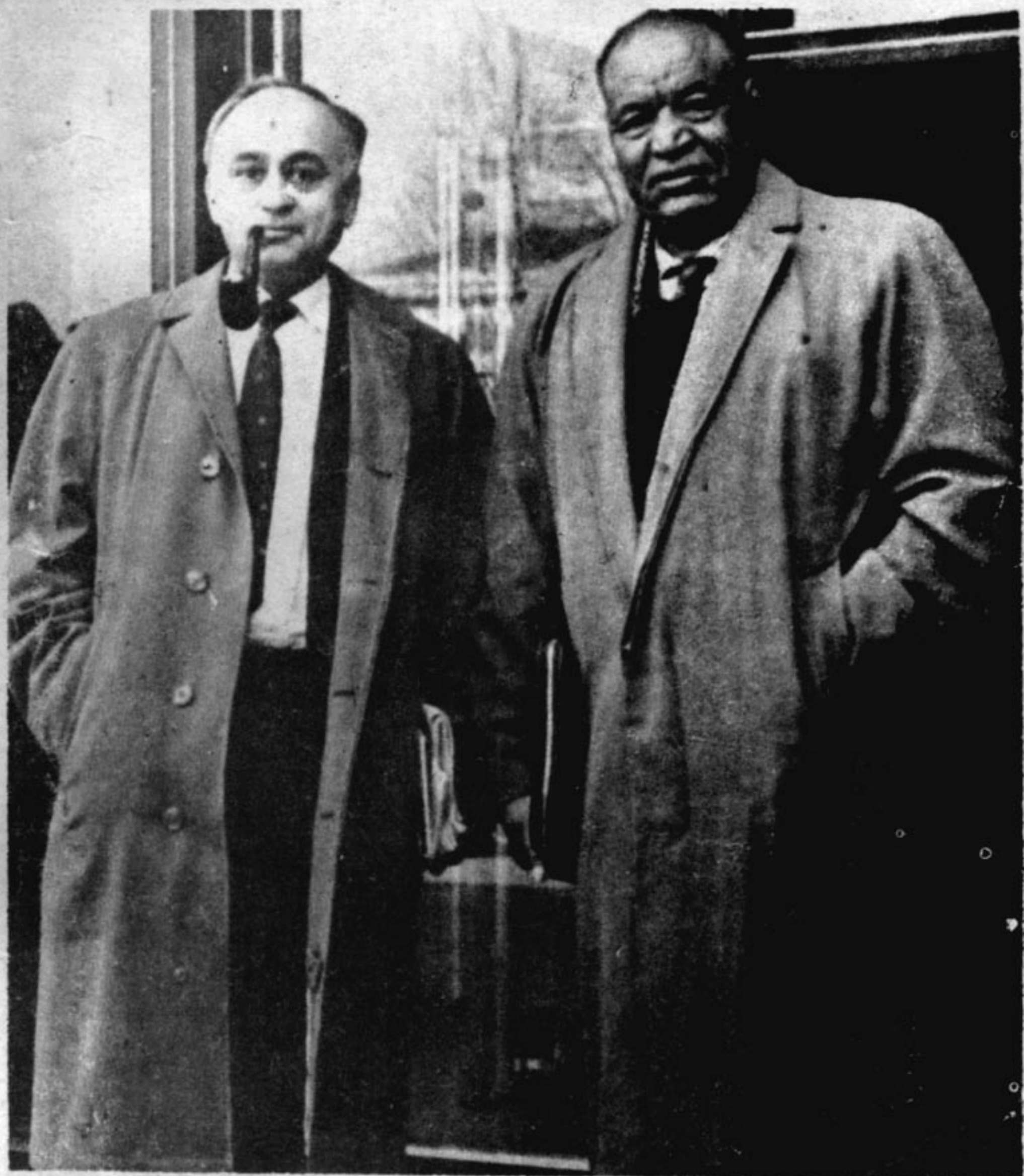


DAWN

monthly journal of
umkhonto we sizwe



LONG LIVE THE SACP!

Dawn

monthly journal of umkhonto we sizwe

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COVER: Heroes of our Revolution, Comrades Yusuf Dadoo (left) and the late Uncle J.B. Marks (right). The former is the Chairman of the SACP and the latter was its General-Secretary until his death in 1972.



Editorial Comment

DEATH TO THE APARTHEID MONSTER!

When our liberation movement led by the ANC first described South Africa some decades ago as a police state there were, and still are, shameless liars who have made it their duty to advertise apartheid South Africa as a prosperous and peaceful country. These are miscreants of the Reagan-Thatcher type and their hangers-on like Robert "Piggy" Muldoon. However hard they may try, all their sinister manoeuvres will end in complete failure. The apartheid monster defies all attempts of even giving it a superficial human appearance. Every passing day the world hears of multiplying horrible crimes committed by the Botha-Malan regime against our people in the name of "Western civilisation."

The brutal murder of a black worker during a miners' strike involving more than 10 000 workers against wage reduction at President Steyn Gold Mines in Welkom is a typical practice of a police state. This act of naked brutality and similar ones at Penge and Sigma motors hardly two months ago and countless others constitute a single pattern of a deliberate and systematic policy of genocide conceived in the law-making chambers of Pretoria and Cape Town and the boardrooms of the financial fat bugs of Johannesburg, New York, London

and Bonn. In fact, to describe South Africa simply as a police state has become an amelioration. For the millions of our oppressed people South Africa has become a typical nazi concentration camp. Death lurks in every corner: dwelling places, streets, factory, school-room, church, everywhere. Even gravesides are not safe. Even old and sickly mothers, old men, pregnant women, mothers and their suckling babies and children are not spared the baton and the bullet when the fascist hired murderers go out to conduct their daily pogroms in the black ghettos. The racist rulers are even contemplating having our people to go around with discs tied to their necks - like dogs.

These are the ingredients with which the Oppenheims and their class brothers of Ford, Goodyear, Leyland, Sigma, Lever Brothers, Siemens and the whole gang of the so-called guardians of 'Western democracy' procure their super-profits. This is the formula with which the fascists in Pretoria are perpetrating their domination over our people to safeguard the investments of their imperialist backers. Nothing on earth will stop us on our march to freedom. Not even the combined support of Reagan, Thatcher and all put together. We have the entire freedom-loving world on our side and it is stronger. We know very well as our President Comrade Oliver Tambo correctly concluded: "Our march to the goal of freedom consists of victories and enemy reprisals. These reprisals have become more vicious and desperate the closer we approach our goal."

We have seized the spear of freedom. We have taken our positions in the trench of our revolution. Let us, like one warrior, thrust the spear straight at the heart of the apartheid monster. Today more than ever before the time for winning a series of victories which must culminate in the forceful seizure of all power by the majority of the oppressed from the Pretoria fascist rulers has come.

Let us fight with the ferocity of lionesses in defence of their cubs to secure the release of Comrade Nelson Mandela, our leaders and other patriots of our country. Our sons, brothers and patriots Naphtalie Manana, Petrus Mashigo and Johnson Lubisi must not be hanged! Only we can save their lives.

An ever-rising level of sustained mass mobilisation, unity and the armed actions of the combatants of the military wing of the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe, our gallant sons and daughters, are our only and most effective weapon for winning victory. The time to act is now!

A Campaign of Great Dimensions

- JOYCE MEKONG

The commanding words "**RELEASE MANDELA**" have become a battle-cry. We hear them called out in a fighting tone during strikes, demonstrations, church services, at the grave-sides, public meetings - everywhere. We see them scrawled impressively on vehicles and roads, on bus-shelters and bridges, walls of public buildings and even on walls of police stations and prison cells. Revolutionary poems and songs are recited and sang in praise of Nelson Mandela and other leaders of our struggle. These same words are echoed thunderously by millions of voices from the international democratic community.

O R I G I N S

What we are witnessing today is not the beginning, but a continuation of a c a m p a i g n which has been on for almost two decades. Soon after the arrest of our leaders at Rivonia the African National Congress made an insistent appeal to our people calling on them to save the lives of our leaders and secure their immediate and unconditional release, since it was already clear that the Pretoria fascists intended to hang some of them.

Acting under the very difficult conditions of underground existence the ANC had to use every possible means to mobilise our people. Pamphleteering played a very important role. In a pamphlet headed "The ANC calls on you - **SAVE THE LEADERS!**" issued in October 1963, our movement appealed to our people saying in part:

"STAND BY THESE LEADERS! Vorster and Verwoerd seek to destroy them and thus destroy us all. Only we can save them. We can save them by demonstrations, strikes, mass action. Do not be afraid! The government may seem very strong. But they are not strong. They are alone, isolated and despised by most South Africans and the whole of the rest of the world. If we, the people, really start to move, to protest, to withdraw our labour, to refuse to move when evicted, to refuse being herded into Bantustans, we can **MAKE APARTHEID UNWORKABLE**. It only exists because of us. We can bring the whole country to a standstill. **ONLY SUCH MASS ACTION CAN SAVE MEN LIKE SISULU,**

MANDELA, KATHRADA, MBEKI, BERNSTEIN and the owners."

In another pamphlet titled "THE PEOPLE SHALL RULE! AMANDLA NGAWETHU!" expressing the indignation of our people at the provocative act by the racists, the unwarranted arrest of our leaders with an intention to murder them, the ANC gave a strong warning to the Pretoria fascist boers saying:

"If these leaders die in Vorster's hands - you, white man ... stand in mortal danger. We are pledged to fight for freedom to the very end. With this trial you will never destroy saboteurs - there are 13 million of us - but you will destroy yourself, your safety, your future. We swear to stand by them on all costs - and the cost will be yours!"

In spite of the repressive measures taken by the racist regime of Pretoria our people turned out in their hundreds and stood by their leaders. The premises of the Pretoria Supreme Court were a scene of militant action by our people who were demanding the release of their leaders. In this way the campaign for the release of Nelson Mandela and other leaders and patriots of our country was launched. Representations were also made to the United Nations and other international bodies. One of the outstanding results of these efforts was the declaration by the United Nations of 11th October as International Day of Solidarity with South African political prisoners. Since then this has become a special day on which the international democratic community expresses its support for our people's struggle for national liberation and our demand for the release of all our leaders and political prisoners in particular.

