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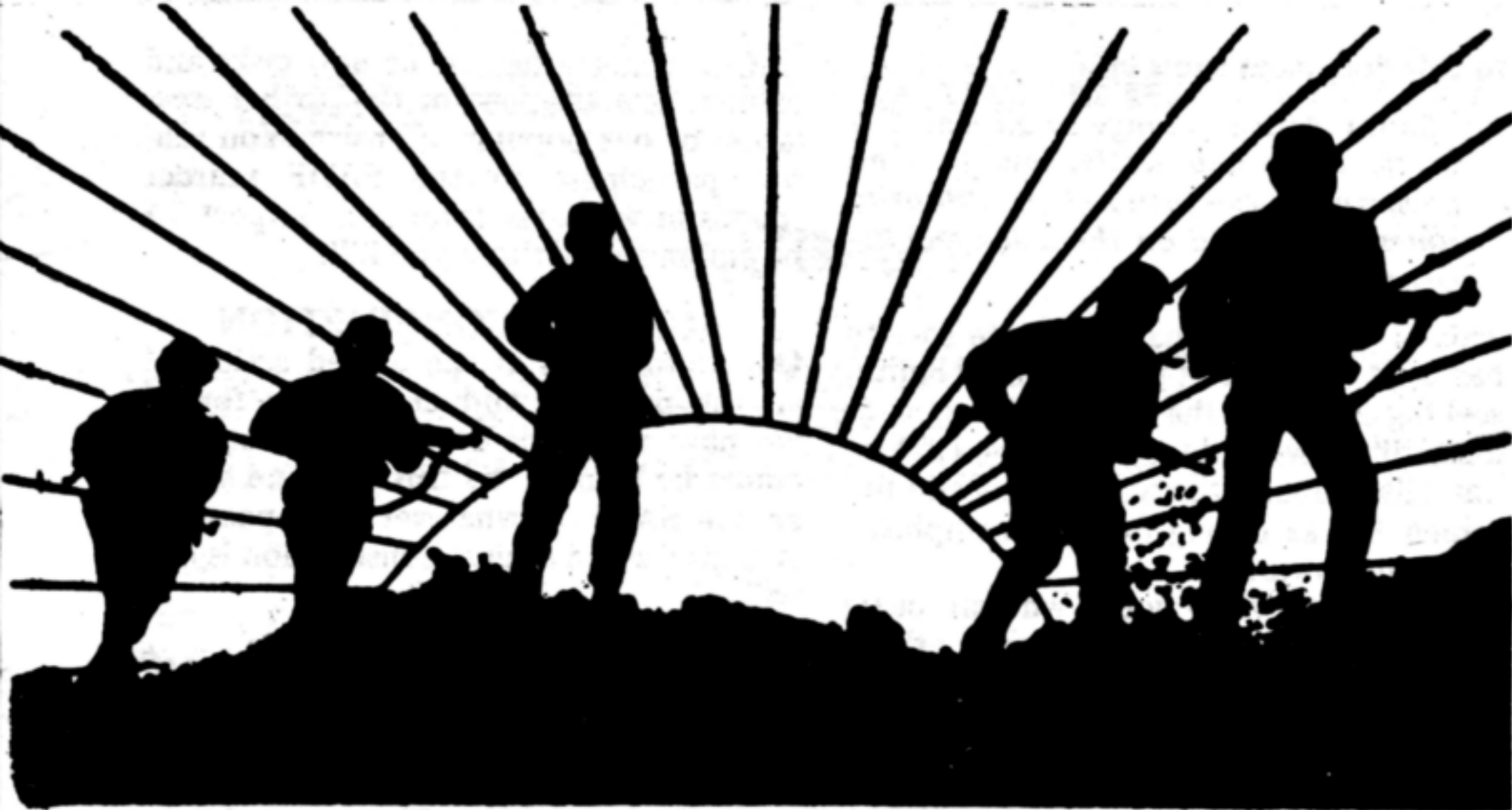
DAWN



Monthly Journal of Umkhonto we Sizwe

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Editorial Comment

CALL TO THE WHITE YOUTH

RESISTANCE against the South African Death Force — SADF — is high and is daily gaining momentum. The SADF military police are on the streets trying to apprehend about eight thousand young men who never reported for duties in last year's January intake.

Close to a thousand conscripts applied for religious objector status, excusing themselves from active combat service, though not really opposing participation indirectly in supportive roles. Racist official sources claim that more than five hundred are in detention barracks for various 'political' and 'criminal' offences.

ARMED DETACHMENT

The racist generals are determined more than ever to turn each white family into an armed detachment, and each house into an arsenal of weapons. School kids are mobilised into cadets, university students

into campus military units, workers into industrial commandos, residents into area defence units, while farmers have also been fully integrated in the regime's security system. They are all poised to kill and murder.

Though the extent of militarisation among the whites leaves little or no distinction between military and civilian targets, we still believe that a substantial number of whites cherish a secure future in a unitary, non-racial and democratic South Africa. The racist government is also aware of this. That is why it would like to portray a future South Africa as totalitarian, undemocratic and anti-white.

FREEDOM CHARTER

The Freedom Charter guarantees the right of each and every South African to the country's citizenship, the right to vote, equality before the law and that *all shall enjoy equal human rights*. The preamble

to this document sums up:

"South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people".

This is the future that the white society has been armed to oppose. Bernard Smith, seeking asylum in the United States, made a startling revelation. At his age (27) he has killed about thirty innocent and unarmed Blacks during the current upheavals in the townships.

To all the white youth who are being educated in the craft of murder, those trained as professional killers and murderers, the late Moses Kotane addressed this call to you too when he said:

"To the youth of our country, at this hour of destiny, your country and your people need you. It will be what you make of it."

Refuse to participate in the criminal activities of the apartheid armed forces! Do not mortgage your future to a racist system that is doomed to destruction! This is the call from the Commander-in-Chief of Umkhonto we Sizwe, Comrade Oliver Tambo. He goes further to say:

"We call on you to win your place in the future democratic South Africa by joining the struggle to turn that future into reality... together, black and white, we will destroy the monstrous apartheid regime and, as equals, rebuild our country for the benefit of all its citizens."

Our struggle has set us new tasks and opened new avenues for the further escalation of our popular offensive. You cannot participate in the SADF murder squads in whatever form and expect to be embraced by those you kill.

AGAINST CONSCRIPTION

Our victory lies in the united action of all the patriotic and democratic forces. We have a historic duty, as patriots and comrades-in-arms, to frustrate and weaken the SADF in whatever form possible. A united stand against conscription is one way.

Substantial victories have been registered in this field. The racist generals are running from pillar to post, seeking ways of replenishing the ranks of the SADF, even with immigrants. They even add salt to our wounds, reasoning that the oppressed Blacks must be morally obliged to defend their enslavement.

We hail the stand taken by those patriots in detention barracks and those who did not report for duties. Their example will inspire thousands and as such will draw us closer to victory.

This year we are faced with the task of making our resistance more formidable and strong. We must mobilise and expand, remembering that Umkhonto we Sizwe is your army too. It is an army of our embattled people, an army of all our democratic and patriotic forces. Let us take our positions among our fighting people and destroy the racist monster now!

Refuse to die for Apartheid

Attack, advance, give the enemy

no quarter

MESSAGE OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS ON THE OCASION OF 8th JANUARY 1986, DELIVERED BY COMRADE PRESIDENT O.R. TAMBO

Compatriots,

As the New Year begins, and on the occasion of the 74th Anniversary of your vanguard movement, the African National Congress, we extend to you our warm revolutionary greetings. We salute you also in the name of the people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

We speak to you fully aware of the immense responsibility that rests on all of us to make the apartheid system of oppression and exploitation, repression and aggression a thing of the past. It is our singular honour that we have been charged with the serious responsibility to point the way forward in the coming period. We approach this task with the same seriousness that has inspired you as you launched countless heroic mass battles during the year that has just ended.

The message of that year, the Year of the Cadre, is simple and yet momentous. It is that the end of the criminal system of apartheid is in sight. Nearly four decades of illegal rule by the heirs of Hitler is coming to a close and with it, centuries of colonial and racist white minority domination. There is nothing that the Pretoria regime can do that can change this historic outcome of our struggle.

Our uninterrupted forward march has thrown the apartheid system into an enormous general crisis. A central feature of this crisis is the rebellion of millions of our people against the criminal system. Even the most stubborn racist can now see that we are no longer prepared to live as slaves and are determined to liberate

ourselves whatever the price we have to pay in human lives.

Realising that power is slipping out of its hands, the Botha regime could not rule in the old way any longer. Hence it has adopted new and more brutal ways of governing our country to save itself from destruction. These include the proclamation of martial law, handing over administration of large areas of our country to the murderous army and police, the use of secret death squads, the assassination of our leaders, massacres, mass arrests, stringent control of the press, continuing external aggression and the murder of our people outside our country.

Despite these extraordinary measures designed to safeguard racist rule and reassure the white minority, the reality is that the white power bloc has never been as divided as it is today. Conflict, indecision and fear of the revolution within this bloc has extended to within the ranks of Botha's own cabinet.

An important part of the crisis afflicting the racist system is the gathering collapse of the apartheid economy. We the oppressed and exploited, know the bitter meaning of this crisis. We know the harsh reality of retrenchment, unemp-

loyment, a galloping cost-of-living and banishment to the Bantustans and resettlement camps.

Now, the burden of the economic crisis brought about by the apartheid system is beginning to weigh heavily on the whites as well. White unemployment is increasing. Many conscripts return to civilian life without jobs and with no prospect of employment. Thousands of small and medium businesses have collapsed. Individual bankruptcies have multiplied without stop.

Completely unable to deal with this enormous general crisis, Botha has increasingly lost contact with reality. Illusions are taking the place of facts. The hollow dreams of a tyrant appear to him to be the very essence of policy. Botha relies on bombast and bluster to hide the fact that he is no more than a fleeting shadow on the world stage.

