

DAWN

VOLUME 6

No.6 & 7 JUNE/JULY 1982



Monthly Journal of Umkhonto we Sizwe



DAWN

Monthly Journal of Umkhonto we Sizwe

Contents

Editorial Comment: Days of Battle	1
History is on Our Side	3
The Struggle Will Intensify	11
What is Ours is Ours	18
DPSKEMPI - Part 1	22
Rebels Go Home	30
DAWN PolitiXword No.5 Answers	33
Straight Talk – Hitler’s Mantle	34
Bonds of Unity Consolidated	36
Namibia – The Death Toll Mounts	40
Naked Among Wolves	44
DAWN PolitiXword No.6	56

COVER: *Comrade Andrew Masondo, Member of the National Executive Committee of the ANC addressing a meeting Marking the 30th Anniversary of the Defiance Campaign.*



Editorial Comment

DAYS OF BATTLE

The racist rulers of our country should be finding it extremely difficult and absurd to convince their followers that all is normal and under control in South Africa. Waking up in the morning of the 3rd June in a small town of Paulpietersburg one would definitely think he had been caught up in the centre of the third world war as hundreds of policemen, soldiers and commandos, supported by the South African Air Force were roaming around the town in a wild-goose chase for — no doubt — a *few* MK combatants who had blasted to ashes a Total fuel depot; a loading installation at Kemps List coal mine and a signal box at the railway station. This could not have been a show force, no matter how far we stretch our imagination, but of great weakness.

As we prepare to celebrate two landmarks in the history of our glorious fight against apartheid tyranny — the sixth anniversary of Soweto Uprisings and the 30th anniversary of the Defiance Campaign — white rule is staggering in the face of highly dramatic and professional blows delivered by our army, Umkhonto We Sizwe. The frequency — let alone the skill — with which these operations are carried out spells Pretoria's imminent downfall in the most clear terms. *In Natal alone, the blast that damaged a grain elevator on June 5 is said — or rather estimated — to be the ninth sabotage attack in less than a month! Add to this a fuel depot and an Escom transformer at Hectorspruit; the powerlines along the New Canada-

Dube railway line in Soweto – and the list is in no way next to complete.

The choice of targets is on its own enough reason for the racists to be alarmed. Our combatants are striking right at the very nerve-centre of the abhorrent system. Added to the Port Natal Administration Boards' offices in Pinetown and the Directorate of Coloured Affairs regional headquarters in Durban, the President's Council could not be spared. Notwithstanding the supposedly tight security network, the Presidents Council had its share of MK's firepower when a heavy explosion shattered lift foyers in the building housing it up to the 6th floor. If the farcical Presidents Council cannot bow to mass pressure, it still remains to be seen whether it can absorb more fire before it is relegated to the dustbins of history like its sister institutions, the SAIC, CRC and the Community Councils.

June 26th 1952 ushered in the historic Campaign for the Defiance of Unjust Laws. By the end of the campaign many sons and daughters of our soil had lost their lives, murdered in cold blood. June 16th 1976 is fresh in our memories as if it were only yesterday when thousands of young children were callously murdered in Soweto, Gugulethu, Bontheuwel, Mamelodi and elsewhere. If then the massacres of our people were a source of joy, delight and a morale booster for the hated enemy in that it was a display of force and a constant reminder of their invincibility, today the opposite is true. Whenever any of our anniversaries draws near, the enemy, fear-stricken, spends sleepless nights wondering when and where our dauntless fighters will strike next.

"The campaign has obviously been built for these two dates", commented the racist Lt. Gen. Coetzee. The guess is not at all a wild one. The peaceful demonstration by the Soweto students was drowned in blood. The fires of freedom, so thought the enemy, had been put down. But the embers of Soweto still and will smoulder on for years and decades to come. This is the reason why the enemy takes our national days with utmost seriousness, for, indeed, to us they are not days of festivity but of battle. On these days we address ourselves anew to the legitimacy of the apartheid regime and vow to fight to the last drop of blood as long as the white marauder is boss over our land.

As the enemy flinches, the onus is on us to make all our anniversaries; January 8th, March 5 and 21st, June 16 and 26, July 31st, August 9 and December 16 refresh the enemy's memory to his inevitable defeat by, in this Year of Unity in Action, intensifying the war on all fronts and let this year be, in the words of Comrade President O.R. Tambo, "The year of the greatest leap forward to the threshold of victory."

History Is On Our Side

—Joyce Meking

The great concern showed by our oppressed and exploited people for their future is certainly one of the most important features of the political situation in our country today. The political battles which our people are waging in every major industrial centre as well as in the bantustans, battles which draw into the streets workers, the youth, women, church people, democratic whites, progressive intellectuals, etc, are the most vivid expression of this growing concern for the future. All this is happening against the background of a deep-growing crisis that is hitting the apartheid system. The combination of these factors hastens the process of the decay of this brutal system of national oppression and exploitation. This is accompanied by the worsening conditions of living for our people leaving no option before them except to fight not only for their survival but in fact to bring an end to their slave conditions once and for all. This situation opens great possibilities for the forces of national liberation in our country to make further advances towards the achievement of victory. In short, history is on our side.

It is with this understanding in mind that it becomes necessary to focus our attention on two important questions connected with the call made by the National Executive Committee of our ANC early this year: "Let this be the year of a great leap forward to the threshold of victory." The two questions we are referring to are:

- 1) What is the extent of the crisis that is presently hitting the apartheid system and
- 2) What possibilities does it open to our forces of liberation?

THE DEEPENING CRISIS

Since coming into power in 1948, the Pretoria fascist regime, acting in collaboration with the entire class of capitalist exploiters who own factories, mines, farms, banks, transport, etc., and their imperialist partners, has been devising scheme after scheme based on the apartheid ideology of domination and exploitation with an aim of perpetuating and consolidating this criminal system. The so-called 'Total War Strategy', a brain-child of Botha's strategists like Malan, which embraces every aspect of the regime's policy — political, economic, military, diplomatic, cultural, etc., — is the perfection of all the reactionary schemes plotted and implemented by Pretoria throughout its years of tyranny. The architects of apartheid believe that with this strategy for domination a formula for the survival of apartheid and the interests of the monopolies of USA, Britain, France, Japan and FRG has been discovered. History, however, follows its own course. This is exactly what the present crisis of apartheid system shows.

In his keynote address to the Second Italian National Conference of solidarity with the Peoples of Southern Africa which was held in Rome (26th to 28th February) Comrade President O.R. Tambo pointed out:



Comrade President O.R. Tambo Addresses the Opening Session of the Second Italian National Conference of Solidarity with the Peoples of Southern Africa.

"The African National Congress diagnoses the South African system as in a crisis. It is an organic crisis, one that cuts to the nature of the system. It is a crisis that could last some time, but the duration does not lessen the severity. For this is a crisis of authority, a crisis of power, which the apartheid system cannot resolve..."

"The economy faces a crisis of unprecedented proportions, which while not peculiar to South Africa, does have a number of distinct features. It is characterised by galloping inflation, sharp economic decline, severe dislocation and an ever-escalating rate of unemployment. And, in our country, all the unemployed are without exception black! Those sections of the population who previously battered on racial privilege now stand to lose and the masses of the oppressed who have been forced to bear the cost of the crisis have seen their burdens increase tenfold."

This is a crisis which is inborn in apartheid. It stems from the internal and basic contradictions on which the whole system rests. The economy of apartheid, its life-blood, is characteristically capitalist. It is the millions of the workers who produce all the wealth of the country while they live and die in abject poverty as is the case with their children who die of diseases caused by malnutrition or simply starvation. All this wealth is taken by the owners of the factories, mines, farms, transport, etc., who use it for their luxury, for further enriching themselves through exploitation of the workers as well as to maintain this naked system of robbery by stockpiling arms for shooting down hungry workers who demand bread and a place to live for themselves and their children. Worse still, this system of capitalist exploitation is operating through the brutal national domination of the indigenous African majority — workers, peasants, intellectuals, small businessmen, etc., — as well as their Coloureds and Indian compatriots. This enables the South African capitalist exploiters and their imperialist partners who have investments worth millions of rands in the apartheid economy to reap super-profits. The victims of this system, the black workers, who are prohibited even from demanding a living wage are practically condemned to slave conditions.

INSOLUBLE CONTRADICTION

Based on these insoluble contradictions, that are between the capitalist exploiter and the exploited worker, between the oppressive racist minority regime and the oppressed black majority, the apartheid system cannot survive eternally. What is more, for as long as it exists it will frequently be hit by dislocating crises and the effects of each new crisis

are more devastating than that of the preceding one.

These crises as well as the oppressed and exploited people's struggle which they result in are the factors which hasten the process of the decay of the whole system and will finally bring about its total destruction and replacement by a new system, a South Africa of the Freedom Charter.

To make matters worse the Pretoria regime is waging a campaign of aggression against the frontline states especially Angola because of their opposition to apartheid domination. By waging these wars of aggression the regime's policy-makers hope to preserve apartheid and secure the whole Southern African region for exploitation by the imperialist powers. Instead these wars have an exhausting effect on the apartheid system itself. They do not only affect the economy by depleting the regime's financial resources and by causing manpower shortages in those fields of the economy which are reserved for whites. These wars also affect the very regime's weapon of aggression as the steadily growing



A South African Soldier Killed during the invasion of the People's Republic of Angola.

discontent among racist soldiers shows. The white community on whose members the racist army largely depends for manpower is also affected and this is made worse by the fact that it is becoming clear that the Pretoria fascist regime will not always be in a position to afford the privileges with which it is bribing the white community as the current politico-economic crisis indicates.

The other point which must be made about the present crisis of apartheid is that while the Pretoria rulers will continue to step up their campaign of terror against our people in South Africa and the Namibian people as well as the frontline states, its massive sabre rattling is not a sign of strength. No! Rather it exposes the worsening failure of the Pretoria regime to cope with the situation inside South Africa and Namibia and the consequences of its aggression against the peaceful peoples of Southern Africa. The peoples of this region have not yielded to the pressure exerted on them by Pretoria. They continue to support the struggles of our people for national liberation under the leadership of SWAPO and the ANC respectively. The steps which are being taken by the Southern African states to end their economic independence on racist South Africa go a long way in putting these countries' unity against their common enemy on a solid basis. This is of great advantage to our struggling people. Looked at on a world scale the balance of forces favours the forces of peace and liberation and this is what the situation in our region reflects. The forces of imperialism and war can no longer bully the world around as they used to do in the past.

GREAT POSSIBILITIES

We have noted that apartheid, like all systems based on exploitation and oppression, is doomed to death. Apartheid contains within itself the ingredients for its destruction. At the same time it is clear that in addition to its inbuilt cancer, the actions of our people have played an important role to bring about the present state of the decay of the system. Similarly apartheid will not fall on its own. Even when this system has reached an explosion point, and this is unavoidable, it is only through our liberatory efforts that it shall fall never to rise. This is so because its perpetrators who benefit from it will do everything to prolong its existence. That is why it is not enough to recognise that apartheid is in the grips of a deep crisis. We must also be able to see the possibilities which are offered by the current situation such as we have briefly described and utilise it to our advantage.

In examining these possibilities we should take our bearings from the

main task of our liberation movement as contained in our slogan: 'To move forward we must attack, act in unity and unite in action'.

In the first place this crisis has more than ever before exposed apartheid for what it is — a monster which thrives on the starvation and deliberate murder of our people. The death of thousands of our people as a result of diseases caused by the appalling conditions under which they live and the complete disregard shown by the Pretoria regime to the medical needs of our people, the squandering of millions of rands in stock-piling of weapons of destruction at the expense of our people whose meagre wages are further reduced to meet these expenses, condemnation to a beggarly existence of the unemployed million. Condemnation to brutal torture, murder and hanging of opponents of the apartheid system both inside South Africa and outside as well as the massacring of the peoples of Southern Africa provide sufficient evidence.

ILLUSION

This state of affairs shatters whatever illusion that might have remained among some of the oppressed about the possibility of improvement of their lives within the confines of the apartheid system. As a result all the deceptive schemes devised by the Pretoria regime such as in the labour front, in education, the bantustan system, the so-called Presidents' Council, etc., do not diminish our people's opposition to apartheid domination. More and more of our people become convinced that their salvation lies only in fighting for the overthrow of the system.