SIGNIFICANCE

It is clear that this campaign is indissolubly bound up with every other fundamental question of our revolutionary struggle. The demand for the release of our leaders and patriots questions not only the legitimacy of the racist court to try and sentence our people to life and long-term imprisonment under the most appalling conditions. It also questions the very existence of the entire apartheid system. This flows from, firstly, the fact that our people naturally associate Nelson Mandela with the lofty ideals for whose realisation he is prepared to die, the ideals of the ANC, the revolutionary organisation in whose ranks he grew into an outstanding leader of our people's struggle for freedom. Secondly, this connection is dictated by objective reality, that is, the release of Nelson Mandela and other leaders of our people

EIGHT GUILTY IN RIVONIA TRIAL



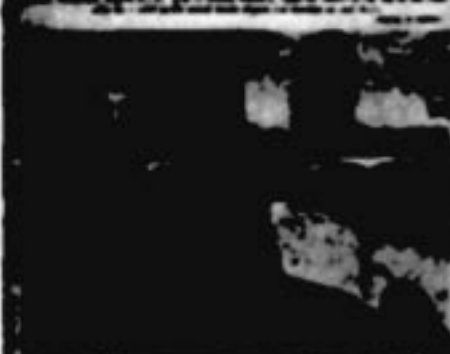
Seven on all four charges and one on one count

BERNSTEIN FREED, REARRESTED

RIVONIA TRIAL
Eight of the nine accused in the Rivonia trial were found guilty on all four counts in the Supreme Court today.



ACTION THREAT AGAINST DRIVER



Natives sing and sing outside the court

WIFE HEARD THE VERDICT



DEATH PENALTY FOR SABOTAGE TRAINING

REARRESTED

is unthinkable without either the total destruction or the pushing of the entire apartheid structure to the brink of collapse. That is why the African National Congress has always emphasised that the demand for the release of our leaders and patriots must at all times be combined with the struggle for equal wages for equal work, trade union rights; against pass laws, evictions, the bantustan system, bantu education, etc., with the seizure of political power through armed struggle as the ultimate goal. Therefore, the campaign offers great possibilities for mobilising our entire people around various connected demands into a more united fighting force.

RACIST INTRANSIGENCE

In the period from the Rivonia Trial to date the fascist regime has invariably maintained a position of intransigence and the extremity of its brutality has approached its limit. They have and continue to defy our people's demand for the release of our leaders and all political prisoners. In 1964 the racists hanged our patriots - Mini, K h a y i n g a and Mkhaba; they deliberately denied our people's leader, Bram Fischer, medical treatment and as a result he died of cancer in May 1975; & in 1979 they hanged the young Solomon Mahlangu.

Right now three other young patriots; Johnson Lubisi, Petrus Mashigo and Naphtalie Manana are in the death row, sentenced to death in 1980. There are scores of known cases of patriots murdered by the Pretoria fascists while in prison. Among our people who are currently facing charges in the country-wide political trials is a 71 years old SACTU and community leader, Oscar Mpetha. Today it is common practice for the racists to send children to Robben Island. The fascist regime of Pretoria has so degenerated in its policies of perpetrating atrocities on our people that one Fourie, arch racist government official, was not ashamed to admit that South African prisons are already overcrowded by 300% (a conservative estimation) when giving evidence to the ill-intended Hoexter Commission of Inquiry into the Structure and Functioning of courts. Looking at the horrible picture portrayed by the facts listed above, a sharp question arises: "Does this mean that our campaign for the release of our leader and all political prisoners cannot force them to yield to our demand?" Not at all!

A REAL POSSIBILITY

The Pretoria fascist regime has been able to maintain this position of extreme intransigence, a dangerous exercise, not because of an inherent ineffectiveness of the campaign. Rather, this was made possible by certain unfavourable conditions which prevented our people from waging the campaign effectively. We will remember that following the banning of the ANC then followed the arrest of most of our leaders and many other cadres of our vanguard organisation and the resultant disruption of our underground machinery including the general intensification of the repressive measures by the enemy which had a telling effect on the entire liberation movement. In the case of Comrade Bram Fischer especially the racists even exploited the relative ignorance of our oppressed people and other democratic forces and used anti-communist slander to frustrate any efforts to save his life and secure his release.

At the time of the execution of Comrade Solomon Mahlangu the campaign for the release of political prisoners and to save his life had not yet gathered sufficient momentum - and only six months earlier the Pretoria government had banned 18 popular organisations and newspapers which circulate mostly among blacks. And these are the forces which, in cooperation with the activists of the ANC, could have done much to save the life of Comrade Solomon Mahlangu. In addition to these obstacles inside the country and as a result of the treache-

rous stand taken by the imperialist governments and the monopolies they represent, there have not been any effective measures taken to put pressure on the apartheid regime in spite of the numerous resolutions taken by the United Nations.

However, even during these difficult years, the period up to 1966 in particular, our people and their vanguard, the ANC, continued to fight and it was in fear of forcing loose our people's accumulating anger that the Verwoerd government did not hang our leaders as they had initially intended to. It was this tenacity which made our liberation movement capable of raising the tempo of our liberation struggle so that we were able to utilise the favourable situation which arose since the early seventies and climaxed with the 1976 June 16

Upheavals. It was during this period that we were able to secure the release of six of our patriots and members of the ANC, in the Pretoria 12 trial (10th May 1977 - 7th April 1978) - one of the most important political trials since Rivonia. In 1980 our people supported by the international community were able to save the life of Comrade James Mange. He was later sentenced to 20 years imprisonment. The daring escape of our patriots; Comrades Alexander Mombarris, Stephen Lee and Tim Jenkins from Pretoria Central Prison and the smuggling of Comrade Nelson Mandela's revolutionary message from Robben Island to our people played a significant role in further highlighting the campaign.

Another very important achievement of our liberation movement during the past 17 years is that we have succeeded in keeping the RELEASE MANDELA campaign alive in spite of the ceaseless efforts by the Pretoria fascist government to crush our struggle and with it the campaign. The enemy has stopped at nothing to achieve this. It has not only used brute force but has also resorted to such base manoeuvres ranging from attempting to blackmail our leaders into abandoning the cause, to demoralise our people by spreading harmful & false rumours.



'Release Mandela, Sisulu': a slogan of the 1976 uprising. Scene in a Port Elizabeth township.

Were it not for our people's unflagging determination, the unshakeable firmness of our leadership on Robben Island and other prisons and of the rest of our leadership both inside and outside the country as well as the growing strength of our entire vanguard organisation, the African National Congress, the **RELEASE MANDELA** campaign would have died. It is these gains put together and the giant strides we have made in our struggle for national liberation in general which laid the foundation on which the campaign was rekindled following the shining example of heroism shown by our three young fighters for freedom at Silverton; Comrades Fanie Mafoko, Thami Makhubu and Wilfred Madela who also demanded the release of Comrade Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners before daringly fighting it out with the fascist murderous soldiers, killing many of them before dying nobly. In this way they sparked off the current tempo of the campaign.

While in the past our people could not wage the **RELEASE MANDELA** campaign effectively, today favourable conditions for its success exist. More than ever before our people are rising to confront the fascist regime of Botha and Malan on every issue. The African National Congress enjoys the confidence of our people who now are practically using our programme, the Freedom Charter, as their basis of unity and struggle. Our people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, is visibly among the people, fighting with them and giving "a cutting edge to their mass political actions." The enemy has been forced to use every sort of ruse while it is unleashing repression with unprecedented extremity, thus further exposing its fascist nature, on the one hand, and emphasising the urgent need for our people to destroy it, on the other. In the international arena the Pretoria regime has become so isolated that the Reagan Administration and its imperialist satellites have had to hasten to carry out sinister manoeuvres in a desperate bid to rescue their fascist allies.

Drawing on the lessons of the campaign against the fascist republic celebrations we have to raise the **RELEASE MANDELA** campaign to greater heights. This calls for united, organised and sustained country-wide mass political action combined with the activities of Umkhonto we Sizwe. No doubt the Pretoria fascists will react with the utmost brutality but we must be prepared to sacrifice for victory. Our answer to the enemy's reprisals is clear: "Our people - African, Indian, Coloured and democratic Whites - must be united into a single massive and solid wall of resistance, of united

mass action," as Comrade Nelson Mandela advised our fighting people. Three of our sons, brothers and patriots; Johnson Lubisi, Petrus Mashigo and Naphtalie Manana are presently in the death row and this makes the intensification of the **RELEASE MANDELA** campaign even more urgent to win victory. We have no choice but to fight with rising fierceness against the fascist colonial regime of Botha and Malan. The success of the **RELEASE MANDELA** campaign will no doubt speed up the process leading to our final victory.

FIGHT WITH THE SPEAR

- EDWARD MATAKA

The people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation) has made daring attacks on the coercive, administrative and industrial installations of the enemy. In themselves these actions are a demonstration of the fact that our people are more than ever before convinced that the system of national oppression and class exploitation cannot be overthrown without armed revolutionary struggle in South Africa. This strategy of armed struggle unfolds side by side with mass militant action by our people through legal and semi-legal platforms and demonstration of protest. The initiative has passed into the hands of the oppressed and their revolutionary organisation, the African National Congress and its allies. Spearheading this popular offensive is Umkhonto we Sizwe, our people's army. In response to this unprecedented level of struggle, the racist regime has intensified its apparatus of repression.

The steam-rolling of the militarisation of the regime and the inculcation of a war psychosis amongst the white population, the militarist strategy of "Total war", brutal attacks on the Front-Line States, plus the threat to withdraw technological and economic co-operation clearly demonstrate the aggressive nature of the racist regime and the danger it poses to the security and peace of Front-Line States.

In response to the ever-growing revolutionary struggle inside South Africa under the leadership of the African Nation-

al Congress, the imperialists have stepped up their efforts to shore up the crumbling racist fascist regime. They continue to supply the racist Botha regime with financial, political, diplomatic and military support which enables the fascist boers to imprison, torture and kill the patriots of our country in South African prisons. We call upon our people to participate actively in the struggle and to support the ANC and assist our underground fighters inside the country. In this Year of the Youth, our youth must be in the forefront of educating our people about the need and importance of their support to the underground units of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa does not take place in isolation from the events taking place beyond our borders. The whole of progressive and freedom-loving mankind is behind us. And in this way our inevitable victory is assured. As Comrade President Oliver Tambo points out, our oppressed people must "fight with the spear" - they must rally around Umkhonto we Sizwe in this, the 20th Anniversary since its founding. It is such conscious and selfless involvement in our revolutionary war that will lead to the creation of a new South Africa. Time is on our side and the time for small thinking is over. **V i c t o r y i s i n** sight - We shall win!

DAWN politiXword No.6 Answers

ACROSS: 1. Kliptown 5. Era 6. Enjoy 9. Lenin
10. Area 11. No 12. Till 15. Transvaal

DOWN: 1. Kremlin 2. PLO 3. Neutral 4. Campaign
7. June 8. Yen 12. Test 13. Lead
14. Ban 15. TT 16. Lt

PERSPECTIVES OF OUR STRUGGLE

Part 2

QUESTION: You'll remember that we talked about the military struggle - the military overthrow of the regime. And you talked at length about the unity of the oppressed majority of South Africa that it is one of the pillars on which you lean when you have to conduct the military struggle. If that is correct I would like to move from that point a little, that, given that unity of the o p p r e s s e d m a s s e s and given the unity also of the regime, that is, the ruling classes this time. And not only the ideological strength which they wield globally, but also the technological strength which they have. The oppressed people led by the African National Congress start from a position of weakness in terms of military hardware and military know-how. Now the regime starts from the position of strength. Do you think such a strategy will work in South Africa where the majority is weak ...?

