Africa. Millions of our people in the rural areas are brutally exploited as agricultural workers on farms carved out of their ancestral lands. Their daily lives are dominated by the dictates of the racist White farmers and agricultural companies against whom they have absolutely no redress, because they are the least organised and mobilised. The land question must be resolved, if needs be, the hard way.

In the meantime, we repeat our call to our people to give serious attention to the organisation and mobilisation of our rural masses. Basing ourselves on the needs of the people, and taking due account of the concrete conditions of their existence, we must devise suitable organisational structures and mechanisms to reach our rural masses and provide them with the organisational and political tools to defend themselves against exploitation and to assert their right to the land. As we said last year, we must place the perspective of seizing the land from the dispossessor in front of our rural masses and educate them to understand that this is a task that calls for dedication, determination and sacrifice.

The solution to the land question is inextricably tied to the struggle against the Bantustans, where the puppets, not content to do the dirty work of the Pretoria racists, have taken it upon themselves to impose even greater burdens on our oppressed people. Some of these Bantustan puppets have taken firm positions on the side of their masters in Pretoria and against the oppressed people and their organisations. Whenever the popular masses rise and deliver telling blows against the apartheid system their puppet voices are heard above the din of battle, denouncing the people and defending the people's enemy.

While opposing the revolutionary violence of the national liberation movement, they have not hesitated to unleash systematic violence against the fighters for the people's cause. They have banned the trade unions and brutalised trade union activists. They are fanning fratricidal conflict amongst our people in order to ensure the perpetuation of the apartheid system from which they benefit. Some have gone so far as to ban the UDF and other democratic organisations. This situation can no longer be countenanced. The offensive against the apartheid system must be extended to reach the Bantustans and other apartheid institutions in all corners of our country and among all population groups.

The plight of the thousands of our people whose homes are regularly bulldozed to the ground, and who are regularly bundled up and transported to distant and inhospitable parts of our country, requires our full attention and concerted actions of solidarity. We must elaborate organisational methods and forms of action to halt this crime against our people and to express, in a concrete manner, our solidarity with them. As we have said, we must organise the unemployed into organs of struggle, enabling them to engage in a determined offensive for jobs and adequate unemployment allowances.

Pretoria Plots with the West

We have just gone through what was definitely one of the most trying periods in the experience of our movement and struggle. We have survived one of the most lethal attacks on our movement. Our courage and tenacity as a people during the difficult days of 1984 enabled us to withstand a fierce enemy onslaught and proceed to launch the biggest offensive that has inspired our allies and friends to greater supportive action and solidarity.

Effectively exploiting unprecedented natural calamities, the historical legacy of colonialism and by using its own puppet forces, the regime sought to impose conditions on the neighbouring states which were intended to paralyse the ANC and cripple the liberation struggle. A plot was jointly hatched between Pretoria, the United States and some countries of Western Europe which, in a bid to drive a wedge between ourselves and the rest of the people of Southern Africa, sought to coerce their governments to turn against the ANC and the liberation struggle. This plot was equally intended to sow divisions among the Front Line States themselves and to distance them from the rest of Africa.

At great cost to themselves and their people, the Front Line States have borne the brunt of overt racist aggression, deliberate acts of economic disruption and political destabilisation. To their great credit, they have stood united and resolute in their commitment to the cause of African freedom and independence, and especially in their total support for the ANC and SWAPO.

The Kingdom of Lesotho, completely surrounded by racist-controlled territory, has, with singular courage and determination, persistently rebuffed the aggression, bullying and blackmail of the Pretoria regime. These countries of our region have now been reinforced in their stand by the decision of the 20th Summit Meeting of the OAU to give priority attention to the struggle in Southern Africa. Under the current Chairmanship of President Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, Chairman of the Front Line States, the OAU is poised to intervene effectively during the current year.

World Support for our Struggle

As we stated last year, our struggle consists of four interlinked and mutually reinforcing elements. These are, first, the vanguard role of the underground structures of the ANC; second, the united mass political action of the people; third, the armed offensive spearheaded by Umkhonto we Sizwe; and fourth, the international campaign to isolate the apartheid regime while winning world-wide moral, political and material support for the struggle. With regard to the second of these elements, there can be no doubt that we have registered great successes in raising the united mass action of the people to higher levels.

It is equally undeniable that we also achieved new victories as regards the fourth element, namely, the drive to isolate the apartheid regime and to win world-wide moral, political and material support for our struggle. In this regard, we should mention a few salient successes.

The efforts of the apartheid regime to break out of its isolation have ended in dismal failure. Botha's visit to Europe ended as a severe rebuff for the racists. The new government of New

Zealand adopted firm positions against the apartheid system, forcing the Pretoria regime to withdraw its diplomats from that country. The widespread and unprecedented demonstrations in the USA against apartheid and the Reagan Administration's policy of 'constructive engagement' are an accurate barometer of the mounting isolation of the apartheid regime as well as of the increasing scope and depth of support for the cause of liberation in South Africa and Namibia.

Likewise, the attempts of the apartheid regime to project itself as reformist have been exposed and condemned by the international community. Accordingly the UN Security Council has rejected Botha's amended apartheid Constitution as null and void, and of no force or effect. It affirmed the need for majority rule in a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

And yet these achievements are not sufficient. We need to intensify our international offensive in the New Year, further to isolate the apartheid regime, strengthen our own ties of solidarity with progressive humanity and thus further complicate the situation of the apartheid regime within our country.

During this past year we also took our struggle forward by beginning to carry out another strategic task we had set ourselves. As you will recall, last year we said we must begin to use our accumulated strength to destroy the organs of government of the apartheid regime.

We Reject Illegitimate Rule

We have now set out upon this path. We have taken impressive strides towards rendering the country ungovernable. This has not only meant the destruction of the community councils; our rejection of the apartheid constitution was, in its essence, a reaffirmation of our rejection of the illegitimate rule of the Botha regime. Other struggles, including those around the issue of education as well as the stay-at-home, themselves pitted our democratic power against the power of the forces of oppression, racism and counter-revolution, for the defeat of the latter and its replacement with popular power.