INITIATIVE IN OUR HANDS

The Botha regime has lost the strategic initiative. That initiative is now in our hands. The racist regime has no policy and can have no policy either to save the apartheid system from sinking deeper into crisis or to extricate this system from that crisis. Its political programme has been reduced to a shambles. Its ideological platform has collapsed. All it can do now is to react to events from day to day, without any consistent plan and without any overall objectives, except to keep itself in power for as long as possible.

It can no longer guarantee a bright future for the white social forces on which it rests. At the same time, the Botha regime is confronted with our mass revolt. Botha knows that the masses of our people will not stand by passively while he tries out one apartheid experiment or another. We shall not abandon our forward march, allow ourselves to be diverted from our goal of one person one vote in a united South Africa, or in any way co-operate with the Botha regime in the execution of programmes aimed at the

perpetuation of the apartheid system.

Taken together, these factors signify that strategically the enemy is on the defensive. The critical point is that any counter-offensive the oppressors may launch to gain some tactical advances will, at the same time, only result in further worsening their strategic position.

The fact that the Botha regime has lost the strategic initiative, and is therefore on the defensive all along the line, is of decisive importance for the further advance of our struggle. We have forced the racists into this position through consistent struggle both inside and outside our country. This is an inspiring victory of historic significance.

The principal conclusion we should draw from this situation is that through our sacrifices, we have prepared the conditions for us further to transform the situation to that position when it will be possible for us to seize power from the enemy. Thus the central task facing the entire democratic movement is that we retain the initiative until we have emancipated our country.

We must achieve this by going on the offensive on all fronts, continuously and boldly. We have to fight with a clear purpose in mind, with a definite perspective of our strategic and tactical goals so that we can deploy and utilise our forces to the best advantage. Victory demands that we also continue to work for the maximum unity of all our fighting contingents and the democratic movement as well as a coordinated approach towards the four pillars of our struggle.

Our strategic goal must be to shift the balance of strength decisively in favour of our struggle, through the further ripening of the revolutionary situation beyond the point where the regime is not able to rule in the old way to the stage where it is in fact unable to govern. Thus, we must continue to *make South Africa ungovernable and apartheid unworkable*. In the attack we must aim further to weaken the Botha



"I-hippo mayitshiswe – i-Afrika izole".

regime drastically, to sap its strength, to take away from it even the capacity to launch a limited counter-offensive.

MASS ARMY OF LIBERATION

Simultaneously, while on the march, we must build our forces into an ever more formidable united mass army of liberation, an army that must grow in strength continuously, able to deliver and actually delivering bigger blows at every stage and fighting as a conscious force with its eyes firmly fixed on the goal of the destruction of the apartheid regime and the transfer of power to the people.

The central focus of our continuous offensive has to be the imposition of the will of the democratic majority over the racist minority, however desperate and stubborn the resistance of this minority.

OPENING THE DOORS OF LEARNING

In this regard, a question of primary concern to us all is that of education. We have stated our stand on this issue in clear unequivocal terms. What we want is one democratic, non-racial, free and compul-

sory system of education. The broad principles underlying that alternative system of education are contained in the Freedom Charter.

We take this opportunity to salute our students who have continued to march forward in unity and in an uninterrupted and organised offensive, undeterred by the illegal banning of their organisation, Cosas. This achievement is a victory of the entire democratic and revolutionary movement of our country and is worthy of the young lions of the struggle that our students and working youth have become.

This year, we shall be observing the 10th Anniversary of the Soweto Uprising. We shall therefore cast our minds back on a period during which thousands of our youth were killed and maimed in the struggle for a democratic system of education in a democratic country. A whole generation is growing up and has known nothing but daily violence meted out in the streets by the armed killers of the apartheid regime.

To honour and pay ever-lasting tribute to the thousands of our students and



A unitary educational system in a free and democratic South Africa.

working youth whose blood has drenched our Motherland, in the struggle for freedom and in recognition of their resolve to march forward to victory, we declare June 16 *South Africa Youth Day*. We are confident that our youth and students, through the length and breadth of our country, will prove themselves worthy of this National Honour.

We owe these young lions of our struggle and the nation as a whole, an obligation to institute an alternative system of education during this year, the 10th Anniversary of the Soweto Uprising. We held an important national conference on this question in Johannesburg and adopted decisions that are of significance to the entire democratic movement and to us as a people.

Above everything else, what we shall need in order to realise the programme of action we set ourselves, is the maximum unity of the students, teachers and parents and of the entire democratic movement, including the community and student organisations, the trade unions, the youth and women's movement, religious, and all cultural and sports organisations. United in action, we have the ability to

win our struggle for an alternative system of education, to secure the release of all student leaders and activists imprisoned by the Pretoria regime, to force the lifting of the ban on Cosas and to win all the other demands that we have agreed upon.

Of great importance also is the need for us to ensure that we have a strong, organised youth and student movement reaching into all schools and all areas of our country, capable of continuing to organise all our youth to act with the same discipline and unity, on a national scale, that we have seen in the past. We must continue to work for the establishment of a national youth organisation. To win our demands, we must be organised.

UNITY OF THE WORKING CLASS

We also seize this occasion especially to welcome most warmly the formation of the Congress of South African Trade Unions. We extend to its leaders, its affiliated unions and to the membership of those unions the revolutionary greetings of the ANC leadership, inside and outside prison and inside and outside our country, as well as those of our entire

membership.

The struggle to form one democratic trade union centre has been hard and protracted. Many comrades have spent countless hours working to achieve the result that was consummated with the formation of Cosatu. We all acted in this manner convinced of the need for the unity of the working class of our country, of the imperative to defend and advance the interests of this class and of the necessity for the organised, united and conscious workers to remain in the front ranks, and



Attack, advance, give the enemy no quarter.

as an integral part of the mass army of revolution that is today shaking the apartheid system to its very foundations. The formation of Cosatu has therefore added enormously to the strength of the democratic movement as a whole and is a victory which this movement must defend at all costs.

We appeal to those democratic trade unions which still remain outside the fold of Cosatu to reconsider their positions. We are convinced of the maturity and honesty of both their leaders and members.

Accordingly we are certain that at this critical moment in the history of an entire people and region, they will find a way to overcome all obstacles that bar their way to join Cosatu.

Many problems remain to be solved to fashion the new trade union Congress into the instrument of working class and national liberation that the delegates visualised at the founding conference in Durban. These include the transformation of the general unions into industrial unions, and the organisation of the unorganised and the unemployed. These are important tasks whose accomplishment rests on the shoulders both of Cosatu and the democratic movement as a whole.

Fellow Workers,

During the year 1986, we shall mark two historic anniversaries. These are the 40th Anniversary of the great mineworkers' strike of 1946 and the 100th Anniversary of May Day — International Workers' Solidarity Day.

In connection with the 40th Anniversary of the great miners' strike, we call upon the entire democratic forces and especially the trade union movement, to draw on the revolutionary traditions of the African mineworkers in order to enhance the contribution of the workers to the cause of national and social emancipation.

It is totally unacceptable that up to its 100th anniversary, May Day in South Africa has remained an ordinary working day. We therefore fully support the workers' demand that from 1986 onwards, May Day should become a fully paid public holiday. Our entire democratic movement must support the organised trade union movement in the struggle to realise this demand.

TRIBUTE TO THE HEROES AND MARTYRS

That outstanding product of the creative initiative of the masses of our struggling

people, the United Democratic Front, has borne the brunt of the futile terrorist onslaught of the Botha-Malan-Coetzee regime to defeat our mass offensive and to suppress our democratic organisations. To this day, the threat of prohibition hangs over the UDF. Yet we are convinced that, having more than survived the assassination and imprisonment of its leaders, the cold-blooded murder of its followers, the banning of its meetings and so on, the UDF will overcome all attempts by the enemy to wipe it out of existence. Practice has more than amply demonstrated that the struggling masses of our country need the UDF as an instrument to maintain, advance and deepen our united action.

We salute all its leaders, its affiliated organisations, its members and its followers. We hail all those of its leaders and activists who are in prison and those who are facing trumped up charges which include treason, murder and public violence. We call on our people to stand by these patriots.

We pay homage to the outstanding leaders and others of our people who were murdered this past year by the death squads, the army, the police and the hangmen of the apartheid regime. Among these are Victoria Mxenge, Matthew Goniwe, Andries Raditsela, Ben Moloise, Samuel Tshikudo, Bathandwa Nondo, Mohammed-Allie Razak, Mita Ngobeni, Sipho Mutsi, Ian Zamisa, Nelly Madonsela, Lizo Ngcana, Daniel Mabenyane, Mandlekosi Kratshi, Ivan Langenhoven, Ngoako Ramalepe and Kenneth Letlatla. Their example of selfless service to the revolution will live on, inspiring us to intensify the struggle until victory. Those who assassinated them will be brought to book.

We shall not forget those who have disappeared and have so far not been accounted for. Neither shall we forget the patriots such as Thami Mnyele, George Phahle, Nomkhosi Mini, Jackie Quinn and Leon Meyer and others who were murdered in Maseru and Gaborone. The names of Mol-

ly Blackburn and Brian Bishop will also be inscribed on the roll of honour.

In the light of the situation which obtains in our country today, the religious community has an immense and urgent responsibility to act in defence of life itself, and accordingly, to fight for justice and peace. Inspired by their own faiths,



Mathew Goniwe, murdered by the Pretoria apartheid regime.

this important sector among our people must further enhance its contribution to the struggle to end the apartheid system and to create a society in which the right to life will be respected.

At this point, we would also like to pay special tribute to the women of Mamelodi, both as a particular detachment of the

democratic women's movement and as a force exemplifying the courage and determination of the hundreds and thousands of women who have stood at the centre of our mass struggles this past year, throughout the country.

The response of the apartheid regime to the peaceful march of the women of Mamelodi, which ended in a massacre, illustrates the fear that this regime has of the united offensive of the oppressed and exploited women of our country. This year we are observing the 30th Anniversary of the historic women's march on Pretoria, an event which lives on as a source of great inspiration to all our struggling people. It will be the task of our women-folk to emulate the example we set ourselves three decades ago and last year, to unite and fearlessly join the mass offensive against the Botha regime in even greater numbers. We should also continue to work for the formation of a national women's organisation.