CDE. THABO MBEKE: Let's say we are not exceptional in South



Africa in regard to the issue that you are raising. Any people that decides to take up arms against an oppressive regime always start from a position of weakness - weakness in terms of the hardware. There isn't any struggle anywhere in the world which has started with the masses being in the position of strength with regard to hardware. So ... South Africa is not exceptional. You can take any example in the world. You take Cuba - when the Cuban armed struggle began, how many people

were there? They c r o s s e d on a boat, the Granma, from Mexico into Cuba and they got into a clash and in the end they were reduced to less than 50 people. And with those 50 people with whatever weapons they had - old weapons - started the military struggle in Cuba against a very well organised and very strong army. The Vietnamese people similarly did not

start their military struggle with anti-aircraft missiles. They started with old weapons. They started with bows and arrows and axes. South Africa is by no means exceptional. You can come even close to the South African borders. The Mozambicans, the Angolans, the Zimbabweans and so on, everybody starts from a position of relative weakness in relation to the enemy on the issue of hardware.

Now even take the word "guerrilla". The word "guerrilla" means irregular warfare as opposed to regular warfare. Now, you are obliged to conduct irregular warfare because you are relatively weak in terms of military hardware, in terms of this military power. You have to conduct an irregular warfare because as I say, your forces are weak. Even the word "guerrilla" means a person who conducts a military struggle from a position of weakness with regard to the issue of hardware. In terms of that hardware, the oppressed people of South Africa are of course in a position of weakness with regard to the enemy. But that fact does not necessarily mean that the battle cannot be won, that the war cannot be won. Everybody else who has conducted guerrilla struggle and has won guerrilla struggle has started from a position of weakness. And in Cuba, Algeria, Angola, Mozambique and so on people have won.

QUESTION: But Comrade Thabo Mbeki, whatever strategy you use, why don't you take up a strategy which is not going to be harmful, which is not going to hurt the people you are struggling for. You take the military strategy which the African National Congress is using. Who is going to suffer? The black people are going to suffer in South Africa and, in fact, that is the problem. Why don't you take up a strategy like what is now bandied around inside the country, the constituency type of strategy where you use your power to gain whatever right wherever it is possible? If you are supposed to get a dam through the homelands why don't you get that dam? If you have got to use the community councils to get one or two rights, why don't you use the community council rather than get into the bush and fight and get so many people killed?

REPLYING TO APARTHEID VIOLENCE

CDE. THABO MBEKI: You say that the black oppressed majority is going to suffer as a result of the armed struggle. I agree entirely. But the question then comes: does the fact we are going to suffer as a result of armed struggle mean that we must not conduct armed struggle? And I would say the answer to that question is known, that we can't say, because we are going to suffer therefore we must not conduct armed struggle. We

are suffering today. We are suffering as a result of the repressive policies - the whole apartheid system.

You've got a very glaring outstanding example uppermost in the consciousness of anybody in South Africa, of the Soweto Uprisings. Here are young people who come out to demonstrate against the issue of the imposition of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction - not talking about them a b o u t changing the system in this and that way addressing themselves to this issue. Now you see, maybe this is the constituency power you are talking about. They used whatever power they had to try and get this issue of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction reserved. What is the r e p l y? They got s h o t. in those hundreds and hundreds. You've had the immediate example of just the past few weeks of the Sigma workers in Pretoria, who are demonstrating and some white woman takes out a pistol and shoots some. You've had the same thing in the Eastern Transvaal. We are suffering directly as a result of shooting. Now, is there any day in South Africa which passes without some report that the police have shot somebody, some-



The fascist Pretertia soldiers and police seen in one of the ghettos of Seveto ready to shoot at peaceful demonstrators.

body has died in the cells and so on. I don't think any day like this passes. You've also had something which is of course known to the black people generally, (but you know these things pop out sometimes in the white press) of the issue that had arisen of the number of farm workers that have been killed by the white farmers. You know the things they usually do; they hang somebody by their feet and they thrash them and pec-

ple die. Some of those things get into the papers and most of them don't. Our people are dying today as a result of that kind of thing.

Now take people who are in the resettlement areas. Vast numbers dying everyday, children dying simply because of hunger, that is the violence of the system. Hundreds of our people are dying everyday as a result of the apartheid system. That is suffering. Now it is that suffering that we are against, it is that suffering that we say must stop. Now, war inevitably results in deaths. War is a battle between two or more people, two or more forces and there will be death on both sides. What the ANC is saying is that our people cannot allow themselves to remain in a condition where they are perishing as a people because of the apartheid system; where millions of people have been removed from the white farms, towns and cities, dumped in the countryside, really to perish there because there's no food, there's no jobs, there's no land, there's nothing. People just go and perish there.

We are dying today, so the ANC says there is a way out of this condition. Rather than sit there and wait to die because of hunger. Let's take up arms and fight. It is better to die standing on our feet than to die of hunger. So the suffering of the black people must itself serve as the spur, as the injection that moves the oppressed people to say this suffering is enough. We must take up arms to stop it. But in a war people die on both sides.

Today very few white South Africans are dying, that's the apartheid system. They are protected with a huge police force, with a huge army whose principal task is to protect this population and the state. They are not dying, we are dying. In a war, we want to say to the white population of South Africa, we want to make it very costly for them to continue to maintain the system. They must begin to die as we are dying. That's the nature of war. So suffering there will be on our side but let there be suffering also on the other side. To show the white population of South Africa, to show that regime that they can't sit in this comfortable, nice, prosperous, safe life any longer when the people begin to take up arms - people who are dying already. Let the other side also feel the pain of this kind of system.

So, I would therefore say the fact that we are suffering should in fact be the very cause which makes us to decide that let's take up arms. Not the other way round, that we will suffer as though we are not suffering now, we will suffer and therefore let's not take up arms. We are suffering today!

QUESTION: But Comrade Thabo you seem to be ruling off any other possibilities in this context. I am thinking now of the strategy of negotiations where people have come to sit with the Botha regime and discuss issues and come to conclusions without taking up arms. I am not saying that what you have been saying is wrong. It's correct, people are suffering and they are dying. And they say we can't die alone, let the enemy taste the salt of its making. Now, here I am moving to this strategy of negotiations because even if you suffer, if you can negotiate your way through, why not? And there are people in South Africa who are doing that. And I think we should perhaps think of these people.

CONSTITUENCY POLITICS

COM. THABO MASE: I missed out or forgot a question that you asked earlier. For instance, when you said why not use the Bantustans or the community councils to get whatever you can get - that's what is called constituency politics. Now you see the Bantustans, as you know, the community councils, are a creation of the oppressor regime. The regime did not consult us in saying do you want such a thing. The regime imposed the system on us, of Bantustans, of community councils. Where the masses of the people rejected this so-called separate development system, the enemy replied as usual with force, compelling people to take this separate development institutions whether they liked them or not. Of course the enemy is not foolish, the enemy did not impose on us what it calls the separate development program because it wanted to help the black people. It imposed that system on us because it wanted to perpetuate white minority rule. So, whatever you do through this system, and the enemy agrees, must necessarily be because the enemy is convinced that what you are doing through this separate development institutions is not weakening the regime, it does not threaten the regime. So the regime agrees. And the regime agrees because what you are able to achieve through these things in its view strengthens the whole of the oppressor regime over the country.

Take a current issue that has arisen in a number of parts of the country, but let's just take the Eastern Transvaal. You know there are big rent struggles going on there and Koornhof says it is not I (Koornhof) and my government that have decided to increase rents in this area (in Seshego for example - it was more than Seshego, it was also in the East Rand). He says it is the community councils that decide these things -

they decided that we want to increase rent and they made recommendations to us and since they wanted this thing we said o'kay. Now, that is exactly what the enemy had intended - that it would use institutions like the community councils, like the Bantustans and so on, as I say, for the perpetuation of the apartheid system. And there is absolutely nothing that anybody can produce in South Africa as an example of a gain that the people have made through the system. I am talking about fundamental things, issues of concern to the people; whether it's rent or the system of education or the pass laws or the release of political prisoners or anything; police harassment and so on. There's nothing you can think of that is of fundamental concern to the people that anybody who is within the separate development system can say: "Okay you see, through the Soweto community council we were able to get the pass laws abolished." Or "through the Bantustan we were able to get land to the people." You can't find anything and will not because these are institutions which are created by the enemy for the perpetuation of the apartheid system and not for the upliftment of the black people. So I'm saying, you can pose the question in a sort of theoretical sense and say: well, why don't we use the power that we have in the Bantustans to gain whatever we can gain? I'm saying you can't gain anything because those institutions are designed exactly to make sure that you don't gain anything. A simple question, not so simple but an important issue that, here are millions of our people who unilaterally are being deprived by the regime of citizenship in a country of their birth. I mean here are white people who come from Europe and they settle in South Africa after many wars and so on. And it's a white settler population, and it then decides that the people whom we found here we are going to make them foreigners in their own country - that's the Bantustan system. Now can any sensible person expect that you can use the Bantustan system? For instance to restore the citizenship of people who have been made emigrants or alternatively foreigners in their own country? You can't. I'm saying that with regard to any and every important issue that is confronting our people; the Bantustan system, the community councils, the management committees, the South African Indian Council and all those things. The masses of the people cannot gain anything out of those institutions because those institutions are oppressive institutions designed by the enemy to perpetuate oppression. So if what is meant by we must now adopt a strategy of constituency politics, if that's what it means it is a foolish strategy. It is a hopeless strategy. Per-

haps people who put it forward are people who have not understood properly.

Alternatively there are people who are speaking as the spokesmen, as the agents of the regime to promise manna and honey and sweetness to come out of institutions created by the enemy which are supposed to produce poison and say they are going to produce honey. And I am saying people who put forward that kind of thing are either very seriously deluded, have not thought out the matter properly or are just acting as enemy agents. I think the argument is very wrong, is very false, plays into the hands of the enemy. We've got to destroy these separate development institutions because they are one of the obstacles that stand between us and liberation.

TO BE CONTINUED IN NEXT ISSUE.

SECURING OUR PEOPLE'S FUTURE

- ALEX MASHINI

The question of securing the future of our people in our embattled Southern African region and the entire continent demands urgent attention. Our people are concerned with building for themselves a future free of all forms of oppression and exploitation, a peaceful and prosperous future. The youth, builders of new societies tomorrow, have an important role to play in the realisation of our people's noble ideals. This is a struggle which they must begin to wage now, with the aid of their revolutionary mothers and fathers. This is the spirit which prevailed during the First Co-ordinating Meeting of the Youth Organisations of the Front-Line States held in Luanda from the 18th to the 20th June, 1981.