In this coming period, we shall need to pursue, with even greater vigour, the task of reducing the capacity of the colonial apartheid regime to continue its illegal rule of our country. The destruction of the organs of government weakens the regime and is a necessary part of our continuing mass offensive.

The victories we scored during the year have plunged our opponents into an even deeper political crisis. Apart from denying them the chance to expand their social base, they further sharpened the contradictions and conflicts within the ruling group, and exposed the utter bankruptcy and failure of the overall political programme of the racists. These are important successes as they help further to weaken the enemy and shift the balance of power in our favour.

The Regime Knocked Off Balance

Through struggle, we have forced the apartheid regime into a situation of confusion, indecision and an inability to define for itself any consistent direction of state policy. This situation has arisen because the efforts of this regime to project itself as a representative of the so-called forces of moderation, gradual and peaceful reform, have ended in failure. According to this tactical manoeuvre, the racists sought to present themselves as a reasonable and acceptable alternative to the revolutionary alliance headed by the ANC, on one hand, and the fascist coalition of the HNP and the Conservative Party on the other. Knocked out of balance by the intensity of our offensive, the White minority regime lurches from side to side, fumbling for an equilibrium it can no longer regain. On one day it pretends to be concerned about the condition of the Black majority and, on the next, pledges itself to the maintenance of White minority domination.

At the same time, the posturing of this regime has angered large sections of the diehard racists among the Whites who see the maintenance of the apartheid system as a holy crusade. Moved by their attachment to the benefits that accrue to them from the system of national oppression and the super-exploitation of the Black majority, the political representatives of

this tendency in White politics are challenging the Botha regime for the allegiance of especially the Afrikaner population.

The disarray in the enemy camp has compelled some to examine the fundamental premise of the entire system of racial oppression. The realisation has begun to dawn on some of Botha's own supporters that no solutions to the problems confronting our country are possible without the participation of the Black and democratic majority, and the leaders of this majority.

There are yet others from among our White countrymen who, more far-sighted than others, have decided to break with a system that is so patently criminal. These have joined the democratic movement. We are confident that the numbers of such White compatriots will grow as an integral part of the forces of liberation which are destined to defeat the apartheid regime and liquidate the criminal system it upholds. In order to hasten the advent of that day, we must give the enemy no respite; no time to regroup and recover lost ground. It requires that we must stay on the attack.

Role of the Masses

We are entering the second half of the 1980s. When we cast our minds back to the Year of the Charter — 1980 — and the subsequent years, the chief feature that stands out is the ever-expanding and visible role of the masses of our people in the making of this history. As we enter this second half of the Decade of Liberation, it is necessary that we examine not only our striking power, but, even more important, the direction in which to strike and how to deliver the blow. In particular, it is necessary that we ask the question: at what pace — how fast — are we advancing towards the conquest of power?

The pace of our forward march depends on our success or failure to strengthen the first and the third of the four interlinked elements we have referred to, namely, the all-round activity of the underground structures of the ANC and the armed offensive spearheaded by Umkhonto we Sizwe.

With regard to these two decisive elements of our revolutionary struggle, we should neither dramatise our shortcomings nor blind ourselves to the reality that we have not advanced on these two fronts at a pace corresponding to our advance on the other two.

To move forward to victory with the greatest speed, we must pay particular attention this year to the task of building a strong underground presence of well-organised revolutionary cadres, drawn from the fighting masses and integrated among them. Such a body of cadres constitutes the dynamising factor in our situation — a force capable of bringing together the various strands of our struggle, and assisting in the further development and consolidation of all our political and military combat forces into a mighty army of liberation.

The call we are making to all the democratic and patriotic forces of our country is that this year we must take it as our special task to strengthen and reinforce our vanguard organisation, the African National Congress. Already we have made great strides in this regard. And yet the imperatives of our struggle demand that we do not any longer postpone execution of the task we elaborated last year — to strengthen and expand the underground structures of the ANC, ensuring the active presence of our movement everywhere in the country.

Who Are the Cadres?

Who are these revolutionary cadres about whom we speak? Where are they? They are not special people. It is we — men and women, young and old, Black and White — who are involved in daily struggles, making sacrifices in pursuit of the people's cause. It is we, the workers in the factories, the mines, the farms, the commercial establishments and offices of various kinds; we, who work in health and educational services as well as those of us occupied within the residential areas.

The distinctive feature of the revolutionary cadre is a high level of discipline, dedication and courage in carrying out the tasks assigned by the movement. Such cadres are guided by our goal of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa. They fight for the immediate release of Nelson Mandela and all other leaders and political prisoners. They accept that our path to victory lies in a combination of the all-round activity of the ANC, united mass political action, armed struggle and international solidarity and support.



Who are the cadres? It is we the workers in the factories, the mines...

It is now 25 years since the illegitimate regime in our country proscribed the representative and leader of our people — the African National Congress. The apartheid regime banned the ANC exactly because it wanted to remove from our midst this dynamising factor in our struggle. Frightened by the fact that we have nevertheless defeated its efforts to destroy our mother body, this regime has now made mere membership of the ANC a treasonable offence. However, through our relentless, daring and death-defying actions, we have compelled the enemy to admit that, as before, the ANC is central to the solution of the South African problem. We must build on this achievement to ensure that in this second half of the Decade of Liberation, the ANC emerges more powerful than it has ever been.

ANC the Alternative Power

We further charge the ANC and all other patriots to continue to shift our posture to the offensive and, as we said last year, to cultivate the spirit of rebellion and the frame of mind which puts the politics of revolutionary change to the fore. The programmes of action that we plan and carry out should result in the initiative passing further into our hands. Our mass democratic and revolutionary movement should emerge ever more forcefully as the alternative power in our country.