ROOTED AMONG THE MASSES

During the momentous Year of the Cadre that has just passed we have also produced new organisational formations and adopted new forms of struggle in keeping with the heightened pace of our revolution. We refer here to the mass combat units that we have formed to carry out various tasks, including those related to the destruction of the organs of government of the apartheid regime and to making the country ungovernable. We refer also to the measures we have taken, among other things, to protect our leaders and to maintain revolutionary law and order in various localities throughout the country.

It is fitting that these developments have taken place during the Year of the Cadre and in keeping with perspectives that your movement, the ANC, put forward for that year. Our struggle has gained enormously by the emergence of these collectives of revolutionary cadres, which are organised, rooted among the masses,

ready to pay the supreme sacrifice if necessary, committed to the perspectives of our movement as a whole and loyal to the leadership of that movement.

We salute all members of these combat units and commend them for the courageous and disciplined manner in which they have carried out their tasks. We urge the masses of our people to persist in the positions they have taken, of giving both the necessary protection to these units and the co-operation which the further advancement of our struggle demands.

While it is true that we have lost many cadres in the confrontation with the forces of repression, qualitatively, victory on the military front belongs not to the enemy



but to the people. This is so exactly because in the face of the harshest enemy repression, we have succeeded both to intensify our military offensive and to enlarge the popular forces inside our country, organised to wage the struggle arms in hand.

This past year we made significant strides towards the transformation of our armed confrontation with the apartheid regime into a people's war. Of crucial importance in this regard has been the crea-

tion of mass insurrectionary zones in many parts of our country, areas where the masses of the people are not only active, but are also ready in their hundreds of thousands to assault the enemy for the seizure of power.

At the same time, we have seen how the apartheid regime, intent on maintaining itself in power at all costs, has sent into our townships white soldiers and police, as well as black mercenaries, with orders to murder, rape and destroy at will — shooting infants, raping young girls and going on a crazed orgy of blood-letting. This is precisely the reason why the fascist Botha-Malan-Coetzee regime must be swept off the surface of the earth and our country transformed into a democratic, non-racial and peaceful entity. Therefore we must fight. We must organise and arm ourselves to fight harder and better for the overthrow of the apartheid regime.

Accordingly, an urgent task we face this year is the rapid expansion and extensive activation of Umkhonto we Sizwe within the country, drawing in the millions of our people into combat. Building from what we achieved last year, we must prepare for and conduct people's war with the people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, heading our mass military offensive. We have to increase greatly the number of guerrilla units of MK, as well as the mass combat units. We must further strengthen the links between the guerrilla and combat units in order to build a vast army that can carry out both offensive and defensive tasks. We must draw on the resolve of our people in the mass insurrectionary zones to build up this force while working to ensure that these zones multiply in number to cover our country in its entirety.

To retain the strategic initiative, apart from confronting the army of occupation in our areas, it is essential that we carry and extend our offensive beyond our township borders into other areas with even greater determination. We also

need to mount a continuous assault on the economy to deny the enemy the material base which gives it the means to conduct its campaign of terror, both inside and outside our country.

ATTACK, ADVANCE: GIVE THE ENEMY NO QUARTER

The charge we give to Umkhonto we Sizwe and to the masses of our people is: *attack, advance, give the enemy no quarter — an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth!*

Once more, we call on our white compatriots, and especially the youth, to break ranks with the apartheid system, to refuse to serve in its armed forces and no longer to mortgage their future to a racist system that is doomed to destruction. We call on them to win their place in the future democratic South Africa by joining the struggle to turn that future into reality. The business community must stop producing weapons that are used to murder our people. Together, black and white, we will destroy the monstrous apartheid regime and, as equals, rebuild our country for the benefit of all its citizens. The time has come that our white compatriots should join the mass democratic struggle in their millions. The crisis in our country does not permit of onlookers.

Those among the black people who have been dragooned or bought to serve in the armed forces of the enemy should refuse to offer themselves as cannon-fodder, as assassins in the pay of a regime which holds them and their people in contempt. To these we say, prepare to turn your guns against the common enemy of the people. When the bells of victory toll, you too must be counted among the liberators of your country.

UNITED OFFENSIVE

The combined mass political and military offensive that we must conduct this year at a heightened level and in a systematic manner requires of us all to continue to

work even harder to realise the tasks that we set ourselves during the Year of the Cadre. Of particular importance in this regard is the task as we said last year, of building a strong underground presence of well-organised revolutionary cadres, drawn from the fighting masses and integrated among them. We must continue to strengthen and expand the underground structures of the ANC, ensuring the active presence of our movement everywhere in the country.

As part of our all-round preparation for the days ahead, as you know, your vanguard movement, the ANC, held its historic Second National Consultative Conference. That Conference consolidated our unity as never before and clearly pointed the way forward to victory. Its results constituted a decisive defeat for the enemy which had hoped that at the end of the day our movement would be paralysed by internal disputes and endless power struggles. It reinforced the ability of your movement to march at the head of the millions of our people, for a decisive assault on the apartheid regime of terror, to dislodge it and transfer power to the people.

The delegates endorsed the fundamental perspective of our revolution: that the key factor for victory is the political mobilisation and organisation of all the oppressed and exploited — in particular the working class. Taking into account the balance of forces in our situation, the intransigence of the white ruling clique and the violent nature of the apartheid system, conference underlined the need and urgency of intensifying and transforming the armed struggle into a real people's war.

Our strategy therefore is one that must combine a heightened mass political advance on all fronts and an escalated and resolute military offensive. This was the spirit that dominated our conference! This is the order of the day!

It will therefore be clear that the stra-

tegic and tactical thinking and approach of our movement has not shifted, nor are there any fundamental developments in our situation that warrant any change. This restatement of our position is done primarily to clear rumours circulating that the ANC and the Botha regime are holding secret talks. As yet there have been no such talks.

There can be negotiated settlement of the South African question while the Botha regime continues to imprison our leaders and refuses to acknowledge that South Africa must become an undivided, democratic and non-racial country. It is today abundantly clear to all who look at our situation soberly that apartheid has proved to be a national disaster. The Pretoria regime does not want to accept this fact. It is dead set against the emergence of a fundamentally new social and political system in our country. These positions are the cause of the growing confrontation in South Africa which will not cease until our country does indeed belong to all who live in it, black and white.

We are convinced that all those who are opposed to racism and apartheid must act together to end white minority rule. In this regard, the ANC will continue to encourage individuals and groups within our country to contribute what they can towards the victory of the democratic struggle. It is with this view in mind that we have met and will continue to meet various people, including business people, politicians, trade unionists, religious people, to encourage the broadest possible united offensive against the apartheid system.

PASSES MUST GO

The time has come that, as part of our mass offensive to make apartheid unworkable, once more, we boldly confront the issue of that badge of slavery — the pass laws. We support the demand made inside the country that passes must go, now! To this as we all know, these remain one

of the principal means by which the Botha regime governs us, the methods it uses to decide who we are, where we shall live and work, what the future of unborn generations shall be. The time has come that we should say no longer shall we allow ourselves to be given special labels in the country of our birth.

The cry must ring out through the length and breadth of our country this year — *away with passes!* By destroying this badge of slavery and humiliation, we shall free ourselves of this intolerable burden of oppression and thus move further forward to our goal of making apartheid unworkable and our country ungovernable.

This is an immense offensive which must spread to every corner of our country, encompassing cities, towns and the countryside. It must involve both men and women alike and produce the most formidable, united and sustained mass action to destroy once and for all the pass laws, influx control and our forcible removal to the Bantustans.

We must not be misled by the enemy's promise to abolish influx control and introduce what it calls positive urbanisation. Nor must we be taken in by promises of a so-called common citizenship. The Botha regime has no intention whatsoever to see the black majority live in our country as equals with our white compatriots. As far as this regime is concerned South Africa will never belong to all who live in it, black and white.

Of late, the white business community has also been very loud in demanding change. We call on them to join this mighty anti-pass campaign. They themselves must stop demanding passes from the African workers. Neither should they take advantage of the migrant labour system to victimise the workers. Rather they should work for the immediate abolition of this criminal system. Words are no longer sufficient. Now is the time for action. No more passes! Away with this badge of slavery.

We need also to extend that spirit of defiance to other areas of struggle. To maintain the offensive, we have to address with maximum vigour the entire issue of the enemy's attempts to suppress the democratic movement.

RELEASE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS AND DETAINEES UNCONDITIONALLY

During this past year, we sharply escalated our offensive on this front. Many of those detained went on hunger strike, demanding an end to their illegal imprisonment. Mass meetings and demonstrations took place calling for the release of detainees and political prisoners. Our people in the Western Cape mobilised themselves in their thousands to march on Pollsmoor Prison backing up the universal demand for the immediate and unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners.

The challenges facing us are indeed considerable. Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Ahmed Kathrada, Elias Motsoaledi, Harry Gwala and others of our leaders are still in prison, held there by a regime which seems determined to keep them under lock and key permanently in defiance of the international community.

Yet others of our leaders and activists are facing various charges. Thousands have been convicted illegally and are now enduring the brutality of living in the enemy's dungeons. Unknown numbers are held under the emergency regulations and the so-called Internal Security Act.

This year we must take up the campaign with greater vigour than before — for the immediate and unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners, for the immediate release of all detainees, the lifting of bans on individuals and organisations, including Cosas, the termination of all treason and other political trials, the lifting of the state of emergency, the scrapping of all repressive legi-



BUILDING PEOPLE'S POWER
Eastern Cape organisation before the emergency.

slation and the withdrawal of all troops and police from the townships.

We know that the enemy will not listen to any appeals we make on any of these questions. We have no alternative but to resort to meaningful action to advance our demands. We have already tested the consumer boycott weapon and need to use it with even great effect to halt the murderous and repressive rampage of the Pretoria regime.

BUILDING PEOPLE'S POWER

In a heroic struggle, we have virtually lifted the ban on our vanguard movement, the ANC. We did not ask for the permission of the enemy to unfurl and raise the people's flag. We did not seek Pretoria's consent when we decided to speak openly in support of our genuine leaders.

