

DAWN

monthly journal of
umkhonto we sizwe



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■ Cover: The ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe and the oppressed but fighting people of South Africa pay tribute to Comrade M.P. Naicker on the Fourth Anniversary of his passing away. At the time of his death, Comrade Naicker, 56, was the Director of Publicity of the ANC External Mission.



Editorial Comment

TOWARDS INEVITABLE VICTORY

Every passing day brings fresh evidence of the global impact of developments in the African sub-continent. The focus is South Africa, the bastion of racism and imperialist reaction on the continent.

The Reagan Administration in typical "sell 'em a dummy" fashion, recently sent an envoy, Chester Crocker, on an African tour to masquerade as a friend of Africa. Crocker did not have to put on a mask. Africa knows the very false skin in which he presented himself. He obviously came to study the attitude and inclinations of the African states, in the wake of vehement opposition to Washington's African policy, which stripped off all make-up, is arrogantly abetting the Pretoria fascists and working with all might against the just struggle of the people of South Africa and Namibia.

This happens at the height of the African group's condemnation of the West's continued connivance with apartheid in violation of UN resolutions. In this connection, therefore the blatant and openly imperialist machinations of Washington are assisting Africa to consolidate her anti-imperialist positions and continue energetically to blaze the path towards the inevitable victory of the African Revolution.

In this context, the coming month, is an important one for our entire continent. It is not only the month of "May Day", the international day of the workers - people who

with their own blood and sweat are creating material wealth which in the majority of the countries of the world continue to be usurped by a handful of 'coupon clippers'. It is also the month of Africa Day! A great day for this continent which is still locked in fierce struggles against the relics of colonialism, and in South Africa and Namibia, against the very beastly system itself.

The racists intend to drag us to a celebration of our oppression on May 31st. With assurances of support from the West, they are bent on perpetuating the reign of terror. They are attacking Mozambique, Angola, Lesotho and threatening everyone else on the continent. Not a single African state is not suffering through the very existence of this cancerous regime. The African people are convinced of the urgent need to put an end to this criminal system. "What is the alternative?" Comrade President O.R. Tambo points out, "Mozambique, will not grow; Zimbabwe can never grow. As long as there is oppression and racist domination in South Africa we shall not know independence." Indeed Africa and the world will never know peace.

M A Y 2 5

On the occasion of Africa Day, May 25, when we sit down to take stock, to re-examine the path traversed by our peoples in the last 18 years, we are more than ever before convinced that the enemies of the African Revolution will never win.

Let us therefore make May the 25th a day on which we are reminded of the lofty ideals for which so many patriots have been martyred. It is a day on which we are to strive to translate into reality the dream of a continent of hope, united and f r e e. Our watchword should be to "fight for unity and fight in unity". The demand of the times is to fight resolutely for and in accordance with the noble principles of the Organisation of African Unity.

We invite the peoples and governments of o u r proud continent to join hands w i t h us in fashioning a better future for Africa and mankind. The racists, together with their allies have thrown down the challenge, let us respond. We call upon our undaunted people to boycott racist republic day. We of the ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe, in the forefront of the fight to free our people, are confident of victory.

LONG LIVE THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION!

DOWN WITH RACISM AND APARTHEID!

The Pretoria Three in Mahlangu's Footsteps

- REFILWE MAILE

"One can fool half the public all the time, or all the public half the time but not all the public all the time." Indeed no nation can be oppressed forever. Resistance to the system of racial discrimination and exploitation inside our country, South Africa, has grown tremendously since the Soweto June 16 Uprisings of 1976. In the heat of the rising resistance to Apartheid, the enemy of the oppressed people is intending to crush the new revolutionary spirit of the masses. This manifests itself in the number of death sentences imposed on our patriots whose 'crime' is nothing else but that they have taken up arms to fight for the liberation of their Motherland, to fight apartheid, a system declared by the international community as a crime against humanity.

On April 6 1979, the Pretoria fascists celebrated the arrival of the so-called 'father of South Africa', the notorious Jan van Riebeeck with the blood of the young patriot, martyr and hero of our revolution, Comrade Solomon Kalushi Mahlangu. Seven months later another patriot, James Mncedisi Mange, was sentenced to death. But due to pressure by our people and the international community, the racist Pretoria government commuted the sentence to twenty years imprisonment. The enemy was not satisfied, today three more patriots - all members of the African National Congress - Comrades Johnson Lubisi, Naphtalie Manana and Tshepo Mashigo are condemned to hang in the dark dungeons of the Union Buildings fascists. All these events are a clear testimony that the Botha-Malan racist government is committed to executing our patriots.

MK COMBATANTS

The point of significance is that Comrades Mahlangu, Mange and the Pretoria Three are all combatants of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the military-wing of the ANC which has become a household name in South Africa. This reflects the escalation of armed struggle in our country. The barbarous execution of Solomon Mahlangu and the pending execution of the Pretoria Three is a sign of fear and desperation. With these death sen-

tences the enemy intends to demonstrate his power to the white voters who have been losing confidence in the racist regime since the Muldergate scandal, and above all, because of the regime's failure to destroy the ANC underground machinery. As correctly analysed by Mrs Martha Mahlangu, Solly's mother, the enemy also intends to instill fear into the militant youth of our country not to fight them (boers). This has dismally failed. The heroism and courage displayed by Comrade Solomon Mahlangu injected new revolutionary zeal and militancy into the hearts of the youth. The spirit of Solomon lives in the hearts of all the oppressed people. The enemy has failed to destroy it. What he fought and died for, is what the people are being daily murdered for by the fascist soldiers and police in the streets of Soweto, Mamelodi, Kwa-Zakhele, Langa, Kwa-Mashu, etc.

The people are aware that the three comrades sentenced to death by the racists are Solomon's comrades who are continuing with the fight for the liberation of their people. The pending execution of our patriots corroborates the inhumanity of the apartheid racist regime and further exposes its fascist character. It only serves to isolate the regime. The international community has strongly protested against the sentences imposed on our patriots. The national liberation movement headed by the ANC and its military-wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, call on progressive mankind to exert more pressure to save the lives of the freedom-loving sons of our people. The regime must be isolated by the world community thus helping in dismantling the apartheid system which is correctly declared inhuman.

PEOPLE'S HEROES

The oppressed people know their heroes and leaders, they are fully supporting the ANC and rallying behind the forces of Umkhonto we Sizwe. The people are challenging the racist illegal death sentence on the three patriots. They have nothing to do with the racist republic and racist elections. They are concerned with the release of their leaders and other political prisoners incarcerated at the notorious Robben Island prison. We, the fighting youth of South Africa, pledge to avenge the death of our patriots. With discipline, dedication and sacrifice we shall fight the racists to the bitter end.

LONG LIVE THE PRETORIA THREE!



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The Road to Freedom

— PAT MAKGWABA

Our people have an old saying whose undiminishing significance in life must always guide us. That saying is: "Inyathi ibuzwa kwaba phambili" and it means that whenever one sets out to fulfil an important task for the first time especially where danger is involved, one must always seek the wisdom of the experienced. This is what our revolutionary times demand of us, the fighting reserve of our people, to make full use of the inexhaustible wealth of experience accumulated by the veterans of our struggle for freedom. This is the only way in which we can be sure that we consistently move along the revolutionary line charted and blazed by our people's organisation, the African National Congress.

This truth is clearly borne in the ideas of freedom expressed in the paper headed "The Role of the South African Youth in the Realisation of the Demands Enshrined in the Freedom Charter". This is one of the papers presented and discussed by our delegates at the 1980 ANC Youth Summer School held in Hungary. Because of its significance to the Year of the Youth, our year, we need to redigest it, now. Let us be reminded of the great words addressed by Uncle Ho to the heroic people of Vietnam at the peak of their protracted struggle which culminated in the irreversible victory of the people. Ho Chi Minh said: "Learn Well How to Seek Revenge, Courage but Intelligent Courage."

For reasons of urgency we will start with the section dealing with our political contribution. We invite all the youth of our country to share in this wealth of ideas.

URGENT TASK

The paper opens with thought-provoking words: "The revolutionary upsurge in our country compell us to reassess the current phase of the liberation struggle, to reaffirm our commitment to the struggle and determination to bring into being a social order that the oppressed people of our country consider just, a society free of exploitation. Challenges and tasks facing our youth are enormous and demanding. This is the time when our youth, more than ever, needs to arm itself with the theory, strategy and tactics of our liberation movement."

It is clear to all of us that the clarion call made to us this year, is a call to resolute action, a call to battle for "bringing into being" as Comrade President Oliver Tambo puts it, "a country which they (the youth -ed) can truly call theirs, a country in which they can mature and pass away in peace and happiness." Let it be clear to all of us that our actions can only yield results only if they are guided by a sound knowledge, knowledge which is the expression of the experience gained by our fighting people led by their authentic movement, the ANC, knowledge which also takes into account the revolutionary experience of all the people of the world.

The first point which we must thoroughly grasp is the position of the youth within the structure of our society, our relationship to the rest of our people, our composition & role in the liberation struggle. As the paper under discussion states:

"The youth is an important factor of the revolutionary shaping of society. The youth, however, should not be regarded as a separate class, but as a social group. It is not a homogeneous group and it corresponds fully to the social structure of a given society. It is marked by a striving on what is new, its sights being set on the future. Its specifics as a social group are determined by the circumstances which every new generation witnesses and acquires experience in the conditions of the same concrete stage of social development. In our country the youth is born in a society tormented by racial prejudice, national oppression and exploitation. Thus our youth experiences the same sufferings experienced by the rest of our population. The struggle of the youth is part of the mainstream of the national liberation struggle led by the African National Congress hence its activities are inseparable from the struggle of other generations of our people. Our youth needs the experience of veteran fighters against oppression and exploitation..."