Through struggle and sacrifice, we have planted the seeds of people's war in our country, that is, a war waged by all the people against the White minority regime. One of our central tasks in the coming period is to transform the potential we have created into the reality of people's war.

Guided by that perspective, we must build up the mass combat forces that are training themselves in mass political action for sharper battles and for the forcible overthrow of the racist regime. The mass combat forces of our revolution are the same political forces that are and have been engaged in the popular offensive. These death-defying patriots must now become part of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the vital cutting edge of our onslaught.

It is in this way that we will ensure that the people's army deepens its roots and grows inextricably among the popular masses. It is in this way that we will ensure that it grows in size, in the spread and quality of its operations and the weight of every blow it delivers.

In the course of our mass offensive, we have, from time to time and with increased frequency, created the situation in various localities such that the democratic forces challenged the apart-heid authorities for control of these areas, emerging as the alternative power. With regard to the perspective of people's war, this means that we forged the conditions

for us to transform these areas into mass revolutionary bases from which Umkhonto we Sizwe must grow as an army of the people.

In all the struggles that we waged in the past year, regardless of how peaceful they were, the enemy confronted us with its armed might. In Sebokeng and other areas, the apartheid regime deployed thousands of regular troops in an attempt to crush the people's resistance.

At such moments who among us did not feel the urgent need for us to talk to the enemy in the language he understands best? Who has not seen that we too must take up arms as did our forebears, as did Bambata, Solomon Mahlangu, and as did Clifford Brown, only last year!

All we are saying, therefore, Fellow Combatants, is that we have it within our means to increase our capacity to hit back at the enemy, arms in hand. No one but ourselves will accomplish this task. We must all take it as a priority task to build up the popular armed forces,



The priority task is to build up the popular armed forces, to transform the armed actions we have thus carried out into a people's war.

to transform the armed actions we have thus far carried out into a people's war, by helping to root Umkhonto we Sizwe firmly among the people and actively drawing the masses into the prosecution of a people's war.

Furthermore, all the oppressed need to emulate the example of the areas where the democratic movement has emerged as the alternative power. Wherever we are, we must transform our locality into a mass revolutionary base. In such areas, we should also use the democratic power we have accumulated through struggle, to defend and advance the interests of the people. We must use our organised mass strength and, by attacking, consolidate our victorious emergence as the alternative power.

The cultural workers — artists, writers, musicians, poets, sportsmen and sportswomen — have the capacity to enrich the overall effort of our people in our quest for national liberation.



We saw mischief in every order

— Cynthia Madlala

Against all the propaganda of South African racists against the ANC, I, breaking all odds, found my way to the People's Army and I do not regret that decision. Like any other average South African young woman, this propaganda affected me. Topping it was Nokonono Kave's warped stories about the raping of women and other abominable things she said about this army. But what the army has done for me is something that only the ANC and MK can do. All my fears were cast away and replaced by courage and confidence.

My first impression, as a person who left home as a student, was that what the ANC teaches you is qualitatively superior over the apartheid education system. Here was a new world where each does everything for the benefit of all and all for the good of one. Gone were the days when only the most "intelligent" earned all the attention and responsibility. This was proved when I was made commissar of my section. In the ANC responsibility goes according to political and working capabilities and not bribery and corruption.

As a young person my knowledge of an army was only confined to the activities of the SADF. Now the SADF has become the symbol of politically misguided thugs to whom the masses are targets and wild game to be shot at. The relationship that exists between our army and the neighbouring people is one of comradely understanding and trust because MK, as a product of the people, cannot and will never do harm to those very people who here act as her host while back home they are to be the bush.

CAMP LIFE

Camp life can be difficult at first but with patience and reverence one overcomes these difficulties. The important thing is to understand the wisdom behind orders and commands. We used to rebel, quietly of course, at every command. We saw mischief out of every order. Little knowing that these are done basically for one's safety and for purposes of instilling the discipline no people's army can do without.

This is the discipline which forced one racist judge to comment that though Petros Mashigo was the youngest of the three accused in the Soekmekaar trial, his maturity and political consciousness made an adult out of him.

Political education has made me to be able to interpret correctly even the most cunning of Botha's moves. Now I feel I am of value to my people. With strong political conviction Botha's terrorists can never frighten you.



I did not know that education can go without corporal punishment, sja-

mboks and the lot. Leave the class and the instructor becomes just another comrade without the conservatism the system instills in its teachers.


Camp life also makes one understand people because here one lives with comrades from all walks of life, different characters with different backgrounds; intellectuals, peasants, workers, students, middle class, etc. Here we are, all united as countrymen and comrades fighting for a new South Africa. The coming together of old and young fills the gap left by separation from parents. The army is the mother, father, brother and sister, all at the same time.

COMRADES FIRST

Our politics teaches that a woman is first a comrade and then a woman, not vice versa. This answers the question how young female and male comrades can stay together without the now fashionable South African controlling methods of dogs and watchmen. High political understanding serves the purpose of a watchman.

The basic thing to understand about South African propaganda is that one cannot be the problem and the solution at the same time. The South African government, being the problem, cannot at the same time be in a position to tell our people which organisation serves their interests best and which doesn't.

READ Voice Of Women



Journal Of The ANC Women's Section

From page 19

We charge our cultural workers with the task of using their craft to give voice, not only to the grievances, but also to the profoundest aspirations of the oppressed and exploited. In our country a new social and political order is being born. Our artists have to play an even bigger role as midwives of this glorious future. Let the arts be one of the many means by which we cultivate the spirit of revolt among the broad masses, enhance the striking power of our movement and inspire the millions of our people to fight for the South Africa we envisage.

Apartheid Economy in Crisis

The continuing and deepening crisis of the apartheid economy confronts all of us with the task of defeating the efforts of the apartheid state and the bosses to shift the burden of this crisis on to our shoulders. This crisis is not of our making. It is the result of the exploitative capitalist system as well as the huge state expenditures to maintain and strengthen the enemy army and police and to finance the political and administrative structures of the apartheid system.