This offers greater possibility for mobilising more of our people for the realisation of their basic demands which are outlined in the Freedom Charter — the only alternative to the present decadent system.

This crisis also offers the possibility of further convincing our people that apartheid cannot be destroyed without armed struggle. This is borne out by the fact that during times of crises when the apartheid system feels its very existence more threatened and thus is forced to further expose its violent and brutal nature. The victims of this brutality and even those who might still have been hesitant about taking to arms come to a realisation that it is better to die fighting the enemy bullet for bullet because this does not only make it possible to defend oneself but also to defeat the enemy. The examples of other peoples who have won their liberation by a political struggle which included the use of military force assumes practical meaning.

Those who preach non-violence which otherwise means surrender

in the face of enemy brutality lose all credibility. This is the point made by Dr Motlana when he said: 'People are fast becoming disillusioned with the leadership of those who say peaceful change is possible'. Even members of the ruling class like Pitman of the PFP, a party which differs from the Nationalist Party only on the methods of maintaining the oppression and exploitation of our people, expressed surprise at the existence among the oppressed of such shameless traitors like Gatsha Buthelezi — whether the surprise is genuine or not is another matter. Pitman said: "In fact, it is a miracle to me that we still have people in South Africa like Gatsha Buthelezi who do not believe in violent change." The more growing numbers of our people consciously and committedly participate in our People's War, a war which is fought through a combination of all forms of struggle, political and military, the more stronger our forces become and the closer our victory comes.

UNITY

The other very important possibility is that of forging greater unity among our people including the increasing number of democratic whites. The indiscriminate brutality of the regime and the untold suffering the whole crisis brings to every section of our people creates a more favourable situation of convincing all our people of their common interests and the absolute necessity of confronting the enemy as a united force on every issue. A few examples of this are the May 1981 campaign against the fascist republic celebration, the campaign against the South African



Soweto Women March to Council in Protest at Rent Increases.

Indian Council which rendered the mock elections to this dummy institution a complete failure, the country-wide expression of anger at the brutal murder of Dr Neil Aggett, the bold step taken by progressive trade unions in the face of intensified state repression and the worsening conditions of the black workers.

The courageous drive launched by our fighting women at reviving the South African Federation of Women is also of great significance in this connection. The possibility of strengthening the unity of all forces opposed to the apartheid system in a common and militant struggle also applies to the task of isolating the Pretoria regime in the international arena.

Finally it must be pointed out that it is in the actual field of battle that vanguard fighters as well as the entire fighting masses of people become more aware of new possibilities for advancing our freedom struggle to greater heights. It is in active struggle, too, that revolutionary forces gain more confidence in their ability to win and are able to display the greatest initiative. The process of the decay of the apartheid system has already reached an advanced stage. We must hasten this process to an explosion point through our mass united action – armed and unarmed. In this way we shall be setting the stage for the launching of the final offensive. This calls for the most skilful mobilisation of all our forces to fully utilise the existing possibilities to build the greatest unity in action and deliver more devastating blows at the enemy while strengthening our forces. Drawing lessons from the rich experience of the Vietnamese people who were always guided by an understanding that "revolutionary leadership lies in knowing how to win step by step in a judicious fashion", let us advance one more giant stride to our certain victory.

The unity of all national and class forces interested in the overthrow of the fascist Pretoria regime, the destruction of the apartheid system and the reconstruction of South Africa as a popular democratic state with power in the hands of the people is a fundamental prerequisite of the victory of our revolution. The successful defence of that revolution and the realisation of its objectives will also require the maintenance and reinforcement of that unity. This confirms that this task is not of a tactical transient or temporary nature. Rather it is of strategic importance.

—O.R. Tambo

“The Struggle Will Intensify”

Statement by Andrew Masondo on the occasion of June 26th, South African Freedom Day.

June 26th this year marks the 32nd Anniversary of the first Freedom Day which was called to protest against the wanton killing of 18 members of our working class who in protest against the banning of their vanguard movement, the Communist Party of South Africa under the notorious Suppression of Communism Act, called a strike on May 1st 1950. The African National Congress, the unifier of all revolutionary forces in our country called a prayer and protest meeting on June 26, 1950 to express its total rejection of the diabolic act which had nothing to do with the suppression of communism but had everything to do with the suppression of the right to struggle for freedom, to object to the banning of one of the pillars of the revolutionary movement – the Communist Party of South Africa, also to pay tribute to the heroic sons and daughters of our people and pledge to fight until victory is achieved.

SIGNIFICANCE

This June 26th also marks the 30th Anniversary of the great and heroic campaign against unjust laws in 1952. This event is of great significance in the history of our struggle and people. It liberated our people from the fear of gaol, it mobilised our people throughout the length and breadth of our country into a disciplined and determined force to strengthen the liberation movement against a fascist and brutal enemy. It gave our people a practical lesson in the concept of unity in action. All the sections of our people, Africans, Coloureds, Asiatics and Whites acted in unity and united in action. It became a political means of communication amongst our people. It prepared the ground for the Congress of the People and many other united actions by our people against the common enemy, notably the struggle against Bantu Education and Bantustans. The volunteer corp developed during this campaign is the seed that nurtured the People's Army Umkhonto We Sizwe. The Volunteer-in-Chief, Nelson Mandela, became the first Commander-in-Chief.



FREEDOM CHARTER

This day therefore also marks the 27th Anniversary of the Freedom Charter, the document of the people of South Africa, the rallying point for revolutionary unity and activity, the document that offers a clear and revolutionary alternative to racist, fascist brutal system existing in our country now.

The history of our struggle is red with the blood of the innocent, defenseless and peaceful women and children, peasants and workers, students and intellectuals — black and white — killed to satisfy theoretical experiments of racists and fascists, to satisfy the economic lust of colonialist warmongers and voracious capitalists within and externally. It is the struggle against this state of affairs that the African National Congress has been waging for seventy years (70 years). 49 Of these 70 years have been years of trying everything in the book to solve the South African problem without resort to violent means.

What has the African National Congress done to try and solve the problem of our people?



The Opening of the Defiance Campaign, 26 June, 1952.

MOBILISATION

It has engaged in the mobilisation of the internal forces of progress to wage a relentless fight against the forces of reaction and oppression. It is in this vein that the ANC called the Congress of the People to determine a common programme for action and fostered the united front that came to be known as the Congress Alliance constituting of the ANC, the South African Indian Congress, the Coloured People's Congress and the South African Congress of Trade Unions. All these organisations pledged to see to the establishment of a democratic South Africa on the principles enshrined in the Charter. The ANC also developed a close working relationship with the SACP on the basis again of both organisations accepting the document of the people, the Freedom Charter, as a basis of co-operation and the unity in action that is a development of our struggle.

In 1961 after the regime had banned the ANC as a result of its activity before, during and after the 1960 massacre of our people in Sharpeville and Langa, the ANC once more called on the people to examine the way forward at a conference called the African All in Conference, all organisations and people's movements were invited. Again the aim of the ANC was unity of purpose of our people and to act in unity and unite in action.



The Massacre at Sharpeville

YOUTH

The ANC has always concerned itself with the organisation of the youth inside the country. This is made obvious by the role it gave to its own Youth League since its inception in 1943. In 1961 the ANC paid attention to the organisation of students and youth. It encouraged the formation of the African Students Association (ASA) which was banned after the 1963 arrests. The ANC has always appreciated the work done by the NUSAS. It organised youth clubs during the early sixties. The ANC has always encouraged the organisation of students and therefore it appreciated the formation of SASO, SASM, AZASO and COSAS. It has time and again paid tribute to the role of the youth, thus declaring 1981 the Year of the Youth and this year in August convening the Conference of youth of the ANC to exhort them to step up their role in the mobilisation of youth internally and externally. The ANC youth has played an important role in the continental and international youth movement.

In 1980 during the 25th Anniversary of the Freedom Charter, once more the ANC mobilised the people of South Africa to express themselves on the relevance of the Freedom Charter and renew the mandate – this was done by the people without ambiguity.

The campaign against the 20th Anniversary of the fascist republic again showed the ability of the ANC and its allies to be steeped in the people. 1980 and 1981 developed the level of the South African struggle to a very high level in terms of political, economic and military action by our people led by the ANC and its allies. The people have literally unbanned the ANC.

WORKING CLASS

What is extremely encouraging is the activity of the working class who are not only engaged in economic struggle, but also political struggle. In the history of our struggle the working class has never shown such a level of unity in action. They are also forging a unity of organisation which seems to be in sight. The political and military struggle will be escalated.

In the continental sphere the ANC has done a great deal of work to the involvement of all efforts in the mobilisation for the common execution of the African revolution. It has forged good relations with the peoples and governments of Southern Africa who historically are part and parcel of our people. We are one and have one destiny.

It is significant that this day falls during a Council of Ministers meeting of SADCC. The people of South Africa and the ANC are viewing with keen interest this organisation because it is part of our struggle against the South African regime. It seeks to reduce and even eliminate if possible the dependence of our sister peoples on the racist regime of Botha and Malan.

NAMIBIA

This day falls at an important time for the struggle of our sister people of Namibia. We want to make it clear that to us the Namibian struggle is not an object of solidarity but it is part of our own struggle. We are not supporters of the Namibian struggle but participants. That is why we are always involved in the mobilisation of international and continental support for the Namibian cause with the vanguard movement of the Namibian people, SWAPO.

We do not regard the peoples of the Front-line states and neighbouring countries, namely Lesotho and Swaziland, as supporters of our struggle. We regard them as fellow participants because the sacrifices they have to make for the South African and Namibian struggles are no less than those we make.

INTERNATIONAL

We are part of the struggle for peace and independence and friendship in the international arena. It is therefore not surprising that we celebrate

this day jointly with the Communist Party of Uruguay. The ANC and this organisation have in fact signed a mutual co-operation treaty because we fight allies, the South African fascists and the Uruguayan fascists. We believe in Unity in Action of progressive forces the world over. That is why we are founder members of the Afro-Latin American Solidarity, the Afro-Arab Solidarity, ICSA, we are members of the World Peace Council and Afro-Asian Solidarity.

We are part of the anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist forces because these forces are forces which are for progress. The imperialists and the colonialists have a stake in the continuation of our oppression.

Who are our friends?

Our friends are those who declare their solidarity with us but do not only end there. They also act in solidarity with us. The Socialist Community have time and again expressed solidarity with us and acted in solidarity with us. They have given us diplomatic and material support. Therefore they are our friends. The oppressed people of Asia and Latin America are not only our friends, but our fellow combatants. The progressive peoples of the Western World have expressed solidarity and also acted in solidarity in the organisation of anti-apartheid movements and other support groups. The countries of Africa and the peoples of Africa are ourselves.

The ruling cliques in the imperialist countries and the multinationals cannot pretend to be our friends. They express solidarity with the Botha-Malan regime and also act in solidarity with this regime. Instead they go to various extents to discredit our just cause like the Denton debacle and scandal organised by the Reagan regime.

PALESTINIAN PEOPLE

We want to express our complete support for the Palestinian people, the Lebanese people and Syrian people against whom the wanton and unprovoked aggression and murder of women and children are unleashed by the Zionists abetted by the Reagan regime. We pledge our continued support for PLO, the leader and representative of the Palestinian people. We hope the international community pressurises the Israeli aggressors to stop this aggression.

We also express support for the people of El Salvador, Guatemala and other progressive South American countries. We obviously must specially express solidarity with the people of Uruguay in their struggle led by the Uruguayan Communist Party against fascism for social progress and peace.

We join the people of Mozambique in celebrating the 20th Anniversary of the formation of the dynamo of their revolution, FRELIMO. We wish them success in the construction of a socialist society to the benefit of the people. We also express our gratitude for the role they played in the Southern African revolution in particular Zimbabwe and our own struggle. We have no doubt that they will continue with their support for the struggle of our people.