MISLEADING IDEAS

This is a position which if consistently maintained by all of us, would amount to a deadly blow on the oppressors. In a desperate effort to drive a wedge between the fighting people, in this case between the youth which is joining the struggle in growing numbers and our people who have been fighting for decades, the oppressors and their agents insistantly implant misleading ideas within the youth movement. The aim of these reactionary ideas is to conceal the direct link between the socio-political problems of the entire community and those confronting the youth, the causal connection between the sys-

tem of oppression and exploitation and the grievances of the youth on matters such as unequal and racist education and employment as well as to deny the leading role of their parents and their revolutionary organisations. The ultimate aim is to weaken the entire liberation movement.

LEADERSHIP

The vital question of the leadership of our revolution is given the emphasis it deserves. So also are the aims and means of our struggle.

"The vital task facing us in our country is to arm ourselves with the vital policy of our liberation movement. We must look at the ANC as the vanguard of the liberation struggle of the masses of our country. The section of our youth which is not acquainted with the Freedom Charter should study and adopt it as its guide in the fight against the white supremacist regime, learn from and appreciate the revolutionary experience gained by our people led by the ANC.

"And, drawing from this historic document for guidance and renewed dedication to the task of uniting and mobilising all oppressed people, all progressive and democratic forces in our Motherland for the overthrow of the hated apartheid system and the establishment of people's power, we realise that true democracy can only come through total seizure of power by the majority of our population, demolition and destruction of the state machinery of fascist rule. The freedoms enshrined in the Freedom Charter will never be realised through peaceful means as centuries of struggle have taught us... These freedoms must be fought for. This is where we, the youth, must come up more than ever and join our parents for the taking of political power by swelling the ranks of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the people's army."

Without the tested leadership of the ANC, active participation in the mobilisation of our people, the creators of victory, the combination of all forms of struggle and actual participation in armed struggle, all our endeavours would amount to shouting empty slogans, a futile and dangerous exercise.

U N I T Y

Unity, the indispensable instrument which the ANC has been forging since its birth in spite of the enemy's divide-and-rule tactics should be strong and it demands an all-out contribution from all of us.

"Working from this firm foundation, the youth of our country must now move towards the consolidation of this unity

and aim their energy and efforts at the total destruction of all apartheid instructions. Using both legal and illegal means, we must take the struggle to a higher level and demand the right of all to vote and take full part in the administration of the country, the replacement of all bodies of minority rule by democratic organs of self-government. We must refuse to serve in the special army units for Coloureds, Indians and Africans of the South African Defence Force and in the tribal armies where we are used to reinforce the aggressive military force against the revolutionary drive of the people."

W H I T E Y O U T H

Apartheid is doomed to destruction and therefore can offer no future to the white community. Its architects already have plans of running away when their imminent day of judgement has come. The ordinary white South African citizen who does not own any factory, mine or farm, the ones who are bribed with doubtful privileges to defend a cause that is alien to their fundamental interests have nowhere to run and neither do they have the means. They will have to reconcile themselves with the revolutionary changes whose realisation is inevitable. The choice is theirs, to quit the sinking ship of racist domination and join the forces of liberation fighting for a future free of racial hatred and fear.

The policy of our movement on the future of all those who live in South Africa, regardless of the colour of their skin is and will continue to be consistently revolutionary. Our people's document containing their basic demands, the programme of the ANC, the Freedom Charter, states in no uncertain terms that: "South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white." It is in this spirit that the fighting youth declared that:

"The oppressed and unprivileged youth of our country must forge closer links with their white colleagues and involve them fully in the revolutionary upsurge in the country..."

C A D R E S

For any revolutionary movement to effectively implement its policies, be it that the movement is in the fore-front of the people's struggle to seize political power from the oppressors as is the case with our ANC, or one that is leading the process of social transformation that follows immediately as can be seen with FRELIMO and the MPLA Party of Labour, it must have fully committed functionaries who are prepared to serve in any field

under any circumstances. It needs cadres. As our struggle escalates, so too does the need for strong cadres increase. The ANC has grown into a mighty weapon of freedom in the hands of our people because its ranks have always been filled with dedicated cadres, the best sons and daughters of our people.

What calibre of cadres does our revolution and consequently our movement need? Our paper answers:

"For the realisation of the principles enshrined in the Freedom Charter, our liberation movement needs a new man - a youth that will carry on the revolutionary traditions of the youth of South Africa, to uplift the revolutionary deeds of the past youth who went into action facing imprisonment and possible death like our leaders Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Dennis Goldberg, Ahmed Kathrada, Oliver Tambo, Yussuf Dadoo and many others.



Dennis Goldberg



Dorothy Nyembe



Ahmed Kathrada

"Our people need a cadre ready to engage himself in all activities of the movement, to exercise patience and to learn, to discard all that the system imposed on us, a youth with a clear understanding of how to combine political education and technical knowhow, social and academic discipline, understand both short term and long term requirements of our struggle.

"We must learn how to work as a collective. Our youth, be it in the People's Army or in the different centres of study, should raise the level of political understanding and consciousness and rejuvenate our political life through constant discussions of topical issues both in relation to the situation in our country and on the international scene."

VIGILANCE

Revolutionaries must not only know how to fight and destroy the enemy. They must also know how to defend themselves from the enemy, even the concealed enemy within our ranks who

shouts our revolutionary slogans and sing with us our national anthem. This is a time-honoured truth. Already in the very brief period of our involvement in our revolutionary struggle our experiences provide us lessons which no stacks of volumes on the question of vigilance could. This is serious business, a matter of life and death.

"A cadre of the people both academically and militarily will be in the forefront, expose enemy manoeuvres, clean our ranks of saboteurs, subversive elements, brewers of confusion, unwarranted mistrust, aiming at misdirecting our actions, weakening and disrupting the strong bonds existing between different sections of our people between our movement and the socialist countries and progressive world organisations fighting against apartheid. In the spirit of the Morogoro Conference and other events, we hint the order that came from the Conference expounded by Comrade President O.R. Tambo, saying:

"These are the orders to our people, to our youth, to every soldier. These are the orders to our leaders. Close ranks. Wage a relentless war against disruptors and enemy agents. Defend the revolution against enemy lies and enemy propaganda, whatever form it takes. Be vigilant. The enemy is vigilant. Beware of the wedge-driver - men who creep from ear to ear, driving wedges among us."

O U R F R I E N D S

While the crime of apartheid, a system of brutal national oppression and exploitation is condemned by the whole world except the imperialists who plunder the wealth of our country and their puppets, our just struggle enjoys the unconditional support of all the freedom-loving people of the world. Therefore, we should never forget our friends who have always stood with us through thick and thin. Therefore "At this peak of our struggle we should strengthen the anti-imperialist forces and win progressive youth onto the side of the fighting people led by the African National Congress. We must rally the youth in the imperialist countries and strengthen existing links with the youth in the socialist countries. We must support the struggles of the fighting peoples of Namibia, Palestine, Chile, East Timor, El Salvador, etc., fighting for national liberation."

In summing up the following deserve added emphasis. "All attempts to detach our generation from other generations of our

fighting people and, hence, to weaken the revolutionary movement as a whole have failed." We must strengthen this position.

"Our task is to mobilise all South African youth who still do not understand the policy, strategy and tactics of our movement, to explain what the Freedom Charter is and the role it plays. Our youth must not allow itself to be deceived that it has any important role to play outside the national liberation movement. We must reject slogans like "the generation gap" and "let the youth take over", and destroy forever the illusion that the youth can lead the revolution. Such naive beliefs only serve to alienate the youth from the mainstream of our struggle and pay service to the enemy and its imperialist forces."

This is the line of our revolutionary struggle as developed and set out by the ANC and our people. This is the line which our movement has maintained consistently throughout the decades of struggle for freedom. This is the line which must be followed by our entire youth who are honestly prepared to give everything including their life for the sake of the freedom of our people. This is the only road to freedom.

MATOLA, PONTO DO OURO AND CHIAWELO

- ANC KHUMALO

The body of the dead Boer soldier covered in mud, blood and sea-sand, stares at you from the front page of "NCTICIAS", the Mozambican daily newspaper. Around him are strewn his weapon, binoculars, helmet and other equipment. He lies awkwardly, stiffly, almost like a shark hauled out of the nearby Indian Ocean. He is one of the two Boer soldiers killed in a clash with Mozambican soldiers at the small seaside resort of Ponto do Ouro which is situated on the border with South Africa.

The racist troops were attempting to infiltrate into Mozambican territory during the early morning of March the 17th. They were spotted by a local villager who alerted border guards. The Boers were quietly encircled. Firing broke out. They retreated in panic, carrying one of their dead with



Equipment captured from Hitler's disciples in Matola.

them, leaving the other behind.

This is not the first dead man the South African racists have left behind in the People's Republic of Mozambique. They left another in the garden of the African National Congress residence in Matola, on that fateful night of January 30th,

when twelve of our comrades were either butchered in their beds or machine-gunned in cold blood, by these racist aggressors who crudely daub swastika symbols on their helmets.

CRIMINAL INCURSIONS

The local media in Mozambique, press and radio, have been quick to point out that in all the criminal incursions into Mozambique launched by the Smith regime never was a precious white corpse left behind. In fact I am almost sure that in all the raids into the Republic of Zambia by Smith's bandits no white bodies or wounded were left behind either. The Mozambican media rightly points out that this attests to a certain timidity and panic that is sown amongst the Boers when they are on the receiving end of hot fire. The raid on our residences illustrated this perfectly. For all the advantage of surprise on their side, superiority of numbers, heavy weaponry, rockets and so on they failed to press home their initiative. This was to be seen clearly at one house where our comrades were lined up against the wall, and where the Boers found themselves under fire. They (Boers) scattered in panic and this gave some comrades the chance to escape. There the Boers scattered because they could not stomach the battle and at least three of them were stopped dead on their tracks. Reliable eye-witness accounts indicate that several more must have been wounded. Half a dozen weapons were abandoned together with the dead body and there was ample evidence that others had been seriously hit. This was indicated by pools of blood, by drag marks as bodies were hauled away and by blood-soaked pieces of uniform and army webbing cut from their wounded.