Equally, to succeed in our campaign to challenge the enemy's repressive onslaught, we need the same daring. Whereas the enemy seeks at all times to impose on us a fascist legality, we must impose on our country our own popular legality. We are the alternative power. As such, we pursue goals and share aspirations that are diametrically opposed to those of the oppressive white minority regime and must ensure that our will, as that alternative power, prevails.

Proceeding from those positions we must use everything in our power to fight and defeat the enemy's campaign of repression, recognising that the edicts that emanate from the illegitimate apartheid regime are themselves illegal acts of banditry, carried out as part of the continuing commission of a crime against humanity. In action and through action we must compel the regime to end repression now.

In some areas of our country, having destroyed the puppet organs of government imposed on us by the apartheid regime, we have reached the situation where even the enemy has to deal with the democratic forces as the legitimate representatives of the people. The establishment of people's power in these areas, however rudimentary and precarious, is of great significance for the further advancement of our struggle.

In the past, as part of our rejection of the apartheid community councils, management and local authority committees, we correctly put forward the demand for democratic, non-racial municipal councils. We must take up this demand once more. In many townships, we have abolished the puppet institutions through struggle. These victories must be consolidated by democratising the whole system of local

government. For every town and every city, there must be one local authority, elected by all residents, both black and white, on the basis of one person one vote. We shall have to engage in struggle to achieve this goal and will have to consider such actions as a national rent strike in our programme of action.

DESTROY APARTHEID STRUCTURES

The Botha regime is set to introduce what it calls Regional Service Council. This is yet another attempt to refine and entrench the apartheid system. Furthermore, the issue which these Councils are meant to address, namely the provision of 'services' to all the group areas in each urban centre, does not answer the primary question of the right of all residents to exercise political control over their towns and cities as a whole. We are not fighting and are not dying in order to have a better system of waste disposal. We are engaged in struggle for the inalienable right to govern our country in all its parts.

We can no longer accept the situation in which we exist in the urban townships as suppliers of labour to the white areas with no access to the wealth that we create and which goes to enrich and improve the white areas of our towns and cities. In this regard, we should take the occasion of the centenary of the city of Johannesburg, which falls this year, as one for the most determined offensive to ensure that the political situation changes in this prime example of the iniquity of the system of colonial and racist rule.

White South Africa feels it has every right to celebrate this centenary. We, on the other hand, confined in black ghettos on the periphery of the city, have nothing to celebrate. We can no longer tolerate the situation in which we have no control over the city which we have built with our bare hands for a century. After a century of exclusion, let us begin an era of democratic control of Johannesburg and

all other urban areas of our country. In this way, we will proceed from people's power in the black areas to people's power over the entire municipal areas where we live.

We call on all our white compatriots in these areas to join this struggle. They too must participate in the offensive to abolish the apartheid institutions in the white areas once and for all. It is not sufficient merely to call for the abolition of the Group Areas, Separate Amenities and other acts. Now is the time to take action to realise the objectives of one democratic council for each municipality, elected on the basis of one person one vote.

THE LAND BELONGS TO THE PEOPLE

Our mass political offensive must of necessity also succeed to draw in the millions of our people in the countryside, both inside and outside the Bantustans. It is clear that, relative to the situation in the past, we have made considerable progress in mobilising and organising the people in the countryside.

This has resulted in our people in some of these areas joining the mass offensive during this past year. They did so in such numbers that even leading spokesmen of the Pretoria regime expressed concern at the level of activation of these oppressed masses. In addition, the people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, has taken the armed struggle both into the Bantustans and into the enemy rural military zones, striking blows that have worried the enemy and its puppets.

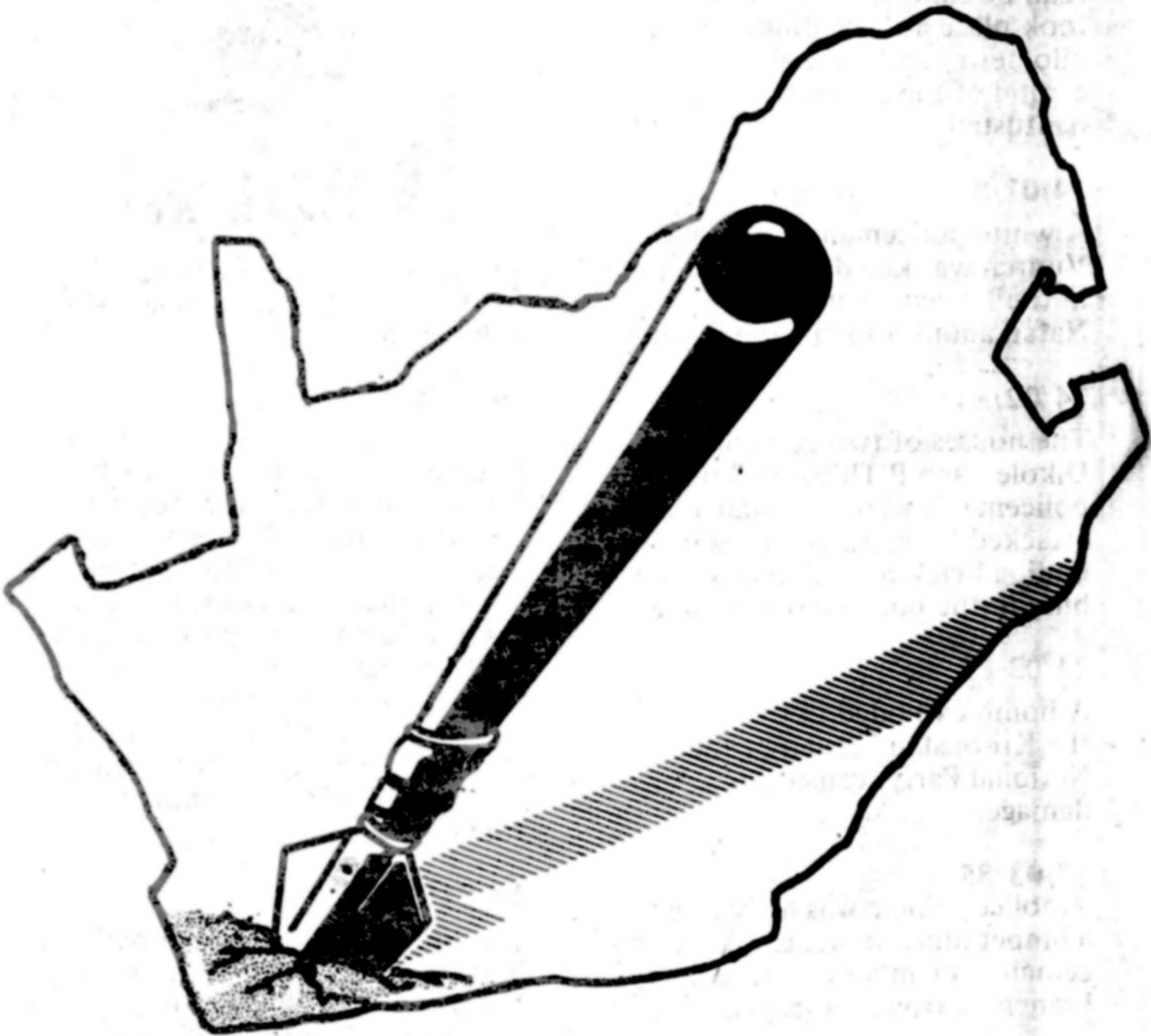
Much organisational and mobilisation work still needs to be done in these areas, raising to the fore such questions as the need to destroy the oppressive Bantustan system, to rise up against the blood-sucking white soldier-farmers and to address the central task of the landless masses seizing the land which rightfully belongs to them.

Cont. on P.22

MIK



IN COMBAT



Issued by the Command of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

02/01/85

Our combatants carried out a series of daring raids to free comrades held by Swazi police.

05/01/85

Major Loubser and constable Tlou of the Bophuthatswana police force were killed while two other policemen sustained injuries following a confrontation with one MK combatant, Jerry Nene, who subsequently took away his life with an explosive device rather than be captured. The battle took place at Sewedingstad, five kilometres from Mmabatho, the capital of the Bophuthatswana bantustan.

14/01/85

A white policeman, Lt Janse van Vuuren was killed in a shootout in the Nongoma area, Northern Natal, about 50 km from Vryheid.

24/02/85

The houses of two councillors J Dikole and P Thiba, and one policeman's were simultaneously attacked by hand grenades in Huhudi, a black township near Vryburg in the north-western Cape.

04/03/85

A bomb exploded in the office of the Kroonstad branch of the National Party, causing extensive damage.

17/03/85

A police vehicle was devastated by a limpet mine in Mamelodi. A policeman, a member of the security branch, narrowly escaped death.

22/03/85

Two hand grenades were hurled at the Jabavu Administration Board

building in Soweto. In another incident, a government building in Soweto was sprayed with ANC slogans before it was damaged by two hand grenade explosions. About 10 window panes and a netting wire over one of the windows were damaged.



Vincent Tshabalala (Mike Mkhari), fell bravely in a violent shootout in Alexander township.

14/04/85

Three powerful explosions shook Brakpan, a small town in the East Rand. The blasts, a few hours before the funeral of trade union leader, Andries Raditsela, occurred at the police barracks single quarters, the commissioner's court and the Messenger of the court offices. All three buildings are situated within a 500 metre radius. The explosions damaged roofs, ceilings, windows, doors and window frames.

