Editorial Comment: Preaching Peace while preparing for war ... 1
The Momentum We Have Built Up in Struggle should Not Be Lost – Commander-in-Chief O.R. Tambo ............. 3
Learn with DAWN: Electric igniters ......................... .9
Botha-Malan Offensive Turning Sour ............................. 11
A Fitting Tribute .................................................. 12
The Final Deal Must Be Made with Us ............................ 16
DAWN Politxword Vol. 8 No. 2 Answers ......................... 19
MK Women’s Forum: As A United Force .......................... 20
DAWNLIGHT: Charity Begins At Home .......................... 22
MK Soldier’s Viewpoint: for The King-size Collapse of The Tyrant .............................................................. 23
The Real Life of Domingos Xavier — Chapter 9 ................ .26
DAWN PolitiXword No. 3 ........................................... 32

* COVER: Dennis Goldberg, serving life imprisonment.

YEAR OF THE WOMEN
Editorial Comment

Preaching Peace While Preparing for War

The racist regime’s soaring military budget and the increased militarisation of the South African society fall sharply in contrast to Botha’s so-called peace drive. Plans including the purchase of new helicopters and the building of new sub-marines to revamp the regime’s obsolete war material, and the improvement of the service of SADF members, are underway. Botha preaches peace outside South Africa but breeds hell inside our country. His approach to “peace” and “reform” is “If you want peace, prepare for war.”

HEARTS AND MINDS
Youth “adventure camps” is one of the instruments for furthering Botha’s “hearts and minds” campaign. Wild sprees are arranged by the SADF where children are taken for indoctrination. The non-existent “Soviet threat”, “terrorist onslaught”, “swart gevaar”, etc, are used to whip up a war psychosis.

That Botha is mobilising for war is evident in all aspects of the socio-economic life and in all sectors of the population. Conscription, long enforced on whites, is to be extended to so-called Coloureds and Indians in reciprocation for “power sharing” in the president’s council.

There has been the creation of organisations like the Voluntary Civil Defence. These organisations also act as reserve commandos and police units. The aim behind all this is to prepare every white man, woman,
and child for war. There is also the Civic Action Programme, whereby National Servicemen become teachers, health workers, agricultural and administrative workers in the homelands and in the rural areas. These national servicemen teach the black man whilst the rifle is in the corner of the classroom.

In so-called Coloured communities the regime erects tents during school holidays and show SADF films free of charge to children. Leadership courses are conducted countrywide in the black schools to solicit mental and physical support for the SADF. The cadet system which is organised as part of the SADF’s area defence system has close ties with the local army units. Military officers are being seconded to schools and teachers are encouraged to develop military skills with special training for art teachers in camouflage techniques. Pupils are taught subjects like ‘terrorist hunting’ and are given lectures on the ‘communist threat’ as well as being subjected to vigorous discipline and taught how to handle arms.

But the “hearts and minds” campaign is not having things its own way. There is staunch resistance against Botha’s sinister plans. When a hundred children at the Belmore Primary school in Hanover Park were to be taken without their parents’ consent on a SADF camp at Faure a month ago, their parents were up in arms with the school’s physical teacher for collaborating in the planning of the outing. The trip which the teacher described as including soccer, tennis, cricket, and swimming was intended to include a series of lectures on civil defence. To crown it all, the children were to be transported to their destination in army trucks.

It is not surprising why the SADF does not show children free films about its actions in Crossroads, Langa, KTC, Mogopa, etc where they have demolished houses, shacks and plastic shelters, rendering thousands of children with their parents homeless, exposed to die from cold.

This shows us how far fascism can go to impose itself even on toddlers for the sole purpose of keeping itself alive. It uses all dirty manoeuvres and lies in the book to justify its brutal actions of exploitation and the spilling of the blood of the oppressed struggling masses. These excursions also bite deep in the huge budget set aside for Pretoria’s military adventure, while millions of our people suffer from extreme poverty, homelessness, disease, forced removals and brutal exploitation.

SADF’s desperate efforts of trying to twist and turn our minds and conceal the true face of apartheid, making it look abstract to children’s tender minds is just a pipedream and a big illusion. We still remember with bitterness how they murdered Hector Peterson on June 16, 1976, and still continue shooting many of his age wherever we demand the scrapping of the abominable system of bantu education. We have not known peace in South Africa, the racists are bullying everyone and everywhere.