PRA

We express our gratitude for the constant and unwavering support given to us by the MPLA Workers Party, the government of the People's Republic of Angola and also appreciate the sacrifice made by the Angolan people in their contribution to the liberation of the Namibian people and our people. We unconditionally condemn the imperialist manoeuvres and South African aggression. We join the people of Angola and their leadership in declaring that the question of the presence of the Cuban comrades is a question of the right of Angola to exercise its independence and sovereignty. It has nothing to do with the Namibian independence.

We express our commitment and solidarity to the Namibian struggle led by SWAPO and congratulate SWAPO and PLAN on their successes in the course of the intensification of both political and military struggle.

We call on our people to take note of the desperate manoeuvres of our enemy in response to the intensification of the struggle. The enemy is unleashing wanton repression attempts at bringing about division between us and the neighbouring states like by arbitrarily giving away our land and people.

Let us confront the enemy in all fronts, strengthen the progressive trade unions and work for one trade union movement, strengthen the popular movements engaged in the day to day struggles. The African National Congress calls you to join its ranks and the ranks of Umkhonto We Sizwe whether you are African, Coloured, Indian or White.

You have a home in your revolutionary movement. Unite in Action and Act in Unity.

**FORWARD TO VICTORY!
AMANDLA NGAWETHU!
MAATLA KE A RONA!
POWER TO THE PEOPLE!**

What is Ours is Ours

—James Pitse

If history really has that uncanny way of repeating itself as we are inclined to believe, then that is the case with Margaret Thatcher's Britain in going to war with Argentina over the Malvinas Islands, for it was the British playwright, George Bernard Shaw, who made the following observation:

"Mr Winston Churchill, the Prime Minister, who said to certain sceptics who were pressing him for a more explicit declaration of our war aims, said: "If you try to set forth in a catalogue, what will be the exact settlement of affairs you will find that the moment you leave the area of pious platitudes you will descend into the arena of heated controversy."

"With this deadly sentence Mr Churchill knocked down all the skittles with a single throw, leaving us in the region of abstraction, in which we appear a united nation. Such unanimity is useful in war time, when we will all have to fight for our lives whether we like it or not; but anyone who supposes that it will continue when the war is over and we have to start rebuilding and cleansing up, is deluded by phrases as useless for legislative purposes as algebraical symbols which represent quantities but give no information as to qualities of what."

LOSS

That is the case with the Malvinas. Irreparable loss has been caused by the war in human life and material. And nothing has been solved by the pride of the decaying empire. And to Argentina, as history clearly indicates; what is theirs, is theirs. And for Britain the war was not a game. Not with the loss of the prestigious troop carrier like H.M.S. Sheffield. There is also the tussle over the reasons for the declaration of the war itself. Labour opposition leader Michael Foot turned down an invitation from Margaret Thatcher to hold talks with other political leaders on the crisis.

It all happened on April 2, when Argentina carried out the occupation of the Islands without firing a single shot at the British. The Union Jack was lowered, neatly folded and returned to the outgoing governor. The British then countered by sending a huge Naval force, including nuclear submarines and two aircraft carriers. They proclaimed a 200-mile war zone.

NEGOTIATIONS

That was the result of 17 fruitless years of negotiations to gain back what had been unfairly taken from her, Argentina had finally decided to reclaim control of the Malvinas.

But, as far as Argentines are concerned, the question of the Malvinas has little or nothing to do with whatever government happens to be in power in Argentina.

Not all Argentines share the same view on politics or on economics, much less on governments, but they share the same view on the Malvinas. About that there should be no mistake. The Malvinas are a common national cause to the Argentines.

The Malvinas are a group of islands off the coast of Argentina. The British call them the Falklands. They were discovered by the famous Florentine navigator and cartographer, Amerigo Vespucci on April 7, 1504.

Spain held legal rights to the Islands from January 24, 1600 until February 11, 1811. These rights were never formerly disputed by any other nation during that period.

The British moved into the Islands around 1765, were expelled by the Spaniards in February 1768, returned in 1771, and left again on May 20, 1774. Spain then placed the Islands under the jurisdiction of Buenos Aires.

Argentina became an independent nation in July 1816. Up to 1830, the Malvinas were undisputedly a part of Argentina. On January 2, 1883, the British occupied the Islands by force. They ordered the Argentines out and forbade them to return.

Until April 2, 1982, any Argentine had to show his return ticket on arrival, while the Islanders remained second class citizens, with no right of "abode" in Britain unless they are the grandchildren of the British citizens.

Argentina had regained the Islands this year on April 2 not to inflict injury or loss, or to force the community of 17 000 British subjects to change their citizenship.

Article 73 of the United Nations Charter establishes the obligation by member states administering non-autonomous territories to report regularly to the Secretary General of the UN on the conditions in these territories.

Complying with this obligation, Britain has periodically submitted reports to the Secretary General, thus recognising the colonial status of this territory.

On December 2, 1960, resolution 1514 (XV) of the General Assembly established the need to put an immediate end to colonialism. As a result of this resolution, a special committee was set up to deal with cases of decolonisation. This committee of 24 members included the Malvinas Islands in the list of territories to be decolonised.

In 1965, the General Assembly acknowledged the dispute between Argentina and Britain and urged both governments to initiate negotiations without further delay.

Britain consistently stalled on the discussions. For the past 17 years almost no progress has been made. The British negotiators have delayed, procrastinated and refused to take decisions conducive to a reasonable agreement. Always polite, but hardly ever constructive.

PATIENCE

By 1975 Argentina was losing its patience. The government recalled its ambassador to Britain from London and asked the British Ambassador in Buenos Aires to leave. However two years later, talks were resumed at Argentina's initiative.

In 1981, at the United Nations, Argentina warned the United Kingdom that it would not allow the Malvinas to continue being a British colony and asked for renewed and serious negotiations.

Argentina made a final diplomatic proposal in February of this year. It suggested that a permanent committee be set up to deal with the matter. The United Kingdom did not accept this proposal.

Thus, on April 2, 1982, Argentina occupied the Malvinas Islands. On April 23, 1982, a Soviet newspaper, *Sovietskaya*, accused the Thatcher government of using the crisis to justify Britain's militaristic course in international politics. The newspaper further accused the British government of deliberately deceiving the nation's people into thinking that a war with Argentina would be "something of a game".

On Saturday, May 1, International Workers' Day, with the support of American imperialism, British imperialism unleashed a brutal military attack on Argentina that was repudiated all over the world.

TROOPS

British planes and troops brought in by helicopters attacked various



Reagan's helping hand for Britain: 'The aggression was Argentina's'.

Newsweek, May 10, 1982

points in the Malvinas, especially the airport at Port Argentina, while a British submarine torpedoed an Argentine cruiser killing 500. Argentine planes damaged the British aircraft carrier Hermes.

Towards the end of April, 1982, thirty-seven Argentines resident in the United States, inserted the following advertisement in the international Herald Tribune in New York:

"The question of the Malvinas has little or nothing to do with whatever government happens to be in power in Argentina. Not all Argentines share the same views on politics or on economics, much less on governments, but we all share the same view on the Malvinas. About this there should be no mistake. The Malvinas are a common national cause.

"Argentina does not bear a grudge against Britain or its people. There are over 100 000 Argentines of British descent in Argentina. Britain has investments worth billions of dollars in our country. Britain has played a significant role in the making of modern Argentina.

"For almost 150 years, the Malvinas issue has embittered the relationship between two nations that have many things in common. We are a peaceful people. We have not fought a war since the mid-19th century, but we firmly believe that what is ours, is ours. Sorry."

DPSKEMPI

Part 1

—Thabo Mziwekhe

One would certainly not be accused of irrepressible pessimism, of being a prophet of doom, if one declared that South Africa inescapably fills any shrewd observer of political phenomena with a sense of impending tragedy. Viewing this preternaturally beautiful — and yet unspeakably ugly — country, one can't help thinking of a child caught up by a changing traffic light in the middle of a busy street. It would be easy for most of the oppressed black majority — those who definitely have done nothing to contribute to what one disaffected observer chillingly referred to as the man's mess — to sit back and watch everything go to ruin. But that defeatist attitude would inevitably club them together with the murderers who have perpetrated so much iniquity with impunity.

Whilst this goes on, then, the sense of tragedy brought about, like in a classical Greek tragedy, by a hubristic disposition in the psyches of the rulers of the land, is not lost to the helmsmen of the boat that's increasingly getting off its moorings. That is why South Africa has had such a welter of gambits and manoeuvres that one's imagination simply boggles. It would seem that the double-talk of incredible people like Dr Piet Koornhof aids in further confusing the white electorate, albeit with their connivance. This adds a piquant flavouring to this impending and inevitable tragedy.

The Botha-Malan clique, like a conjuror who's got only one rabbit left at the bottom of his magical tophat of tricks has, like their predecessors been quite liberal with dispensing with white bunnies — euphemistically called Bantustans, The New Deal, Give me six months, etc. — in an attempt to extricate himself from the morass of his, and his forebears', making.



**Gen. Magnus Malan,
Chief of the South
African Defence Force.**

The latest bunny from the Botha—Malan tophat is DPSKEMPI. At home, the Financial Mail reports, the Defence Force under General Malan has extended the internationally recognised components of an insurgent war. In Particular, the threat has been identified under the near acronym DPSKEMPI. Each letter stands for a component of the threat — thus: diplomatic; psychological; semantic; cultural; economic; military; political and intelligence. In Malan's view a

balanced strategy must match up to every component of the threat. Clearly the required range of action is beyond the scope of any army that does not itself virtually constitute a military government, but he is well-suited for the task — as Chief of the Defence Force he has excelled as a coordinator of different areas of operation.

SOME EARLIER GAMBITS

To go back to the mid-1970's. One hears the then Prime Minister John Vorster talking about *detente* and we think of Vorster's shuttle diplo-



Dr Kamuzu Banda with South African Prime Minister John Vorster. They had an interchange of visits, dancing with each other's wife.

macy in Black Africa with his erst-while crony Eschel Rhodie. In those halcyon days even some of Apartheid's opponents adopted a "wait-and-see" attitude. Vorster did successfully visit some of Black Africa's leaders; the whole can of worms spilled over with the catapulting of the Information Scandal to the fore. In Afrikaner Government circles the name Rhodie is as much of a conversation stopper as are Burgers and McLean to the British. Judy Seidman in

her illuminative book *Facelift Apartheid* says Vorster hoped, by underhand means, to buy foreign opinion. His strategy differs from that of P.W. Botha's in that the latter assessed the seriousness and urgency of both the international and domestic situations and has made it clear that, regardless of political losses, and a rightwing backlash, he is determined to implement these changes regarded as vital to South Africa's 'survival'.

Botha decided on what he viewed as a foolproof plan: the co-option of a token number of Africans who would be duped into thinking that they have a stake in the existing system. As Patrick Laurance, the *Rand Daily Mail* political correspondent put it in December 1978: "The strategy was to woo the black middle class as an ally of the white minority or, as an Afrikaans newspaper put it, to consolidate the middle class as a bastion against an attack on South Africa's free capitalist way of life. The Nationalist Party appropriated the liberal strategy of alliance with the black bourgeoisie and grafted it to its early policy of winning over the chiefs and headmen through the homelands policy..."

"The success or failure of the policy is of crucial importance to the future of South Africa. On it will depend the extent to which the authorities can win black allies, and on that, in turn, will determine in what measure insurgents are isolated."

It would be impossible for this black elite to be formed without Botha applying some stringent and draconian measures on the majority of Africans who won't be counted among this select few. *Financial Times* pointed out this dichotomy aptly: "Government's aim of course, is to build a stable black middle class, to the exclusion of migrants and homelander."

Moving a bit further north, South Africa's diplomacy has been a curious mixture of the openly aggressive and the kid-glove treatment with Botha really wanting to woo his neighbours up north; he would like the Southern African states to be party to the colossal exploitative gambit, the "Constellation of States" where these states would be totally within South Africa's sphere of dominance. In the same breadth South Africa will not stop its sabre-rattling insofar as the African states are concerned; boasting of a mammoth military machinery, South Africa has threatened Botswana, Zimbabwe and Mozambique — it has repeatedly attacked Angola, killing Angolans in its pretext of "hot pursuits" against SWAPO's PLAN.



One victim of South Africa's Bombardment of Lubango in Angola.