The meeting was attended by delegates of JMPLA (MPLA Youth) of Angola, OJM (Mozambican Youth Organisation), Umoja wa Vijana of Tanzania, Zimbabwean Ministry of Youth, Sports and Recreation, SWAPO Youth League and ANC Youth Section. This came at a very crucial moment in our people's struggle for national independence and freedom. On the one hand are the great advances made by our people towards their liberation in Namibia and South Africa respectively. On the other hand

are the imperialists' manoeuvres aimed at reversing the revolutionary process in our region. The Reagan Administration is going all out to bolster up their policeman in the region, the Pretoria fascist colonial regime. Hence the stepped up repressive measures to suppress our people's just struggles and the continued acts of aggression to destabilise the independent Southern African states and finally overthrow the democratic governments to install puppets. This situation was fully appreciated by the meeting. The meeting noted that the complete destruction of the Botha-Malan fascist regime and the resultant emancipation of the people of Namibia and South Africa is a pre-condition for a peaceful and unhindered progress in the whole region. Thus the need for our people to face their common enemy, international imperialism, is one of the most important factors which prompted the convening of this meeting and served as the basis of unity and cooperation among the participants throughout the meeting.

Consequently, the struggle waged by our people in Namibia, as the meeting noted, is in a real sense the continuation of the victorious struggles waged by our brother peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and beyond. This was clearly expressed in the aims of the meeting as described in the joint Luanda Declaration: "...studying ways and methods of co-ordinating their activities, considering the role and objectives of the Front-Line States in relation to the struggles being waged in Southern Africa for total liquidation of colonialism and the Apartheid system and the establishment of free Namibia and South Africa, and conscious of the role the Youth can play in augmenting the efforts of these countries of this region for the acceleration of the independence process in Namibia and South Africa."

PROGRAMME OF ACTION

Looking at the lofty aims of the meeting it become clear that this was not just an occasion for making a gesture of solidarity to our oppressed but fighting people. The participants had come together to plan immediate and effective action. For this purpose the meeting unanimously adopted a programme of action in which the participants decided, on behalf of the members of their respective organisations, among other things, to: "Intensify the international campaign for the release of Nelson Mandela, Herman ja Toivo and other political prisoners languishing in racist dungeons of South Africa and the campaign for repealing the death sentence imposed on

three combatants of the African National Congress; Naphthalie Manana, Petrus Mashigo and Johnson Lubisi and an activist of SWAPO, Marcus Kateka by the racist regime of South Africa." They also decided to organise activities at national level, backing the international campaign for ending collaboration with racist South Africa and imposition of comprehensive and mandatory economic sanctions against the racist regime of South Africa.

OAU SUMMIT

In their deliberations and in the significant decisions they took, the participants did not confine themselves to the problems of Southern Africa. The problems facing our continent and for whose solution the 18th OAU Summit was scheduled to start later during the month did not go unnoticed to the participants. The participants sent a message to the Summit, warmly greeting the occasion and expressed their awareness of "the fact that this Summit is a great step forward in the present process for the total liberation of this continent from the last bastions of imperialism." They specifically addressed themselves to one of the crucial questions to be settled by the Summit; the admission of the Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic as the 51st member of the Organisation of African Unity and demanded the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the Moroccan forces from that territory. The participants also focussed their attention on the promotion of activities in solidarity with the peoples of Asia and Latin America. Acknowledging their duty to participate actively on the initiatives promoted by the Pan African Youth Movement (PYM), All African Student Union (AASU), IUS and the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY) the participants set as their immediate task contribution in the preparation of the 2nd Youth and Students International Conference in solidarity with the peoples of Southern Africa scheduled to meet in Luanda in November 1981.

CORRECT PATH

The decision by the youth of the Front-Line States to coordinate their actions in solidarity with their struggling brothers in Namibia and South Africa is a very significant development. The youth of our region are firmly on the correct path charted by their fathers and mothers. In this way they are ensuring the preservation and development of the revolutionary traditions built by our revolutionary mother

organisations. In carrying out their revolutionary duties as the leaders of our respective peoples our vanguard organisations the MPLA, FRELIMO, the Patriotic Front, SWAPO and the ANC have always maintained a fighting alliance to share experiences and assist one another and to cooperate on all issues connected with our peoples' struggles for freedom. This alliance was and still is an expression of the common experience of suffering under the brutal system of national oppression and exploitation - colonialism, common struggle and common destiny. This meeting, therefore, marked a rich point in the consolidation of our peoples' unity which our elders have been building for decades.

YEAR OF THE YOUTH ACHIEVEMENTS

This meeting is one of the great achievements of the Year of the fighting Youth of South Africa. Its significance is not confined to the assistance given to our people in isolating the Pretoria regime internationally. It has served to place the participation of our fighting youth in contributing to the solution of the problems facing mankind on a firm basis - the struggle against imperialism, for peace and progress. Above all the decisions taken at the meeting have a direct bearing on the advancing of our people's struggle for freedom right inside fascist South Africa. In their final declaration the youth of the Front-Line States pledged themselves to:

- mobilise the Youth of their respective countries in order to participate in the National reconstruction and defend their territorial integrity.
- promote permanent mobilisation of the Youth of the Front-Line States for the National liberation struggle in Namibia and South Africa.

The existence of free, independent and strong states on our borders will not only serve as a source of inspiration to our people but will also deny the Pretoria fascist regime and its imperialist allies the suitable environment for the perpetration of its genocidal policies on our people. Surely, this meeting is a giant step towards the fulfilment of our people's deeply felt desire which was eloquently spelt out by Comrade President O.R. Tambo when he said:

"It is our hope that the international democratic youth and student movement will also use the occasion of these anniversaries (June 16 and December 16 - Ed) to strengthen links of comradeship and solidarity with the embattled youth and students of our country, and take new initiatives to intensify the campaign for the total isolation of the apartheid regime."

It was no coincidence that the participants in the meeting formally adopted the day of the June 16 Soweto Uprisings and 26th August, the day of launching of armed struggle in Namibia as special rallying days in support of our peoples' struggles. In Luanda and other capitals of the Front-Line States the Fifth Anniversary of June 16 Upheavals was marked in a befitting manner.

We have no doubt that the implementation of the decisions taken at the Luanda First-Coordinating Meeting of Front-Line States will lay a strong basis for future joint action among the different contingents of the fighting youth of Southern Africa. To ensure this the participants agreed to meet annually and to maintain close co-operation in the intervening period. This is a great achievement and our people can rest assured that their future is assured.

Letter to the Editor

(THE WILL TO RESIST)

South African Battleground
P.O. Box ANC
(of South Africa)
Year of the Youth (1981)

Comrade Editor,

As we forge ahead with our revolutionary armed struggle some patriots, revolutionaries, fall into enemy hands. Those who have ever been engaged in war will know this. In past months we have had discussions with comrades and friends about the behaviour of a revolutionary when he is in the hands of the enemy. This is not just a subject of theoretical

debate, but an existing practical issue.

There have been v a r y i n g v i e w s from good friends and in this letter I will attempt to give some idea of the discussion because I think it is relevant for all fighters. I quite agree that ideally a revolutionary should never allow himself to get into enemy hands but that is only theoretical - the struggle is a practical affair fought on the ground between two opposing forces.

When I raised this question with some comrade he said: Who does not b r e a k ? Another one said some trusted comrades have been broken by the enemy. A brave combatant said there could be no formular but, it is a question of physical endurance, Some very wise old man said it does not depend only on toughness of a person because some people have resisted physical torture but could be broken by the mere sight of those closest to him, for example his wife or daughters, when brought to the torture chambers by his tormentors.

Comrade Editor, here we are not referring to people who have crossed the floor, those who sold the cause; men with no consciences, traitors and enemies of the revolution. From my point of view those are very clear cases of sell-outs not of the 'fallen' among the comrades. I want us to look at those revolutionaries who have refused to work for the enemy but have broken in enemy hands, given all secrets to the enemy, revealed their own comrades in underground, revealed weapons from hiding places, logistics, told about their own activities before they were arrested and the future activities that were still going to be carried out. We are revolutionaries and we need not be sentimental about this question. It is possible that the information given to the enemy could have been given willingly or unwillingly but the result is the same, that is, damaging to the revolutionary movement. I should not be judged as saying these revolutionaries are not part of us, therefore we have got nothing to do with them, they must stay condemned forever. These are comrades whose courage faltered when captured by the enemy. But here my attitude must be clearly against breaking or collapsing in the enemy hands because it results in serious damage.

WHO DOES NOT BREAK?

Looking at the central theme of the letter I would like to answer the question: Who does not break? That's a very unrealistic question. A lot more revolutionaries did not break. We have got living legendaries in our own struggle -

Mini, Mkhabela and Khayinga. These are the people who had the choice between life and death b u t refused to accept cheap offers in exchange for their own personal freedoms which meant selling the cause. They were not prepared to save their own dark skins at the expense of the oppressed millions in o u r country. The young Solomon Mahlangu went to the gallows smiling and said: "Tell my people that I love them. They must continue the struggle...". A most recent example is that of our young Hero at Chiawelo who fought it out and, when his ammunition ran out ended his life with a hand grenade because surrendering would mean he should reveal political and military secrets of his organisation. There are a lot more who did not break, Timols, Mdlulis, etc.

Whether a person was trusted or not does not suit the argument. A person could have been trusted for his work or contribution he has made and maybe for great risks he has taken where even his life was at stake. Of course we can also make a wrong judgement of a person and we make certain assumptions and that person is trusted. That is natural. But when a person is in the hands of the enemy all by himself he stands a test of times. The enemy wants h i m to break, it wants to see him humiliated and suffering. That is another battleground for a revolutionary, where he has no weapons in his hands but his political conviction and beliefs. These are challenged. The enemy will use all methods to frustrate the revolutionary and even threaten to kill him. It is a l s o not completely correct to reduce this just to physical endurance and psychological preparedness. There are quite a number of factors which need also to be taken into account.

C O N V I C T I O N

The main factor which one will be concerned about is political conviction. There is a great deal which is said about conviction and dedication. This d o e s not mean political knowledge - theory. This can easily be acquired. What is most important is political knowledge itself to be converted into a material force, that is political conviction. T h i s presupposes, therefore, that political conviction is something that comes from without. No one is born politically convicted but during the life experience one becomes aware of one's society and its nature and in the process certain attitudes are shaped up as he experiences good and evils, justice and injustice. In a class divided society, where there is even

CONTINUED ON PAGE 26

OBITUARY

Eli Weinberg (1908-81)

The African National Congress, Umkhonto we Sizwe and our oppressed but fighting people suffered a great loss on the 18th of July, 1981 when our father and leader, Comrade Eli Weinberg ceased to exist. He left us only a few days before we could celebrate together with him the 60th birthday Anniversary of the South African Communist Party in which he was a member of the Central Committee. At the time of his death, Comrade Weinberg (74) was also a member of SACTU's National Executive Committee and a leading member of the African National Congress.