The racists pride themselves on their invincibility. They

might be outnumbered by the blacks but "By God each one of us is worth twenty of them" they boast. This is the racist psychology; their psychology of warfare which is somehow meant to guarantee their immortality. "Don't worry Boetie, if you're hit we'll get you home" the sergeant promises his subordinates. It is all designed to boost their morale and confidence, to instill in the minds of the racist troops the belief that they are always on the winning side.

P S Y C H O L O G Y

Unfortunately Ponto do Ouro and Matola, despite our own losses, and the numerous engagements in Angola and on our own terrain at home are denting this master-race psychology. These might be little actions, but it is through this process, this process of facing up to the Boers weapons in hand, hitting back in the only language they understand, that we build up our superior psychology of warfare, our superior bravery and determination to fight.

The whites have never had it so good. For all their weapons and bravado they are not so keen to die. They have other things on their minds like their comforts, their good life, sweethearts and beer, a rosy, cosy future retirement. The oppressed have nothing to lose but their chains. Ours is a just cause and we fight a just war. Fidel Castro pointed out when he visited Angola after the Boers were defeated and had retreated in panic, that "What makes the difference between a brave soldier and a coward is the cause that you fight for."

The superiority of this fact was shown in Zimbabwe with the defeat of Smith's minority regime. We see this in Namibia with the progress recorded by SWAPO's fighting forces over the racists. We see this in regard to the people's fighting forces of both the People's Republics of Angola and Mozambique as they resolutely defend their sovereign territory against Boer aggression. We see this in the fighting determination of our MK cadres. We see this in the heroism of an MK combatant, Gordon Dikebu, who died fighting the enemy like a lion in a Chiawelo house last year. His heroic death is yet another page in the combat record of Umkhonto we Sizwe in this, the 20th Anniversary year of our people's army.

A C H A L L E N G E

Matola, Ponto do Ouro and Chiawelo are all interlinked and are part of the process that spells out the inevitable defeat of the enemy in the whole region of Southern

Africa. These events are a challenge to us. They call on us to be vigilant and alert like the peasant at Ponto do Ouro who summoned the FRELIMO soldiers. They call on us to be disciplined and determined in battle like the soldiers of FRELIMO and the MPLA who have repulsed the Boer aggressors and like the young lion, Gordon Dikebu, hero of Chiawelo, who faced Boers with a pistol and grenades and refused to be taken alive.

The struggle is reaching a high stage; a point of increased dangers but a point of increased opportunities for revolutionary advance. The Boer aggression against Mozambique is part of their overall strategy to export their contradictions into neighbouring states. They are attempting to turn the whole of Southern Africa into a region of war, from the Indian to the Atlantic oceans. But they are biting off more than they can chew. Their raids into Angola are designed to intimidate the MPLA from supporting SWAPO and the ANC. Their aggression against Mozambique is designed to warn FRELIMO against supporting our people's vanguard movement, the African National Congress. But these plans are blowing-up in their faces. Solidarity between FRELIMO and the ANC has been strengthened and reinforced by the Matola raid. Likewise, Boer aggression has helped to bind SWAPO and the MPLA closer together. This is happening on a regional basis between all the forces of national liberation and socialism. President Samora Machel said in his February 14th speech denouncing the Matola murders that "We can thank the Boers for bringing the Cubans to Angola." The aggression of the Boers is strengthening the ties of the revolutionary forces of our region with socialism and is increasing the resolve of the joint millions of our people to overthrow Apartheid. "Let the South Africans come," says President Machel, "But let them be sure that the war will end in Pretoria & that the majority will take power in Pretoria."

We, of the ANC and its military-wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, whose historic duty is to spearhead that struggle within our own country must respond to the challenge thrown down by the Boers and take heart from the words of our President Comrade O.R. Tambo, who in the funeral oration for our Matola comrades state:

"Our resolve is a calm resolve. It is a cool resolve. It acknowledges that we are dealing with a kind of Hitler here, which is Nazism and fascism. It is merciless, it is strong even, it can yet put up a fight, but let us rise like one man, as one people, to overthrow that regime."

I SPEAK MY MIND

On the Fascist Republic

GLADSTONE MOROKA

It is impossible to think of the twenty years of the boer Republic of South Africa outside the context of more than three centuries of unremitted dispossession, oppression and struggle.

If in these 20 years the Johannesburg Stock Exchange and Tourist Information language has been of "a rapid increase of the prosperity, economy and production potential" and sunny South Africa respectively, to millions of my fellow countrymen the same coin has a totally different face. We know of 20 more years of Dimbasas, Crossroads and forced mass removals to barren, poverty-stricken 'resettlement areas' or 'homelands' - 20 years of super-exploitation, compound life away from loved ones and children dying of malnutrition.

These 20 years have seen the dark cloud of fascism engulf our land as the Nationalist government became increasingly dictatorial and repressive against all who oppose its policies. These two decades are synonymous with more than 50,000 lives which have been 'officially' murdered and sacrificed by the fascist regime at the alter of white supremacy and foreign capital.

There is nothing that warrants celebration in 20 years of repression. But the blood shed as a supreme sacrifice in racist dungeons, in strikes, boycott action and military operations has not been in vain. Never has South Africa witnessed such political and military ferment since the fighting 50s. The level of our people's mass struggle, led by their vanguard movement, the African National Congress, is a crystal clear indication of the inevitable destruction of the Apartheid Republic and the establishment of a t r u l l y democratic republic based on the Freedom Charter.

AFRIKA NKWE

Let us look into what this republic has achieved in the last 20 years of its existence. What are these achievements the boers are making hysterical noise about? They proudly claim that South Africa is the agricultural giant in Africa, yet thousands of our children are dying of malnutrition. In fact they made an error here, they wanted to say South Africa is the malnutrition giant in Africa.

Today, the South African black workers are all out demanding higher wages, better working and living conditions, better housing; the students are out in the dusty streets demanding equal and compulsory education for all races; our mothers are demanding low house rents and low prices of basic consumer goods - in short, these are the 'achievements' of the two decades old republic.

Worst of all is the cholera 'achievement', despite all the claims by the racists that they have the best medical facilities in the whole of Africa and that they are rated amongst the medically developed countries in the world, why then cholera in South Africa? The answer to these questions is very simple and clear: this is part of the 'achievements' of the boer republic of which the fascists are preparing to celebrate in a v e r y b i g w a y . They are to celebrate their domination over us in the past twenty years.

The two decades of the Republic of the boers have been bitter o n e s for our people. In one word the achievements of the boer republic mean misery to our people. Umkhonto we Sizwe was born to destroy once and for all the boer republic. So, the continued existence of this fascist republic poses a great challenge to us combatants of the People's Army to confront the enemy in all fronts, especially in this historic Year of the Youth. We of the people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, must raise our level of discipline and commitment to terrific heights as part of our offensive against the retreating enemy.

FREEDOM MKHWANAZI

Let us be aware that this commemoration more than anything is a living testimony of the exploitative forces at work in South Africa and the profits thereof, without which the story could have been different. In a word this undertaking is not only aimed at reviving white interest in the system but also to assure the West that South Africa is still a safe haven for investments - it is still their polecat in the Southern Hemisphere.

In human terms 20 years of life normally introduces a new life stage, that of manhood and maturity. Not so with the South African regime. In fact, to us that it even was able to survive so long (bearing in mind that our oppression is now 329 years old) is a living reality of the deep economic and military support of the Western countries, at the head of which looms the United Kingdom and the US. Just like a spoilt baby of the West which it is, this regime is treated with c a r e and attention to the extent that even in internation-

i bodies such as the UN, it still enjoys diplomatic accreditation and immunity stemming from its membership of this world body. Even the language of reason at this late hour for this sick regime, the language of economic sanctions, cultural and political isolation and arms embargo proposed by men of conscience in the UN has proven either as some form of quasi language to be mumbled only and not implemented, or some pretentious 'lingua franca' for obvious diplomatic purposes for the Western countries and even to some states with veto powers like the US and the UK, this has proven to be no language at all.

The world can still recall Margaret Thatcher, hardly having found the corridors of power in Britain, declaring in her visit to the United States: "We have to take South Africa out of the cold." Not long President Reagan was just reminiscing about the two World Wars and promising South Africa all the help it requires. It is because of this that the fascists are celebrating their 20th anniversary. All their acts of banditry find encouragement in the active involvement of these states in the militarisation, computerisation and nuclearisation of this state. Obviously if there is to be any meaningful celebration on the part of the racist it will not happen without the active connivance of the imperialist powers.

The Editor of "Die Beeld" did not forget to add "May Ian Smith's UDI rule of a thousand years pull us back to reality." This is the spirit, though it is late. Led by the African National Congress and its allies, we will witness this fascist celebration as the same celebration Hitler, Mussolini, Shah Pahlavi, Haile Selassie, Batista and Pol Pot had no opportunity to attend. It comes at a time when our imminent victory is high in the agenda of a victorious strategy for Southern African liberation. Indeed it is not without any course that our movement termed this decade - **"THE DECADE OF LIBERATION."**

HUMPHREY CHAUKE

It is true that the 'Republic' of South Africa is twenty years old. This republic was proclaimed on the 31st May, 1961 by the Nationalist Party. This year, the racist Nationalist Party and its supporters will be celebrating their 'Republiek van Suid Afrika' with their flags flying high on the graves of the millions of Africans, Coloureds and Indians. They are celebrating this republic when more than three million Blacks have been 'sentenced to death' through unemployment and hunger. They are celebrating this year when millions of our people have been incarcerated in the camps of humiliation,

diseases, hunger and death in the so-called 'independent homelands'. They are also celebrating this year of the 20th anniversary of our oppression when our people have pledged more than ever before, to fight for the breaking of the chains of bondage.

When the boers in 1961 decided to declare South Africa a republic, our people said "NO". This "NO" had a lot of meaning both to the oppressed people and the racists themselves. This was a "NO" to centuries of oppression and humiliation, slavery and death. To the fascists this "NO" was expressing their inability to rule the oppressed.