MERCENARIES

On November 25 last year, mercenaries from South Africa attacked

Mahe Airport in Seychelles in an abortive *coup* attempt. They were repelled. They hijacked an Air India aircraft to Durban where, presumably, they'll scorn international law happily ever after. The arch-imperialist, United States of America, despite denials, knew of South Africa's wild adventures in the sub-continent and the Indian Ocean. It would seem South Africa is the cat's paw: a sheep in sheep's clothing doing the wolf's work. But like all diplomatic gambits based on hoodwinking the people, based on depriving the majority of the people access to the means of production and stopping them from being masters of their destiny, these Botha-Malan manoeuvres are doomed to a resounding and inelegant failure.

FACTORS

One of the factors that will succeed in bringing about this graceless failure is the fact that Southern African states are not asleep. The first economic summit of heads of states and representatives of nine Southern African countries, Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Tanzania, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe, was held in Lusaka on April 1, 1980. The nine countries ended by adopting a document in which they declared: "In the interests of the people of our countries, it is necessary to liberate our economies from their dependence on the Republic of South Africa, to overcome the imposed economic fragmentation and to co-ordinate our efforts towards regional and national economic development."

TOTAL STRATEGY

P.W. Botha finds his spiritual sustenance from and is informed by a little-known book written by some obscure French general, Andre Beaufre titled *An Introduction to Strategy*. It is the first manual to define "Total Strategy" and to involve not only the armed forces in national defence but many spheres of civilian activity. Botha can be increasingly heard mouthing gems like, "Everyone knows war today is total... In other words it will be carried in all fields, political, economic, diplomatic and military... Such, with its varying shades of emphasis, is the pattern of the cold war. Equally therefore, strategy must be total."

General Magnus Malan, as Minister of Defence, saw that the battle for South Africa is 80 per cent political and 20 per cent military. So, not unlike the late American President Johnson who found himself neck-deep in the Vietnam mire, Malan has to launch, or launches, a battle "for their hearts and their minds." In June 1976 the South African racist



Women Training in the use of Fire-arms.

leave Goebbels green with envy.

It starts with little white boys and girls. In 1978 sales of war games in toy shops increased by 500 per cent over the previous year. Amongst white youth this crime is committed through the "Christian National Education" system in that the Minister of National Education has decreed that every teacher "must be trained in a Christian National fashion" He went on to declare that the history, language, traditions and national symbols of the country should be held in high esteem and promoted. Influential Professor Nic Wiehahn unambiguously wrote: "To motivate them, young white people need an inspiring cause and this could lie in a fight for survival and the preservation of their own identity."



School Holidays – Boys at a Vacation Camp for Military Training.

The way the regime has attempted to capture and warp the minds of the whites permeates their everyday activity. This fact alone cannot be over-emphasized. Blacks, on the other hand, are everyday bombarded, via the media, with negative self-images and they get their daily propaganda pabulum from censorship-crazy managers and engineers of Radio Bantu and SATV 2/3, apartheid's audio-visual aids.

THE WORD GAME

In the art of obtuscation, hiding behind words, double meanings, dissembling, South Africa takes the cake. Trying to read the *Government*

Gazette, trying to make sense out of the officialese and legally-phrased gobbledegook is like trying to negotiate an obstacle field. When reading South Africa's statutes or trying to decipher what they mean in parliament one gets the feeling that the statutes are so prolix — and the print is really fine! — that the reader is supposed to collapse from exhaustion before he comes to the clause he wants.

PREDECESSOR

John Vorster, Botha's predecessor, was the past-master in the art of dissembling. When *Newsweek* senior editor Arnaud de Borchgrave interviewed Vorster on whether the USA sanctioned and encouraged South Africa's first involvement in Angola in 1975, Vorster said: "I do not want to comment on that. The US government can speak for itself. I am sure you will appreciate that I cannot violate the confidentiality of government-to-government communications. But if you are making the statement, I won't deny it."

FACET

Judy Seidman wrote: "The latest facet of Botha's 'Save South Africa' formula consists of concealment and confusion — so that no-one is quite clear what, if anything, is being altered. 'Facts and Figures' are issued apparently invented out of thin air; 'changes' are announced which never occur, or turn out to be only a change in name. Some of this, no doubt, reflects disagreements within the government: a change is announced and then rescinded or watered down until it becomes ineffectual when a proposal evokes a very negative response in the white population. But some can only be explained as outright lies."

NAME-CHANGING

Government bodies really believe in name-changing. For example the Bantu Affairs Department (BAD) changed its name to the Department of Plural Affairs and Development. Blacks became 'plurals'. This was in 1978. In 1979, the term 'Black' replaced 'Bantu' and 'Native' in all official usage. The change of name to the Department of Plural Affairs does not mean that Koornhof has stopped lying. That darkies are now called 'Blacks' hasn't contributed an iota to change their station. Same difference.

One has already touched on the change of name from BOSS to DONS to DONI. The Bantu Education Department changed to the Department of Education and Training, and it was announced that Bantu Education was to be eliminated. The new 'Blacks-only education' is considered by many not to have been any change from Bantu Education.

A lot of people have died in detention, that is in the hands of the Ministry of Justice. To stem international outcry and to 'protect' this hideous ministry, the Ministry of Law and Order has been created to stem 'terrorism and subversion'. Presumably, in the interests of 'law and order, South Africa had to go as far as Seychelles to try to stage a *coup* there. The Ministry of Labour changed — on the recommendation of the Wiehahn Commission — to the Ministry of Manpower Utilization. It is all a case of the same soup warmed all over.



Steve Biko, Murdered in Detention.

THE BLUES PEOPLE

Much has been said and written about how the lot of the black people will improve with the ages. But then we're increasingly driven to view these attempts with the greatest amused suspicion. Our attitude is informed by seeing the kind of charade that goes on within the hallowed halls of white power. In Parliament, the crucible of white South African might, we see the confusion engendered by nothing except that the rulers don't know what to do with us. And they can't wish us away. There's Treurnicht, Jaap Marais; there's P.W. Botha.

There have been myriads of commissions: Riekert, Wiehahn, Quail, Rabie. All of them are set up to find ways to 'better the lot of black people' — to make fascism have a more humane face — at the same time trying to have it both ways by propitiating the consciences of whites whose hands are drenched with the blood of the innocent. All this is done with more than just a little help from Big Brother, the USA. One can't help remembering Kissinger's shuttle diplomacy: NSSM-39; 'Tar Baby'; 'Crossroads' and USSALEP. All this was coupled — during the Carter

Administration — with an infusion of Black American entertainers visiting South Africa. There is nothing in itself wrong with Black Americans visiting South Africa, but there is something definitely wrong when they come, as unofficial ambassadors, to hoodwink our people to hanker for things American, to inculcate amongst the beleaguered people black middle class notions.

This was — and is — coupled with the strategy of our own country to woo the black middle class as an ally of the white minority. This was co-ordinated with the sprouting up of stations like Radio SR, 702, Radio Capital and Bophuthatswana Radio. This had a marked impression on the minds of black people. As one disgruntled observer said, "South African blacks are getting niggerized." The people popularised and exhibited by *Info* magazine, *Pace*, are so unlike most people you'd meet. They are black, all right, but there all the similarity ends. They are photographed probably under red 400 Watt Klieg bulbs coiffured, chic, in sequined or diapharous gowns exhibiting the latest fashions from Dick Halstead or Christian Dior, men wear their hair like space helmets.

Culturally then, there has been that attempt to infuse into the black psyche the kind of cultural assumptions that are a confirmation of the Western self-image. This is done in a curious, insistent and devious way. The media helps in this cultural bombardment on the sensibilities of the black majority. We have seen how scouts like Bertha Egnos *et al* go into the townships, pick the best of our music, plays, lifestyles and rhythms and then turn them into abscentities for the confirmation of white prejudices that blacks are shiftless, lazy; black actors and actresses, as in *Ipi Tombi*, *Meropa* and a host of other productions, pander to the prurient appetites of their white masters. Other actors perform in Information Scandal-sponsored films like "The Wild Geese", where John Kani and Winston Ntshona do more than enough to propagatate the myth that the black man left his brains somewhere in the plantation.

There's nothing admirable about the South African white racist-oriented cultural pursuits. People like Mimi Coetsee and Ge Korsten certainly wouldn't excite or inflame a cheesecake. That is why they — and their insipid white musical groups that make so much Mickey Mouse squeaking in Radio 5 — can't spend time off from entertaining "our boys at the border", all the time wondering when SWAPO or MK is going to strike next.

To be continued in the next issue.

REBELS GO

HOMIE

—Ndabezitha Khuzwayo

Stooge George Thabe beamed smiles as he debarked from a Boeing 707 at Jan Smuts Airport from the World Cup Football tournament in Spain. Behind the smile of this soccer upstart was the thought of a cool deal clinched in Europe for a South African soccer tour by an international rebel team. Fortune had smiled on him, so he thought, for the tour would have been the occasion for piling up thousands of rands. Behind the smile of this money-grubber was also, like all quislings, a cherished satisfaction to enter his name into the good books of his masters. Little did the conspirators know what whirlwind was in the offing.

The genesis of this cursed tour was Thabe's most hurried flight to Spain under the guise of a spectator to the World Cup tournament. The air ticket cost thousands of dollars not to mention the hotel bills and general maintenance in expensive Madrid. We need not take the trouble to scratch our heads trying to find out who financed puppet Thabe. It was whilst he was in Europe that Radio South Africa beamed news to the effect that the Chairman of the South African Football Council George Thabe was having a *tete-a-tete* with FIFA officials to allow South Africa return to the fold of international soccer.

As soon as he landed on South African soil a hasty meeting was summoned by Black and White soccer bosses about the then oncoming soccer tour. The public was duly assured that the meeting was to consider the merits and demerits of the tour and decide whether to signal green or red. The truth of the matter however is that both bosses and small time gamblers were worried about the image and complexion this would lend to wrinkled sister apartheid. And not least in importance was the order and manner of sharing the spoils. It is important to note here that officials of black professional teams were not included nor consulted. Said

and done, the international side dubbed 'rebel' by our people arrived and had the type of welcome they deserve.

The international side was to play six matches after which they would return home in the money. Ardilles' fee was quoted as being as high as R500 000!

STORM

The first storm came when three Soweto based professional teams: Moroka Swallows, Orlando Pirates and Kaizer Chiefs refused to have anything to do with the rebels. The immediate sequel to this frustrative move which led stooge George to threaten the black teams was an intimate proposal coupled with some dollar flashing to Amazulu to play with the rebels. Like a one time beauty queen but shorn of appearance due to age and bankrupt in principles because of hunger, the Durban based side fell for the trick.

The prelude to the fiasco started when the people of Soweto threw their hundreds to jeer and condemn the side chanting 'rebels go home'. It was a taste of things to come. The two sides prepared to sweat it out on the Orlando Stadium grounds. Orlando Stadium which accommodates up to fifty thousand spectators breathed easily with a mean attendance of three thousand. The score board which reflected one goal for the visiting mercenaries and nil for the spineless home side bespeaks well of the two teams morale and psychological crisis. The actual performance is said to have been a grave insult to professional football. With psychological wounds plaguing their very marrows and right rejection by the people, the mercenaries had to pack and go after only three of six intended games, while Ossie Ardilles and Marious Kempes had tasted enough by the end of the first game against Amazulu and had to board the earliest flight out of South Africa.

MERCENARIES

The mercenaries had suffered casualties both in honour and name as they jumped into a Europebound BOAC at Jan Smuts with their tails between their legs.

This illustrious boycott is attestation once more to the fact that the regime is running against time. It is important to note that the three teams which rejected the comic soccer side from abroad acted with the blessing and enjoyed the solidarity of the Church, political, trade union, youth and community organisations

Soccer, lest we forget, is as popular and most appealing to black South Africans as bull-fighting is in Spain where Thabe mistook sentiment for

Africans as bull-fighting is in Spain where Thabe mistook sentiment for reality. Despite that fact, blacks acted in concert and called in one voice to reject the apartheid face-lifting tour. There is a strong and appreciable background behind this successful boycott. For as much as football is most popular by virtue of the fact that it is one of the very few recreational facilities we have access to, entry into a soccer stadium is gained through the taxing sweat of our labour. To watch a soccer match tells hard on the black man's few coins. Watching a football match also becomes a priority to many than financing bottle stores and beer halls all of which serve the same old pattern of exploiting and demoralising the black communities. The loss suffered by the SAB, the tour sponsors, is said to be up to the tune of R 1m. The SAB could underwrite such an expensive venture with ease, notwithstanding the recent strike by their employees demanding a living wage.