Why then must we finance the commission of a crime against ourselves by paying an ever-rising General Sales Tax, increased food prices, rents, fares and so on! Why must we continue to lose our jobs, adding to the millions already unemployed, while the apartheid regime and the employers recruit skilled workers, especially from Western Europe!

We should therefore unite in action to demand food and not guns, jobs for the unemployed, and the diversion of resources to improve the lives of the impoverished masses. The wealth we create with our labour should not go to enrich a small clique and oil the machinery of apartheid, while millions suffer from starvation. In this struggle we expect the organised workers to play a central role, both to fight off the attack on our living standards and to help bring about the democratic society in which the wealth of our country will become the patrimony of the people.

Salute to our Heroes

We salute and pay tribute to the many heroes and heroines of our country who have laid down their lives in our struggle for liberation. We extend our greetings to the leaders and activists of the democratic movement who, despite arrests, detention, and every form of persecution by the enemy, have stood firm and persisted in the common struggle to defeat and destroy the racist regime. Once more, we pledge to our leaders incarcerated on Robben Island, Pollsmoor and other prisons that we shall not rest until the cause for which they have sacrificed emerges triumphant. The very fact of the arrest and detention of UDF and other leaders, some of whom have been charged with treason, emphasises the continuing importance of the struggle for the immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners.

We take pride in the fact that the international conscience, expressing itself through the Nobel Peace Committee, has decided to award the 1984 Nobel Peace Prize to a Black South African — Bishop Desmond Tutu. This is the second instance within 23 years that our people, and Africa, have been given this honour. Bishop Tutu walks in the steps of our beloved Chief Albert Luthuli.

There is no doubt that this is a tribute to our selfless dedication and our resistance to one of the most cruel and inhuman systems the world has ever known. The award does great credit to the role of our religious communities in the struggle for liberation and should be an inspiration to all of them to get the heresy of apartheid expunged from the statute books and from our lives. It once more emphasises the importance our people and the rest of the world attach to the contribution the religious leaders and masses of our country must continue to make in the struggle for justice, peace and life itself.

Sister Nations, Sister Movements

We greet the fraternal people of Namibia and especially welcome among fighting ranks of our sister movement, SWAPO, the new Secretary General of SWAPO, Comrade Andimba Herman Toivo ja Toivo and his colleagues, whom the apartheid regime was forced to release

from long terms of imprisonment. Their release and continued involvement in struggle will bring closer the day of freedom and independence for Namibia. In this regard we, the people of South Africa, demand the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of South African racist troops from Namibia and Angola.

We pay tribute to the Front Line States and the Kingdom of Lesotho for their firm and principled actions in defending our right of struggle and upholding the legitimacy and duty of Africa and the world to support our struggle.

We recognise the important contribution made by the OAU and various international organisations including the United Nations and its Agencies, the Non-Aligned Movement, the World Peace Council, the Socialist International — to mention but a few. They are largely responsible for ensuring that apartheid remains at the centre of world attention as a crime against humanity.

We congratulate our Palestinian brothers and sisters for successfully overcoming attempts to liquidate the Palestinian struggle. We support the call by the PLO for an international conference in furtherance of the struggle for a sovereign Palestinian homeland.

We condemn the continuing efforts of the US Administration to destabilise and overthrow the popular government of Nicaragua and express our firm and militant solidarity with the fraternal people of that heroic country.

We express our solidarity with the people of Grenada whose right to self-determination was grossly violated and continues to be circumscribed, following the naked aggression by the US armed forces.

We salute all people engaged in struggle for national liberation, especially El Salvador and East Timor. We pledge solidarity with all those struggling to defend their sovereignty, including the peoples of Southern Africa, Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic, the Middle East, Afghanistan and Cyprus. We welcome the successes of the democratic forces in Latin America, and are confident that the foothold of the apartheid regime in the American sub-continent will be totally eliminated.

Our people have come to appreciate and value the consistent solidarity and growing support for our struggle given by the socialist countries, the Nordic States and other countries.

Our ties with various governments, political parties and parliamentary groups in Western Europe and Australasia have grown stronger and we look forward to ever-closer relations and greater co-operation with them in the struggle against the apartheid system.

We pay tribute to the millions of people involved in the ever-expanding work within the worldwide anti-apartheid movement. They constitute a solid base of support for our struggle internationally. It is through their daily, and sometimes unknown, efforts that governments and peoples are kept alive to, and mobilised in action against, the numerous ploys of the South African racists to whitewash apartheid. In this context we welcome the momentous campaign undertaken by the people of the United States, which involves legislators, judges, bishops, trade unionists and other outstanding personalities and government officials, and which is targeted on pressurising the Reagan Administration to reverse its support for the Pretoria racist regime.

We salute all these supporters and unsung heroes working for the cause of world peace and closer fellowship within the human race.

We take this opportunity once more to dip our banners in memory of that outstanding friend of our struggling people and movement, the late Indira Gandhi. We are certain that her successor as Prime Minister of India, Rajiv Gandhi, will continue in her footsteps further to extend much appreciated all-round support to our struggle.

Year of the Cadre

Rumours, emanating from the South African mass media, have been circulating about 'talks' between the African National Congress and the Botha regime. There have been no such talks. Your organisation at this juncture is concerned to improve our capacity to accomplish the tasks we have set for ourselves in the unfolding year. In this respect we shall, as you know, be holding a National Consultative Conference this year, from which we shall emerge united and doubly strengthened to carry our struggle forward.