It is our prime duty to ensure that this regime of terror and genocide is destroyed from the face of the earth. We must turn all they teach us against them. We must resist all its sinister intentions for it is apartheid that breeds all this conflict in our country. It is apartheid that denies us the right to exist, to live in peace and harmony in a democratic South Africa free from racism and oppression.
Compatriots,

The month of June, like no other month, carries a galaxy of dates each of which records and bears witness to the heroic content of our struggle, the supreme justice of our course, and our irrevocable commitment to pursue it until victory is won.

International Childrens Day, the judicial murder of the three gallant Youth: Mogoerane, Mosololi and Motaung, the Rivonia life imprisonments, the Soweto uprisings, June 26, and the Sasol attack when Umkhonto We Sizwe set racist South Africa ablaze; all these events have each a singularly unifying quality and they combine to give to the month of June a profound and special significance for our struggle.

It is against this background that today, this week, set between June 16 and June 26, we address a special call to the entire democratic movement of our country, in all its formations and shades of opinion.

DESPERATION

The last ten years have seen our struggle rise to levels which seriously threaten the survival of the apartheid system and frightens the enemy into unprecedented acts of desperation. During the last three years in particular, that desperation found expression in armed invasion, raids and massacres, in the use of armed bandits to cause destruction, devastation and destabilisation throughout Southern Africa, and in numerous assassinations and brutal torture of ANC activists and other opponents of the apartheid regime.

In the past three months the Botha regime has tried to recruit the neighbouring African independent states into a fascist campaign aimed at the destruction of the ANC and the liberation struggle in South Africa. In two months time the Pretoria regime will be holding elections for the so-called Coloured and Indian sections of the black people of our country to establish the other two chambers of its tri-cameral parliament.

CHALLENGE

These dangerous enemy moves are the product of our strength. They evidence the rising tempo of the conflict between the forces fighting for freedom, democracy and peace, and those who defend white minority domination and exploitation. The oppressed people and the entire democratic movement of our country are therefore confronted with an enormous and historic challenge, a challenge we dare not meet with anything short of maximum determination.

Our task is two-fold. First, we must, in action and with our united strength, give a lie to the notion that the nature, progress and the victory of our struggle depends on the absence of accords or pacts. It is our turn to do for ourselves and humanity what others have done for themselves and others. We must liberate our country and make it independent and sovereign for all its people, for Southern Africa and our continent, for world peace.

This demands of us to wage resolute struggle at a level and on a scale that
depicts victory. The intensity of that struggle will demonstrate that the white minority regime cannot save itself by terrorising, blackmailing and bullying African independent and sovereign states into becoming extensions of Pretoria’s defence and security system.

Pres. O.R. Tambo: We are not apartheid’s cattle.

Secondly, we must crush the August elections by the vigour of our united struggle and through an intense campaign exposing the danger and treachery of the elections and reasserting the people’s goal of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

Compatriots,

Often in the many decades that our struggle has known, the enemy has attacked with his might, employing every means at his disposal in a bid to wipe out the liberation movement of the people and secure their submission to continued enslavement.

At such times the best sons and daughters of our motherland have risen to meet the demands of the struggle. New leaders have emerged from among the people. Old leaders have rallied and stood firm. The masses of the people have fought back with unyielding courage and determination. And consistently the blood of our youth has flowed to water the tree of freedom. It is some glorious pages that our people have written into the annals of their history.

CALL

Today, faced with the challenge of the Botha constitution and the August elections, we address an appeal, a call to our Indian and so-called Coloured compatriots to stand firm with the oppressed majority, to refuse to join the doomed apartheid system on the eve of the triumph of our long and bitter struggle. The ANC’s call to them this valiant month of June is simply: DON’T VOTE, DON’T!

If you vote you will be:
— voting for perpetuation of the apartheid system,
— voting for continued domination of the Black people by the white minority,
— offering your sons and yourselves for military conscription into an army whose principal task is to fight the oppressed in South Africa and terrorise the independent countries of Southern Africa,
— selling your own birthright and your future for a mess of pottage,
— helping the enemy to plant among us the seeds of disunity and prolonged
bitterness.
We must refuse to be herded into apartheid's polling booths like cattle into abattoirs. We are not apartheid's cattle. We are men and women with a right and a will to say NO! to the polling slaughterhouse. On August 22 and 28th therefore let us ensure that the enemy's booths stay lonely, empty and deserted places. That will serve to cement the unity of the Black oppressed in our common struggle for a people's government.