18/04/85

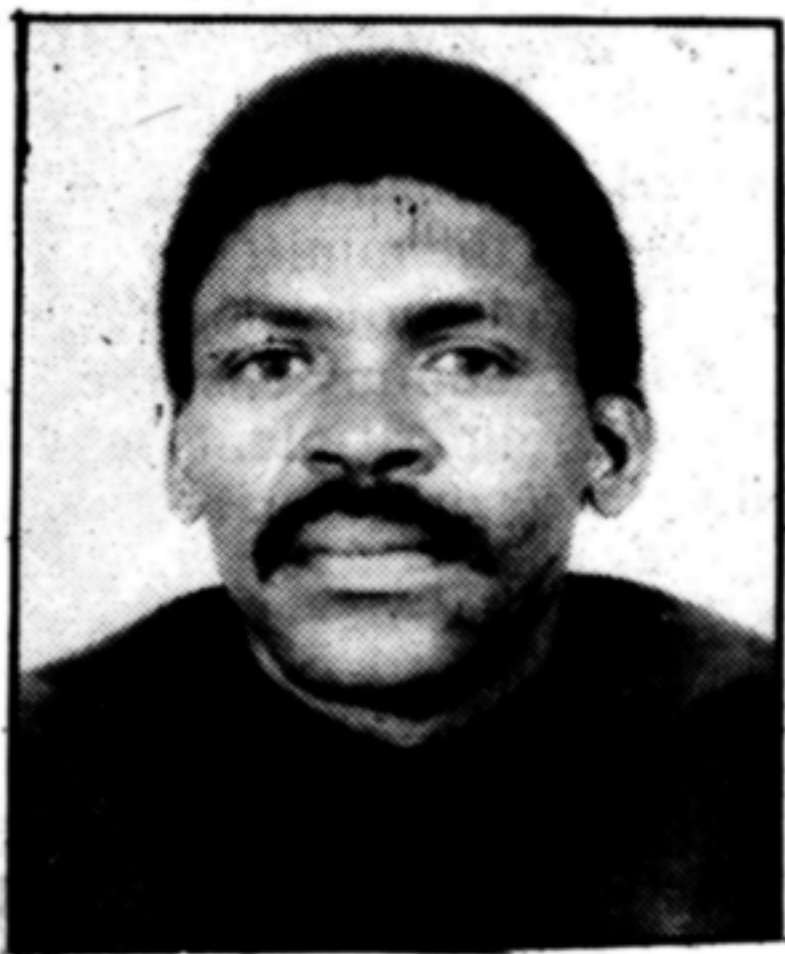
The Spar Foodliner Supermarket in Trustbank Building, Smith street, Durban, was rocked by an explosive. Automatic fire sprinklers went off soon after the explosion, soaking most of the food items, causing extensive damage.

28/04/85

All 10 offices of the Southern Transvaal Medical Command headquarters in Johannesburg were wrecked by a bomb blast. Sixteen people were injured and all the office windows were shattered, doors ripped from their hinges, part of the ceiling collapsed and office furniture was strewn about. The SADF offices are on the first floor of Nedbank East City in End street.

29/04/85

Bomb blasts rocked the head offices of the Anglo American and Anglo-Vaal gold mine empires in Johannesburg. Extensive damage was caused to several floors of both office blocks and to shops facing the building.



Livingstone Tom Gaza (Peter George Johnson) fell in Bophuthatswana in 1984 after fighting heroically against the security forces of the fascist regime.

26/05/85

A Tembisa policeman's family narrowly escaped death when a hand grenade was hurled through a bedroom window of his house.

27/05/85

Two combatants of our army open-

ed fire at a house in De Wildt, near Ga-Rankuwa, killing one South African police detective and injuring another.

30/05/85

An explosion shattered the first floor of the United Building Society building on the corner of Commissioner and Rissik streets in Johannesburg. The building harbours the Southern Cross Fund which provides financial and material assistance to the regime's security forces.

12/06/85

The homes of two coloured MPs were attacked with grenades in Cape Town. The two MPs are members of the coloured house of representatives. One was wounded in the back by shrapnel and had to undergo an emergency operation.

15/06/85

Two MK combatants clashed with an SAP patrol north of the Kruger National Park. One policeman lost an eye from shrapnel resulting from a hand grenade hurled at them. In another incident, the home of the chairman of the Cape Town community council was attacked with a grenade.

16/06/85 – 9th Anniversary of the Soweto Uprising.

1) A limpet mine damaged the Natalia Development Board Offices at Lamontville, south of Durban. The explosion smashed several windows in the main administration block and damaged two offices and several doors.

2) Two explosions occurred near the Umlazi police station, damaging the outside wall.

3) A Bophuthatswana police constable was shot dead when police opened fire on a stone-throwing crowd in Mapopane and a person in the crowd fired back.

4) The home of the vice-chairman of the Cape Town community council was attacked with a hand grenade.

19/06/85

A Durban beachfront tearoom was destroyed by a bomb blast. In another incident three policemen were injured when eight policemen stopped an MK combatant for 'questioning' on the corner of NY1 and NY117, 500 metres from the Gugulethu police station. The combatant hurled a grenade at them and withdrew from the battle unscathed.

21/06/85

A limpet mine rocked the electricity sub-station in the Woodlands suburb of Durban. In another incident two limpet mines exploded, one at the City Hall and the other at a nearby petrol station in East London. In another incident three police officers were injured in a grenade attack in Cape Town.

24/06/85

A bomb exploded at the AECI offices in Johannesburg, causing extensive damage.

26/06/85 – South Africa Freedom Day

A massive fire caused by a limpet mine explosion destroyed 11 fuel tanks at a petrol station and a waterpipe in Umtata. Another limpet mine destroyed one of the main electricity sub-stations supplying the city. A third blast destroyed a water pipeline between Umtata dam and the water purification plant. The capital of the Transkei bantustan was left without power for days.

31/07/85

In a clash on the old highway between King Williams Town and East London, a policeman was shot dead and another wounded, according to enemy reports. Two of our combatants – Lucas and Eldridge –



Lucas Njongwe

lost their lives. In another incident a bomb explosion caused extensive damage to four flour-holding silos, rendering them inoperable, at the Umlazi bakery, near Durban.

04/08/85

The home of Amichand Rajbansi, the chairman of the minister's council in the house of delegates (the new Indian dummy chamber in the tri-cameral parliament) was attacked with a hand grenade.



Eldridge Yakithi

August 1985

At the funeral of Sithembiso MATHISO in Gugulethu, a hand grenade was thrown at the police, injuring seven cops. Among the injured policemen was Western Cape police divisional commissioner, Major Dolf Odendaal.

August 1985

Ciskei riot cop, V W Sokupa, was found dead in Zone 9, Zwelitsha, King Williams Town.

27/09/85

Three limpet mines exploded in major chain stores in West street, Durban. The blasts were at Ok Bazaar, Game Discount World and Checkers.

September 1985

A bomb rocked the boycott-stricken Executive Hotel in Umlazi,

12/10/85

In Mamelodi, Pretoria, a policeman and his wife were injured in a grenade attack on his home.

13/10/85

Mamelodi prison warder Sgt. Moses Nowatha was shot in the head while watching television at his home.

17/10/85

Gun battles broke out between police and 'rioters' in Athlone, Cape Town. One white police sergeant was injured by a 'heavy calibre' bullet.

24/10/85

A school on the Bluff was blown up by a powerful bomb. The school was to be a polling booth in a by-election the following week.

October 1985

Shots were fired at police in two separate incidents in Soweto.

01/11/85

A bomb exploded on the third floor of Franwell House on the corner of Eloff and President streets, Johannesburg, causing extensive internal damage. In another incident, in the centre of the same city, a bomb exploded in a tower block, causing damage to the offices of the Institute of Banking.

02/11/85

Three shots were fired at a riot patrol in Soweto. In another incident, constable P Malebane was gunned down whilst guarding the house of a Soweto councillor in Jabulani. His two firearms and 16 rounds of ammunition were captured.

06/11/85

The body of Rifleman Jacobus Daniel de Bruyn of the S A Cape Corps was found dumped near Mitchell's Plain. He had a bullet wound in the back of his head.



ene

15/11/85

A Gugulethu woman lost her eye in a grenade explosion. The grenade was tossed into her backyard house after a cop was seen visiting her.

16/11/85

Bellville cop Lt A Plaatjies' wife was injured by shrapnel after a grenade was thrown into their house.

17/11/85

Two hand grenades were thrown in the grounds of Mannenburg police station.

21/11/85

Three Cape Corps soldiers were injured in a grenade blast while standing next to their parked armoured personnel carrier near Crossroads.

26/11/85

A driver of a heavy vehicle was seriously injured and a farmer escaped serious injury, his driver losing a leg when landmines exploded in two separate incidents in the Soutpansberg military area west of Messina.

28/11/85

A fierce gun battle took place between our combatants and Bophuthatswana police at Tlhabane, near Rustenburg. In another incident, a daring unit of our army attacked the SASOL complex with a Grad P (122mm rockets). Five rockets were fired and all landed in the complex. In the skirmish that ensued, three comrades who were in the unit – Richard Molokoane, Victor Lunga Khayiyane and Vincent Sekete – fell in what the enemy described as a violent shoot-



Richard Molokoane



Victor Lunga Khayiyane



Vincente Sekete

The spate of hand grenade attacks in the Western Cape has had the cops worried. The number of hand-grenade attacks in the Peninsula has risen to 21 in the past 5 months.

out. Others managed to retreat safely to base with the weapon.

In the Northern Transvaal a police vehicle and an army one detonated landmines. In the latter explosion, four soldiers were wounded. The regime claims that in a follow-up operation two more landmines were defused.

November 1985

A blast hit an Umtata power substation, depriving the city of power for five hours. This was the second attack on the power station in six months.

03/12/85

An army vehicle was attacked with a hand grenade in Soweto.

05/12/85

There were two hand grenade attacks on the Reef, one seriously injuring a policeman. He was injured after a grenade was hurled at a police vehicle in Soweto. In the other incident three policemen were injured, one badly.

The number of armed insurgency attacks in South Africa in the first nine months of this year – 93 up to the end of September – is more than double the tally 44) recorded in 1984. (Financial Mail 15th November 1984).

08/12/85

The Mobeni Post Office was badly damaged by a limpet mine, putting it out of action for more than a week. Many documents, correspondence and mail were destroyed and many of the post boxes were ripped off from their fittings. Damage was estimated at R200 000. Two police personnel were injured.

12/12/85

An armoured troop carrier detonated a landmine in the Messina area. One soldier was injured.