The 20th anniversary of the fascist republic to us means the 20th anniversary of the armed war of liberation. We shall remember that the year when the republic of South Africa was declared, the people of our country declared armed struggle on the racist illegal Pretoria government. Our people have long displayed to the Pretoria fascists that they are totally not prepared to be ruled in the same old way by a government founded on injustice and inequality.

This is why the disciples of Hitler are aiming at making this year a year of mobilisation for the Nationalist Party & of weighing the support they enjoy amongst the white community. This is because the Nationalist Party has suffered a drop in its support and even divisions are vividly clear to every white voter. This year the racists will be attempting to mend these cracks. There has also been a remarkable increase of support for our struggle amongst whites. This has created a sense of uncertainty within the ruling clique.

The tactics of the boers to divide the Africans from other sections of the oppressed has failed dismally. The failure of the boers to suppress the students' demands, the failure of the 'Presidential circus' and many other failures have made them to dedicate this year to the mobilisation of the white community. Needless to mention is the crisis they are faced with in their army. Cases of mutiny, desertion, etc., have become the order of the day.

This year will mark a new stage in the advancement of the revolutionary transformation of South Africa. Our movement has declared 1981 the Year of the Youth. The youth of our country will make sure that whatever attempt the boers are trying to make in retarding the winds of change in South Africa will fail. Instead of becoming a festive year this will prove to be the mournful year for the boers.

DOWN WITH THE BOER REPUBLIC!

The People will Triumph!

In this issue we publish extracts from a speech delivered by COMRADE PRESIDENT SAMORA MACHEL on the 14th February in Maputo. This was following the racist aggressive incursion into the People's Republic of Mozambique where exiled South African patriots living in three separate residences in Matola, were butchered by the fascist cut-throats. These extracts are a vivid demonstration of the unbreakable bonds of solidarity between the People's Republic of Mozambique and the embattled people of South Africa led by the African National Congress.

They say they attacked us because of our support for ANC. They want to divide us, to weaken us. They want us to stop solidarity with each other. It is unthinkable that this solidarity between our people and the South African people be severed.



Samora Machel with the late President Eduardo Mondlane in July 1968

The ANC is the oldest liberation movement in Africa. The ANC is the vanguard that has been leading the liberation struggle of the South African people for 70 years.

The ANC is the vanguard that bears its tradition of centuries - long resistance to foreign occupation; the vanguard of the whole South African people in their fight against apartheid.

What is apartheid? Why is this system condemned by all humanity? Apartheid is the system that maintains 23-million oppressed, humiliated, segregated, denied their very status as human beings...

South Africa is the country where the blacks live in the backyard of the towns. South Africa is the country of suburbs for whites only, (and, separated areas, locations and ghettos for Indians, Coloureds and Africans - Editor).

This is the country where love between people of different races is a crime, where there are jobs reserved for one race, where the blacks need a pass to walk down the street. We have all seen this. We have all suffered this humiliation.

Apartheid is a form of colonialism. For this reason, we understand profoundly the just struggle of the South African people, we stand in firm solidarity with the South African people, in firm solidarity with the ANC.

AFRICAN BEACON

The ANC is one of the beacons in Africa that has inspired the national liberation struggle against racism and colonial domination, true fertile ground in which our own liberation struggle took root. It is the patrimony and pride of our continent, the embodiment of the indestructible will of people for their liberation.

The ANC is recognised by the international community as the true and legitimate representative of the South African people. It is represented in all parts of the world, in all the big international organisations. It is represented in the People's Republic of Mozambique.

Throughout the world, the ANC has representatives, offices, residences, exiled citizens and refugees from segregation and repression. It has representations in England, France, Italy, the United States, the Nordic countries, throughout Africa, in the socialist countries.

In these countries their militants live in houses. It was residences like these that were the target of destruction and massacre in the early hours of January 30. Residences that the South African regime classified as ANC military bases.

WHAT WE WANT

We were here about a year ago. We met to make the first

evaluation of the organisational offensive.

We said then that conditions had been created for peace in the region. We said that conditions had been created for us to concentrate our efforts on the tasks of our country's reconstruction and development.

We said that this was the decisive battle for our total liberation, the liberation from underdevelopment.

We said that this was the decisive battle to neutralise and annihilate all enemy manifestations among us, to consolidate peace in the region, to develop our country and build socialism.

P e a c e i s a fundamental principle of our life; a principle of the FRELIMO Party, a constitutional principle. From the time of the Mozambican Liberation Front we have defined Peace as our objective.

For the peoples, peace means: enjoying full freedom; respect for personality and dignity; the full exercise of the right to development and progress; the firm refusal to be humiliated, dominated, exploited.

Peace means: to be able to cultivate our fields without the danger of bombing raids, to be able to work in our factories without the threat of sabotage, to be able to travel throughout the country in towns and communal villages in complete security; to be able to bring up and educate our children in the tranquility of our homes; to be able to live calmly in our houses.

Peace means a deep love of freedom. This is the real content of peace.

We are a peace-loving people. A people never tires of freedom, never tires of peace. A people is always ready to make the greatest sacrifice for its freedom and to defend peace.

We do not want war. We are builders of peace because we are socialists. Socialism produces peace because it destroys exploitation, humiliation, oppression, domination, ignorance, misery. It is socialism that always takes the initiative in the creation of an atmosphere of peace and fraternity between peoples. The SALT II agreement, instrument of peace and detente, is the result of the initiative of the Soviet Union and the Socialist countries.

Imperialism feeds on exploitation, humiliation, oppression, domination, ignorance, poverty. Imperialism produces war. Imperialism is always the aggressor. We want peace because it is peace that enables us to work to improve our life. To put an end to hunger, misery and disease.

THE OPPRESSED WILL WIN

We do not want to go to South Africa, but if they come here what are we going to do? South Africa must decide. They want to come here. They want to come and murder. Let them come. Let all the racists come, even all four million of them. We have room for them here. And then the oppressed majority there, the 23 million will take power. Let them come, so that the end of apartheid will be closer. They will stay here as refugees.

Let them come. And we shall put an end to war once and for all. There will be true peace in our zone, not the false peace that we are living now.

An attack against Mozambique, an invasion, are not just simple aggression. They are an act of war. How do wars start? They start with actions of this kind. The First and Second World Wars began with aggression and occupations. But each time the invader was defeated...

Ian Smith started the aggression from Salisbury. Result: the war ended in Salisbury. Consequence: Ian Smith was thrown into the rubbish bin of history.

When somebody takes a can of petrol to set fire to his neighbour's house, he always leaves a trail of petrol which will carry the fire back to his own house. When a snake abandons its hole, no matter how poisonous, strong, and feared it may be, it becomes vulnerable. Even a child can kill it with a stick. He does not even need a weapon.

Let the South Africans come. But let them be sure that the war will end in Pretoria, and that the majority will take power in Pretoria.

COURAGEOUS PEOPLE

We are a courageous people and tempered by war. We know how to bear sacrifices. The white South African racists live in comfort, luxury, and corruption. They enjoy privileges. They do not accept sacrifices. They want others to fight for them: they recruit mercenaries, delinquents, renegades, traitors, to die for them. But the renegades, the traitors have no motivation, no convictions. When we turn our weapons against them they surrender. How many have already died? How many have we captured?

And now they want to recruit blacks. But the blacks, Coloureds, Indians, the discriminated, exploited and oppressed of South Africa will not fight against us. They will turn their weapons against their bosses.

WE ARE MILLIONS

Let this minority come. And the people of South Africa -

the millions of South African patriots will arise and set fire to apartheid. But we know that the 4-million whites will not come. A clique will come. Among the South African whites there are men of good sense who want peace and prosperity, who love peace, who know the value of life.

We are all the peoples of the world! We are millions and millions. In South Africa we are 23-million blacks. We are millions of Coloureds, Indians, Whites who do not identify with apartheid. The South African racists are an arrogant minority but they will be beaten by the immense force of the people.

We are the people and the people never die. No oppressor ever managed to liquidate a people. The people always emerged victorious.

Let us organise ourselves. We all have tasks. We are clear about the objectives we are defending. We defend peace, freedom, security. Let each one arm himself with stones, sticks, hoes, pickaxes, arrows and spears. Let us sharpen the blades of the hoes and the pickaxes to make a hole in the head of the Boers.

Let us prepare ourselves with every kind of weapon, so that not one aggressor, leaves our country alive.

The Mozambican people are a heroic people. They proved it in the struggle against colonialism, they proved it during the events of the 7th of September and the 21st of October, they proved it during the Zimbabwean liberation war.

The Mozambican people will not allow themselves to be dominated. Watch out! Whoever wants to violate our country We will destroy them without pity. We will smash them one by one. Let them come. There will be nothing left of them...

DAWN politiXword No.3 Answers

ACROSS: 1. Comfort 4. AJ 6. Sink 7. Lenin
9. Chips 10. On 13. AM 15. Tank
17. Ice 18. Taxi 19. Luanda

DOWN: 1. Castro 2. Mind 3. Rolihlahla
5. June 8. Nap 11. Natal 12. Joe
15. Kind 16. Oil

The Harnessing of Mass Anger

- LERATO MORENA

(Practical recommendations by an MK combatant on the r o l e the Youth can play in mobilising the masses).

The mainstay of any revolutionary struggle, the revolutionary store-house of the fighting energy, is the masses of the oppressed. History records numerous examples to this effect. In our own case the African National Congress (and its allies) could never have survived, let alone exercise the leadership role that it has so consistently provided throughout the last 69 years of its existence, had it not been for the popular support that it has always enjoyed. Even under the present difficult conditions of clandestine operation, the ANC continues to be visibly in the van of the revolutionary transformations that are unfolding. But still we counsel for more work amongst the masses.