If you vote you will be offering your sons and yourselves for military conscription into an army whose principal task is to fight the oppressed in South Africa and terrorise the independent countries of Southern Africa.

MOBILISATION
The holding of the elections and the entire constitutional manoeuvre is an assault on the oppressed majority in our country and especially on the African population. The defeat of this sinister scheme is therefore the task not only of our Indian and so-called Coloured compatriots but also, and even more importantly, of the African people. It is the task of every democrat.

With the united might of our millions we must together rout the racists in August and ensure progress towards people's power. It is therefore essential that we engage in the widest and most intensive mobilisation possible. We should reach out to all those whom the racists and their collaborators seek as to drive or drag into their polling booths. In this connection we shall need to pay particular attention to those of our so-called Coloured people who reside in the rural areas, in small towns and in the Eastern Cape.

The campaign issues are daily before us. They include in particular the question of forced removals. The issue of forced removals anywhere should provoke solidarity actions everywhere. The entire country should be involved. None
Thousands of students countrywide refuse to accept the system of education designed to serve the interests of white minority domination. Of us should stand and watch while thousands of our people are uprooted from their homes and dumped in the wilderness like sacks of rotten potatoes.

Compatriots:
Earlier this month racist Prime Minister Botha invited himself to several countries in Western Europe where he masqueraded as a champion of justice and peace, and a self-appointed spokesman for the entire African continent. The mask was roughly torn away from his face by his reluctant hosts and the outraged people of Europe. But as he returned from this ill-conceived and illtimed tour he sought to conceal the effects of the rebuff he had received by repeating the lie that his regime has embarked on a reform programme within our country.

The reality is, however, that the apartheid system cannot be reformed. What Botha, Malan, and Koornhof mean by reform is their feverish attempt to strengthen the bantustan system through the criminal Aliens and Immigration Laws Amendment Act which seeks to transform Africans into foreigners in the land of their birth, and banish them to starvation and death in the bantustans. What they mean by reform is the continuing pass raids and the genocidal programme of forced removals.

CENTREPIECE
In the struggle to frustrate the enemy’s constitutional schemes we must therefore intensify our campaign against the bantustan system. This system is, after all, the centrepiece and the bedrock on which is founded the oppressive
There is the burning issue of education. Many educational institutions are today closed because thousands of black students countrywide refuse to accept the system of education designed to serve the interests of white minority domination. As parents and workers we too have to be involved in the struggle for a free, democratic, non-racial, and compulsory system of education.

The continuing struggles of the students, however localised they may appear, relate to this basic demand. Needless to say, the rest of the student population in our country, both Black and white, should pursue with greater vigour and better co-ordination the goal of a united national assault to destroy the present apartheid system of education and replace it with one which corresponds to our aspirations. The momentum we have built up in struggle should not be lost. Our goal is a just system of education in a just society.

Botha’s constitution, like others before it, is a constitution for injustice, which, among other things, seeks to perpetuate apartheid in education. Consequently, as we continue to intensify our assault on the entire edifice of apartheid education, we should relate this to our offensive against the apartheid constitution. Thus, the democratic student movement should relate the struggle for a just system of education to the struggle against the apartheid constitution.

CRISIS

Piet Botha with his so-called reform programme pursues the aim of tightening the screws of oppression. He is also presiding over the ferocious exploitation of the people and adds insult to injury by forcing us to pay for his evil designs. By July the General Sales Tax will have gone up twice within the year. A new income tax which will hit the underpaid black masses hard has been introduced.

Prices continue to grow by leaps and bounds. The number of the unemployed increases with each passing day. In the meantime the racists have sharply increased expenditure on their war machine. Large sums of money have been and will be spent on the implementation of the new constitutional scheme and the further refinement of the apartheid system as a whole. The wages we take home buy less each passing day. We spend more money in the shops and return home with half-empty baskets.