15/12/85

Six whites were killed and five were injured seriously when their truck detonated a landmine near the border with Zimbabwe.



Linda Fikekahle Khuzwayo fell in Ingwavuma in 1984.

17/12/85

A Komatipoort farmer was killed in his farm. Nine empty cartridges were discovered the following day.

21/12/85

A hand grenade was hurled at a minibus in Pine street, Durban. The minibus was torn apart. Ten people were injured.

23/12/85

A bomb rocked a massive shopping centre at the Amazimtoti beach resort, south of Durban. Seven whites were killed and 46 others injured, many critically.

Cont. From P.14

Thanks to our consistent opposition, the enemy now knows that it cannot even pretend that it will be able to maintain the Bantustan system. Hence Botha now talks of a common citizenship. It should therefore now be more than clear to those of our compatriots who may have been duped or bribed or persuaded to accept the Bantustans that the destruction of these criminal institutions is only a matter of time. They should consider whether the time has not come for them to join the masses of the people to destroy this system and regain their honour as patriots and their dignity as men and women of principle.

The planned so-called independence of the KwaNdebele Bantustan constitutes a grievous offence against our entire people, as does the Bantustan system as a whole. Our people, across the length and breadth of our country, must unite to fight against the imposition of this Bantustan on us. We salute our struggling people in this area and urge them to fight on to defeat the enemy's intentions of further entrenching the apartheid system.

EMULATE MOSHOESHOE

This year, we shall be observing the bicentenary of the birth of that outstanding African statesman, King Moshoeshoe I. It would be well that those who consider themselves leaders of our people should seek to emulate King Moshoeshoe's example. Thus they should strive to unite the African people and not divide them, to satisfy the aspirations of the people and not betray them, fight arms in hand in defence of the interests of the masses and when necessary negotiate as genuine representatives of the people and not as beggars at the master's table.

Today, the voice of Moshoeshoe is calling on us to unite. The enemy is busy trying to set African against African, and black people against one another. It continuously seeks to impart racial and tribal connotations to the many conflicts that are a direct result of the apartheid system. The Pretoria regime not only hopes to slow down our struggle but also to demonstrate that we are different peoples who cannot live together in peace. The racists want to prove that we have to be separated into different racial and tribal compartments, controlled and presided over by the white minority regime.

We have to defeat these enemy schemes, resist all provocations and unite in the common struggle to liberate our country from racist rule. As Moshoeshoe foresaw, our strength lies in our unity. We must guard that unity like the apple of our eye.

THE WORLD SUPPORTS

OUR STRUGGLE

Our movement and our struggle enjoy enormous world support. During the Year of the Cadre the international movement of solidarity with our fighting people grew by leaps and bounds. In this area we can also say that the apartheid regime has lost the strategic initiative. No longer can it even hope to hold its ground, let alone secure new gains for the apartheid system. So desperate has its situation become that



even those whom it counts as its natural allies have begun to distance themselves from the regime of murderers and to seek out the genuine representatives of our people.

At the same time, throughout the world, ordinary men and women inspired by our own struggle are carrying out new initiatives to isolate apartheid South Africa and to extend political and material support to the ANC and the struggling masses of our country. Accordingly, this past year we have seen the inspiring upsurge of the solidarity movement in the United States under the leadership of the Free South Africa Movement, the imposition of sanctions by the international trade union movement in such countries as New Zealand, Australia, Sudan, Scandinavia, the United Kingdom and elsewhere, trade union decisions to enforce the oil embargo, the resurgence of the international consumer boycott campaign and many other actions, in support of our struggle.

We have scored other important gains in the campaign to isolate apartheid South Africa. Many governments have taken various steps in this direction however limited at this stage. The refusal of the banks to roll over their loans to South Africa is an important victory of our

struggle which has contributed to the further deepening of the crisis of the apartheid regime.

Much remains to be done further to expand international action and to compel the governments of the major Western powers to heed public opinion in their own countries and internationally and impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa. The more we act to liberate ourselves, the more resolute international action will become. It is therefore our task both to intensify the struggle inside our country and to work with the world community further to arouse world opinion in favour of our cause.

Once more, we extend special greetings to our comrades-in-arms in Swapo as well as the Namibian people as a whole. Locked as we are in a common battle against a common enemy, we shall continue to rely on our bonds of solidarity as an important factor inspiring our own actions. The struggle to achieve the immediate and genuine independence of Namibia is at the same time an important contribution towards our own liberation. Together we will win.

Cont. on P.29

LEARN with DAWN

ELECTRICAL SABOTAGE

SABOTAGE of electrical energy can also be campaigned for on the basis of a community, regional and national levels. But for a start it will be necessary to begin at a regional level or even community.

In the main here solidarity and organisation are the only two necessary elements for success. This task falls squarely on conscious patriots of our embattled Motherland, to teach and lead our people in campaigns aimed at crippling the economy of the enemy that oppresses and exploits us.

THE TASK IS TO ORGANISE THIS MASS ACTION

- Secret methods of organisation will be necessary, for the enemy we fight is cunning and vicious.
- Try to use leaflets and tape-recorded messages at points of gathering like beerhalls, bus-stops, community halls, etc., and pass the message verbally to friends and comrades.

WHAT MUST BE DONE BY THAT COMMUNITY

- (1) Prepare for a sudden demand for electricity.
 - Each family and any other place where our people are found must be mobilised to:
 - a. Put off their houses' main switches.
 - b. Connect every appliance in each place and put on the plugs.

Note: Nothing in your place will be

destroyed except the enemy's power sources.

- c. At a time that will coincide with the switching on of the street lights, every house, place or centre must switch on the main switch.

(2) FOR BEST ORGANISATION

- Agree on the date and time of switching on electricity.
- Radio time will be the most reliable.
- In every centre the person responsible must be near the switch board some 10 minutes before the radio announces the time.

NOTE WELL

1. The damage caused will not be at your place and homes but at the power transformers.
2. Through our solidarity we can deliver heavy blows on the enemy. We shall attain freedom only through our combined actions. Do not forget to buy some candles and paraffin lamps for the days the enemy will be repairing the damage.
3. The resultant electrical failure will grind a number of business concerns to a standstill. The thousands that the enemy will lose periodically in this manner if we so wish, will bring nearer the day of freedom.

PRECAUTIONARY MEASURE

The organisers must remain unknown for this is an act of sabotage to which the enemy is highly vulnerable and will show no mercy towards its opponents.

THE GREEK DEMOCRATIC ARMY.



DURING World War II the Greek communists offered the main resistance to the German occupation of Greece. During the course of the struggle they built themselves up into a well-organised para-military force. At the end of the war the struggle continued, now against the right-wing government set up by the British and Americans.

Calling themselves the DSE (Dimokratikos Stratos Ellados — Greek Democratic Army) the communists conducted an intense guerrilla campaign against the government from December 1946 to August 1949.

Although the Greek Democratic Army or DSE had no formal uniform, most guerrillas adopted some form of military dress, usually derived from a combination of Italian, German, Yugoslav or British sources.

THIS FEMALE GUERRILLA is kitted out in British Army battledress ~~trousers~~ (dyed black) and British web anklets. Armament comprises a German 9mm MP40 sub-machine gun.

The MP40 was a highly successful World War II design. It featured a 32-round magazine and a metal stock which could be folded — as shown in the picture. The MP40 was the standard sub-machine gun of the DSE during the Greek Civil War.

DSE guerrilla, Greek Civil War (1946–49).



FARABUNDO MARTI

— TESSA MARCUS

The National Liberation Movement in El Salvador draws its name and inspiration from Farabundo Martí, who in the brief 35 years of his life made an irreplaceable contribution to the struggle of the people of El Salvador.

Farabundo Martí, affectionately known as "Martí, the Black", was born on May 5, 1893 in the small, south-western town of Teotepque, La Libertad Department. Son of a middle peasant, he witnessed the poverty and hardship of the small peasants and farm workers who worked for his father and on neighbouring farms.

He went to university to study law and soon became involved in student politics. He was an avid reader, taking in all the works of anarchists and Marxists that filled a small shelf in the library of the law school. Increasingly he began to reject university life and the morality of the ruling class that it expressed and embodied. He rejected its distance from the problems of the people and its failure to side with the oppressed. On taking the decision to end what promised to be a brilliant legal career, he said: "I refuse to be an accomplice in the exploitation of my people."

In 1920 Martí was arrested during a student rally in San Salvador and deported to Guatemala, where he worked as a farmhand and lived among the Quiché Indians. He was again forced to flee from the authorities, this time to Mexico where he fought with the Red battalions of Mexico peasants against a reactionary rebellion.

He returned to Guatemala for a brief period, where with other Central American intellectuals, they formed the Central American Socialist Party in 1925. Later that year, he returned to El Salvador clandestinely, working actively in the newly formed Regional Federation of El Salvador Peasant Workers.

Over the next two years, "The Regional", as it was popularly called, attracted more unions, set out a national programme of land reform and struggled for an 8 hour working day. One of its most interesting projects was the People's University, at which peasants and workers were taught to read and write, and political economy. The experience he gained with "The Regional" was decisive in forming his character as a revolutionary and as an organiser.

In 1928 "The Regional" sent a group of internationalists to support Sandino's units and Marti was in the contingent. Sandino gave him the rank of colonel and made him his private secretary. Differences between the two men developed, for whilst Sandino was anti-imperialist, Marti had gone one stage further, identifying himself with the aims and ideas of Marxism-Leninism. Their ideas were not incompatible. However, at that stage, these differences combined with their forceful personalities led Marti to return to El Salvador. They both continued the struggle and retained a mutual respect for one another. Just before his execution Marti said: "I wish to declare emphatically that I believe in Sandino, that he has not sold himself to the Americans and is a sincere man."

On his return in 1929, he found El Salvador in economic crisis. The oligarchy was divided and the military growing in importance, and the workers and peasants movement was growing. "The Regional" continued to actively organise, especially in the rural areas.