That the masses are oppressed, that they openly declare their identification with the liberation movement is not enough. The great Vietnamese revolutionary, Truong Chinh, puts it unequivocally:

"To win victory, the whole people must participate in it, shoulder their responsibilities, be courageous and make sacrifices. Therefore, the entire people m u s t be mobilised."

It therefore becomes very clear that satisfied as we are with the hatred our people have for the racist regime, their militancy and their refusal to be cowed down by the fascists, and their united desire to be free, we have no cause to imagine that half the battle is won - in fact, this situation has brought about yet greater demands on the liberation movement of our country, and in particular our youth, in whose name the year's campaign has been launched.

AN ANGRY PEOPLE

Our people are indeed an angry people, they have long reached the end of their tether. That is why this year we are to celebrate the 20th Anniversary of the formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe, our people's army. Since that 16th December 1961,



Angry crowds line the street in Mamelodi waiting for the body of Solomon Mahlangu; the racist police patrol is greeted with the clenched fist salute.

we have looked forward to the great day when the masses of our people would, in unprecedented fashion rise up to seize power. But many unforeseen obstacles have marred our path. There was the Rivonia set-back which brought about difficulties and new demands on organisation. There was the unfriendly climate around the borders of South Africa. Above all, there was the unrestrained rule of harassment and intimidation internally - a factor which specifically had a telling effect on organisation and mobilisation. Looked at closely all these factors (they are not the only ones) taken together, have somewhat served to retard the unfolding of our People's War.

O A U

The collapse of the Portuguese colonies and a positive shift within the OAU (as opposed to the days of the Domino theory) opened new vistas and doubtlessly greater prospects of revolution in our own country. By this time the ANC had rebuilt its forces inside the country, and having gone through such great experiences as the Wankie days, was ready to stand up to greater challenges. The decade of the 70s saw the workers, and particularly the Youth of our country demonstrating with militant strikes that the post-Rivonia 'lull' was over. This process has never halted since. But throughout this most encouraging period some serious shortcomings were evident. The actions were not co-ordinated nor united;

the countryside remained relatively quite whilst the Bantustan tailors measured their cloth. In a nutshell, the voice of protest was reverberating, and yet not properly harnessed.

It would be negligent for us to imagine that no effort was made to correct this situation. The African National Congress was quick to urge the people to action, unity and organised resistance through the radio, pamphlets, underground workers, etc. The people's response though encouraging (credit must especially go to the Youth) was on the main confined to the bigger industrial areas - even here co-ordination still has to be striven for. We have witnessed great advances in this respect during the historic Year of the Charter. Therefore, 1981 finds us still with mass mobilisation high up in our agenda. This time the Youth of our country are to take up the cudgels in the tradition of the Congress Youth Leaguers; the Mandelas, Sisulus, Tambos, etc.

N O B L E T A S K

It therefore becomes a noble task of the Youth to go to the people and to explain to them the elementary questions of our war.

Do the people understand our f i g h t? This question must trouble all serious patriots of our country. Understanding the fight means much more than knowing that the racist oppressor is an enemy. It means being able in the most precise way to identify the enemy, estimate his strength, know how to tackle him, and above all, to be perspicacious as regards the type of social order we would like to replace the oppressive one with. This should be explained to the masses of town and country without let up. It is only when this has been amply done (this is not an easy thing to measure. But such readiness as to respond to a call of the liberation movement in united militancy and on a nationwide scale, can serve as a pointer greatly assisting our estimation of the masses) that we shall begin to see the greater percentage of the oppressed united in their determination to "shoulder their responsibilities, be courageous and make sacrifices." Therefore, the importance of the political work amongst the masses, the need to "fight for unity and fight in unity", the fact that the masses are the backbone of our war, can never be overemphasised.

T H E Y O U T H

What then is the role of the Youth in this most arduous task? The Youth must seize the initiative of forming themselves into active Agitational and Propaganda units whose pri-

mary task would be to lay bare the facts of our people's war in front of the eyes of the masses. By explaining the nature of our war, exposing the enemy, his stooges at home and props abroad and by educating the masses about the invincibility of the liberatory war, the Agitational and Propaganda groups will indeed be elevating the political consciousness of the people, strengthening their patriotism and vigilance, and fostering their fighting spirit.

The people must be taught that our liberation war is protracted and most demanding. And that it is likely to be long-drawn and bloody. And yet they must be told that no matter the length of time, in the ultimate, our victory is assured. Our liberation war draws its strength from our own sacrifices and refusal to submit. Such an honest and unequivocal approach will provide a firm political grounding that will help limit the illusion of a sweeping revolution with minor losses, and therefore help steel the masses for the actual war situation in which we are already entangled.

To this end, Agitational and Propaganda groups must popularise the slogan; "Everybody has a role to play." They must transmit the call of Comrade President Oliver Tambo that:

"We call on our people in the countryside to unite themselves in the fight against the balkanisation and fragmentation of our country and people. The churches, mosques, religious organisations and Christians and Moslems at large should further enhance the dynamic role they have begun to play in moving the Christian and Moslem masses of our country into the forefront for a free and humane society. Workers in the field of culture and sport are urged to make greater use of their skill and talent to promote the people's cause."

The youth of our country must spare neither strength nor effort in ensuring the transformation of every village and homestead, every township, every factory and shop, wherever our people meet, into schools of revolution.

DEMANDS OF THE PROGRAMME

Such a programme will doubtlessly call for the highest level of discipline and organisation within the Agitational and Propaganda groups. This fact does not need much elucidation. A disciplined and organised Agitational and Propaganda group

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will be a true reflection of the patriotic motivation of its membership and therefore draw respect and trust from the people.

For proper and effective functioning the groups must be vigilant and skillful at evading the enemy. They must expose traitors to the nation, reactionaries and enemies of the revolution for what they are.

To ensure continuity in their work the groups should occasionally sit down to take stock. To evaluate their activities and study the best ways of improving where they have lagged behind in the past. In this way a progressive expansion of their activity will be guaranteed.

For us in MK, it is going to be our duty in the different areas of operation to encourage the formation of these groups whilst at the same time providing the crucial political guidance in line with the **"Strategy and Tactics of the ANC."** It is from such groups that the best patriots can be drawn into the ranks of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

C O N C L U S I O N

This article has attempted to make certain observations, remarks and suggestions on mass mobilisation and the role the Youth can play in this Year. Of course the arguments used here can never be said to be sufficient. The subject itself is a dynamic one and several considerations have to be made in specific areas before the general recommendations (they are indeed general) of this article can be implemented. For example thorough and up to date knowledge of the current mood and inclinations of the people is necessary before any meaningful step can be taken in any area of interest. This will also be of assistance in the choice of suitable covers under which the youth of the Agitational and Propaganda groups are to operate. Perhaps the most difficult issue for this author to deal with is the role of our underground workers vis-a-vis these groups. This question must for obvious reasons definitely be left to them. But that they are to play a most decisive role in initiating this movement is beyond question.

"EACH CITIZEN A SOLDIER, AND WHEN THE BANDITS COME
EVEN THE WOMEN FIGHT."

- FAMOUS VIETNAMESE SAYING -

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Dungeons Dark

- JOE CONGO

We are now running the final paces of the 20th Century, a century which "if our future generations do not judge us too severely" has made gigantic inroads and achievements having no parallel in history. But, perhaps, future generations shall have every right to judge us severely and harshly when history tells them that once there was a land which for over three solid centuries was a den of terror squads. A century that could at will let loose its terror machine as a people's daily bread in full view of the world. A country that stubbornly defied all protests pouring in in all languages of the world, including its very own. A country that sought to reduce such august bodies as the UN and OAU into a toothless pittance. They shall be told that that country was the Republic of South Africa. How could such a ruling clique be given, not only the moral, but downright physical right to exist and breathe? Perhaps the names of Carter, Schmidt, Thatcher shall recur on the lips of those privileged to explain, in a similar way as the names of Goebbels, Mussolini frequent those explaining now. It is hard now to tell what they shall believe, doubt or reject.

O P E N T E R R O R

It is true, South Africa practices open terror for us to feel and the world to see. And if the racists can be given any concessions we can say that they do not hide their sadistic defence of usurped wealth and land. But then there is the other world of keys, locks, warders and cells where the thick skinned wrath of race supremacy operates full blast upon, not only the patriots of our country, 'victims of agitators', but on 'communists' and 'agitators' proper. In these corridors courage is pitted against anger, unyielding determination against arrogance, Isandlwana against hell with a tremendous collision of fury.

If walls could nod in approval, these concrete walls would be first witnesses to our Nuremberg. There's no rumbuling of tanks, bullets don't graze on man and no grenades explode. What explodes is complete silence for the outsider except for the occasional scream that escapes the sound proof walls. Down to earth instruments are used as protruding knuckles flay lips and teeth, boots target themselves at will,

sputum squeezed through soiled teeth is buttressed against the neck and face. Professional fascists commanding psychological prowess empty their academies with limitless hate on simple but formidable courage.

In these cells even a fading flower forces a smile relieving the nostrils from a stench choked still air invading this sardined confinement from the bucket at the c o r n e r. Memory fades loosing track of time, March or April, day or night, under the naked bulb that burns without lapse or let up. What remains indelibly unforgotten is the number of steps from this corner to that one, how sharp the corner edges are, the number and size of cracks on the floor, the type of handle on the door, these are gone over with hourly frequency for lack of mental exercise. The walls draw closer each day commanding "Talk", "Why resist longer?" Courage is sandwiched as time crawls towards an endless abyss. The silence comes down in a material wave, which for lack of space pins the lone figure against the wall marshalling him to scream so that at least there be sound.

WALLS STAND WITNESS

These walls stand witness to all profession both humane and inhumane, even the medical professions (that gives life) is tamed anew, the Hippocratic Oath becomes slippery, microscopes malfunction to give good autopsy reports: "He hanged himself", "Thrombosis was cause of death", "Natural causes", "Slip in the shower". Humanity's highest achievements are harnessed for but one goal - to squeeze and dehydrate truth with hairsplitting sadism till the last twitch of a finger. "Haak Vrystaat" torture chambers scale tissue after tissue, sensory organ after another to electrocute a conviction to smithereens. Lust having gone its length, the victim is carried on a stretcher to his solitary hole, a pause before it starts all over again.