In 1953 he was banned because of his activities as one of our exploited workers' leading trade unionists. After being deprived of his employment as a trade unionist by the racists, Eli Weinberg tactically retreated to photography, one of his oldest interests, but was still a trade unionist working underground under difficult conditions being surveilled day in and day out by the fascist police.

In 1960 when the fascist government of Verwoerd declared a state of emergency, Eli Weinberg and his family were detained. In 1964 Eli, together with the late Bram Fischer, also an underground member of the South African Communist Party were arrested and the former was sentenced to five years imprisonment for being a member of the Central Committee of the underground SACP. After serving his sentence in the fascist dungeons, Eli was served with banning orders. He left South Africa in 1976 after receiving instructions from the African National Congress and was based in Dar-Es-Salaam where he eventually died.

Our revolutionary photographer's death also came a few months after his book titled "Portrait of a People" was published. This book portrays the spirit of a true internationalist proletarian, a defender of the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

To us Comrade Eli Weinberg was not a white man but an African father and leader who fought and struggled together with our oppressed people. As a photographer Eli took most of the pictures for the Guardian newspaper and its successor

New Age. Almost all of the pictures are of our people's political actions, that is, the participants of the Defiance Campaign and the Congress of the People, rejection of Bantu Education, Treason Trial, bus boycotts, stay-at-homes, life in the Bantustans and generally on strikes and our people's peaceful demonstrations. On the book itself Comrade Weinberg had this to say:

"... I hope my photographs will show that a deep-rooted resistance movement against apartheid has always existed and continues to exist in South Africa; that this movement has well-considered directions and objectives; and that at every stage of its development it has had, and continues to have, the loyal enthusiastic support of the majority of South Africans..."

Therefore, we the people of South Africa, guided by our tried and tested vanguard movement - the African National Congress and its allies - shall not mourn the death of Comrade Weinberg but shall redouble our strength and military operations on the Pretoria fascist regime's military and economic installations until we achieve his (Eli's) loftiest ideal, the liberation of o u r M o t h e r l a n d .

Born in 1908 in Latvia, Eli became a trade unionist at the age of 16 and came to South Africa in 1929. But by the time he went into exile from South Africa in 1976, he had not yet been given South African citizenship. This might be the true epitaph of a fighting communist, trade unionist and South African revolutionary. In this Year of the fighting Youth and 20th Anniversary of our revolutionary People's Army, we the youth of South Africa say in unison: "HEROES OF OUR REVOLUTION NEVER DIE." We have no doubt that the immortal spirit of Eli Weinberg will live for ever in the hearts and minds of our fighting people, black and white, and we shall never relax until our inevitable victory is achieved. From here on marching with one pace we say:

LALA NGOXOLO
BABA WETHU!

racial discrimination and national oppression from the time the child starts learning, certain attitudes are imprinted in him. The hatred that one develops for the enemy and the whole system comes as a result of the atrocities that the enemy carries out against one's own people. In the process also one sympathises with one's suffering people and automatically identifies with them because it is where he belongs. His love for his people also grows with his deepening hatred for his enemy.

Once a person joins the revolutionary movement, then he is taught scientific theories, his political conviction is reinforced. He now begins to interpret himself, his surroundings, society and human nature correctly. His level of political clarity grows and he becomes politically conscious. In the process he becomes an optimist. He is able to relate his individual interests to the collective interests. When he falls into enemy hands then he is ready to sacrifice; he becomes selfless for he knows about the justness of his cause and that the might of a fighting people is invincible.

PABLO NERUDA

In his memoirs, Pablo Neruda, a Chilean revolutionary poet, relates about his friend, a Turk, Nazim Hikmet, who was kept in prison for 18 years for what was termed "inciting the Turkish Navy into a rebellion." The trial was held in a warship. "He told me he was forced to work on a ship's bridge until he was too weak to stay on his feet, then they stuck him into a section of the latrines where the excrements rose half a metre above the floor. My brother poet felt his strength failing him. The stench made him reel. Then the thought struck him: my tormentors are keeping an eye on me, they want to see me drop, they want to see me suffer. His strength came back with pride. He began to sing, low at first, then louder and finally at the top of his lungs. He sang all songs, all the love poems he could remember, his own poems, the ballads of the peasants, the people's battle hymns. He sang everything he knew. And so he vanquished the filth and his torturers."

Like Nazim Hikmet, Vuyisile Mini, Solomon Mahlangu, etc., we can all sing the songs of peasants, workers, revolutionary songs and many other songs. And sure like them we would be able to vanquish the filthy torturers and sadists.

Yours in the struggle,
JIMMY JONES.

HEROES OF OUR REVOLUTION

(Albert T. Nzula 1905-34)

- DAVID SIMBLANE

"WE CANNOT DENY THAT ANYONE WHO STRUGGLES TO OBTAIN HIS HOMELAND'S INDEPENDENCE FROM COLONIAL OR NEO-COLONIAL POWER OR FOR FREEDOM FROM TYRANNY IS A REVOLUTIONARY, BUT THERE IS ONLY ONE HIGHER WAY OF BEING A REVOLUTIONARY IN TODAY'S WORLD; THAT OF BEING A COMMUNIST, BECAUSE COMMUNISM EMBODIES THE IDEA OF INDEPENDENCE, FREEDOM, TRUE JUSTICE EQUALITY AMONG MEN AND WHAT IS MORE INTERNATIONALISM - THAT IS BROTHERHOOD, SOLIDARITY, CO-OPERATION AMONG ALL PEOPLES AND NATIONS OF THE WORLD... THIS IS WHAT WE WANT TO BE: COMMUNISTS...".

- PRESIDENT FIDEL CASTRO -



ALBERT NZULA

In the course of the struggle the masses produce their own heroes, outstanding revolutionaries and leaders - these are not manufactured in classrooms and big universities as our bourgeois theoreticians would like us to believe. The people know their heroes, they always remember them and when one day flags of freedom are raised, monuments of great historical significance shall be built. Of course this should not be interpreted to mean that people fight to be remembered and for monuments but these are symbols of feats and contributions made by heroes both known and unknown.

This year when the South African Communist Party (SACP) marks its 60th Anniversary all South African revolutionaries,

communists, non-communists, Christians and the youth remember all our heroes and draw inspiration from them. Our list of heroes will be incomplete especially this year if we forget the first African General-Secretary of our Party - Comrade Albert Thomas Nzula.

SUFFERINGS AND HUMILIATIONS

He was born on the 16th November, 1905 at Rouxville in the Orange Free State, a place today regarded as one of the strongholds of the Afrikaner autocracy. Nzula came from a working class family and from this we can deduce that he experienced all the sufferings and humiliations that every black man experiences under the alien white rule in South Africa.

Albert Nzula qualified as a teacher at the famous Lovedale Institute and moved to Aliwal North to assume his duties as a teacher. It was during his stay there that he got his baptism in the working class struggle. He became a local secretary of the branch of the Industrial Commercial Workers' Union (ICU), an African trade union organisation that was at its peak during those years (1926-29). He later moved to the Transvaal and got a post with AME Mission School at the Wilberforce Training Institute in Evaton.

In 1928 Comrade Nzula was part of an audience of teachers that were addressed by Douglas Wolton explaining the concept of the Native Republic. This concept was then a current subject of theoretical debate within and outside Party circles. Based on Lenin's thesis on the national and colonial question presented at the 2nd Congress of the Comintern in 1920, this question had direct relevance to the concrete practical realities of South Africa. Of course it was not solved without some problems. That is how Nzula came into contact with the Party. Amongst other things, he was personally impressed and inspired by the fact that when the meeting started, the rain fell, Douglas Wolton never called the meeting off, instead he continued until he was over.

MARXIST LITERATURE

Since that meeting Nzula showed great enthusiasm and an irresistible desire to engage in Party activities and frequently went to Party Headquarters at 41A Fox Street, Johannesburg. In the process he came across Marxist literature and this made a lasting impact on him. In his own reflection he said:

"After reading through Communism and Christian-

ity, I have come to the conclusion that every right-minded person ought to be a communist. I have hesitated all the time because communism has been misrepresented; I have been brought up on capitalist literature, which is never satisfactory when it tries to explain working class misery. I am convinced that no halfway measures will solve the problem. ... I am prepared to do my little bit to enlighten my countrymen on this point."

In the few years in which Albert Nzula lived, he made outstanding contributions to the cause of the working class. Because of his commitment he had to give up his post as a headmaster of the school at Evaton in order to be a full-time Party activist. He became active in the Federation of Non-European Trade Unions formed by the Party in 1928. In many meetings of the Party and African National Congress, Nzula was amongst leading speakers; as a speaker he was very eloquent. He became a regular contributor to the Party's organ "South African Worker", which he was later to be its Editor.

During the great 1929-33 economic depression, when the working class position had worsened, there were great political upheavals in South Africa. At the same time the racist government was waging an onslaught against the masses of the African people. We saw Comrade Nzula in the vanguard of all these political activities. In 1929 he got arrested and was charged for the so-called incitement to racial disharmony. This followed his speech in opposition to General Hertzog's Native Bills which stripped Africans of the limited franchise they had in the Cape and also laid the foundation for the genocidal bantustan system. Albert Nzula was at the same time appointed to the secretariat of the League for African Rights, a body that was to channel the struggle against the Hertzog injustice. Towards the end of 1929, he participated in preparations for the December 16, 1930 Anti-pass campaign jointly with Johannes Nkosi, who on the same day was brutally murdered by the racist police.

WHITE WORKERS

The deepening economic depression undermined the doubtful privileges of white workers to a point where May Day 1931 witnessed a demonstration by white workers led by Issy Diamond merging with a demonstration of African workers led by

DAWNLIGHT.. FEATURING ANTI- 'BOKKE' DEMONSTRATIONS...



"WHAT THESE DEMONSTRATORS NEED IS "BATONS" AND
"TEAR-GAS" EN"KLAAR!"
THE FASCISTS ARE THINKING OF WHAT THEY USUALLY
DO ON OUR FREEDOM-LOVING PEOPLE IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Straight Talk

PSEUDO-INDEPENDENCE NO!

Wonders do not cease! It is r e a l l y incredible how some so-called homeland leaders lie about the situation in the bantustans. Suddenly the bantustans are 'economically viable' and the people are 'opting' for independence. This obviously self-defeating campaign, at the hub of which lately we find such quislings as Lennox Sebe, is continuing in spite of the disastrous results it has yielded in the pigsty reserve of the Transkei. Yet we are told; "99% of the Ciskeian people voted for independence" during a referendum that was meant to serve as opinion poll on the attitude of the Ciskei towards independence.

The fact of the matter is that the great majority of the people boycotted the sham referendum refusing to have anything to do with an exercise that was in fact a mockery to their right to elect what is good for them. One questions seriously the conscience of such men as Lennox Sebe. He seems to forget that he is dealing with human beings - people who also possess the ability to think and are able to discriminate between 'true' and 'false'. Mr Lennox Sebe is just going a bit too far with his role of yes-baa-man.