---

**On the April 1:**
- Petrol rose by 1.5 cents a litre in the Transvaal.
- Railway and air fares rose an average of 9.4 percent.
- Post office tariffs rose by 9 percent.
- Water tariffs on the Witwatersrand rose by 23.5 percent.
- Transvaal hospital fees doubled.
- Since January:
  - Brown bread has risen from 43c to 50c.
  - Rice, soap, washing powder etc.
  - Coal.
  - Sugar.

All this is happening because the Pretoria regime and its backers are shifting the burden resulting from the crisis of the apartheid economy onto the shoulders of the oppressed and exploited. The time has come that we should call a halt to this attack on our living standards. The time has come that we wage a national campaign for a just minimum wage which is tied to the cost of living index.

The time has come that we combine in action to push down prices, rents, fares, and rates to levels that we can afford. Now is the moment that we the exploited should refuse to pay for our oppression. The democratic trade union
and women's movements have a special role to play in spearheading the struggle to ensure that the people refuse to pay for apartheid domination.

Compatriots:

In saluting you this month of June, on the eve of June 26, the anniversary of our national day of struggle, our call to you all is: organise, mobilise and step up the mass offensive around immediate issues of the day and the fundamental question of people's power.

We are confident that in that offensive the death-defying soldiers of Umkhonto 8

We Sizwe, our heroic youth, our militant workers and fighting women will play their historic role and contribute massively to the build-up towards a determined, united, and nation-wide assault on the enemy's constitution and for the conquest of popular power in our country.

LONG LIVE THE STRUGGLE FOR THE TOTAL LIBERATION OF AFRICA!
LONG LIVE OUR SOLIDARITY WITH SWAPO AND THE NAMIBIAN PEOPLE!
DOWN WITH RACIST DOMINATION!
OTHER METHODS OF MAKING ELECTRIC IGNITERS

Instead of breaking the glass of the torch-bulb as we described in DAWN No 1&2, 1984, you can file a small hole in the glass and fill the bulb with your incendiary mixture or with powdered match heads. Make sure the bulb is completely filled by tapping it to compress the powder.

Before filling the bulb, however, the electric wires must be soldered on in the same way as shown in DAWN No. 1&2. Seal the small hole in the glass with tape or with glue. This ignitor is used in the same way as described in DAWN No. 1&2, except that it never has to be covered for protection.
SAFETY WARNING!
If you want to test one of these igniters, connect long leads and keep a safe distance. It goes off with quite a bang!

HOW TO USE AN ELECTRIC IGNITER
The torch-bulb electric igniter can be used to ignite both wet and dry charges. If it is used to ignite a dry charge you must first make a hole in the charge, then insert the igniter and finally cover the igniter with the powder from the charge. This is done because if you merely pushed the igniter into the charge the filament will break and it will be ruined.

If the igniter is to be used with a wet charge it is best to insert it into a balloon or small plastic bag first and then cover it with some incendiary powder. This prevents it getting wet and also causes a much bigger flash, increasing the chances of the charge igniting.
The grand design of the South African racist regime, backed by the Reagan administration to arrest the South African revolution and to import its control over the whole of southern Africa, is in tatters. For, despite efforts to present a new ‘good neighbourly’ face, Pretoria has only one constant course—the preservation and entrenchment of white racist rule.

The efforts of the racist regime to build a cordon sanitaire around its borders is meant to give credence to the false allegation that the African National Congress and its armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe is an external force and that the root of the conflict in South Africa is outside interference.

The escalation of the struggle by the entire population of our country and particularly the stepped up activities of Umkhonto we Sizwe demonstrate for the world to see that our struggle is firmly based on our people. Pretoria knows the truth because savage sentences, court orders on limitation of burials, arrests and closing of schools have not deterred our people. On the contrary all these acts of desperation have only infuriated our people to mass united resolve to end apartheid whatever the cost.

TOTAL OPPOSITION

The Botha-Malan offensive is turning sour. The Frontline States have reaffirmed their total opposition to apartheid and their support for the ANC and SWAPO. This is contained in the Stockholm meeting of the foreign ministers of Nordic and Frontline countries. P W Botha’s visit to some eight western countries was a hopeless failure. Instead of the bonus in favour of ending the apartheid isolation the cry everywhere was that the isolation of apartheid will be intensified. Even the friends of apartheid were forced to condemn apartheid in public.