When the human being has become human flesh the 'agitator' is set free. Mother and child outrun each other in a bid for the first to be embraced. A grin is what can be afforded from the corner of healing lips, and that is all. The child relates with incessant noise on how anxiety had gripped home, how mother had spent sleepless nights, how mother's eyes had swollen red with dark blotches, how relatives had come to soothe their loneliness, to be rewarded with father's nod of approval. Perhaps time will heal his fading eyesight and slow encroaching deafness. But what cannot heal is mother's dawning belief that she will never ever again breast-feed another daughter or son. The knuckle has flayed and

the boot has run its course.

F A S C I S M

Genocide! Fascism! Not because we are alarmist, not because we want to give credence to our claim that our struggle has no parallel on the continent, not because we are waging propaganda for lack of something revolutive and mobilising to say, not because we are not victims of the Internal Security Act and are not grazing under the General Law Amendment Act, not because we are not witness to a land of mushrooming tombs and orphans. Not because we are unmindful of what a landless and famine hit 'Bantustanite' has to endure, not because... not because we are ignorant about the total meaning of genocide. We are South Africans, we are the muscle, tissue, strain and stress of our country. Lest we build on these names: Looksmart Ngudle, James Lenkoe, Mapetla Mohapi, Joseph Mdluli, Lawrence Ndzanga, Monty Motloun, etc., "And who else? Er... What short memory I have."

At the end of the day we shall collect empty cartridges spent in battle, we shall neutralise unexploded minefields, the fragmented railway network shall be restored, oozing oil pipelines shall be patched, gaping bridges shall be put under traffic, some of the injured will be confined to wheelchairs, heroes shall have been carried sky high. The young ones shall enter these cells and touch fingernailed scrawl and engravings on the wall failing to interpret them, failing no matter how much they stretch imagination to grip what 180 days of solitary confinement is. Upon the honour of their names we shall be building a triumphing world. Their stoic faces stand vehemently defiant against any short memory of history.



"ALL MY LIFE, I HAVE SERVED THE FATHERLAND, THE REVOLUTION AND THE PEOPLE WITH ALL MY HEART AND STRENGTH. IF I SHOULD NOW DEPART FROM THIS WORLD, I WOULD HAVE NOTHING TO REGRET, EXCEPT NOT BEING ABLE TO SERVE LONGER AND MORE."

(PRESIDENT HO CHI MINH - MAY 10, 1969).



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The International Socialist League

- DAVID SIMELANE

The proletarianisation of African people which was brought about through the most brutal mass expropriation of our people and colonial plunder, marked the beginning of a new struggle by a class which has been destined by history to lead South Africa to communism, the radiant future of mankind. Karl Marx and Engels in the Communist Manifesto say:

"All previous historical movements were movements of minorities. The proletarian movement is the self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority in the interest of the immense majority. The proletariat, the lowest stratum of our present society, cannot stir, cannot raise itself up, without the whole superincumbent strata of official society being sprung into the air."

The working class to be a class for itself undergoes a lot of metamorphoses, that is from the point of view of numbers and organisation.

EARLY UNIONS

The working class is educated during the course of exploitation by the bourgeoisie. They learn lessons in factories, in the clubs, associations, trade unions, political parties and during strikes when they find themselves confronted not only by the bourgeoisie alone but by its instruments of power as well.

In South Africa the dramatic transformation caused by mining and industry shook every inch of South Africa. This encouraged a lot of British immigrant workers to come to South Africa. For them this was a blessing because they were to uplift their own economic positions. Some of these immigrant workers started as independent diggers but with time they were thrown into their rightful class positions, i.e. working class, as a result of the inherent competition involved in capitalism.

The British immigrant workers had a lot of advantages over the local workers. They were already seasoned in class battles, and on top of that they came with skills. This monopoly of skills by white workers was to be the policy of racist South Africa in protecting the whites against Africans. The capitalists using this as the main tool to keep white workers away from the class struggle.

gle, making them feel part of the real rulers of South Africa. On the other hand the presence of foreign immigrant workers accelerated the formation of unions.

From as early as the 1880s-1900s some unions started to mushroom. These were the Amalgamated Society of Engineers and Typographical unions, etc. Fuller expression of this was the South African Labour Party (SALP) formed in 1909. The SALP was an all white political body with mixed ideas. Some elements were conservatives like Cresswell and others were foresighted socialists. The progressive wing within the SALP was able to ensure the reflection of socialist views in the constitution and managed to secure affiliation of the SALP to the 2nd International. The main decisive factor was to be the attitude of the SALP towards the oppressed majority. It became clear with time that the right-wing ideas were dominant when this element came into the picture.

In 1913 when the regime passed the Native Land Act, the Labour Party was passive and when the question of admitting Coloureds into the Labour Party was raised there was opposition by the right-wing elements although they failed. In the executive of the Labour Party there were outstanding principled internationalists like W.H. Andrews, Ivon Jones and S.P. Bunting.

THE WAR YEARS

When the imperialist war broke out in 1914, the SALP remained faithful to resolutions passed at Stuttgart by the International Socialist Congress i.e. anti-imperialist war resolution. This was maintained within the South African Labour Party until the South African government joined the war on the side of Britain and its allies. Like in other countries this brought about a conflict within the Labour Party, sifting the principled socialists from opportunist forces. The socialists formed what was known as the War on War League and in their weekly journal, "The International", they educated the people about the class essence of the war. The struggle within the Labour Party continued between progressive and reactionary forces. When the right-wingers wanted to force candidates to pledge support for an unjust war the internationalists resigned from the Labour Party and ultimately formed in September 1915 the International Socialist League of South Africa (ISL). This was joined by the Socialist Labour Party which was characterised by De Leonite ideas. De Leonism was a distorted version of Marxism popularised by the writings of Daniel De Leon, an American socialist. This

trend denounced all types of parliamentary activity and even desired to boycott craft and trade unions.

T H E I S L

From its inception, the ISL dedicated itself to the struggle of the South African working class, both black and white. It saw the destruction of capitalism in South Africa as inter-linked with the struggle of the oppressed people. The ISL organised Socialist Sunday schools and night classes for the Africans, which were conducted by Ivon Jones, who can also be regarded as the father of the Communist Party of South Africa. These were baptismal schools for the South African working class. In 1916 the First Congress of the ISL adopted a petition of rights, a document that was demanding political, economic and social rights for Africans. The Indian Workers' Industrial Union of Durban and the African National Congress shared a platform with the ISL in the 1917 conference. In the same year the ISL fought against the Native Administrative Bill which was aimed at finalising African proletarianisation.

The first trade union organisation for Africans, the Industrial Workers of Africa (IWA) was engineered by the ISL. The slogan used by the IWA then was "Sizi funa zonke" (We want them all). This trade union was later absorbed in 1919 into one of the most powerful trade unions in South Africa at the time, the Industrial Commercial Workers' Union (ICU). An organisation that was to command the following of thousands of workers in South Africa. During the Bucket Strike and the great African miners' strike of 1919 the ISL featured prominently. Leaflets were issued to the white workers, urging them not to scab. Others were meant for the education of the African working class.

INTERNATIONALISM

The ISL continued to be a revolutionary and consistent internationalist movement. When the world shaking event, the Great October Socialist Revolution, occurred, the ISL took it upon itself to educate the South African working class and all the toiling masses about its significance. Some articles were quoted directly from "Pravda", the official organ of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Ivon Jones, who was editor of "The International" wrote under the following title:
"Dawn of the World";

"What we are witnessing is an unfolding of the world-wide Commonwealth of Labour, which if the oppressed of all lands only knew... would sweep them into transports of gladness. It

is this high ecstasy which animates the Russian people today... Our task in South Africa is a great one. We must educate the people in the principles of the Russian Revolution...". This was the type of spirit in which the pioneers of the CPSA accepted the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution. When in 1920 the Comintern was established, the ISL was amongst the first parties to affiliate and some of the outstanding leaders, Ivon Jones and Sam Barlin, participated in its deliberations.

In this mighty Year of the Youth, when the SACP marks its 60th Anniversary, we salute all the co-founders of the Party for their unswerving will to fight against capitalism and their dedication to the cause of the working class. Indeed the ISL served as a firm basis for the CPSA which was to chart a path during sixty years of an arduous and most difficult struggle.

HONOUR TO LABOUR

He who swings a mighty hammer
He who reaps a field of corn,
He who breaks the marshy meadow
To provide for wife, for children,
He who rows against the current,
He who weary at the loom
Weaves with wool and tow and flax
That his fair-haired young may flourish,
Honour that man, praise that worker!
Honour every callous hand!
Honour every drop of sweat
That is shed in mill and foundry!
Honour every dripping forehead
At the plough. And let that man
Who with mind and spirit's labour
Hungering ploughs be not forgotten.

- FERDINAND FREILIGRATH

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THE PALESTINIANS

- A People in Search of a State -

- TSHIDI MALEBANE



The Arabs are being driven from their homes by the Israeli authorities who continue to build settlements in the occupied territories. Above: A Palestinian refugee camp in Jordan. TASS photo

South Africans will be struck by the extra-ordinarily close parallels between the situation of the Africans in South Africa and that of the Palestinian Arabs. But in one respect the Palestinians are unique today. They are a people numbering 4-million who have been without a state since 1948, the year the state of Israel was established. They are a people dispersed with nearly half of them living in exile; mainly in Jordan, Lebanon, Syria and Kuwait.

While their numbers have been reduced to 12% of the population in Israel, they constitute the majority in Israeli occupied Gaza Strip (occupied in 1956) and the West Bank (occupied in 1967).