NO STAKE

Let us therefore be explicit. The people of the Ciskei have no stake in a scheme aimed at the fragmentation of our country, they refuse to be slaves of white minority rule. They have not only pronounced this from platforms but have actively d e m o n s t r a t e d in fierce struggle against racist oppression together with its ill-conceived policy of separate development. That is why they refuse to be dragged into participation in the forthcoming celebration of the fraudulent independence of the Ciskei on December 4. The formation in Port Elizabeth of a civic organisation, the Committee of 21, which plans to rally the people to actively oppose 'independence' and bring about the disruption of this satanic ploy is ample evidence of what the real attitude of our people is towards the Bantustans. The 6 million Ciskeians do not want to loose their citizenship rights by will-

ingly drifting into poverty, disease, etc., in an 'independent' pig-sty reserve.

Our national liberation movement has repeatedly warned about the dangerous consequences of the Bantustan policy. In the words of our leader, Comrade Nelson Mandela:

" ... No serious or responsible leader, gathering, or organisation of the African people has ever accepted segregation, separation or the partition of this country in any shape or form ... Behind the 'self-government' talks lies a grim programme of mass evictions, political persecution and police terror. It is the last desperate gamble of a hated and doomed fascist autocracy."

This is very evident even in today's Ciskei. Pretoria's placemen here, as led by the chief quisling, Sebe, are not only cracking the whip but are implementing the very practices of the fascist regime against which our people have fought courageously for years. This comes as no surprise for the Bantustan puppets have so lost their souls that in attempting to catch the eye of their master, they endeavour to outshine him in certain aspects of suppression of our popular struggle for liberation.

F A C T S

These are the facts: Lennox Sebe and his crowd are today amongst the trusted disciples of the Botha-Malan regime and its brutal policies and fascistic campaigns against the popular struggle for freedom and democracy - they have even adopted the undiluted derogatory terminology of the fascists. All opponents of the A p a r t h e i d system in all its manifestations including the Bantustan programme, are to them also 'communist agitators' or 'terrorists'. Puppets surely learn fast! Today the Ciskeian authorities are harassing the people in typical racist fashion - they are closing down churches, arresting worshippers and clergymen as they did with the "Ibandla Likantu Church" recently. They are detaining trade unionists and students and in April they abducted a traditional leader, Chief Inky Hoyi for his patriotic identification with the struggle being led by the African National Congress. These are but some of the reactionary activities of the yes-baas-men of the Ciskei bantustan.

No! Our people cannot tolerate this type of life, let

alone when it is managed by appointees of the fascist boer oppressors. The people totally reject the ill-conceived plan of the Balkanisation of our country. They cannot accept to be condemned for life in these dumping grounds for the unemployed whilst the Sebes swim in luxury afforded by their blood-wage. Our people refuse to be enticed with the illusion of 'independence' for they know that there can be no true independence and freedom without the complete destruction of the present regime and all its structures. We of the ANC call upon the people to fight against the Bantustan program, the Sebes and all their ilk.

DOWN WITH THE BANTUSTAN PUPPETS!

FORWARD TO A SOUTH AFRICA OF THE FREEDOM CHARTER!

PORTRAIT OF A PUPPET

Part 1

- EDWIN MABITSE

As is the case with most revolutionary struggles, the Angolan revolution has gone through many a difficult period. At times the problems of the national liberation movement here, stemmed from internal contradictions borne of the heterogeneous nature of the social forces that clamoured for change. This is precisely because the anti-colonial struggle for national independence bring about the association of classes and strata whose long term interests have no common bearing beyond the immediate question of national independence. This objective character of the anti-colonialist movement creates unfortunately favourable grounds for future neo-colonialists and outright counterrevolutionaries.

In Angola, the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) was no exception. Motivated by genuine patriotic objectives, the MPLA has from its inception always striven to unite Angolans of all races and social strata into a formidable movement for independence and democracy. At first it was plagued by teething problems, but more still the PIDE (Portuguese political police) on the one hand and on the other, some Angolan petty-bourgeois intellectuals who clamoured for nothing else but recognition, personal power and a name within the liberation movement. The latter explains

the underlying motive behind the struggle against Agostinho Neto's presidency and the revolutionary line of the MPLA in general, which brought about the lamentable but fortunately abortive Nito Alves coup attempt of May 27, 1977.

Worse still is the case of ambitious men whose obsession for power and a life of leisure and ease naturally lead them to positions of shameful opposition to the popular cause and direct opportunistic connivance with the colonial forces. Such is the case with 'Judas' Savimbi.

WHO IS JONAS SAVIMBI?

Jonas Malheiro Savimbi was born into a wealthy family of a stockbreeder in Bie, Angola. Here he went to school at a mission of American Catholics. Through the mission he attained a scholarship with which he was enabled to further his studies in Lisbon where he became a licentiate in political science and law. He later settled in Lausanne, Switzerland. It is from Lausanne that Jonas Savimbi first started to show interest in the political struggle of his country and membership of the MPLA. In 1960 he wrote letters to the MPLA bureau in Conakry, stating his qualifications and professional training and expressing his readiness to hold one of the leading posts in the movement. Naturally, the MPLA had to be sceptic about this gentleman who was quick at advertising his academic achievements. Though they were ready to accept him as member, Savimbi lost interest for he could not be guaranteed a "leading post" of any kind.

Thus Savimbi turned his sights to Holden Roberto's UPA (a tribalist grouping formed to sow division among the national forces and financed by the CIA and forerunner of FNLA). In 1960 he met Roberto in Lausanne where after weighing possibilities of ascending to a position of power, offered to join UPA on condition that he is allowed to head its International Department. Roberto himself a lackey of the imperialists, was impressed. Savimbi's membership of the UPA and consequently of the GRAE (the counterrevolutionary and abortive so-called revolutionary government of Angola in exile in which Savimbi was made foreign minister) was to be shortlived. For in July 1964 at the Second All-African meeting of Heads of State in Cairo, Savimbi resigned in style - circulating a resignation letter in the meeting which was mostly held in camera. This surprise move was clearly calculated to exploit the meeting to attract attention to his otherwise unknown personality. Thus was opened the Savimbi campaign for personal power and money.

He never rested until he managed to knock together some group of Angolans into the UNITA in 1966.

WHY HE INTERESTS US:

The brief background on Jonas Savimbi above might as well be the story of just another foolhardy, power crazy lunatic. Why crack our skulls over it - such people come and go. Some people might think. But an account of Savimbi's background and activity should interest South African revolutionaries not only because he is now on P r e t o r i a ' s payroll, but rather because of the number of lessons we need to draw from the dangerous activities of such elements. We are waging our revolutionary war at a time when more than ever before the most reactionary circles of international monopoly capital are baring their teeth in open concert with the fascist boers. Let us therefore be aware that our enemy is working hard to produce enough Savimbis to do the impossible, that is drowning the revolutionary effort in our own blood. Perhaps the breeding of the puppet Bantustan armies in our country serves sufficiently as warning and eye-opener. That Savimbi will never succeed in Angola should not lead us to relax our guard against others who might crop up from amongst us at some stage or another. Of course our revolutionary fight can never be left to preoccupation with energy consuming campaigns to thwart the rise of possible neo-colonists, but that we must be indefatigably vigilant and uncompromising against them is a matter of great importance.

U N I T A :

UNITA was formed in 1966 by Jonas Savimbi. He brought together some UPA refugees and several disgruntled elements and injected some of them into Eastern Angola in 1966 and 67. At the outset the real activities of UNITA groups were very questionable. After 1966/67 to quote Comrade Lucio Lara, Secretary-General of the MPLA's Central Committee: "There was practically no military activity except to prevent our (MPLA - Ed) troops from operating in what Savimbi claimed was 'his' territory." UNITA was actually fighting Portugal's war. They would ambush MPLA supply columns and raid small bases and in this way exhausting the hard obtained logistics of the MPLA before the objectives were reached. In the east it was the UNITA and in the north the FNLA. In essence the MPLA had to fight the lackeys of UNITA and FNLA and yet reserve more energy for the Portuguese colonialist troops. This goes to show

that a lot of time and material was lost in skirmishes amongst Angolans. This was a deliberate ploy of the imperialists.

UNITA never interested itself in fighting the Portuguese. There is ample documentary evidence and letters which show that whilst FNLA was the Pentagon's vicious puppies the UNITA, though it had links with the CIA through James S. Cunningham, CIA agent, was basically Portugal's loyal and ferocious watchdog.

In one of the Savimbi letters addressed to the Portuguese colonial authorities and written in 1972, Savimbi after congratulating "his excellency, Professor Marcelo Caetano" and General Luz Cunha, "for his nomination to the high responsibility as commander-in-chief of the armed forces in Angola" Portuguese force - Ed), he goes on to state openly and unambiguously the ingnomious UNITA policy: "Our position is irreversible. We are no longer interested in either the OAU or today's Zambia and less still in any alliance with the MPLA. If any aspects of UNITA policy are still not sufficiently clear for the Angolan government authorities and the nation, there is one irrefutable fact: We have actively participated in weakening the MPLA in certain of the eastern regions. And we cannot entertain any sort of illusions on any type of alliance with the men whom we have fought against, and continue to fight against, without any let up. Whatever may be the intentions of the government (Portuguese government - Ed), we will never again be deluded into taking up arms against the authorities. We will use them till the end to force the MPLA one day to withdraw from the east.

"Peace in the east, in our opinion, should take into account, amongst other things, the following factors:

- (a) "The weakening, up to the liquidation, of the MPLA forces in the interior of Angola. This task can perhaps best be carried out by the combined efforts of military and paramilitary (Portuguese) forces together with those of UNITA..."

The letter is quite lengthy and very revealing, but for the purpose of brevity I close the quote here. In this letter the fundamentals of UNITA policy are laid bare. What kind of man is Savimbi as to stoop so low to the oppressors of his own people? What patriot is he who prides himself in joining hands with the colonialist in order to arrest the liberatory efforts

CONTINUED ON PAGE 30

NAKED AMONG WOLVES

by

BRUNO APITZ

Chapter 5

Zweiling stood up and shuffled to the corner where the child had retreated. With an empty stare he looked at the living being for a while and then cautiously touched it with the tip of his boot again. The child slid away from the boot. Hofel's tension grew.

"If I feel like it," he said, "if I feel like it, you'll be sitting in the bunker tonight..." He blinked affably, lying in wait for Hofel's reaction.

IF THEY CATCH YOU...

The frozen blood suddenly leaped to Hofel's head. All at once he had understood the meaning of Zweiling's behaviour. His amazement was so intense that he was unable to reply. Zweiling noticed that Hofel had understood him. Frightened of his own courage, he turned away from Hofel and sat down again at the desk, beginning to rummage senselessly in the Outgoing box. Hofel's searching look made him uneasy, but there was no returning now.