PRINCIPLE

It was a line of action stemming from principle more than anything else.

"We had no alternative but to call the game off. It was a call of the nation which I could not ignore", said Mr John Mabaso, the chairman of Orlando Pirates, expressing the view of his team. We cannot but commend such acts of heroism. It means that professionals, soccerites in this particular case, are fast waking up to the fact that their future is to all intents and purposes inseparably bound up with that of the entire nation. This is heeding to the late Chief Luthuli's warning when he said that a compromise with racism is always a victory for racism.

As for church, political, trade union, youth and community organisations and leaders who pressed hard for this cause, they acted in conformity with the voice of the African National Congress and the international community to boycott South African sports because of the inhuman and abhorrent apartheid policies.

For the regime, aware that sands of absolute power are beginning to shift from underneath the laager, it has engineered a vicious programme of 'removing hurtful aspects of apartheid'. Hence the international hotels, multi-racial swimming pools, mixed restaurants and all that Botha-Malan jigsaw puzzle. Behind these manoeuvres lies a concerted effort to consolidate apartheid and winning over the meek-hearted and money crazy.

For while white and black enjoy a delicious dish at Oppenheimers Carlton Centre, somewhere in the Bantustans families borrow food or feel their stomachs with water. Whilst some live in luxurious mansions and cottages others die of cholera in Nyanga and Onverwacht. Hence the call

for sacrifice and Unity in Action.

CAMPAIGNS

In this campaign to isolate South Africa from international sport and general intercourse with the forces of progress and peace. The United Nations Centre Against Apartheid continues with its October 1980 black list of those stars and sportsmen from overseas who flirt with apartheid South Africa.

Our humble and needed contribution is to take up the battle with added determination. Frank Sinatra, Shirley Bassey, the Staple Singers, Millie Jackson and boxing names as Mike Weaver, John Tate and Davey Moore should have been given the same taste of a bleeding nose. The ANC is our vanguard and unifier in this noble fight for total and unqualified isolation of the racist Pretoria regime.

Those who would like to see apartheid – acknowledged by the whole world to be a crime against humainty – to return to the fold of international soccer at the expense of the suffering majority must be exposed. The white apartheid god which feeds on black blood and sweat must duly be sacrificed on the altar of popular armed and mass struggle led by the ANC and its allies.

DAWN PolitiXword No.5 Answers

ACROSS: 1. Lionel 6. APO 8. Donors 10. Doe 11. Caesar
12. Xuma 13. SOS 15. Palm 18. Tea 19. Ton
20. Rupert 21. An 22. Lure 23. Asked

DOWN: 1. Lodestar 2. Ode 3. No 4. Encumber 5. Loan
6. Ass 7. Oarsman 9. Reap 16. Attack 17. Leon.

STRAIGHT TALK...

Hitler's Mantle

The ignominious death of Hitler was a logical result of a reckless life of greed, adventurism and wanton bloodletting. He left the stage as he was bent to; unsung and condemned by millions the world over.

His admirers and former mentors – who only came hurtling willy-nilly in the wake of the real defeaters of the Nazi beast – silently mourned his death and plotted to reincarnate him. Ignoring the carnage and wounds of his costly 'lebensraum' experiments, they set out on another experiment camouflaged under the quite acceptable guise of seeking to establish a sovereign state for the Jewish people. To this end the good conscience of many was quite ready to consent. Thus, way back in 1948 March, following the deliberations of the UN General Assembly, the state of Israel was proclaimed – the original cartographers here knew very well that in slicing tracts of Palestinian Arabs' lands as they did, they were in actuality lighting a fuse.

Zionist parties which had been fighting for years for the accomplishment of this deal hastened to the occasion with such speed as can only become understandable when viewed in terms of the additional slogan they were now dangling; 'Greater Israel' which came under such well picked rhetoric as the Jewish people's 'historical rights' and the 'indubitable historical right of the Jewish people to the Biblical land of Israel'.

At the outset the object of knocking together the Zionist parties under the pretext of uniting the Jewish people and leading them to indepen-

dence and statehood was two-pronged:

- 1) *Territorial expansionism – which meant the physical displacement of the Palestinians and expropriation of their land, and***
- 2) *elimination of revolutionary and anti-imperialist Arab regimes – this fits calculatedly into the schemes of imperialist strategic claims in the Middle East and elsewhere.***

That is why it is not surprising why the US which has always managed and trained the Zionist beast, would now wish to referee the so-called Middle East Conflict even through such over-exposed windbags as Phillip Habib.

What has come to be known as the Middle East conflict, occasioned as it were by the aggressive global designs of imperialism, has for years thrown that part of the world into untold carnage. The current Israeli invasion of Lebanon is but part of an on-going process of realizing the dream of a 'Greater Israel' and the elimination of progressive forces.

In their drawing rooms the imperialist plotters are surely rubbing their hands in glee. If we are reading the patterns well, they now seem to be worrying over what is keeping their Pretoria bully-boys from realizing the same with equal if not double speed in Southern Africa against the Front-line States particularly Angola and Mozambique. Imperialism feeds on a dream and for the umpteenth time this will be shattered by the peoples united in their commitment to justice, freedom and peace.

We salute the heroic defenders of Beirut, our comrades-in-arms and from whom we draw great inspiration. We offer all our solidarity fully confident that in the end it is their courage and sacrifices that will earn them victory. To them we say, we are fully aware of the satanic dealings between the evil Knesset-man, Begin, and his cousins in Pretoria. The imperative of frustrating them cannot be doubted. Our unflagging determination and the selfless solidarity of peace and revolutionary forces of the world are carrying us forward and victory cannot be denied our peoples.

Bonds Of Unity Consolidated

—George Matlala

June 16, 1982 marks the 6th Anniversary of the Soweto Uprisings. The author of this article discusses the place of the student movement prior to and after Soweto 1976, highlighting the tasks facing the students of our land in this great Year of Unity in Action and for general revolutionary advance.

June 16 is marked by the entire progressive people all over the world as a Day of Solidarity with the people of South Africa as declared by the United Nations. What made this august world body to concern itself about this day so much? The bloody confrontation between the militant students armed with stones and well armed racist South African army and police — in what has become known as Soweto Uprisings — started on this day. Initially this was planned by student organisations to be a peaceful demonstration against the imposition of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in African schools. During the course of the protest the police in their brutal fashion opened fire at the students, murdering in cold blood young Hector Peterson — a 13-year-old student! This aroused a strong feeling of indignation among Hector's mates whose reaction was naturally to be a retaliation by every means in their power. The only available weapon was a stone — so it was a stone against the gun. The blood-thirsty racist police spared no effort in draining as much blood as possible from the children, dispossessing mothers and the nation of thousands of their sons and daughters.



June 16, 1976 — Students Face Armed Police with Stones and Dustbin Lids.

Although this was the bloodiest confrontation between the racist authorities and students, such open expression of opposition to the apartheid system was not a new phenomenon. Even before the coming into existence of the ANC Youth League, Comrade President O.R. Tambo, Nelson Mandela and others were finally to be expelled from Fort Hare College for organising a boycott of the Students Representative Council which had been deprived of its powers by the authorities.

There was also a student body which was active after the 2nd World War – the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) which united democratic white students and other black students. This body seized to play an effective role when separate tribal universities were introduced by the government, thus basis were created for the formation of an organisation which would mobilise African students. On the 16th of December 1961 the African Students Association (ASA) was publicly launched. The authorities concluded by its launching date (same day as launching of MK) that this organisation was the student wing of the ANC which was by then banned. Consequently all the activists and leaders of this organisation were severely harrassed by the security police and ultimately ASA was also rendered ineffective.

SASO

In 1969 the South African Students Organisation (SASO) was formed. This organisation differed from others before it in that due to an enormous work that had been done by the ANC outside the country, the international community was more enlightened about the plight of the oppressed and particularly the students, it was able to receive funds from abroad. Apart from playing a role of conscientising black people, it tried to consolidate its relationship with the masses by embarking on a number of community projects such as clinics and literacy campaigns. This was to be followed in 1972 by the formation of a broader organisation catering also those who have left school – the Black People's Convention (BPC). Thereafter a number of others like SASM, SSRC followed. Most of these organisations had their shortcomings but nevertheless they played a positive role in conscientizing black people. Some of them like SASM were even more organised, using legal and semi-legal means of struggle. The fact that SASM had learnt to have some of its members organised in underground cells shows that it was by far advanced.

One commendable factor in students' struggle is their realization that their struggle against Bantu Education is part of and inseperable from the overall struggle for national emancipation. Their involvement in commu-

nity struggles such as in the anti-rent hike protests in Potchefstroom where a number of them were shot dead attest to this fact. Koornhof himself knows the experience of tasting his own pill when students protests with the blessing and support of their mothers forced the police to deliver one teargas cannister into the hall where he was to address a meeting in Soweto.

REPUBLIC DAY

During the massive campaign against the fascist Republic Day, our students in conjunction with the rest of the oppressed sections of our people refused to have anything to do with the celebrations, instead they organised protest strikes in which racist flags were burnt and in most cases replaced by the national flag of black, green and gold.

In recent times we have seen a greater number of democratic white youth and students joining the ranks of the oppressed in the struggle against apartheid domination. Just a day after the beginning of the Soweto Uprisings, the Wits University students were out in the streets of Johannesburg, demonstrating against the murder of young blacks. They were joined by black workers and together they were spat at and baton-charged by the racist police.

Since then the Wits University has become a centre of persistent struggle between the so-called right wingers — those diehard racist supporters — and the democratic students. It was here that on the occasion of the



Students Burn the Racist South African Flag.

Anti-racist Republic rally a racist South African flag was set on fire, resulting in the rulers passing a parliamentary bill making it punishable by law to burn the racist flag. Very recently we have seen the attempts by the democratic forces of this university to elect Comrade Nelson Mandela as the Wits University Chancellor. This move was opposed by some sections who claimed that this would jeopardise the flow of funds contributed by opulent Openheimers who could not stomach seeing Mandela on that post. Otherwise this convincingly displays identification with the cause for which Nelson Man-

delata and other political prisoners are incarcerated on the part of progressive students.

Wits has also seen an often appearance of underground materials such as stickers and posters which among others included the sticker with an ANC insignia and a poster written — **SADF — South African Death Force, Out of Angola** and urging white students not to report for military service and to help the draft-dodgers in evading the police.

Down in the Stellenbosch University, where future Afrikaner leaders are moulded we have seen white students booing Botha when he tried to evade a question they had raised of when was Nelson Mandela to be released.

UNITY

The unity of students in various schools and universities across the colour line is worth mentioning. More so in this year declared by our organisation, the ANC, as the Year of Unity in Action. Never before has such a high level of unity been in such manifest. An example of this is clearly seen in the reaction of students at the white Cape Town University and at Natal University in Durban following the arrest of Fort Hare University students. A number of students were detained after an incident involving puppet Sebe who wanted to defy a ban served on him by Fort Hare university students not to attend a graduation ceremony there, which resulted in his car being stoned. He had a 'dramatic' escape similar to his brother and collaborator's narrow escape during his brief encounter with MK combatants in May last year. A solidarity meeting was held at Cape Town University in which various campus organizations participated. The SRC president described the meeting as having been "an historic show of unity." The Durban University organised a Day of Solidarity with Fort Hare Students and a meeting which was addressed by the Branch Secretary of the General Workers Union, Mike Morris.

Outside the classroom we have seen a great improvement in student-worker relations. It has become a tradition that in important students' gatherings trade union leaders are invited to take part. This enables both parties to understand each other, so that they can co-ordinate their actions. This search of unity also stretches to community affairs — in the heroic struggles against rent increases, bus fare hikes, rising cost of living we have seen a constantly growing number of students assuming their position. The relations and the bonds of unity between students and other sections of the population: workers, churchmen, community leaders, businessmen, professionals, etc., are being consolidated with every passing day.