The strength of any organisation lies in the calibre of its individual members and units. In order to advance in keeping with the momentum of our struggle we must improve the quality and expand the quantity of our membership. We need cadres of unquestionable loyalty, dedication and understanding of our struggle. In order to achieve such a high standard and spur our nation into a greater onslaught on the enemy and its institutions, we declare this year, 1985, **the Year of the Cadre!**

Let this year see us take big strides in further strengthening the organised underground structures of the ANC. Let us see greater mass political actions in all the provinces and districts of our country. Let it see us extend people's war to all corners of our land. Let it see the fastest and furthest possible co-ordinated advance on all fronts towards the goal of people's power.

There is no going back.
Forward Always is our battle cry!
The enemy cannot stop us.
Our future is in our hands.

Forward with the Year of the Cadre!
Mobilise and March Forward
to People's Power!
Amandla Ngawethu!
Matla ke A Rona!
Power to the People!



MK SOLDIERS'

VIEWPOINT



A trench for more victories

— Mthunzi Skhulu

The necessity of the destruction of the enemy institutions and their replacement with the people's revolutionary institutions is a vital element of popular seizure of power. The victories that have been scored by people in destroying institutions like community councils must be consolidated and acquire the revolutionary character in the form of people's institutions which will make such areas ungovernable and ultimately unreachable by both the enemy's institutions and its state apparatus like the police and military forces.

This demands on the part of the vanguard movement, utmost control and organisation of what is spontaneous, oftenly sparked by actions like rent increases, bus fare hikes, evictions, etc.

That the people have unbanned the ANC in essence means that after painstaking efforts of our movement, through political work and armed propaganda, the people *are once* again identifying themselves with the objectives of the ANC.

UNDERGROUND

The intensification of underground structures should go hand in glove with the total "*internalisation*" of the ANC, politically and materially. From national to a town level coordinating structures should be centralised on town, sector, district, province and supremely on the national level for purposes of effective coordination.

If we are not structurally organised underground, in future we will encounter upsurges of a potentially revolutionary character, and they will slip out of our hands as a vanguard and be either hijacked by pseudo-revolutionaries or destroyed by the enemy. Without an organised vanguard leadership there can never be well organised mass action.

It is the vanguard movement which should be the compass of the people's march to victory. It is the ANC which should offer the political and military skills to the masses of our people, and teach them to view in theory and prac-

tice any battle, of whatever magnitude, as part of the entire struggle for national liberation.

LIBERATED ZONES

In most countries where guerilla warfare was waged, the war was mostly concentrated along the borders. Our situation is completely different. We do not solely expect liberated zones (in the political or military sense) in the border areas of our country. We expect and foresee in our peculiar situation different and scattered liberated zones all over the country.

Militarily people should be trained and armed to ambush enemy personnel who might try to invade such an area. On a national scale the enemy must be confronted whenever there is a local upsurge, to spread and weaken him, even if in other areas the creation of liberated zones appears to be out of sight.

To run a liberated zone means political, military, economic, welfare, educational, etc. control. Our education policy should be adapted and directed to meet that foreseeable situation. Teachers, technicians and public service personnel should be prepared.

Continued political action by the masses led by the ANC and the armed offensive spearheaded by MK have shaken the enemy's power base. The enemy must not be given the slightest chance to regroup and pick up his lost pieces of power. Where we have been able to push the enemy a step backward, we must not leave such space vacant but must fully and firmly occupy it for a more developed offensive. Our slogan should be: *Each and every victory scored by the people is a trench for more and major victories against the enemy.*

WAR RESISTANCE AND TOMM

It used to be called conscientious objection — now it's called war resistance.

War resisters have, so far, been white. It has been whites who have been conscripted to serve in the South African Defence Force. It is some of these whites who have refused to report to one or another SADF unit, or who at first reported to desert later on.

Thus war resistance has been some kind of reaction to the war waged by the apartheid regime against the masses. It is resistance against the war the apartheid regime wages against any democratic minded individual.

Will you fight and kill for apartheid? These are some of the many questions facing the white youth when threatened by conscription. Will you be part of a machine that fights and kills for apartheid? And if the answer is no! — then that is war resistance.

But is war resistance enough? Is it enough to say: No! I won't fight for apartheid nor fire a single shot for fascism?

PURPOSE

The purpose of war resistance is of course, the end of war. The war in question here is the war that apartheid is waging against the people of South Africa, against the people of Southern Africa. The end of that war shall only be brought by the complete destruction of the apartheid state. It must then be the course of war resistance to use all means to fight and annihilate the racist enemy.

CE TODAY OROW

— Barmey Stone

Now it has become very possible that young "Coloureds" and Indians will receive a brown envelope addressed to them. Inside this envelope will be a number, a place, a date, and time. The time for a decision shall have come — do I go or not? And if I do not go, where will I go?

We must then beware of defining resistance as "not fighting". We look at that young man, be he "Coloured", Indian, white or Chinese; that young

man who tears up his brown envelope, fails to acknowledge his number, fails to report to his unit and says "No To SADF, No To Apartheid War!"; we look and understand that this man has, in a small way, began to fight.

The end of war resistance is the destruction of the apartheid regime. Or rather the beginning of war resistance is to join the combat ranks of Umkhonto We Sizwe. By joining MK he shall have begun to effectively fight the evil which has brought war — the evil that will cause war and more wars until it is completely destroyed.

CONNECTIONS

What does this mean in practical terms? It means that we should see all the connections and make sure that the connections are made. Just because the plug fits in the socket doesn't mean that the plug will jump in and the light go on by itself. That is why we have a



Will you fight and kill for apartheid?

movement, that is why we are organised. That is why the question of political understanding is vital. It is our hands that will put the plug in the socket, turn on the switch and point to the light.

There is a logical road from war resistance to MK. This road must be cleared of all obstructions and obstacles. Not every objector will get all the way down that road — many will not make the distance. But the more powerful, the more active and militant; and the more aggressive the war resistance movement is — then the more chance that more will traverse that distance.