CRUX OF THE MIDDLE EAST SITUATION

The stateless Jews made themselves a home at the expense of the Arabs, one of the many injustices the Palestinians are labouring under. But one must hasten to say that the Arab-Jewish hostility, engendered in the first instance by the nationalistic and chauvinistic concept of an exclusive Jewish state held by the Zionists, is not the crux of the Middle East situation. Central to the problem is the intense interest of the imperialist powers, particularly the USA, in procuring Middle East oil for themselves. The USA has made Israel an instrument of imperialist power in the Middle East, an ally in combating the Arab national liberation movements, which are the main threat to the free supply of Middle East oil. What happens when the forces of national liberation triumph is clearly shown in Iran. All supplies of oil to the USA have been stopped.

The relationship between the USA and Israel is well illustrated by the way Israel was assisted in the October 1973

Arab-Israeli war. American tanks were flown to Israel fuelled up and engines warmed up. They rode straight into battle from Israeli airfields.

DRIVEN FROM THEIR LAND

We are familiar with the way taxes were imposed on the black peasant in South Africa to force him off the land and compel him to seek work from the white man. In Israel a different tactic has been employed. Israeli Arabs are subject to the emergency military regulations first imposed by the British in 1945 on both Jews and Arabs as it then was. After 1948 these were no longer applied to the Jews but continued to be applied on the Arabs. These regulations have been used to close off areas of land for so-called 'security' reasons and their inhabitants forbidden to enter them. Through this device nearly half the land belonging to Israeli Arabs has been taken from them & turned over to the Jewish farmers, the Kibbutzim. Those people driven from their land became 'internal refugees' forced to live in shacks where the Zionists permitted them to squat. In the circumstances they were forced to seek work as farm labourers.

During the 1948 war some 750,000 Arab civilians either fled in panic or were driven from their homes and sought refuge in the surrounding Arab countries, mainly in Jordan. These people are not permitted to return to their homeland. Their property was taken over by the Israeli rulers, who have rejected all responsibility for the refugees.

Israel's attitude to the plight of the Palestinians is chauvinistic in the extreme. In the London "Sunday Times", 15th June, 1969, Mrs Golda Meir, the then Israeli Premier, declared: "There was no such thing as Palestinians... It was not as though there was a Palestinian people... and we came and threw them out and took their country from them. They did not exist." The true picture of how the Palestinians have been treated was given by the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights in early 1973:

"In that part of Palestine which became Israel in 1948 there existed some 475 (Arab) villages and towns scattered throughout the land. Today, only 90 remain; the other 385 have been totally razed to the ground by the Zionist settlers". This adds up to a destruction of no less than 80% of their villages.

THE PLO

Commando organisations came together with trade unions and independents to set up the Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO) in 1964. It is a federal body uniting these

various elements, both left and right wing, controlling them loosely. The largest single component is Al-Fatah led by Yasser Arafat. Another significant commando organisation is the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), which is often only symbolically represented in the PLO due to its disagreements over policy with the leadership.

THE PFLP

The PFLP considers the PLO to be insufficiently revolutionary and refuses to sit on the PLO Executive Committee, saying that the PLO is too conciliatory towards moves for a peaceful settlement in the Middle East and must stop playing the diplomatic game. In reply the PLO states that international recognition must be sought in order to enlist maximum support for its cause, and that emphasis must be placed on collective action and not on acts of individual heroism.

THE BLACK SEPTEMBER MOVEMENT

A proper sense of proportion must be kept when examining accusations of terrorism levelled at the PLO. Most of these acts of individual heroism are carried out by the Black September Movement, part of the PFLP. The Palestinians are faced by an enemy engaged in terror in a massive way. In Israel, Gaza and the West Bank they suffer the daily outrage of occupation and are subject to arbitrary arrest and torture. In South Lebanon the Israeli army is engaged in a genocidal war against Palestinian refugee civilians, strongly reminiscent of America's campaign in Vietnam.

Israel's attitude is clearly spelt out by her army Chief of Staff at the time, General Gur, in an interview following the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in March, 1978. This was the final question put to him:

Question: Then you claim the population ought to be punished?

Answer: Of course, and I have never had any doubt about that... It has now been 30 years, from the time of our Independence War until now, that we have been fighting against the civilian (Arab) population which inhabited the villages and towns, and every time that we do it, the same question gets asked: Should we or should we not strike at civilians?

The Western press omitted to carry this revealing interview.

In contrast the so-called 'Camp David Peace Treaty' signed by Egypt, Israel and the USA in 1979 has received widespread publicity in the Western press as a step forward in international relations. It is nothing of the kind. It is no peace treaty but a pact of aggression against the Palestinians.

THE PLA

The military-wing of the PLO is known as the People's Liberation Army (PLA). The political leadership of the PLO and the general command of the PLA have experienced periods of tense relations, when the PLA attempted to play a larger political role. It numbers six to ten thousand men and women, mainly infantry. The largest contingent is stationed in Syria.

The Battle of Karameh (March 1968) between the Palestinian commandos, helped by units of the Jordanian Army, and a large attacking Israeli force, dramatically enhanced the reputation of the commandos, while causing tension between the two largest groups, Al-Fatah and PFLP. The former accused the latter of withdrawing from the battlefield, although it was supposed to defend the northern part of Karameh.

KEY WEAPON

The oppression of the Palestinians has its lessons for South Africans. It tells us that racism is a key ideological weapon of monopoly capital. It rules the lives of the people in countries like Israel and South Africa. The regimes of these two states have much in common. They both treat their oppressed peoples in a discriminatory fashion, exploiting them to the full. They both accept monopoly investments in large amounts. They both act as reactionary bastions of the imperialist powers against the national liberation movements in the respective countries. Without the support of the imperialist states, the economies of both regimes would collapse overnight.

DOWN WITH ZIONISM!



Israel continues its barbarous raids on towns, villages and Palestinian refugee camps in Southern Lebanon. Photo shows Israeli troops returning to their base after another brigand attack.

UPI-TASS photo

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NAKED AMONG WOLVES

by

BRUNO APITZ

Chapter 2

Hofel pressed his hand to his forehead. "Little kids get frightened, and then they scream... Oh hell...!" He stared at the child. For a long time. He took hold of the child by both shoulders and shook it gently. "You mustn't scream, you hear? Otherwise SS comes." Fear suddenly altered the child's face. The boy pulled himself back into the suitcase and shrank together, hiding his face in his hands.

"It knows," Pippig exclaimed.

"He'll keep quiet all right," said Hofel hollowly. He clamped his lips together. Again the three men looked at one another. Each expected a decision from the others in this unusual case. Hofel, worried that Zweiling might notice their absence, pulled Pippig along with him. "Come on, we have to go up front." To Kropinski he said, "Stay here till we get back."

By the time Pippig came back to the corner with some coffee and a piece of bread, Kropinski had succeeded in calming the child enough to make it open its eyes. Kropinski sat it upright and handed it the aluminum cup. Pippig encouragingly held out the slice of bread to it. But the child did not take anything.

"It's afraid," said Pippig, and put the bread between the little hands. "Eat," he nodded in a friendly way.

"Must eat now and sleep and not be afraid," whispered Kropinski. "Good brother Pippig watching out, and I too, and I take you, and I take you back to Poland with me," He pointed to himself, smiling. "I got a little house there." The child looked up at Kropinski, its face tense. It opened its mouth a little. Unexpectedly and nimbly as an animal it crept under the coats. The two waited a few moments. Carefully, Kropinski raised the coat. The child, lying on its side, was chewing the bread. Kropinski gently covered it up again, and they left the corner, whose entrance they concealed with a stack of sacks. They listened. Behind them it was still.

In the clerks' office, the prisoners crowded curiously around Hofel and wanted to know details, for Rose had blabbed. He defended himself noisily when Hofel reprimanded him.

"I don't go in for this funny business."

The prisoners were talking excitedly all at once.

"Where is the child then?"

"Quiet!" Hofel urged and turned to Rose: "There isn't any funny business here. The child is just staying here with us tonight, tomorrow we take it away."

The prisoners wanted to see the child. They stole to the corner. Kropinski carefully raised the coat. The men looked over one another's shoulders at the little thing. It lay rolled up like a cockchafer's grub, and s l e p t. The faces of the prisoners lit up, it was so long since they had seen a child. It was amazing! "Like a real little person..."

Hofel let them look their fill. Kropinski beamed over his property. Softly he laid the coat over the breathing child, as the prisoners left the corner on tiptoes. That evening they sat around idly in the clerks' office and at the counter and were happy without knowing why. The happiest was Kropinski. "Is a little Polish child," he laughed again and again, and was as proud of it as could be.

THE ILK

In the course of time, the International Camp Committee had become the centre of the resistance. Originally, the Party comrades had joined together as representing their countries in the International Camp Committee, the ILK, in order to form an association among the thousands herded together, to establish understanding between the nationalities, and with the help of the best among them, to awaken a feeling of solidarity, which had by no means been present at the beginning. Among the German prisoners alone there were some blocks consisting of so-called professional criminals. These included a great many prisoners who, for the sake of personal advantage, had degraded themselves to willing subjects of the SS; they were in cahoots with the block and commando fuhrers and became their errand boys and stool pigeons. Even among the political prisoners, in all the blocks and in every nationality, there were shaky elements whose fear of their own lives outweighed the welfare and the security of the community.

For not everyone who wore a red triangle was really a 'political', that is, a conscious opponent of fascism; grumblers and other objectionable people picked up by the Gestapo got the red triangle of the politicals, so that the composi-

tion of the political blocks ranged from 'unstable' characters to latent criminals, and some of their inmates should really have been wearing the green triangle of the professional criminals.

At the beginning, due to language differences or other obstructive reasons, no understanding could be effected between the German blocks and the blocks of foreigners, of Poles, Russians, French, Dutch, Czechs, Danes, Norwegians, Austrians and many other categories of prisoners. The comrades who had come together through the ILK had to overcome many difficulties before they succeeded in dispelling the distrust of the foreign prisoners, who found it very difficult to get used to regarding German prisoners as comrades.