With this year designated by the ANC and its allies to be the Year of Unity in Action, the year of the most powerful offensive our country has ever seen, the tasks of the day are clear. The imperative is to build on the successes already scored and raise the mobilisation of students to a level unprecedented in the history of our struggle, with particular emphasis to the youth and students in the Bantustans. Let us, drawing ever-increasing numbers of students throughout the length and breadth of our country and across the colour line into the struggle for national liberation, strengthen the bonds of unity with the community by acting in concert around all community struggles, be they of immediate community or national interest, e.g. high rents, rising transport fares, forced mass removals, detention without trial, Release Mandela, etc.

Finally we need to swell the ranks of our vanguard fighter, the ANC, and our people's army, Umkhonto We Sizwe and engage the enemy with the language he understands best, that of a gun.

Namibia

THE DEATH TOLL MOUNTS

A Leaflet Distributed Inside South Africa

South Africans are waking up to the fact that SWAPO's armed forces are dealing out death blows to the boer army of occupation in Namibia.

**We have seen combatants inflicting numerous casualties on the racist troops and white farmers (who are in fact part of the army's security network).*

**We have seen combatants operating deep inside Namibia, in the I sumeb area, 250 kilometres from the Angolan border.*

**We have seen the racist generals of the SADF (South African Defence Force) deeply embarrassed by SWAPO's April-May offensive, because*

they have repeatedly bragged that their attacks on Angola had rendered SWAPO ineffective.

**We have seen the servile South African press, radio and television working overtime to distort the true picture and hide the fact of SWAPO's battlefield successes over Pretoria's illegal army of occupation. (After they had admitted the deaths of 11 racist troops and six farmers in SWAPO raids they simply stopped counting).*

DON'T BELIEVE PRETORIA'S LIES!

Over the last year South Africa has carried out a series of criminal attacks on Angola such as "Operation Protea" and "Operation Daisy". After every operation they have boasted of the "end" of SWAPO. Only in March this year the racist Brigadier Badenhorst claimed SWAPO had been completely smashed and that it would take several years for it to recover. They tell lies about the high casualty rate of SWAPO guerillas, inflating the figures with civilian deaths. And they hide the figures of their own death rate. They claim that countries like Angola and Mozambique, and movements like the ANC and SWAPO are "controlled from Moscow". These are mere lies which aim to confuse people and justify Pretoria's aggressive and fascist policies. Angola and Mozambique are fully independent, sovereign countries, and are nobody's tools. The ANC and SWAPO are fighting to liberate our countries and to bring real independence and freedom to our people.

SOUTH AFRICA IS THE AGGRESSOR!

South Africa is in Namibia illegally and must be forced to get out. South Africa has invaded Angola and the racist troops must be forced out of that country too. South Africa attacks Angola because Angola is prepared to do its duty and give aid and assistance to SWAPO. In both Angola and Namibia the SADF are guilty of committing atrocities against the civilian population. Their policy "of winning the hearts and minds of the local population" is in reality the "breaking of bones and spilling of blood". This has led the Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference to public a report "which contains the most appalling accusations of torture, rape, pillage and brutality" in Namibia

to publish a report "which contains the most appalling accusations of torture, rape, pillage and brutality" in Namibia (*Sunday Express, May 16th, 1982*).

In Angola the racist troops have murdered, raped and wounded hundreds of Angolan citizens and Namibian refugees; among them numerous women and children. At Cassinga alone the racists massacred over 650

Namibian refugees in 1978 and claimed a "major victory" over SWAPO guerillas. They have destroyed villages, factories, live-stock, roads and bridges of the Angolan people. They have trained and armed the counter-revolutionary UNITA bandits and instructed them to commit murder and robbery in Angola just as they train and arm other puppet and mercenary groups to carry out acts of aggression for them in Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Lesotho, the Seychelles, Swaziland and Botswana.

The South African racists are in alliance with the war-mongering Reagan Administration of the USA. Together they aim to destabilize the People's Namibia. Pretoria's avowed aim "total strategy" is to bring the whole of Southern Africa under its political, military and economic domination. This is Pretoria's answer to the revolutionary advances and victories of the national liberation struggles.

SWAPO CALLS THE RACIST BLUFF

Swapo has exposed the myth of the invincibility of the SADF. The public has been made to believe that the racist army is all powerful. This lie is forced down our throats daily by the ruling class media, the government and army spokesmen, by Bantustan puppets such as Sebe, Mangope, Buthelezi, etc., and in the schools. Gatsha tells us that we blacks cannot fight the oppressor because the racists are too powerful for us. SWAPO has exposed this myth. Our own armed wing Umkhonto We Sizwe is exposing this myth too!

The lies told by the racists and their puppets are not new!

** The American imperialists told usch lies in Vietnam. But the Vietnamese people defeated this "military giant" of the world.*

** The Portuguese colonialists told such lies about the liberation wars in Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique. But the Portuguese were defeated by the fighting peoples of these countries.*

** The same lies were told about the war in Zimbabwe where the armed struggle exposed the myth of Ian Smith's invincibility – even while he boasted that "white minority rule would last one thousand years."*

SWAPO WILL WIN! THE ANC WILL WIN!

The Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO will defeat Pretoria's occupation army and puppet administration. We will win freedom in South Africa. SWAPO rejects the proposals of the Western "gang of five" nations which seek to impose a neo-colonial "settlement" in Namibia. Such a "settlement" would keep Namibia's wealth under South Africa's and the West's control and would stop far short of real People's Power.

SWAPO AND THE ANC ARE BROTHER ORGANISATIONS

The summit meeting of the Frontline States held in Maputo in March recognised SWAPO and the ANC as the only true representatives of the Namibian and South African people. We declare our total support and solidarity with SWAPO and the fighting people of Namibia, Angola, Mozambique and the Frontline States!

The future of Namibia and South Africa are interlinked, every blow struck against the Pretoria regime in Namibia is a blow for freedom in South Africa, just as every blow we strike in South Africa is a blow for Namibia's freedom.

WE DEMAND

- *The immediate withdrawal of all South African occupation troops from Namibia and Angola!*
- *The immediate halt to aggression against the People's Republic of Angola and other African states!*
- *The immediate release of Herman Toivo Ja Toivo, Eliezer Tahabeleni and other Namibian political prisoners illegally held on Robber Island, together with the release of Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki and all political prisoners!*
- *The immediate independence of Namibia!*

WE CALL ON OUR PEOPLE TO

- *Organise mass meetings and demonstrations to show solidarity with SWAPO and the peoples of Namibia and Angola!*
- *Refuse to serve in the racist SADF!*
- *Build a mighty movement of all democratic peoples to halt South Africa's militarisation and aggression against the people of Namibia, Angola, and the Frontline States!*
- *Support the ANC and Umkhonto We Sizwe and join the struggle for a Democratic, Non-racial South Africa which will be at peace with our people and our neighbours!*

**VICTORY TO SWAPO AND THE ANC!
AMANDLA NGAWETHU!
MAATLA KE A RONA!**

issued by the African National Congress.

NAKED AMONG WOLVES

_____ by **Bruno Apitz**

Chapter 15

The night was clear. On the chalky ceiling of the cell the shadows of the window bars spread themselves like the fingers of an open hand. Rose did not want to lie down to sleep. He might be fetched at any moment.

Rose listened. It was deathly still outside, and cold as the grave in the dark cell.

"Rudi..."

No answer came from across the cell.

What if he dies?

"Rudi..."

Rose could not bear it any longer. He wanted to scream, but he was too much afraid. He wanted to bang against the door with his fists, but he was too cowardly. He shoved his fists into his mouth and doubled up.

Just as he was turning around to crawl onto his straw sack, he froze stock still. Relentless in the silence, a key cracked in the lock, the cell door was opened, and the harsh beam of a flashlight screamed into the cell and struck him mercilessly in the face. A young storm trooper on night duty came in.

"*Raus* here!" With the fist of the conqueror he jolted the cringing Rose out of the cell.

Still more stooped over than when he left, Rose returned to the cell not quite an hour later. The storm trooper smiled scornfully at the miserable figure.

Without bothering about Pippig, Rose slunk to the straw sack and crept under the blanket, possessed by a wretched feeling of guilt.

SHADOWY FIGURE

About the same hour, a shadowy figure crouched behind a board shed

of the SS piggery, which was situated on the northern slope of the camp. Here there was still open country with a few trees left from the one-time mountain wood. In front of the piggery lay the infirmary buildings and opposite them, separated from the so-called infirmary road, the Little Camp.

The figure in the cover of the shed remained motionless for a long time. It seemed to be listening. Not far removed from the piggery ran the electrically charged barbed wire that surrounded the camp. The uppermost portion of the concrete posts in the fence bent inward, and red bulbs glowed on top of them. Sentries stood on the towers. Apparently it was they who held the attention of the motionless figure, which was steadily observing the towers. It seemed to have the eyes of a night bird. The machine guns rose blackly over the parapets of the towers.

The figure did not move. The sentries also remained stationary, wrapped in their coats, and let their eyes rove over the camp. Sometimes the planks creaked under their boots, when they shifted their feet. Suddenly the figure dodged down and swiftly and noiselessly, like a shadow, darted to a tree stump. Here it halted, crouching, looked about to all sides and reckoned the next dash to a nearby tree. When the moment seemed favourable, a few leaps sufficed to reach it without a sound. The figure wore no shoes, only socks. He was a prisoner. He moved with the skill of an acrobat. Now he pressed close to the tree and again bided his time. The most dangerous part, the crossing of the wide infirmary road, was still before him. He hesitated a long time, carefully observing the towers and his surroundings.

Then he ducked down and ran across the path, fleet as a weasel, and threw himself on the ground in the open space between trees and stumps. Waiting, motionless, melting into the earth, he lay for a while and then squirmed from tree to tree until he reached the Little Camp. Carefully he lifted the lowest line of barbed wire and crept through the fence. Now he was sufficiently far removed from the towers to glide between the latrines behind the barracks, avoiding the trash and the garbage barrels which stood all about, to Block 61. Pressing close to the wall of the barrack, he bore the door handle down millimeter by millimeter. He opened the door only far enough to enable him to slip inside.

There was no wind outside, he had no need to close the door; he stood awhile until his eyes had grown accustomed to the darkness. Then he took his bearings. There was the partition. The prisoner stole over to it. The door was somewhat ajar. Nimbly he slipped inside. Zidkowski was sleeping on the bedstead. His two assistants lay on the straw sacks on the floor. Zidkowski was snoring; the child slept nestled against his back. Carefully the prisoner stepped past the sleeping attendants, putting his feet down toes first, until he reached Zidkowski. He warily slid his hands under the child and lifted it. He did this so carefully that the child did not wake up.

Light as a cat he passed round the partition and went out of the barrack. He left the door slightly open.

Outside he paused and considered. He had to wake the child so that it should not take fright and perhaps scream. Gently he shook the sleeper. The child awoke with a cry of fear. The prisoner quickly pressed a hand over its mouth and spoke soothing Polish words to it, rocking it and pressing it to him tenderly. The unusual situation it found itself in made the child sense danger and keep still. The Polish syllables, strongly accented with Russian, had a reassuring effect. The child put its little arms around the prisoner's neck, as he indicated, and held tight. The prisoner pressed the child to him, crouched down and sped away.

TELEPHONE

Kluttig woke up with a start when the telephone beside his bed shrilled. Gay was on the wire. Still half asleep, Kluttig heard his creaky voice: "Hello, you jerks up there. Get your Jew brat out of Block 61 in the Little Camp."

Kluttig was awake like a shot.

"Christ, Gay, how did you ever find it out?"

"With a little intelligence," came the creak from other end. The phone clicked, Gay had hung up.

Kluttig sat at the edge of the bed, stared before him, slipped his hand under the jacket of his pyjama and nervously scratched himself in the armpit. Immediate action was necessary. As rapidly as he could, he pulled on his uniform and tore over to the camp. Through the gate watchman he had the tower sentries informed that he was going to enter the camp, took along a block fuhrer to whom he gave hasty instructions, and rushed to Block 61. He stormed behind the partition, glared his flashlight and screeched: "Get up!"