ALL MEANS

Our movement must use all means, must miss no opportunity to encourage the resistance of South African democrats to apartheid conscription. This means all democrats, Black and White, men and women. Let the ranks of fascism be thinned and those of progress swelled. Let us hit harder and harder at those in fascist uniforms in order that we make our point very clear.

"To put on the uniform of the oppressor is to become the enemy". Every defeat which the SADF suffers, every SADF casualty will bring some closer to enlightenment. For no death, even that of the enemy, is completely without meaning. Each has its lesson and some will learn.

Umkhonto We Sizwe must employ strategies and tactics which will strengthen the conditions for war resistance. No one in a fascist uniform must be safe from the wrath of the people! We must hit the enemy at surprising times — at surprising places. They must fear to enter the townships on their fascist missions.

War resistance must strengthen our ranks and weaken those of the enemy.

SEBOKENG YOU

ARE GREAT

In that unmeted anger you broke out into
Violence to overcome the forces of oppression
Imposed on you by your fellow brothermen.
The wrath you showed was more than
That of a tempted black mamba
When you demolished everything to ashes.

You puffed horrible smoke from all
The corners of your zones
While from your lips came words of condemnation.
You stood for the first time united
By one zeal as if you are
The children of the same mother

You remained dauntless although the barrels of
The guns pointed at your faces.
You never retreated
When friends beside you
Suffered the fatal shootings;
You showed what really makes a record.

I learnt that no cop can curb
You in your provocation
Nor try to harass you with a gun.
Your anger resembled that of a monster.
You snarled at those who turned down your request
And made some to be known no more.

You made history that none of your
residents will ever forget.
Your reaction so shocked the government
That it could not believe the damages done
Were only a protest against the rent hikes.
Wrath of the mamba, zeal of the united,
courage of the history makers—
I bow down to admire your everlasting
greatness.

There will be no songs this year

—A short story—

Mandla Langa

The sun was readying itself, like a beaten fighter, to go and rest in the West; this meant then, that the sun — the summerheat — was at its hottest, but I could not move where I sat on those plastic woven hotel chairs. I looked at the edifice of the cinema, the people creating long shadows, hurrying, *hurrying* like their dwellings were on fire, no different from refugees fleeing a besieged city, a city, on fire. There was some buzzing in the air — which means there was a lot of noise that filled the Mall and the perimeter — but in all this confused hullabaloo there was an undercurrent of a great and uneasy silence.

Christmas had come and gone, it had claimed many lives, of course. While Mary's boy child, Jesus Christ was being born — presumably for the 1979th time — my twin-brother was being killed in a shoot-out with the police ominously enough in Bethlehem, in the Orange Free State. He was twenty-nine (29) with a wife and two children, a boy and a girl. I have a wife and one child, a boy. Although there was a lot that could have made our two families to be close to each other, Zweli's family was as distant from mine as is the earth from the sun. Of course, we did have some cordial get-togethers — which were

to me a veritable pain in the neck — there was no conceivable way for Dudu, my wife, and Thoko, Zweli's wife, to hit it off, and this did not go unnoticed by both Zweli and I; this is no glib or coy praise of Dudu, but while she was a school-teacher in a High School, Thoko was working on the reception desk of one of the more well known travel agencies. She, then was exposed more to glamour and its attendant fringe benefits than my wife ever could have been. This was one of the things that caused Zweli to be a very quiet man, he also drank a lot. I glanced at my watch, it was 6.05 p.m. I had a 6.15 p.m. appointment with my brother's wife. I ordered another beer, looking at the door as young African girls — dressed in colours that were certainly meant to offend the eye — entered with proprietary grips on their expatriate companions, some old enough to be these hapless hunters' grandfathers.

I looked away, feeling the amber froth I was drinking threatening to hit the roof of my head. I didn't know what Thoko wanted to see me for, although I could come up with a shrewd guess. I had always treated her as my brother's wife, keeping her at a distance. The only time we really sat down and

had a long talk was when I was sent by the school — I'm also a teacher — to attend a conference in London; she had been very helpful, giving me tips on travelling. But, now, I sincerely didn't know what was expected of me; as far as I was concerned there was nothing that bound us together; if she needed money I would give her and not expect to be paid back: this would incense Dudu, obviously — *Whose husband are you?* — but the matter would rest there; she wouldn't know anything about my bank balance, which wasn't much, nor would she tamper with my mail.

Thoko came in, still in the travel agency uniform, looked around until she saw my raised hand. She came over to where I was sitting. I pulled out a chair for her, and she sat down.

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»I hope,» she said, »I haven't kept you waiting long?»

»No,» I said, looking at my watch, »you made it on time.»

»You look haggard, Mkhonto,» she said, »aren't you working a little bit too much?»

»I guess it's a strain of all that has happened.» I paused.

»What will you drink?» I realised, then, that I knew absolutely nothing about Thoko.

»I see you're having a beer,» she said, »but that messes my bladder. I think



I'll have a double whisky and soda.»
 »I'm up to here with beer myself, I think I'll have the same.»
 I signalled for the waiter and placed our orders.

There was laughter on the adjoining tables where the prostitutes and the expatriates sat; it was loud and raucous, this laughter, and infinitely mocking. I wondered what happened to the minds of these girls in the loneliness of their bed, in the midnight hour, did they understand what drove all these sons of the masters to such havens; did they perceive that some people are born lonely and unhappy and with this great capacity for flight? Our orders came and Thoko took a sip from her drink; I gulped mine and told the waiter who was waiting to be paid to bring another round. Thoko looked at me.

»You must think,» she said, »that I'm a cruel and heartless bitch, don't you, Mkhonto?»

»Why,» I asked, almost choking on my liquor, »do you say that?»

I'm certain,» Thoko said, »that you sincerely think that I'm somehow responsible for Zweli's death. I'm not, for instance, attired in mourning apparel: I would be acting like a hypocrite if I did that. I loved Zweli, but he was too much of a dreamer. He carried on like the whole world owed him a living, playing his saxophone and writing that undecipherable poetry: the kids had to eat, and as far as I can remember children have never been supported by a note or stanza. I thought that if I left him he would take stock and grow up. I'm sorry he had to go to the lengths he did.» She paused. I wondered whether her drink still tasted like a drink. »I suppose Zweli couldn't take it anymore. In a sense what happened between him and the police was a form of suicide.»