B O C H O W

In every block the comrades found people they could rely on, and gradually the ILK established itself among the prisoners, without a single one of them suspecting the existence of any such secret link. None of the comrades in the ILK occupied an exposed position in the camp or stood out in any way. They lived simply and unobtrusively. Bogorski in the shower commando, Kodiczek and Pribula as professionals in the optics barracks, van Dalen as an ordinary attendant in the infirmary, Riomand as French cook in the SS casino where he was highly regarded by the gourmets, and Bochow as a subordinate block clerk in Block 38.

Here (Block 38) the former Communist Party representative from Bremerhaven in the provincial legislature had created a refuge for himself and his dangerous task. His skill in using a script pen and printing neatly had made him valuable to the ridiculously stupid block fuhrer, an Unterscharfuhrer (non-commissioned SS officer, of rank between corporal and sergeant). Bochow had to letter dozens of cardboard signs for him with edifying mottoes such as My honour is loyalty - One people, one empire, one Fuhrer. The Unterscharfuhrer peddled these specialities among his acquaintances, making a lucrative sideline out of them for himself. It never occurred to him that his handy block clerk could be anything else but a 'harmless' prisoner.

It was Bochow who, at an ILK discussion, had proposed Andre Hofel as military instructor for the resistance groups. "I know him, he's an old, good buddy, I'll talk to him."

W E A P O N S

That was a year ago, and since then everything had gone well. Meantime Hofel had learned where the weapons came from,

which Bochow had not wanted to talk about at the time, Cutting and stabbing weapons had been secretly fashioned by the prisoners in the various workshops of the camp. Soviet prisoners-of-war produced hand grenades at the lathes of Weimar ammunition factories where they had to work, and smuggled them into the camp. There, skilled men who worked in the prisoners' infirmary and the pathology department of the camp were able to make explosive charges for the grenades out of chemicals they spirited away. Hofel knew all this now, and when he taught the comrades in a secret place how to handle the weapons, he was especially happy to be able to demonstrate with a 7,65 millimeter Walther pistol. This weapon had been swiped from the second in command at the camp, Kluttig, during a booze party in the SS leaders' club. Yes, swiped, by one of the prisoners who had had to wait on the drunks. No one ever found out who did it, for not even the dogged Communist hater Kluttig would have given a prisoner credit for such daring. He suspected one of his drinking companions. Hofel felt icy cold every time he held the precious weapon in his hand, every time he took it out of its hiding place and concealed it on his body to go through the camp for the half-hour of instruction, past friends greeting him unsuspectingly, past many an SS man. He could feel the cold metal on his body.

And it had always gone well!

But suddenly a little child had come into the camp! Just as clandestinely and dangerously as the Walther 7,65. There was no one he could talk to about it. The only one was Bochow. For Hofel it was only a few steps to Block 38, and yet it was a long way.

"A FINE STRATEGIST..."

Block 38 was one of the one-story brick buildings which had been built years after the first wooden barracks were put up. Like the other brick blocks it included four mess halls with an adjoining dormitory. There was nothing unusual in the appearance of the Kapo of the effects room in one of the blocks, and the prisoners consequently paid no attention when Hofel came in. Hofel made his way through the densely crowded room and went up to Bochow at the desk. "Can you come out a minute?"

Without speaking, Bochow rose, pulled on his coat, and they left the block. They did not speak with one another outside. Only when they had reached the wide road leading to the infirmary, where a number of prisoners were still walking back and forth, did Hofel begin: "I've got to talk to you."

"Is it important?"

"Yes."

They talked so softly, so that no one would notice them. "A Pole, Zacharias Jankowski, brought a little kid with him..."

"You call that important?"

"The child is with me, in the effects room."

"What? Why?"

"I hid it there." Hofel could not make out Bochow's face in the dark.

Bochow stood still. "Man, have you gone crazy?"

Hofel raised his hands. "Let me explain, Herbert..."

"I don't want to hear it."

"But you must hear it," Hofel insisted. He knew Bochow, he was always hard and uncompromising. They walked on further, and a hot feeling shot through Hofel. Absolutely without thinking he said, "I have a son at home myself, he's ten years old. I've never seen him."

"Sentimental rot, you have the strictest instructions to keep out of everything. Did you forget that?"

Hofel defended himself. "If the kid lands in their clutches up there, it's curtains. I can't drag it to the gate: Here, we found this in a suitcase."

"Herbert! Haven't you any heart in your body?"

"And that isn't sentimental rot?" Bochow had been incautiously loud; he accordingly stopped himself short and then continued softly: "No heart in my body? It isn't a question here of one child, but of fifty thousand people!"

Hofel walked silently alongside Bochow, deeply agitated; Bochow's objection took the wind out of his sails. "All right then," he said, after a few steps, "I'll bring the kid to the gate tomorrow."

Bochow shook his head: "Will two stupid things make one smart one?"

Hofel lost patience. "Either I hide the kid or I give it up!"

"A fine strategist you are..."

"Then what should I do?" Hofel pulled his hands out of his pockets and spread them helplessly. In order to calm Hofel down and not to appear agitated himself, Bochow said, casually, "I heard in the clerks' room that a transport is leaving, and I'll see that the Pole is included in it. You let him take the child with him."

Hofel winced at the hard decision. Bochow stopped walking, stepped up close to Hofel and looked into his eyes.

"What else?"

In the balancing of necessities, the obligations here in the camp weighed the most. Could Bochow, whom the ILK had appointed as responsible for the resistance groups, permit the group's military instructor or even the group itself to be endangered because of a child? Or the whole painstakingly constructed apparatus? In addition the camp patrol, outwardly a quite legal fixture, but in reality a first-rate military organisation? You never could tell how much might come of a harmless affair. A l i t t l e c h i l d starts the snowball rolling and all of a sudden it's an avalanche bringing down ruin on everything and everybody.

This was what went through Bochow's mind as he looked at Hofel. He turned to walk on, and said almost sadly: "Sometimes the heart is a very dangerous thing! The Pole probably knows how to manage with the kid. He brought it this far and he can bring it further." Hofel kept silent. They had turned off from the infirmary road and were now standing between the barracks. Here it was deserted. The cold and penetrating rain made them both shiver. They separated.

K R A M E R

In the room beside the clerks' room, where the camp senior, Kramer and his deputy, Proll, had their headquarters, the evening's business was already over. Proll was busy in the clerks room. Kramer was putting together the attendance list of the camp for the next morning's roll call on the basis of the individual block reports. Aside from him only a few block seniors and block clerks were present. They had already handed in their reports and were standing about gossiping. Bochow walked in but he seemed hesitant to hand his report to Kramer. The camp senior recognised that the block clerk from 38 had something on his mind.

Kramer also belonged to the circle of the knowing and the silent. His installation as camp senior had been managed by the comrades of the ILK. A dependable comrade had to be placed in the important position which was previously occupied by a hardened criminal, an appointee of Kluttig; he had abused his post for personal advantage and had therefore been removed. The members of the ILK had accordingly proposed the block senior, Walter Kramer. By skilfully playing on the contradictions between Kluttig and the Camp Commandant Schwahl, the comrades of the ILK succeeded in 'making' Kramer camp senior.

Everything that happened in the camp revolved around his person. He received his orders from Schwahl, from the camp fuhrer, and from the report fuhrer. The orders had to be carried out. But always in such a way as not to endanger the lives and security of the prisoners. This often required

cleverness and smart manoeuvring. Kramer, a compact, broad-shouldered coppersmith from Hamburg, was serenity in person. He could not be so easily shaken. He performed the duties of his difficult post in discreet co-operation with the Party comrades. The underground party in the camp confronted him in the person of Herbert Bochow.

"Don't ask about it, Walter, it's better for you," was often his objection when Kramer wanted to know the reason for some instruction which Bochow brought him. In many cases it would have been better if Bochow had asked Kramer's opinion, spoken more openly. This was true now, too, after he had got rid of the superfluous visitors with a friendly growl. He looked at Bochow challengingly.

"Something stupid," began Bochow.

"What's wrong?"

"You putting a new transport together?"

"Suppose I am?" Kramer asked back. "Proll is making up the list in there."

"A Pole came in with the last batch. Zacharias Jankowski, his name is. He's certainly in the Little Camp. Can you fit him in with the transport?"

"What's wrong with him?"

"Nothing." Bochow replied darkly. "You must get in touch with Hofel. He'll have something for you to give to the Pole."

"What?"

"A child."

"A what???" Kramer threw down the pencil with which he had been making the entries. Bochow watched Kramer's amazement. "Please don't ask me. It can't be helped."

"But a child? Herbert! The transport is going God knows where! You know what that means?"

Bochow became nervous. "I can't tell you anything more."

Kramer got up. "What kind of child? What's the story on it?" Bochow warded off the question.

"Nothing, that's not the point."

Bochow warded off the question. "Nothing, that's not the point."

"I can imagine." Kramer snorted. "Listen, Herbert! I don't usually do much asking, because I always rely on..."

"Then don't ask."

"Sometimes you make it damned hard for me, Herbert."

Bochow laid his hand conciliatingly on his shoulder. "No one else can handle this thing but you. Hofel has already been told. Tell him you're coming from me."

DAWN

Political Word

No. 4

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CLUES

Across

1. Cde. Mahlangu is one.
3. FRG's missile company formerly in Zaire.
5. International military colour.
6. Algeria is its member state.
9. Escaped from Robben Island in 1819.
10. Drinking of water by animals.
11. The military fighting afloat.
14. "The People shall Share in the Country's ...".
17. Partisan prepared to fight for a cause.

Down

1. Peking's reactionary policy in South-east Asia.
2. A play of both vocal and instrumental entertainment.
4. To force the enemy to retreat.
7. Biggest province in our country.
8. Move with rhythmical steps to music.
12. Fine net worn by Arab women to conceal their faces.
13. Soviet made pistol.
14. Not dry.
15. ... my People Go.
16. Demolition by explosives.

See answer in DAWN Vol. 5 No. 5

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