The Araujo regime was in power, having gained considerable popular support because of the land reform promised during the election campaign. It was, however, to remain a promise rather than a reality, causing considerable popular discontent. This combined with the severe effects of the world economic crisis, intensified the misery of ordinary men and women and stimulated the revolutionary upsurge. On March 28, 1930 the Communist Party of El Salvador was founded by a small group of workers and intellectuals on the shores of Lake Ilopango. One of its founders, Marti, emerged as amongst the most authoritative and experienced of its leaders. Worsening economic conditions and heightened consciousness, which had been stimulated by the work of "The Regional", provided the newly formed CP a receptive and

eager audience in broad sections of the oppressed. For people in the campos and the tiny working class in San Salvador the Communist Party held out hope of real change:

- a 36 hour week;
- the right to unionise;
- the right of rural workers to strike;
- social and unemployment security;
- a minimum wage;
- free and universal education;
- state ownership of transport;
- equal opportunities for women;
- an end to discrimination against Indians.

The ideals of communism appealed to the Indians equally. They also knew who was responsible for their oppression. Jose Feliciano Ama, popular Indian leader, placed the support of his people behind the communists.

REPRESSION

Protests against the failures of Araujo's term of office mounted. Araujo called out the troops and there was bloody repression. In response Marti led a march on Araujo's house to denounce the bloodshed. He was arrested and thrown into prison with Rafael Bondanza. It was April 9, 1931. Popular pressure demanding his release grew and eventually he was set free.

Popular protest continued. In May, 1931 police fired on demonstrators near Sonsonate, a town of 2,000 inhabitants and the commercial centre of the coffee region, killing workers and peasants. More protesting peasants were mown down and in Zaragoza, south of San Salvador. The Government hunted Marti throughout the countryside, identifying all opposition as his work.

In October, Araujo prohibited the export of gold. The bankers retaliated by withholding credit to coffee growers. Hunger and poverty increased. By the November harvest there were few jobs and no money to pay the workers.

On December 2, 1931 the Araujo term of office was abruptly ended by a military coup which installed General "El Brujo" Martinez at the helm of the new Junta.

"El Brujo", a student of theosophy (i.e. any system of speculation which bases the knowledge of nature on that of the divine), had bizarre and eccentric ideas. It was his considered opinion that, for example: *"It was good that children receive the beneficial effluvia of the planet, the vibrations of the earth. Plants and animals don't use shoes."*

and

"It was a great crime to kill an ant than a man, because a man dies and is reincarnated while an ant dies forever." To this fate he sent tens of thousands of Salvadorans.

Despite the coup and military rule, Martinez decided to go ahead with the municipal elections in January, 1932. The Communist Party put in candidates. Thousands signed the electoral rolls as their supporters and many communist candidates won, even though the party was barely a year old.

But the Martinez Junta refused to certify their victories. Popular outrage mounted and mass insurrection was planned. The campesino (peasants) prepared to march on the town halls in their communities; sympathetic officers were to lead a rebellion in the garrisons; the workers prepared to strike. January 22nd was set as the day of national popular insurrection.

But word got out and reached Martinez. Marti and two of closest associates were arrested on January the 18th. The barrack revolt was aborted over the next two days and mass arrests began.

On the night of the insurrection the peasants of the western provinces, where the revolt was primarily centred, marched on the towns, machetes in hand. A principal target was Sonsonate. The

peasants met the army in the Town Square. Despite its superior fire-power, the army was forced to flee into the town fort. By 10.00am the rebels withdrew to a nearby town. They numbered 5,000 and were led by a woman called "Red Julia".

The ruling class was enraged. Martinez mobilised to crush the rebellion. The army was joined by a Civic Guard made up of members of the upper class, "loyal civilians". The *matanza* (massacre) began. A pitched battle continued for several days and hundreds lay dead. The ruling class wanted blind and bloody vengeance. In Izalco, groups of 50 men were tied together by the thumbs and led to the graves as a machine gun dropped them into the hole.

The roadways were littered with bodies as the National Guard killed anyone they met.

Using the electoral rolls from the January municipal election, the army went out to systematically kill virtually all members and supporters of the Communist Party.

Farabundo Marti died before a firing squad on February 1, 1932. In all some 30 000 people were murdered in the *matanza*, 2% of the population of El Salvador. A survivor of a mass execution who crawled out of a mass grave and fled the country wrote of the *matanza*:

"I believe that the drama of 1932 is for El Salvador what the Nazi barbarity was for Europe, what the North American barbarity was for Viet Nam — a phenomenon that completely changed — in the negative sense — the face of a nation. ... Since that evil year all of us are other people and I believe that since then El Salvador is another country. Above all else, El Salvador is today the work of that barbarity."

Miguel Marmol. A Shoemaker)

Cont. From P.23

We have continued to derive great inspiration and encouragement from the principled and unflinching stand taken by the Frontline States as well as the Kingdom of Lesotho and Swaziland. These countries have stood firm in the face of growing threats and actual acts of aggression and destabilisation carried out by the Pretoria regime against them.

The people of Namibia and South Africa share a common destiny with these states and peoples. In pursuit of the common cause, we are committed to rid our continent of the apartheid monster, through struggle and to help transform our region into a zone of peace.

We take this opportunity to salute our friends throughout the world, in Africa, Asia, Latin America, in the socialist countries, in Europe and North America.

We greet also the PLO and the Palestinian people, the Saharaoui Arab Democratic Republic, the Farabundi Marti of El Salvador, Fretilin of East Timor as well as the embattled people of Nicaragua and the progressive forces organised in the Sandinista National Liberation Front.

To all the forces, to the nations organised in the OAU, the Non-Aligned Movement and the United Nations, we, the people of South Africa, pledge, during this International Year of Peace, that we shall discharge our historic responsibility to end the apartheid crime against humanity once and for all. With your support, we will achieve this goal sooner rather than later and with less bloodshed and destruction.

1986: THE YEAR OF UMKHONTO WE SIZWE — PEOPLE'S ARMY

This year we shall be observing the 10th Anniversary of the Soweto Uprising and the 25th Anniversary of the formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe. These are events of historic importance in our struggle. They both emphasise the need for us to meet the repressive violence of the apartheid regime and the apartheid system with our own armed resistance. The continuing stubbornness of the racist regime and its resort to ever greater and more brutal violence has made it a matter of extreme urgency that we launch a most determined military offensive.

To help concentrate our creative energies on the attainment of this goal and in the name of the National Executive Committee of your organisation, the ANC, we declare 1986 the *Year of Umkhonto we Sizwe* — the People's Army! Let this Year of the People's Army see us engulf the apartheid system in the fires and the thunder of a people's war! Let the Year of MK see us mount a military offensive that will push the enemy into a strategic retreat! Let us use the opportunities that this Year gives us to replace each combatant who fell last year with a hundred more, and, building on our achievements, to create a formidable fighting force of the people, superior to the enemy forces because of the justice of our cause, the discipline of our combatants and the bravery and boldness of our warriors.

Let us retain the strategic initiative!

Let us, in struggle, shift the balance of power further in favour of the revolution!

Let us turn every corner of our country into a battlefield!

Let us weaken the enemy and prepare to seize power!

Every patriot a combatant: every combatant a patriot!

A M A N D L A N G A W E T H U ! M A T L A K E A R O N A !

PEOPLE'S POWER IS WITHIN OUR GRASP!

Poem of return



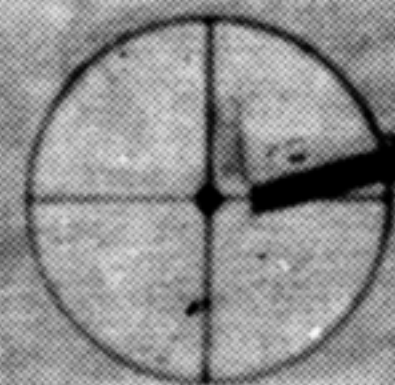
*When I return from the land of exile and silence,
do not bring me flowers.
Bring me rather all the dews,
tears of dawns which witnessed dramas.
Bring me the immense hunger for love
and the plaint of tumid sexes in star-studded night
Bring me the long night of sleeplessness
with mothers mourning,
their arms bereft of sons.*

*When I return from the land of exile and silence,
no, do not bring me flowers...
Bring me only, just this
the last wish of heroes fallen at day-break
with a wingless stone in hand
and a thread of anger snaking from their eyes.*

— JOFRE ROCHA

MK SOLDIERS'

VIEWPOINT



There must be a change

— SANDILE ka SANDILE

"There must be a difference!" These words were uttered by Comrade President O.R. Tambo as he accepted another term of office, following his unanimous re-election as President of the African National Congress. There was never a doubt at any stage prior to and at the recent National Consultative Conference that he would lose this position.

"There has to be a difference," he repeated to emphasise the beginning of what he called *"a new phase; a new era"* in the struggle of our people, led by the ANC, to rid our Motherland of the cancer of apartheid, the trade mark of the racists who continue to arrogate to themselves the right to rule by force our country.

Indeed, the ANC graduated into a new phase and, once more, June became the springboard for our new effort. Our struggling masses have chosen June on many an occasion to launch some of the most memorable offensives against racism in our Motherland. And when our students demonstrated their hatred of bantu education, it had to be in June.

"There has to be a difference!" Supporting the President's words were our cadres at home, together with our fight-

ing masses whose activities kept the enemy pinned against the wall, completely confused.

MK combatants set Transkei alight with an operation at Umtata. A few days before this operation, President Oliver Tambo had told the Consultative Conference:

"The darkness that has shrouded our country for so long is now lit by flames that are consuming the accumulated refuse of centuries of colonialism and racism. For us, those flames are like beacons which draw us faster towards our goal".

Our people have shown that puppets have long outlived their welcome among us and must be dealt with accordingly. Many policemen have died as a result. Everyone at home has a choice: either come in with us and fight the common enemy or face the anger of the people as part of the enemy.

The bourgeois press started throwing a question at us: *Will you hit soft targets?* In many newspapers headlines have screamed: *The ANC will hit soft targets.*

I shall attempt to define "soft targets"

**AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
NATIONAL CONSULTATIVE
CONFERENCE JUNE 1985**



President O.R. Tambo addressing the National Consultative Conference.

for those who may not know what these are.