I wondered what happened to the minds of these girls in the loneliness of their bed, in the midnight hour: they understand what drove all these sons of the masters to such havens; did they perceive that some people are born lonely and unhappy and with this great capacity for flight?

I nodded and looked again at the people around us. It was getting cooler, and the lights were on. I thought of Zweli; I remembered his postcards from all these exotic places. I remembered that Zweli sounded, increasingly, like

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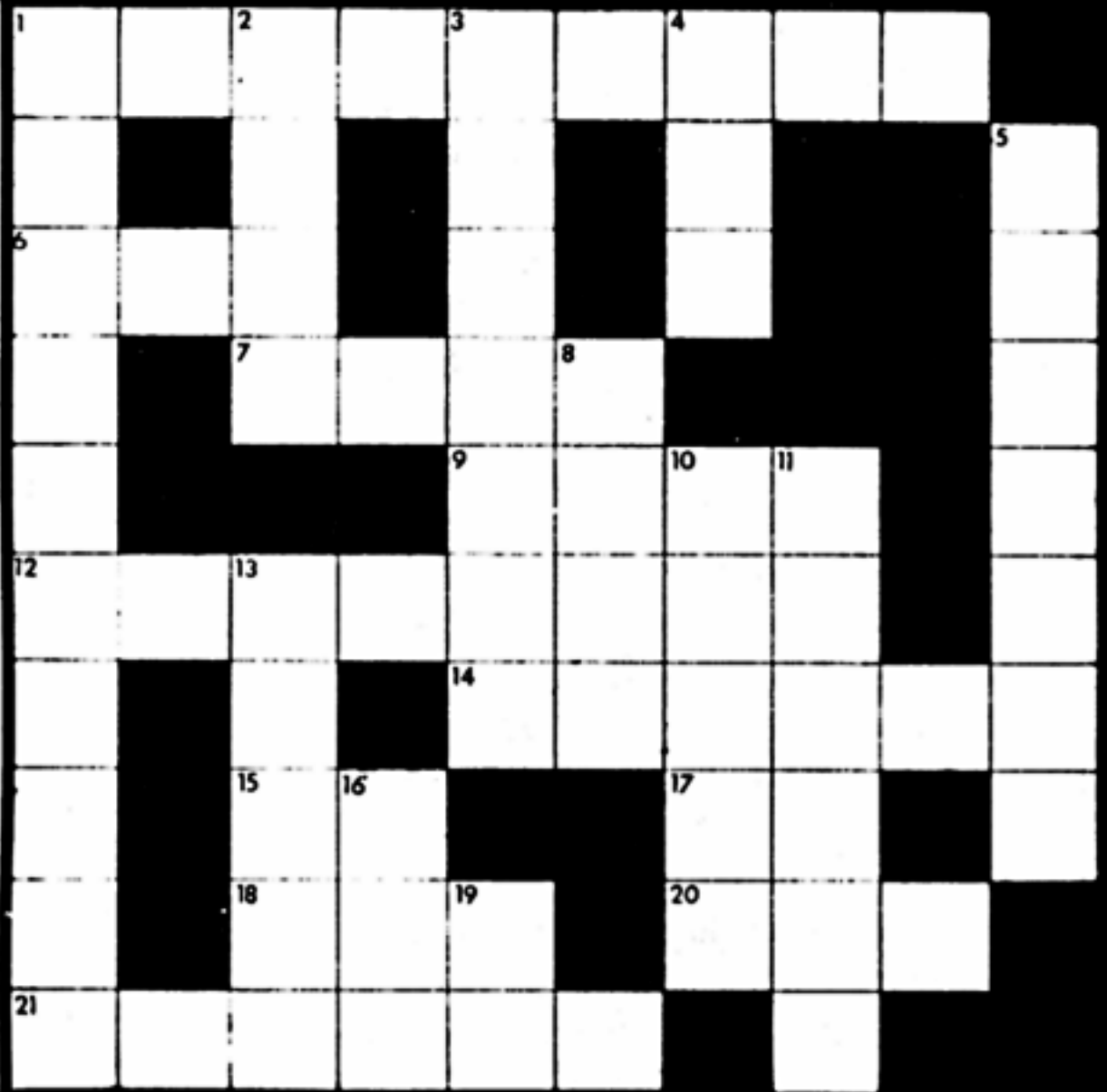
someone I certainly didn't know. *My brother I'm here with comrades. I respect what you're involved in, but have you ever thought about the South African revolution?* This one was from Algiers.

I told Thoko that I was not the one to judge people; if she regarded herself as Zweli's murderer that was her own personal albatross; I wasn't about to help her with that problem. My brother left home, the same as I did, and came out here and she, his wife, came here. He went back to South Africa, an assault rifle in hand, and shot two camouflaged policemen. The press dubbed him a terrorist and murderer. I called him brother. He singularly put our name on the annals; I am still, now, proud of him. All this I told Thoko. She finished her drink, stood up and left without saying goodbye.

I heard the scream of tortured tyres and rushed down the stairs, knocking one madman who frequents the Hotel, until I got to the road thinking, *My God, what have I done?* I saw the shoe of the injured lady; it wasn't Thoko.

»Don't worry about me, Mkhonto,» she said. »I'll be all right.»

»Let's go,» I said, taking her hand, »let's go.»