Meanwhile our people are displaying a new level of unity in action and determination to end apartheid. Pretoria has played its reserve card and failed. This is why it is becoming more desperate. We should exercise great vigilance.

The African National Congress has learnt from reliable sources that P W Botha and his generals are hatching plans to assassinate the leadership of the ANC. Its propaganda themes are intended to create favourable conditions for execution of such plans. We want to make a timely warning to Pretoria to pause and contemplate the consequences of such dastardly plans.

At the same time Pretoria and some elements in the security forces of Swaziland are trying to portray the ANC as insensitive and inconsiderate about the death and burial of our combatants who died in Swaziland. Our movement did everything possible. Our official representatives were not only denied access to our fallen and arrested comrade-
des but they in turn were arrested. We have not been given even their grave numbers. Despite all this, services took place wherever our people are in memory of the slain heroes. Everybody knows that to bury our fallen we have gone to Maseru, to Matola and to Harare to mention only a few places. We condemn most vehemently the secret burial of our two comrades killed by the Swazi police in April 1984.

SLANDEROUS CAMPAIGN

The latest of Pretoria's slanderous campaign, assisted by some elements within the Swazi police and security, is that the ANC is receiving copies of the one-million signatures presently being collected by the UDF from our people as a political act rejecting the constitutional entrenchment of apartheid. This is a desperate act by Pretoria to frighten our people from massively supporting the campaign and it is a systematic plan paving the way for banning the UDF. We call upon our people to reject this crude and fascist method of dealing with opposition.

Our people shall always draw a distinct line between fraternal Swazi people who have always supported our struggle and those elements who have sold their souls and are in the pay of South African generals.

We urge our people to raise still higher and maintain the level of their vigilance, political action and awareness and to develop and consolidate the unity in action against our common enemy for people's power in a unitary non-racial democratic South Africa.

THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES!
VICTORY IS CERTAIN!

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
PRESS RELEASE
26 JUNE 1984

Veli Sitha

Thirty years ago on the 17th of April 1954, 150 delegates representing 230,000 women of all races, converged at Johannesburg in a conference to found the Federation of South African Women (FEDSAW). This organisation was to set itself the task of mobilizing South African women to fight for equality and against all the manifestations of apartheid rule in South Africa.

Present at this historic meeting were outstanding women leaders of the calibre of Lilian Ngoyi, Helen Joseph, Francis Baard, Dora Tamana, Fatima Meer, Ray Alexander, Dorothy Nyembe and many others from the African National Congress Women's League. Although the main thrust of the come-together was aimed at thrashing out the issues that affect women daily, the delegates demonstrated a proper understanding of the socio-political situation in our country - linking the question of women's rights with that of the struggle for liberation.

The founding of FEDSAW was not the result of the conference. It was mostly initiated by the development of women's struggles dating as far back as the days of World War II. During those trying days, women saw the need to be organized against shortages and high food prices. As a result of this, Food Committees were formed to ensure the fair distribution of food, especially in the outskirts of the cities.

Through the Food Committees and during occasions such as the 8th of March, women were able to
meet and discuss issues affecting them. Their meetings were inspired by the activities of organisations such as the Women's International Women's League attended. Thorough assessment of the role that the women played in the Defiance Campaign of Unjust Laws influenced their decision.

Meeting celebrating the 30th anniversary of FEDSAW's founding

Democratic Federation which had begun organising women in the struggle against war and for the restoration of lasting peace. Activities such as these gave rise to the bringing together of women on the 1st of April 1953 in Port Elizabeth where leading women from the ANC of working towards the creation of an organisation that could effectively ensure fuller participation of women in our national liberation struggle.

At FEDSAW's founding conference, the women condemned the racist regime's apartheid rule that subjects us to poverty, ignorance, ill-health and slave
labour conditions. The women linked their own struggles and their problems with the struggles against the bills that were before parliament and the political issues of the day. They also spoke of the conditions under which children are brought up, lack of proper family life, amenities and education opportunities, the need for schools, churches, maternity homes, the high rents and poor houses.

Delegates further underscored the need and determination to fight against the unjust laws, the Bantu Education Act, the Industrial Conciliation Amendment Act, the Population registration Act and the pass laws, all of which affected the lives of women, as an urgent task.