He had given himself away.

A degree more confidentially he said:

"If he stays up here he's safe..."

Now it had been expressed still more clearly. Hofel's reactions tumbled against one another. Everything that had weighed so heavily on him up to now was suddenly swept away, and he saw only the chance to be able to hide the child without danger. He took a hasty step towards Zweiling, who suddenly became frightened. He shook his finger violently at Hofel and screeched:

"If they catch you, you're the one, and not me! Do you understand?"

Throwing caution to the winds, Hofel replied: "I might say I understand you very well."

Afraid he had gone too far, Zweiling pulled himself together; his usual tone of command got the upper hand. He jerked his head harshly towards the child: "Get it out of

here!"

Hofel picked up the child and was about to leave the room. But when he got to the door he was called back again by Zweiling. "Hofel!" They looked at one another, measured one another wordlessly; Zweiling narrowed his eyes: "You want to get out of here alive, don't you?"

A short pause of mutual ambush; then Hofel responded: "The same as you do, Hauptscharfuhrer."

He left the room in haste.

Pippig realised Hofel's state of agitation as he came over to the counter, and had the sense to restrain his curiosity. Hofel forced himself to be calm.

"Bring it back to the corner," he said to Kropinski and gave him the child. Kropinski wanted to ask a question, but Pippig hissed at him: "Scram with it, quick!"

Kropinski held the child tightly to him and hurried to the back.

Through his window Zweiling had looked on with angry spiteful eyes. The people out there had something on him now. He was choking with a desire to spring at them and bellow at them, to cover up his own insecurity with the accustomed intoxication of power. But suddenly he turned around in alarm; he could hear quite plainly in the distance the thudding and rumbling of the bombs, one after the other. With his mouth opened in dread he gazed into space and listened. Nervously he rubbed his cheek as if it had not been shaved.

THE AIR-RAID ALARM

The air-raid alarm had taken the sixteen by surprise as they waited outside the commandant's office in their unusual getup, to be presented to him.

In the camp the prisoners were running to their blocks. The roads in front of the camp were alive with people. Labour commandos were reporting and entering the camp double quick. SS men were retreating hastily to their shelters.

Because of the alarm, high officers had assembled in the commandant's office, and as Reineboth came in to announce the medical squad, Schwahl swung about nervously to the report fuhrer.

"What is it? Oh, I see."

He made a fidgety movement with his arm; this was no time to make speeches. The sixteen should immediately start their duties.

The roar of the plane squadrons filled the air all around. Somewhere in the vicinity bombs could be heard exploding.

Reineboth left the office and conveyed the commandant's order to the medical squad in his usual snotty way.

"Get going, you punks!"

Kohn commanded: "Medical squad, attention!"

The group stiffened.

Reineboth looked sceptically after the men hurrying off, sighed, and withdrew hastily into his air-raid shelter.

THE KID CAN STAY...?

Hofel had sat down at his table and was staring at the transport list that lay before him. Fortunately, the prisoners in the clerks' office had not noticed the happenings outside, so that Hofel was spared any inquisitive questions. It was not Zweiling's insidious offer that had upset Hofel so much, but the unexpected chance to rescue the child. It was so temptingly simple and easy and yet there was a tug of war in Hofel's breast. He had only just promised Kramer to get the child out of the camp. And Kramer relied on his word. If he broke it? If he secretly kept the child here? He no longer had to be afraid of Zweiling. Hofel stared at the columns of numbers on the list. Every number was a person, and one of them was missing - the child. It had no number. It did not exist. It only had to be put into a suitcase... One of the thousand who passed through the gate that afternoon would take it with him... Hofel squeezed his eyes shut. If he performed his duty correctly, wasn't that the best alibi for his own conscience?

But there it was again, the tormenting feeling of guilt. Again Hofel had the oppressive feeling that two eyes from afar were directed at him, silent and steady. Were they a child's eyes? Were they the eyes of his wife? Never in all the years of his imprisonment had Hofel felt as alone as now.

Hofel went out to Pippig. He was still standing at the counter as if waiting for him. There was an uninterrupted zooming in the air. It must have been a major attack this time. Zweiling was standing in his room at the corner window, watching the sky. With a quick look Hofel made sure that he could not be seen by Zweiling, and said hastily to Pippig: "Come along."

They went back to the corner. Kropinski, who was staying with the child, went over to them. His whole being was filled with tense expectation. The three stood close together. Hofel moved his head significantly towards the front. "He made me an offer. The kid can stay here."

"Aha," Pippig remarked dryly. "As a ransom when the tables turn. Not so dumb. And you, what did you say ..."

Hofel shrugged his shoulders indecisively. Pippig became annoyed. "What are you afraid of? You've got him in your hand, he can't betray you."

Undecided, Hofel made weak objections. "If we keep the kid here, then he'll think I took up his offer..."

Pippig replied: "Let him, what do we care." He decided promptly: "The kid stays here!"

With a remnant of resistance, Hofel was about to object when Kropinski clapped him on the shoulder. "You are good comrade." Hofel put his hands into his pockets without a word, stood confounded, and smiled bitterly over his indecisiveness.

The air-raid alarm was still going on. In the blocks the prisoners huddled around the big self-feeding stoves, whose warmth was thin, for fuel was scarce. The additional heat came from the exhalations of the people crowded together in confined space...

Four men from the medical squad were patrolling the grounds of the SS barracks. They walked leisurely up and down between the barracks, but they had their eyes open. How many of the barracks were occupied?

Another group walked through the woods at the north side of the camp. From here one could see far out into Thuringia, where the view was not cut off by trees. Watched narrowly by the sentries, the four walked along the fence.

They too had an assignment. Where was the place in the fence - in relation to the camp, the towers, and the wood - which seemed best fitted for an outbreak. The Soviet helmets concealed their exploratory glances from the sentries. Sometimes the four stood still and looked about them over the grounds as if to relieve the boredom of hours on patrol. But this harmless look was one of calculation and measurement. Unheard by the sentries, the four whispered their observations to one another.

The all clear did not come until afternoon. The siren announced it with a long howl. The camp came to life. The inmates streamed out of the blocks.

The big food containers clattered in the kitchen with the delayed midday meal, the miserable soup had grown cold in the meantime. There was activity at the gate again too, and before long Reineboth was at the camp microphone ordering the transport to the gate. At the command the Little Camp swarmed out like an ant hill. The prisoners flocked in confusion before

the stables. It had thawed, and the people gyrating here and there sloshed through filth and slime. The block seniors and room attendants had their hands full straightening out the confusion; there was shouting, pushing, crowding, until finally, after much ado and commotion, marching columns were formed.

In the effects room, the few belongings were handed over quickly. Hofel, Pippig and Kropinski stood together like three conspirators. Hofel felt the crisis in every nerve. He excitedly opposed Pippig's suggestion to fetch Jankowski so that he could take leave of the child. He didn't want to see Jankowski, he didn't want to know anything, hear anything.

"God, Andre, you can't just let the poor guy go off like that..."

"Don't bother me about it!" Every nerve in Hofel itched. He left them standing there and crept into the clerks' room.

Pippig was desperate. "Go, Marian," he finally said to Kropinski, "run to the Little Camp and break it to Jankowski."

Jankowski was in a state of terrible agitation. The transport was about to march off, and no one had brought him the child. He repeatedly ran out of the ranks of the marching column and entreated the round-headed block senior in voluble Polish to let him go to the effects room. The block senior, glad to have the procession assembled, would not listen to Jankowski's pleading and impatiently pushed him back into line. Jankowski was fluttering like a bird that had been caught.

This was how Kropinski found him. In intense excitement Jankowski ran towards him and clung to him tightly. Tears ran down his agitated face. He refused to accept having to leave the camp without the child. Kropinski scarcely found words to console the unhappy man.

"You mustn't cry, brother," he said over and over again "we can take much better care of little Stephan than you can, believe me."

Jankowski shook his head vehemently. He stood there, the picture of misery. To protect himself from the cold he had pulled the gray zebra cap over his ears, it had slipped deep down over his forehead, the bedraggled suit was much too big for him, the bare feet stood in shapeless wooden shoes. With the long raveled sleeve of his jacket Jankowski wiped the tears from blind eyes. A pitiful object, he had only enough strength left in his heart to ask humbly: "Give him to me, please give him to me." He wanted to go down on his knees to Kropinski, who held him upright by the elbows and shook him, as if he could bring him to his senses in this way.

"Don't cry, brother, don't cry," Kropinski begged the distracted man. "Why, why do you cry so much? You're not even the father."

Jankowski revolted: "I am more than the father!"

Filled with emotion, Kropinski pressed the unhappy man to him and kissed him: "Go, brother, may the Holy Mother of God protect you."

Jankowski would not let go and held onto him tightly, but Kropinski could no longer bear the torture. Again and again he embraced the forlorn man, then he freed himself and fled.

"Brother, brother!" Jankowski called after him, but the escaping Kropinski would not hear any more. Feebly, Jankowski let his arms drop, only whimpering softly. The nervous block senior, who saw the Pole standing outside the line again, shouting at him furiously: "Damn it, what are you always standing around for, get the hell into your place!"

In the rush of getting the transport off, Kramer had no longer thought of the child. Now that the miserable procession was crawling past him and he discovered a prisoner with a sack on his back, it occurred to him again.

Is he the one? he wondered.

But it was not the Polish Jew, Zacharias Jankowski. He was already on the way, reeling towards his next station unencumbered.

THE CHILD SMILES

"What we should give little child?" Kropinski shrugged his shoulders helplessly. "It have so thin little arms and so thin little legs ..."

Pippig felt of the child experimentally: "There's not much on it ..."

"Little child must have bread, white, and sugar and real milk."

Pippig burst out laughing: "Milk? My God, Marian! I've got no soft white bosom." Kropinski shook his head sorrowfully. Pippig rubbed his cropped skull with both hands and burst out suddenly: "Why, of course! The kid has to have milk."

"Where you will get?"

But Pippig already seemed to have a plan, and once he had made up his mind he never entertained doubts. "Who's pipping here, you or me? I'm pipping!" He said it in a growl, but immediately he knelt down to the child and patted its little hands: "Now listen to me, feller. Tomorrow Uncle Pippig's going to a big meadow, there's lots of cows there and they go

mooooo..." The child smiled. Pleased, Pippig took the little face between his hands. "you'll learn to laugh with us, kiddo." But he poked the astonished Kropinski in the shoulder: "And you'll give him the breast tomorrow, understand?"

KEEP THE CHILD HIDDEN?

In the clerks' room, Hofel did not waste too many words over the altered situation. The child would remain in the building; it had already been arranged, he explained with a significant nod towards Zweiling's room. The prisoners in the commando had understood him at once.