Clues

ACROSS:

1. Used in the manufacture of explosives
6. SADF s arm
7. The back part
9. An amount of medicine to be taken at one time
12. State of sleep produced by drugs
14. To echo repeatedly
15. Master of Ceremonies
17. To pass from one point to another
18. Anti-Apartheid movement
20. A period of history
21. A soldier on guard

DOWN:

1. Chief of the SA army
2. Time taken by the earth to make one complete orbit of the sun
3. Country in Latin America
4. International Labour Organization
5. Late Minister of Defence of the USSR
8. The perforated sprinkling-nozzle of watering-can
10. Blockading of a town by armed forces
11. Accompanying a person to give protection
13. Inhabitants of Rome
16. Often kept as a pet
19. Prefixed to man's name

See Answers in DAWN Vol. 9 No. 2

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.

THE FREEDOM CHARTER

We the People of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know - that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of the people; that our people have been robbed of their birthright to land, liberty and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality; that our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood, enjoying equal rights and opportunities; that only a democratic state, based on the will of all the people can secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour race sex or belief.

And therefore we, the People of South Africa, black and white together - equals countrymen and brothers - adopt this Freedom Charter - And we pledge ourselves to strive together, sparing neither strength nor courage, until the democratic changes here set out have become a reality.

THE PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN!

Every man and woman shall have the right to vote for and to stand as a candidate for all bodies which make laws,
All people shall be entitled to take part in the administration of the country;
The right of the people shall be the same, regardless of race colour or sex.
All bodies of a minority rule, advisory boards, councils and authorities shall be replaced by democratic organs of self government.

ALL NATIONAL GROUPS SHALL HAVE EQUAL RIGHTS!

There shall be equal status in the bodies of the state, in the courts - and in the schools for all national groups and races.
All people shall have equal right to use their own languages and to develop their own folk culture and customs.
All national groups shall be protected by law against insults to their race and national pride;
The preaching and practise of national, race or colour discrimination and contempt shall be a punishable crime.
All apartheid laws and practices shall be set aside.

THE PEOPLE SHALL SHARE IN THE COUNTRY'S WEALTH!

The national wealth of our country, the heritage of all South Africans, shall be restored to the people.
The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole.
All other industry and trade shall be controlled to assist the wellbeing of the people.
All the people shall have equal rights to trade where they choose, to manufacture goods, and to enter all trades, crafts and professions.

THE LAND SHALL BE SHARED AMONG THOSE WHO WORK IT!

Restriction of land ownership on a racial basis shall be ended, and the land redivided among those who work it, to banish famine and land hunger.
The state shall help the peasants with implements, seed, tractors, and dams to save the soil and assist the tiller.
Freedom of movement shall be guaranteed to all who work on the land.
All shall have the right to occupy land wherever they choose.
Peasants shall not be robbed of their cattle, and forced labour on farms - prisons shall be abolished.

ALL SHALL BE EQUAL BEFORE THE LAW!

No one shall be imprisoned, deported or restricted without a fair trial.
No one shall be condemned by the order of any government official.
The courts shall be representative of all the people.
Imprisonment shall be for serious crimes only committed against the people and shall aim at re-education, not vengeance.
The police force and army shall be open to all on an equal basis and shall be the helpers and protectors of the people.
All laws which discriminate on grounds of race, colour or belief shall be repealed.

ALL SHALL ENJOY EQUAL HUMAN RIGHTS

The law shall guarantee to all their right to speak, to organize, to meet together, to strike, to picket, to worship and to educate their children.
The privacy of the house from police raids shall be protected by law.
All shall be free to travel without restriction from countryside to town, from province to province, and from South Africa abroad;
All laws, permits and all other laws restricting these freedoms shall be abolished.

THERE SHALL BE WORK AND SECURITY

All who work shall be free to form trade unions to elect their representatives and to make wage agreements with their employers.
The state shall recognise the right and duty of all to work and to draw full unemployment benefits;
Men and women of all races shall receive equal pay for equal work.
There shall be a forty-hour working week, a national minimum wage paid annual leave and sick leave for all workers, and maternity leave or full pay for all working mothers.
Miners, domestic workers, farm workers and coal servants shall have the same rights as all others to work.
Child labour, compound labour, the lot system and contract labour shall be abolished.

THE DOORS OF LEARNING AND CULTURE SHALL BE OPENED

The government shall discover, develop and encourage national talent for the enrichment of our cultural life.
All cultural treasures of mankind shall be open to all, by free exchange of books, ideas and contact with other lands.
The aim of education shall be to teach the youth to love their people and their culture; to honour human brotherhood, liberty and peace;
Education shall be free, compulsory, universal and equal for all children.
Higher education and technical training shall be opened to all by means of state allowances and scholarships awarded on the basis of merit.
Adult illiteracy shall be ended by a mass state education plan;
Teachers shall have the rights of other citizens.
The colour bar in cultural life, in sport and in education shall be abolished.

THERE SHALL BE HOUSES SECURITY AND COMFORT

All people shall have the right to live where they choose, to be decently housed, and to bring up their families in comfort and security.
Unused housing space to be made available to the people.
Rent and prices shall be lowered, food plentiful and no one shall go hungry.
A preventive health scheme shall be run by the state;
Free medical care and hospitalization shall be provided for all, with special care for mothers and young children.
Slums shall be demolished, and new suburbs built where all have transport, roads, lighting, playing fields, creches and social centres.
The aged, the orphans, the disabled and the sick shall be cared for by the state.
Rest, leisure and recreation shall be the right of all.
Fenced locations and ghettos shall be abolished and laws which break up families shall be repealed.

THERE SHALL BE PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP

South Africa shall be a fully independent state which respects the rights and sovereignty of all nations.
South Africa shall strive to maintain world peace and the settlement of all international disputes by negotiation not war.
Peace and friendship amongst all our people shall be secured by upholding the equal rights, opportunities and status of all.
The people of the protectorates -

-Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland -

shall be free to decide for themselves their own future;
The right of the peoples of Africa to Independence and self-government shall be recognised and shall be the basis of close co-operation.

Adopted at the Congress of The People at Kliptown Johannesburg on June 25 and 26, 1955.