Above all, they pointed out that women were further victims of oppression in their homes because of tradition and custom. They failed to attend meetings and contribute fully in the struggle because they have to be home to cook, feed and look after their families, and have to do a lot of other chores without the help of their husbands.

The conference of the women sought to educate their menfolk that women were half of the population and without their support and full participation in the struggle progress will look like a mirage. The women's conference also adopted a Charter of Women's Rights demanding the right to vote, the right to full employment opportunities, equal rights with men in relation to property, marriage and children, and for the removal of all laws and customs that deny women such rights.

The inaugural conference also elected a National Executive Committee. Ida Mntwana, then President of the ANC Women's League, was elected President. Gladys Smith, Lilian Ngoyi, Bertha Mkhize and Florence Matomela were
elected Vice Presidents. Ray Alexander became Secretary.

It is a fitting tribute indeed to the 30 years of struggle waged by our women through FEDSAW and other organisations, that the African National Congress, the vanguard of the oppressed masses of South Africa timely declared the year 1984 as the Year of Women. It is a tribute to the Women. It is a testimonial tribute to the spirit of no surrender that our women have demonstrated over the years irrespective of severe bannings, detentions, arrests, harassment and victimisation. For instance comrades Lilian Ngoyi and Dora Tamane had bannings and harassment as part of their lives, but they fought without flinching for a moment till their last days. The life of Helen Joseph, the first person to be house-arrested in South Africa, has been an ordeal no less. Today the regime is bent on silencing Albertina Sisulu. Dorothy Nyembe spent fifteen years in the racist dungeons. But the women's march to freedom continues.

It is in this vein that in his message of January the 8th 1984, cde President Oliver Tambo, Commander-in-Chief of the people’s army Umkhonto weSizwe said, “Our struggle will be less than powerful and our national and social emancipation can never be complete if we continue to treat the women of our country as dependent minors and objects of one form of exploitation or another. Certainly no longer should it be that a woman’s place is in the kitchen. In our beleaguered country, the woman’s place is in the battlefront of struggle.”

Having taken full note of this call made by our President Oliver Reginald Tambo, we as women have to transform these words into action. Let us as women say, all in one voice, again and again, what we spelled out in the Women’s Charter, 30 years ago that, “In and through our various organisations, we march forward with our men in the struggle for liberation and the defence of the working people. As women, we have the burden of removing from our society all the social differences developed in the past times between men and women.”

We cannot forget to make mention of August the 9th, 1956, a day when 20,000 women marched to Pretoria to register their protest against the extension of passes to women. We are convinced that both men and women will fulfil our special task and respond positively to the call made by the NEC of the African National Congress during 1984, Year of the Women, to organise and mobilise our womenfolk into a powerful, united and active force for revolutionary change.

We commend our women to join in their greater numbers the ranks of our people’s army, Umkhonto weSizwe so as to better be able to fulfil the tasks that history has imposed on us. Together as men and women engaged in the bitter struggle for liberation of our motherland, South Africa, we all say forward to the Year of the Women! Aluta Continua!
The racist South African regime recently completed the signing of the Inkomati Accord with Mozambique. This diplomatic offensive got many members of our organisation the ANC pushed out of Mozambique. The behind-the-scenes "peace pact" signed between Pretoria and Swaziland also had its own special impact resulting to the rounding up of ANC members, clashes and shootings, raids and beatings, deportations, detentions and torture affecting even those members who were granted political asylum twenty years ago.

Using its economic muscle and the LLA bandit group to destabilise Lesotho, Pretoria seeks to squeeze the young kingdom to concede to its machinations and conclude a "security pact". This move is aimed at reducing the ANC's presence in that country. Botswana has since been reluctant to "welcome" the racists' "peace initiatives."

Angola, the first to sign an accord with Pretoria publicly in Lusaka, gave its assurance to this undertaking with one thing in mind: the withdrawal of the racist troops from its soil. It made it clear from the start that Pretoria was the aggressor and it would not sacrifice SWAPO's presence in Angola.

The unconditional pull-out date was set as from the 31st January and was to

Carbomb chaos

Limpet mine
rocks city centre

A 'ROCKET' impact

weeks after 1 day