"Don't tell anyone in the camp that in our building..." He finished the sentence with a gesture disposing of the matter. This was all that was necessary.

After working hours, Hofel sat alone at the table. Pippig was not there. Many of the inmates had already crept into bed. Behind Hofel's table a group sat whispering eagerly.

The Americans had established a new bridgehead near Oppenheim. Tanks had made a breakthrough to the east! Their spearheads had reached the Main near Hanau and Aschaffenburg. Skirmishes east of Bonn. The occupation of Coblenz had been withdrawn to the east bank. Street fighting in Bingen.

Hofel became attentive. They had got so far already! It had gone that fast!

Simply keep the child hidden, went the murmur inside him. He opened his eyes.

Had he, in fact, acted coolly and clearly? He had followed the urging of his heart and let it take him unawares. Was the heart stronger than the brain?

Hofel inhaled deeply. Bochow? Kramer? Whom should he tell what he had done?

The 'commandees' were quartered in Block 3 - those inmates who worked as waiters in the officers' casino, or in the kitchen, or as tailors, shoemakers, messengers or janitors for the SS.

"Evening, Karl." Pippig sat down next to Wunderlich, who worked in the SS kitchen, and winked at him slyly. Wunderlich noticed at once that the little man had something on his mind.

"What do you want?"

"Milk."

"Milk? What for?"

"To drink, chump."

"For you?"

Pippig was offended. "I drink beer, if I had any..." He drew Wunderlich closer to him and whispered in his ear: "We've got a child."

"A what?"

"S-s-sh." Pippig looked around cautiously, whispered the secret to Wunderlich, and laid a hand on his shoulder. "That's it, Karl, so we need a little milk for the kid. It's got such tiny arms and tiny legs. The little peanut could die on us. Well, what do you say, Karl, only one pint?"

Wunderlich considered. "How will you get the milk through the gate?" He had agreed. Pippig beamed.

"Let me worry about that."

"And if they catch you?"

Pippig became annoyed. "Who's pipping here, you or me?"

Wunderlich laughed. They discussed the matter, which was not so simple, for how was Pippig to get the milk? He could manage to have 'business' outside the gate and bring a few old clothes to the SS tailor's shop. That was possible. In that case the milk would have to be brought to the tailor's shop.

Wunderlich looked about the block and signaled to a messenger.

"What is it?" he asked, coming over to the table.

"Listen, you come to me early in the morning and bring a bottle of milk to the tailor. Rudi will call for it there."

The messenger greeted Pippig with a handshake. "Evening, Rudi."

"Evening, Alfred."

The assignment was a trifle to the messenger; he was quite at home in the domain of the SS.

So he merely said, "Righto," without asking any questions, for the unusual was always handled as if it were usual.

It was an intricate way of arranging for a pint of milk and, for all the willingness of those involved, a dangerous way. If Pippig were caught at the camp gate, it was good-bye. He would promptly land in the bunker. If he was lucky he would get twenty-five stripes. If not he would end in the crematorium and that was that. But Pippig was not afraid. In all the crazy things he had done he had always been ruled by an optimistic feeling: The Lord never forsakes a freethinker. As he parted with Wunderlich in front of the block, the latter warned him:

"Man, don't let yourself get caught."

Pippig was about to make his indignant comeback, but Wunderlich waved him away, laughing:

"I know - you're pipping..."

Wunderlich clapped Franz on the shoulder.

YOU DIFIED AN ORDER

Kramer was still sitting over the roll call for the next day when Hofel came in. He sat down on a stool and lit a cigarette. Kramer threw him a brief glance.

"Did it go off okay?"

Hofel smoked in silence.

"One of the guys marching had a sack on his back. I guess that was..." Kramer asked, as he wrote.

Hofel had only to nod, and Kramer would have been satisfied. But he did not react; he looked at the floor. Kramer became suspicious.

"What is it?"

Hofel trod the butt of his cigarette under his shoe sole and rubbed it to pieces.

"I've got to tell you something..."

Kramer put down his pencil.

"Could it be you didn't send off the kid?"

Hofel looked him in the face: "Yes."

A sudden silence fell between the two.

"God..." Kramer leaped up, ran to the door and opened it. It was his custom to make sure that they were alone. The clerks' room was empty. Kramer closed the door again and leaned against it. He put his hands into his pockets, pressed his lips tightly together, and looked straight ahead. Hofel waited for the outburst, determined to resist it with all his strength.

But Kramer remained oddly quiet, and it was a long while before he spoke.

"You defied an order!"

"Yes and no!"

Kramer waited for Hofel to say more, but he was silent.

"So?" Kramer finally asked.

Hofel took a breath.

"Something happened..." He hesitated, and still hesitantly he reported what had taken place between himself and Zweiling. It was meant to be both an explanation and an excuse.

Kramer let him talk himself out, his cheekbones worked, and he was still silent long after Hofel had finished. His face hardened, the pupils contracted. At last he said in a

peculiarly hoarse voice:

"Do you believe all that you're telling me?"

Hofel had regained his confidence and replied brusquely:

"I'm not telling you any stories."

With a labourious movement of the shoulders, Kramer pushed himself away from the door, walked up and down a few times, and said, as if to himself:

"Of course you're not lying to me but..." He paused before Hofel. "But maybe you're lying to yourself?"

Hofel made a resentful movement, and Kramer burst out:

"You've mixed yourself up with a swindler! That bastard just wants to use us to cover him!"

But Hofel, determined to defend himself, became more vigorous: "That way we've got him where we want him."

Dry laughter rumbled out of Kramer.

"Where we want him? Andre, how long have you been in the camp? Six months, huh?" He jerked his thumb. "He'll look for cover with his own people too. First here, then there, whichever way the wind blows. If they just push the Americans back five miles, our Zweiling gets new wind in his sails, and then he has you by the short hairs, and the poor little kid with you! Andre, you've made a mess!"

Hofel raised his hands; it looked as if he wanted to stop his ears.

"Don't make it so hard for me!"

"You're making it hard for us."

Hofel groaned, tormented:

"I couldn't send the kid..."

You were to give the kid back to its guardian, that was the order. You didn't obey it. That's a breach of discipline!"

"If we get out of here alive, I'll answer to the Party for it, you can rely on that," Hofel assured him.

Kramer looked him sternly in the eye: "The Party is here."

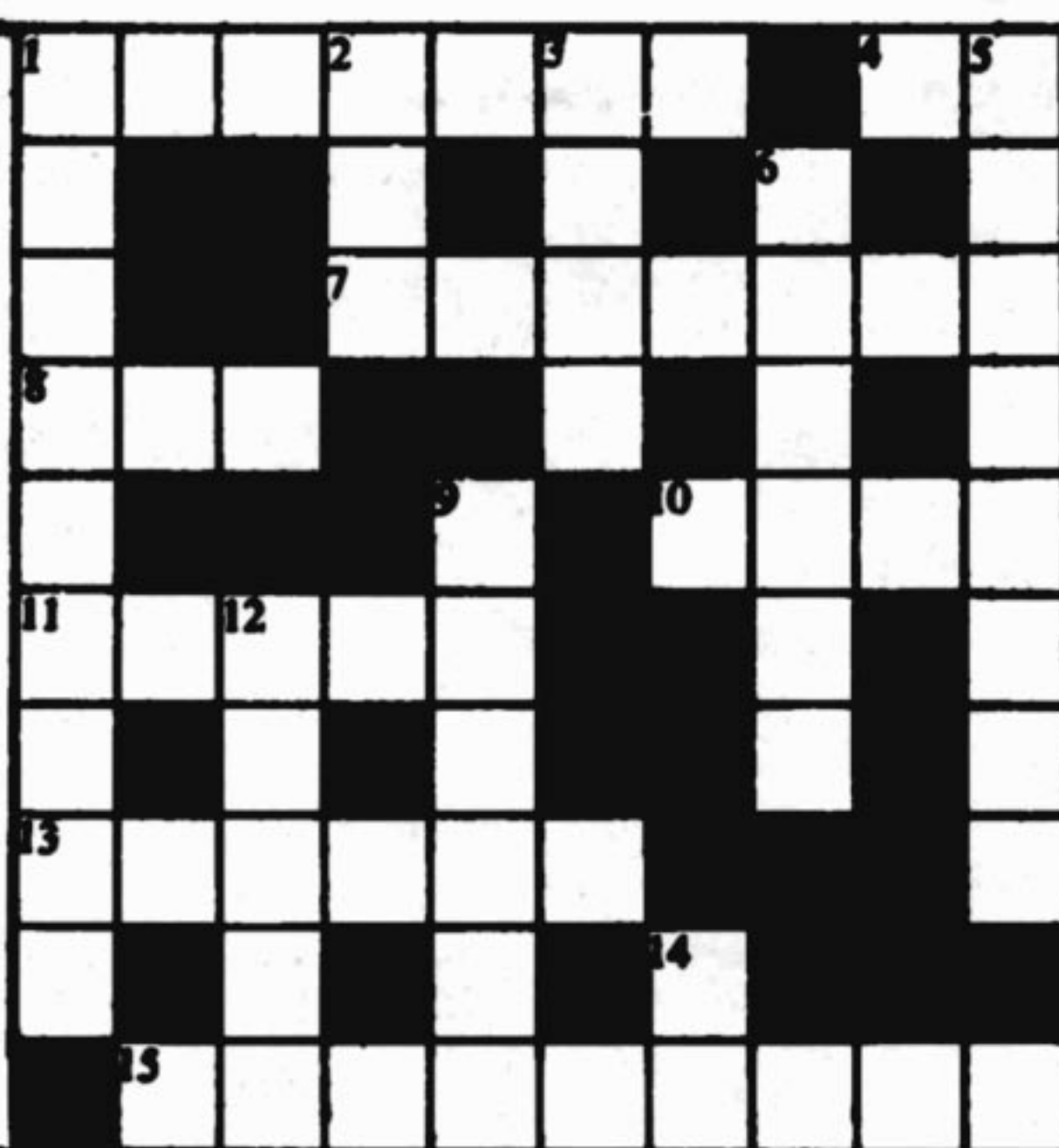
Hofel had a vehement reply ready, but it died on his lips.

(To be continued).

DAWN

PolitiXword

No. 7



CLUES

Across

1. General-Secretary of the SACP.
4. Our People's Army.
7. Highest military rank.
8. Organ of hearing.
10. G l a n c e .
11. This month's ... of **DAWN**.
13. Gatsha's position in relation to Botha.
15. Where Nazi criminals were tried.

Down

1. Area laid with explosive mines.
2. Sing with closed lips.
3. A small pointed missile.
5. Warsaw Treaty Commander-In-Chief.
6. No struggle has succeeded without a revolutionary one.
9. H a r s h .
12. The defender of o u r workers.
14. It cannot be combated without change in social conditions.

See Answers in DAWN Vol. 5 No. 8

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NAPHTALIE MANANA



PETRUS MASHIGO



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