Soft targets are the old people, ill with old age, who are forcibly removed and dumped on remote, barren areas in our country. They are the small children who die on these barren lots, many miles away from medical assistance.

Soft targets are people who are forced into squatter camps and murdered there by police and soldiers. Crossroads people are a glaring example of such targets. Of course, I know of no "softer" target like the person who is detained and is murdered by police while in their custody.

Our people have been shot dead for burning the hated pass and our children have been shot dead for burning the hated text books of bantu education, while their fathers, mothers, sisters and brothers have been shot dead for refusing to board buses.

Who has been hitting all these soft targets? The fascist regime in our country helped by the racist police and soldiers

who execute every command of the fascists.

The question the press should be asking, therefore, is: *Will the ANC avenge these deaths?*

Of course, we will, and anyone who attempts to stop us will suffer the consequences: "hard target" or "soft target", it will not make any difference.

To launch the new phase, Comrade President Tambo spoke about, the Consultative Conference ended by showing in action that:

"These freedoms we will fight for, side by side, throughout our lives, until we have won our liberty."

And, side by side on the Conference stage with President Tambo and the other "Africans" (as defined by the Morogoro Conference in 1969) were Comrade Joe Slovo, Mac Maharaj, Aziz Pahad, Reggie September and James Stuart. A welcome departure from Morogoro, a sign that we are marching faster to the South Africa of the Freedom Charter!

"There must be a difference! There has GOT to be a difference!"

THE ANC IS WITH YOU



Call to the People of South Africa

WE, delegates to the Second National Cosultative Conference of the African National Congress, from all national groups salute you, the heroic people of our country.

Brothers and Sisters, the old order in our country is coming to an end. The racist regime is losing ground. His morale is in decline. The Whites are splintered into hostile factions and parties. They can no longer sustain their old myths of baaskap, of a master race destined to rule over Black slaves for ever. All they can do now is to kill and corrupt.

The Black giant is rising to his feet, tall and strong. He is breaking the chains that have bound him for centuries. He is marching on in confidence and with strength to a new social order. He is determined to liberate not only himself but also the Whites themselves, whose lives

have been corrupted by the apartheid system.

Brothers and Sisters, from this historic Conference we say to you that the end of apartheid is near. Our age-old dream of freedom, for which so many have sacrificed, is approaching realisation. Africa will come back. The people — all the people — will govern.

Unite, our people. We have a single goal. Those of us who are true liberators should not fight among ourselves. Let us not allow the enemy's dirty tricks department to succeed in getting us to fight one another. We know how to debate and resolve our differences. Our spears are meant for use against the enemy and not to destroy each other.

Forward, our people, in a single mighty current. The struggle is yet hard. There will be many more sacrifices. There is no

easy road to freedom. But we are on the advance. The enemy is falling back. Let us turn his retreat into a rout, the rout into collapse, collapse into surrender.

To those in the army, police and prison services of the regime and its Bantustan puppets, to those who administer the cruel laws against the people, we say: earn your place in the free South Africa that is coming, by organising to turn your guns against your masters: let your typewriters speak the truth. Let there be no place where the enemy can rest.

To all our people, in the factories, mines, on farms, the Bantustans, resettlement camps, schools and townships, churches, mosques, temples and synagogues, wherever you are, your place is in the struggle. The ANC is with you, your instrument, your weapon of unity, your spearhead of liberation.

Umkhonto we Sizwe is with you. It is the people's army, your army, the death

point of our might battle spear which strikes fear in the heart of every oppressor and exploiter. Join it. Fight in its glorious ranks to bring into existence now, a free, united, non-racial and democratic South Africa. We, the delegates, are resolved to intensify the struggle until final victory.

- Organise, unite and act for the end of apartheid.
- Work for the end of apartheid. Victory is in sight.
- Pray for the end of apartheid. Our victory is within our grasp.
- Fight for the end of apartheid. Our victory is assured.

AMANDLA NGAWETHU!
MAATLA KE A RONA!
ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!





LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Dear Comrade Editor,

I received for the first time two copies of **DAWN**. They are both marked Vol. 9 No. 1 1985. So I could not say whether they are first and second issues. One has a picture of Nelson Mandela and another a women's demonstration.

I thought they were very good, and decided to write something for your next issue. That is, if it is not too late already. It is a short article entitled **Impressions of a delegate to the 12th Festival of Youth and Students**. It is just over 700 words. I was not sure how short or long you prefer articles for **DAWN**.

There is quite a number of people who are interested in this publication, especially the youth in South Africa. We get too many requests for **DAWN**. We shall be glad if we can get more copies.

I have been asking people to make some contributions for the journal, but to keep the interest alive they must see it. Keep up the good work. Remember there are many who appreciate what you are doing, and they benefit a lot from your strenuous efforts.

Let's seize the time for **Freedom is in Sight!**

Yours in Arms,

Jay.

Comrade Jay,

We highly appreciate your inspiring letter, and are sorry about the confusion of numbers, it is the first and second issue, and unfortunately the only two issues we published last year. However, be on the look-out, **DAWN** is roaring again.

We thank you for your article although unfortunately it got delayed along the lines to our office. We are sure our youth would have benefited a lot from your impressions on the **12th World Youth Festival** because the racist monster would like to keep it ignorant and isolated from the world.

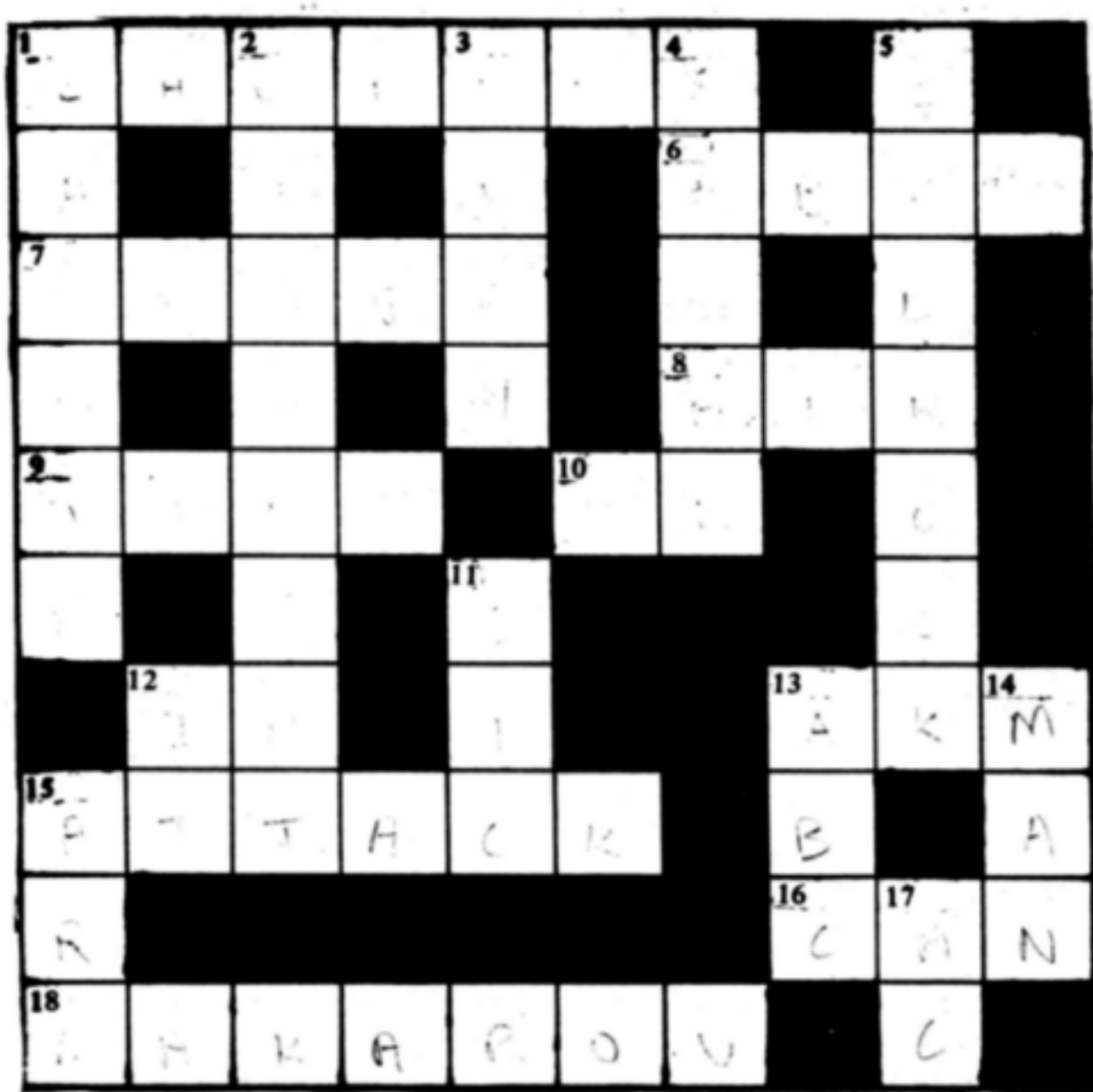
We shall attend to your request for **DAWN**, so watch your post for the surprise!

Yours in arms,

EDITOR.



politiXword



No. 1

ACROSS:

1. Helicopter.
6. To encourage in committing an offence.
7. New Zealand's Premier.
8. A melody.
9. Tempo in music.
10. President of the ANC.
12. A preposition.
13. Soviet sub-machine gun.
15. To start a fight against.
16. Sealed tin for preserving food.
18. Soviet pistol.

DOWN:

1. Once Secretary-General of the ANC.
2. Paste rubbed on the skin.
3. A person that falls victim to an enemy.
4. Instrument used for detecting planes.
5. Basic principles.
11. Spelt in that way.
12. P r o n o u n.
13. The elementary facts of a subject.
14. An ordinary soldier.
15. To supply with weapons.
17. Alternating current.

See Answers in DAWN Vol. 10 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.

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



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