Dazed, the Poles threw off sleep and sprang up from their beds. Zidkowski instinctively threw the blanket over the bedstead, and stood beside it.

Kluttig had caught the movement in a split second and with the flashlight wrenched the blanket down. In cold terror Zidkowski and his assistants stared at the empty bed. Kluttig had no idea what reactions were taking place in the Poles. In frenzied haste he searched all over the room, and furiously kicked the straw sacks of the attendants aside. Out of fear of infection he did not dare touch anything with his hands and so rummaged about everywhere with his feet and his eyes, found nothing, drove the Poles before him into the sick room flashed the beam of his light here and there, and screamed: "Everybody up!"

The "lighter cases" muttered in the fruit crates, and the "serious cases"

lay apathetically on the straw sacks.

Kluttig stabbed the beam of light into Zidkowski's bewildered face.

"Do you understand German, you dog?"

Zidkowski nodded: "I a little."

"Everybody get up! Go on, go on, tell them!" Kluttig flailed his arms. Zidkowski conveyed the order in Polish. The sick oozed out of the fruit crates and stood upright. Members of other nationalities understood the order and crept out of the boxes. Kluttig flashed his light into the bunks.

"What's the matter with him?" said the block fuhrer harshly, pointing to a straw sack.

Zidkowski raised his arms. "Dying or already dead.." Kluttig yelled at Zidkowski: "Shit! Get the offal out of the way!" He booted one of the nearer patients from his straw sack. The Poles got busy lifting those who were more gravely ill from their sacks; they had to pile the whimpering men one on top of the other in the narrow space left to them. Kluttig trampled about senselessly on the straw sacks, and kicked at them from underneath, but he sought in vain.

Screeching, he drove Zidkowski and the attendants farther behind the partition and yelled at them frantically:

"Where have you got the child? Out with it, you bastards!" The attendants fled into the corners before his furious kicks. Zidkowski, still filled with amazement over the inexplicable disappearance of the child, stammered: "No child. Where is child?" Without fear of Kluttig or the block fuhrer he ripped the blanket and the straw sack from his own bedstead. "Where is child?" he cried and looked desperately about the room

Kluttig gave up. Shrieking in a towering rage, he gave Zidkowski a kick and left the infection barrack in precipitate haste, followed by the block fuhrer.

As soon as they had readjusted themselves to the darkness and could recognize one another, the three Poles held a consultation. They hastily restored order in the sick room, returned the dazed "light cases" to their bunks and placed the gravely ill ones on their straw sacks again. But in their own room they stood nonplused. Where was the child? What miracle had occurred! On that very evening Zidkowski had taken the child into his bed, and now it had disappeared!

Impossible that it had left the barrack. A divine miracle had come to pass. The three men stood there bewildered and had no explanation. Zidkowski sank slowly to his knees, clasped his hands, bowed his head and closed his eyes.

"Hail Mary full of grace..."

The two attendants followed his example.

"WHAT'S THAT"

With the same immoderate haste that Kluttig had burst into the camp he rushed back into his house and immediately put through a telephone call to Gay. Gay had already returned to his private apartment, which was in the mews building. He had not yet got into bed, for he too was making preparations for flight. In his working room he was sorting out papers and burning piles of folders and documents. There he received the call from Kluttig, who had asked to be connected with the flat. "What's that," Gay shouted into the mouthpiece, "can't find it?" Blind fury shot up in him. "Goddam vermin!" He banged down the receiver.

Meanwhile, Rose, who had been hovering on the brink of sleep, jerked up and sat stiffly on the straw sack, listening rigid with terror, not knowing whether he had heard the call or dreamed it. Then he heard his name again, as weak and dried-out as if it had crumbled into its separate letters. In one jump Rose was at Pippig's side. Pippig felt life there and attempted to penetrate the blur before his eyes. He could not. Pippig uttered no other sound. Was it the blood that was racing through him or the wild beating in his breast? His breath flickered.

The key crackled in the lock, the dim bulb on the ceiling flickered, and Gay rushed into the cell past the storm trooper who had pushed the door open, punching at Rose with both fists so that he reeled backwards and lost his balance.

"You bastard, goddam you! Swindle me, would you!" Gay shook Rose like the branch of a tree. There was startled wakefulness in the neighbouring cells. The other eight prisoners from the effects room, shaken violently out of their sleep by the noise, stood pressing fearfully against the doors.

Gay was beside himself with rage. He wrenched and shook Rose back and forth, shouted, punched, kicked. Rose used his arms to ward off the down-rushing avalanche, pulling in his head and whining piteously:

"I told you everything, Herr Commissar. Please, please! I don't know any more!"

"Who does?" yelled Gay and drummed Rose into a corner.

"Don't hit me, Herr Commissar! Pippig knows, he knows everything. I have nothing to do with it."

In a mad fury Gay ripped Pippig down from the bunk. His body lay motionless. In cowardly fear Rose screamed piercingly for help.

The storm trooper, a rubber club in his fist, leaped at Rose with hard blows: "Will you shut your trap!"

Bellowing, Gay kicked at the inert man regardless of what the boot

struck.

"Talk, you, or I'll trample you to death!" Like a lunatic he lambasted the body with his boots.

But death was kind. Long ago it had laid its merciful hand on the heart that was once so blithe...

The telephone rang. Someone wanted Kluttig. Reineboth handed him the receiver.

Gay was on the wire. Reineboth stood beside Kluttig and could hear what was being said, for the voice was penetrating.

Gay wanted nothing more to do with the brat business. One of the vermin had died on him during the night. He didn't feel like seeing the rest of the scum around him any more.

Kluttig stuttered.

Reineboth took the receiver from him and announced himself.

"Of course, *Kamerad* Gay, we will fetch the offal again, I'll send trucks. Naturally, we'll also pick up the dear departed and have him smoked here." He hung up.

"Now we've got them all together again. Just Hofel and Whoosis are left. Or have you forgotten those two?"

"What good are they to us any more?" growled Kluttig. Reineboth opened the door and called down the corridor:

"Hauptscharfuhrer Mandrak to the report fuhrer!" His order was relayed the gate watchman.

Reineboth held out his cigarette case to Mandrill as he came in.

SIG N 2

As early as noon Reineboth summoned the Kapo of the prisoner clerks' room over the camp loud-speaker. He handed him the list.

"These birds are to report tomorrow morning at Sign 2. With their feet scrubbed clean, understand? We don't want anyone saying we send people home dirty."

Discharges?

It was ages since any political prisoner had been discharged. When he had returned to the clerks' room, the Kapo studied the list. It contained 46 names of block seniors, Kapos and other camp functionaries, all long-term, dependable prisoners well-known in the camp. The Kapo also found his own name and that of camp senior Proll.

Something was fishy here.

The Kapo went over to Kramer. Proll was present too. Kramer laughed

grimly after reading the list.

"Discharges? A whole batch at one time, and just before evacuation? Gangster work!" he thundered. "Some goddam stool pigeon!"

"I have to write out the orders for Sign 2, what should I do?" asked the Kapo. A suspicion dawned on Proll. "Maybe they intend to knock us off?"

He looked meaningfully at Kramer, who did not want to express agreement, although he had the same thought. "Wait a while," Kramer said neutrally. To the Kapo he said, "Don't you do anything until you get instructions from me. Read me the names, I'll write them down."

Despite tremendous agitation, his hand did not tremble when he wrote. He suddenly knew quite well, and required no proof, that these 46 were to be shot. But why was he not on the list, when that lot up there considered him the leading figure? Did the 46 belong to the ILK? Bochow must know that; he would have to talk to him now. He went to him in his block.

The moment proved favourable – the room attendants were on their way to the kitchen with the empty food containers, and there was no need to hide anything from Runki.

"I want to inspect your beds," said Kramer. "Come into the sleeping quarters, Herbert." A pretext. In case the block fuhrer turned up unexpectedly, that was the excuse for Kramer's presence. In the sleeping quarters Kramer lost no time in coming to an understanding with Bochow, and handed him the copy of the list. Bochow read it silently.

"Are any of you on it?" asked Kramer. Bochow shook his head. "No one."

"Good," replied Kramer, relieved. They walked slowly to the other end of the dormitory; Kramer looked over the beds.

"What do we do? They're to be killed, that's clear."

Kramer smoothed a blanket. Bochow sighed heavily. Now a new link was added to the chain of dangers. Who had betrayed the 46? Which direction did it come from? Kluttig – Reineboth – Zweiling?

Or had the stool from the effects room...

"What do we do, tell me," Kramer pressed him. The stood still.

"Yes, what do we do?" sighed Bochow. The piece of paper in his hand demanded decisions such as had probably never seen made in all his years of imprisonment, and they were all crowded together in the space of a few hours. Tomorrow morning it would be too late. Now he had to talk with the comrades of the ILK. But how to get in touch with them? The ILK would have to meet within this hour. And not in the foundation

pit, which could only be entered under cover of darkness.

Bochow rubbed his forehead; the thinking was a torment to him. "I must talk to the comrades now, immediately," he said. "We must take advantage of the air-raid alarm, there's no other way."

Everyday at noon, neither earlier nor later, American bombing planes had been flying over in the direction of Thuringia, Saxony and Brandenburg for weeks. One might have set the clock by them, they appeared so punctually over the camp. When the sun shone, the swarms twinkled high up in the sky like birds, and only their sonorous hum proclaimed how dangerous they were.

Bochow seemed to be struggling with something. He looked at Kramer. "You've got to help me here. I'm not supposed to give any names of comrades, but ... what else can I do?"

Kramer felt how hard it was for Bochow, and said:

"Don't worry, I won't keep the names in mind. I understand you, and the comrades will understand also. It's a matter of life and death."

Bochow nodded gratefully to Kramer.

"Now listen. I'm going over to the infirmary immediately to speak to the Kapo, he's in the know. He has to keep a room free for us, where we can be undisturbed. I'll let you know which then, and you have to ... you see, it's like this ... well, you have to go to the shower room for me — I mustn't be seen there."

"Well, tell me whom to give the message to?"

"Bogorski." Bochow mentioned the name softly. "During the alarm he shouldn't go to his block but to the infirmary."

"Good," Kramer nodded.

"How shall I let you know which room?" Bochow pondered, and decided: "In ten minutes I'll meet you on the infirmary road near my row of blocks."

SIRENS

Bochow stood at his post and strained his eyes for Kodiczek and Pribula. He saw them together hurrying towards their blocks.

"Come along," murmured Bochow.

"What's up?"

"Come along," Bochow repeated, and ran off.

They hesitated, then hastened after Bochow, who was running down the infirmary road in the throng of prisoners.

Never had the comrades in the ILK been under the pressure of such

tension as they were today.

Glogau had fallen! Violent battles were in progress on both sides of Teklenburg in the Teutoburger Wald. The Allies had succeeded in making a deep thrust in the direction of Herford. In the Warburg area, and on the Werra, they were supposed to have broken through to north of Eisenach... If these reports, brought by Kodiczek and Pribula, should be confirmed, then there could be no further doubt that the execution of the 46 was a prelude to evacuation. It might start at any hour!

All at once the sirens howled for another alert. Crowded together in a corner of the operating room, the comrades listened to the sounds outside. The resonant song of the motors moved across the silent camp. It must have been a massive attack in the country this time. None of the men spoke.

Here, above the huddled barracks, here in the corner of an operating room, sat a small group of men tempted by a fate that had thrust them between the 50 000 of the camp and a handful of people, 46 altogether, as the devil once tempted Christ on the mountain. For if the 46 died tomorrow morning then...

Bogorski did not wait for anyone to speak, he ripped aside the blanket of silence and expressed what everyone was thinking: If the 46 were shot in the morning, he said, it would be the supposed ILK that had been shot!

Then, he continued, the fascists would think they had stamped out the leadership and were in a position to go ahead with the evacuation. But we, comrades, would still be here and the apparatus would not have lost its leadership. We could save people, many people, because 46 had died for us, for us and 50 000!

Wouldn't that be right?

Van Dalen raised his eyebrows, Kodiczek again lowered his eyes; Pribula cursed — he could not bear sitting still. Since he must not jump up, in order not to be seen at the window, he squirmed impatiently in his place.

"No," said Bochow abruptly, and stared Bogorski in the face. The "no" entered everyone's heart like a key. Pribula had a great deal that he wanted to say, but he was only able to repeat the German "*nein*" in Polish: "*Nye! Nye, nye!*" he reiterated hotly. Now Bogorski also leaned against the wall and shut his eyes, exhausted and relieved.

Bochow began to talk about something else.

"It was the child, Comrades" he said, "that brought us disaster. Now the child has disappeared without a trace. Who took it away? It can only have been one of us. It's a Polish child. Was it you, Josef?" he asked Pribula.

The young Pole threw up his arms in horror. "I? — asking myself, where is child?"

"Was it you, Leonid?"

Bogorski opened his eyes and replied in a convincing tone, "I did not bring child away."

Van Dalen and Kodiczek gave the same assurance. From every mouth came the truth; Bochow had a sensitive ear for that. So the only person to whom suspicion still clung was the absent Riomand. But no one, not even Bochow, believed it could have been the Frenchman. Bochow raised his hands in resignation. "All right then, maybe Kramer took it away somewhere. Wherever the kid is, whoever did it, it's gone, disappeared, that's that. I've got to tell you something." Bochow laid his hands on his chest. "A lot has changed in me. My heart, Comrades..." He forced himself to the confession.

"When I was brought in here, I handed over my heart with the other things in the effects room; it seemed to me a useless and dangerous thing that I couldn't use here. The heart only makes you weak and soft, I thought, and I was never going to forgive Hofel for..." Bochow stopped and considered. "I'm the representative of the German comrades in the ILK, and besides that I'm the one responsible for military matters in the international resistance groups. You chose me for this function. I'm a good comrade, right? I'm a poor comrade!"

He raised a hand to thrust away the objection of the others to his admission.

"I have to tell you this, you ought to know it! You ought to know that I was arrogant. Conceited about the superiority of my own mind. Bumptiousness, that's what it was, and callousness — soulless callousness! Since that child has been in the camp and more and more people have shielded it with their hearts, like a wall ... Hofel, Kropinski, Walter Kramer, Pippig and his mates, the Polish attendants in 61, you yourselves, and that unknown man ... since all this has been done by them, Comrades, and no Kluttig or Reineboth has been able to break through the wall, I know that I am a poor comrade, I know how great we are in our debasement, I know that Hofel and Kropinski are stronger than death."

Bochow's confession was ended. Everyone was shaken, silent — Bogorski's head had sunk to his breast, he sat there as if he were sleeping. Pribula, his heart swelling hotly, moved on his knees over to Bochow. He embraced him and wept on his shoulder. Bochow pressed the young Pole to his breast.

Outside it was still as death. The alert hung heavy over the camp.

Bochow released himself from Pribula and became objective and cool

again. "We have a decision to make," he said. "Before we come to any conclusion, we want to consider thoroughly. Is there any possibility of rescuing the 46 comrades? That's what you were thinking about too, Leonid, wasn't it?"

Bogorski raised his head as if awakening. "That's what I was thinking about," he answered simply. "But I was going, must be going, deep down into our heart, where courage and humanity are buried under rubble. The 46 comrades must not die. Live! Or die with us together. That is what I think."

Van Dalen admitted: "I also thought that if they died, then..." He did not end the sentence, he nodded dumbly at Bogorski and continued with determination: "We'll put the 46 comrades under the protection of the ILK! We'll hide them! We can accommodate a lot of them in the infirmary. The others we'll conceal around the camp. There are plenty of hide-outs."

"And then? What happens then?" asked Kodiczek. Not out of fear, just out of concern, but Pribula misunderstood him.

"You want being coward?" he cried.

Bochow put his arm around the Pole's shoulder.

"Young Polish comrade, must we be cowardly because we're careful? Yes, Comrades, the 46 are under the protection of the ILK! We will not give them up!"

"I'll hide ten of them in the infirmary," van Dalen promised. "We'll give them fever shots and they won't be noticed among the patients."

"Why not hide all 46 together in foundation pit? asked Kodiczek. "Enough room is there."

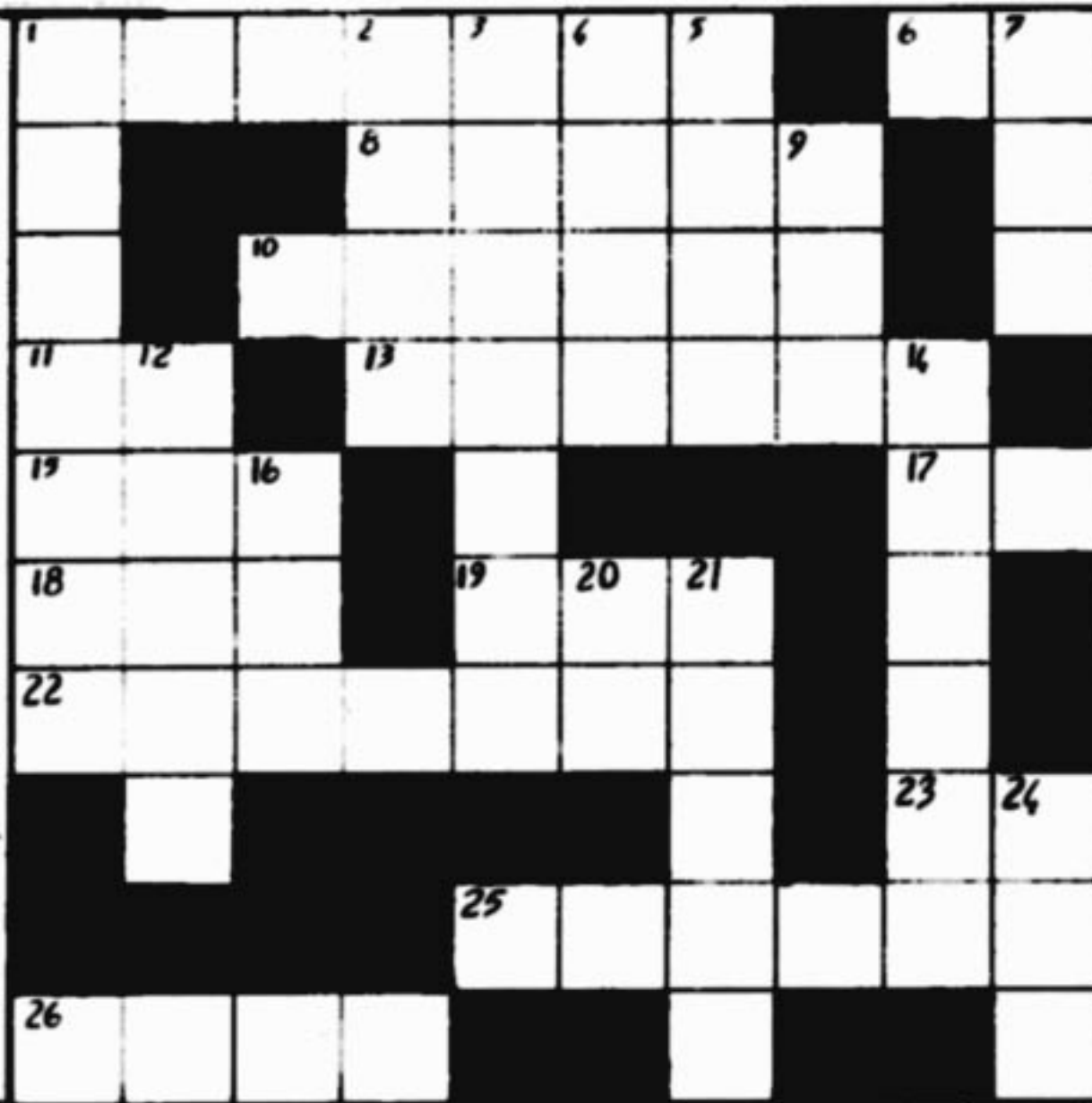
"*Nyet,*" Bogorski objected. A sand heap, he said, could be lifted with one thrust of the shovel. Instead the sand should be spread out so that it disappears. No more than two of the candidates for death should be kept in the infirmary by the means van Dalen suggested, the others must be distributed around the camp.

"And if they find one of them anyway?" It was Kodiczek asking again. Should that one be left to his fate? The question lay before them like a boulder.

"We won't give up any of them," Bochow said simply. "I? tp mpw we always circumvented dangers. That was good, very good. We were able to dodge danger — through cleverness and skill, by luck and by chance.

That's what we've been doing all these years. We've been doing all these years. We've protected and defended our humanity with the cunning of a beast, we often had to bury the human being in us deep down. That's how it was, Comrades, wasn't it? Now we're going down the last stretch,

Politicsword No.6



ACROSS

1. Six artillery guns
6. Commanding post.
8. Person sent to gather information about enemy's movements
10. Jabula's
11. For an example
13. To tell again
15. A person's share.
17. Pronoun
18. Victory or death, we shall...
19. Found in Libya
22. Transmits and receives radio waves.
23. Ante Meridiem
25. Non compos mentis
26. Once President of SACTU

DOWN

1. Girl's name (Xhosa)
2. Russian emperror
3. Formation of troops
4. Disorderly retreat of defeated troops.
5. The Christmas festival.
7. Vigour
9. Telephone
12. Departing
14. MaNgoyi's name
16. An explosive
20. Opposite of out
21. A slight error
24. Plural of man

See Answers in DAWN Vol.6 No.8

to freedom or death! There is no more evasion. We don't leave this room again as *prisoners!* From this moment on we're *human beings!* Now and for good, till the end of the last stretch.

"The *prisoner* was permitted to circumvent danger. There is only one way for the *human being*, and that leads straight on into the midst of danger! That is our will and our pride. I know what I'm saying, Comrades! If they find just one, then he has to be defended, with weapons if necessary! Let that be the decision! But then the revolt begins. Freedom or death! History has proved the pride and the greatness of man more than once since the time of Spartacus. Do we decide for revolt?"

Bochow stretched out his hand.

In deep silence all the hands found their way to one another, the eyes of all the men met, and in their faces quivered the first light of a life that was going to be different from now on.

It was decided to announce a stage-two alarm to the leaders of the resistance groups: guards must be posted in the blocks, the hiding places of the weapons must be manned by the members of the camp patrol appointed for that purpose, and hide-outs must be found and prepared for the 46 by evening. From this hour on, the entire illegal apparatus was to be on the alert, not, of course, in a way obvious to the camp, but ready to spring at any moment. A decision was also made, however, to start the fight only when it was forced on the camp. The evacuation was to be put off with delaying actions in order to rescue as many people as possible.

Every day and every hour could mean a gain; the front was coming closer and closer.

"I have one more proposal to make to you," said Bochow. "Let's centralize our assignments in the person of Kramer. He holds all threads in his hands. We can expect the evacuation to change the order of things in the camp, or even upset it completely.

"So since I'm the only one of the ILK who has direct contact with Kramer, this would give me more freedom to operate."

The comrades agreed to his proposal.

To be continued in the next issue.

DISCIPLINE IS THE MOTHER OF VICTORY

**LISTEN TO RADIO FREEDOM, VOICE OF THE
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS AND THE
PEOPLE'S ARMY, UMKHONTO WE SIZWE.**

RADIO MADAGASCAR: *shortwave 49 m band, 6135 KHz,
8-9pm daily.*

RADIO LUSAKA *shortwave 41 m band, 7.3 MHz,
8-30-9am daily.*

RADIO LUANDA: *shortwave 40 m & 30 m bands,
medium wave 27.6 m band, 7-30
pm daily*

RADIO TANZANIA: *shortwave, 19 m band, 15,435
KHz,
8-15pm Sunday, Monday,
Wednesday, Friday, 31 m band,
6-15am Tuesday, Thursday,
Saturday*

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

ACT NOW!

STOP THE RACIST MURDER OF COMRADES



SHABANGU



TSOTSOBE



MOISE

FREEDOM FIGHTERS SENTENCED TO DEATH
FOR UMKHONTO WE SIZWE ACTIVITIES
SAVE THEIR LIVES!