

DAWN

monthly journal of
umkhonto we sizwe



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● COVER: Isitwalandwe/Seaparankoe, the late Chief A.J. Luthuli, President-General of the ANC. In July 1967 he passed away under mysterious circumstances.

LONG LIVE THE YEAR OF THE YOUTH!



Editorial Comment

SMASH ALL INSTRUMENTS OF REPRESSION

The shamelessness, arrogance and extremity with which the Pretoria fascist rulers are using their courts of 'law and order' to murder our people calls for an immediate response from every truly patriotic and freedom-loving South African. These courts have literally become identical with the murder squads that make up the racist army - perpetrators of ghastly crimes on our people and our brother peoples in racist-occupied Namibia, the Peoples' Republics of Angola, Mozambique and all other Southern African states that oppose racist domination.

Right now the world is horrified by the condemnation of six of the best young sons of our oppressed people to the gallows, all within a period of barely six months: Petrus Mashigo, Naphtalie Mamana, Johnson Lubisi, David Moise, Anthony Tsetsoebe and Johannes Shabangu. No less horriying is the sadistic subjection of 72 year-old SACTU and community leader, Oscar Mpetha, to a slow-death process. All these terroristic acts, performed against the background of the continued imprisonment of our national leaders like Mandela, Sisulu, Mbeki, Kathrada, Goldberg and other hundreds of our patriots inclu-

ding breast-feeding mothers, surpass everything.

These atrocities perpetrated by the Betha-Malan regime on our people to terrorise them into submission while creating an illusionary impression on the supporters of racist domination that apartheid is indestructible, can only be checked and finally brought to an end by heightened resistance. The murderous racist judges who pose as administrators of justice and the whole band of fascists and their running dogs must immediately be made to realise that the murdering of even one of our patriots means facing the explosive wrath of our entire fighting millions.

SOLIDARITY WITH POLITICAL PRISONERS

On the 11th October, the International Day of Solidarity with South African and Namibian Political Prisoners hundreds of millions of lovers of freedom and peace, will be focusing their attention on devising more effective means of making their contribution towards the total destruction of the apartheid monster - this enemy of all mankind! In the past these millions, combining and co-ordinating their solidarity actions with our own liberatory actions, have saved the lives of some of our patriots and secured the release of others. We who are in the centre of the struggle against apartheid fascism must, as we have always done, set the pace for the whole world.

This calls for better organisation, greater unity and more resolute action. We have the power to do this and the whole world expects much from us. Let us set this power into motion. All of us - workers, the youth, landless peasants, the intelligentsia, Christians and democratic whites, are fighters. Let us all unite behind our national torch-light, the African National Congress and our army, Umkhonto we Sizwe and together advance like a piercing spear to strike at the heart of the apartheid monster.

Using every weapon at our disposal - the strikes, the boycotts, demonstrations, protest meetings, sabotage and guns, let us combine our resistance to stop the brutality of the racist courts with our all-round offensive to smash all instruments of repression. This is the only way in which we can seize power from the Pretoria tyrants, sweep them and all the filth they thrive on from the face of our Motherland. Certainly this conflict will be protracted and bloody, but out of this suffering will emerge boundless freedom, peace and progress to reign supreme over our entire land forever.

Fight for the release of Comrade Nelson Mandela, our leaders and all other Political Prisoners!

SAVE THE LIVES OF OUR SIX PATRIOTS!

“... Our Women Will Deal With Them”

**STATEMENT BY COMRADE PRESIDENT
O.R. TAMBO AT THE OPENING SES-
SION OF THE FIRST CONFERENCE OF
THE ANC WOMEN'S SECTION IN EXILE,
HELD IN LUANDA FROM THE 10TH TO
14TH SEPTEMBER, 1981.**



Comrade President O.R. Tambo

Comrade Sam Nujoma, President of SWAPO of Namibia,
Comrade Alfonso van Dunem Mbinda, Secretary of the Central
Committee for External Relations of MPLA-Party of Labour, mem-
ber of the Central Committee,
Comrade Joao Hailonda, Representative of the OAU,
Comrade Maria Jose da Gama, Member of the National Executive
Committee of OMA,
Members of the Central Committee of the MPLA-Party of Labour,
Members of the Diplomatic Corps,
Comrades, representatives of the Socialist countries,
Comrades, delegates to the First Conference of the Women's
Section of the ANC,
Militants of Umkhonto we Sizwe and of PLAN,
Comrade Chairman and Comrades:

On behalf of the leadership and the general membership of
the ANC and its allies, on behalf of the women and other op-
pressed and exploited people of South Africa, and on behalf of
the heroic militants of Umkhonto we Sizwe, we wish to express

deep appreciation of the facilities, arrangements and provisions made for the holding of this First Conference of the ANC Women's Section in Luanda, the heroic capital of this heroic country. We particularly wish to thank the Angolan Women's Organisation (OWA) which has made detailed preparations to ensure the success of the Conference.

CONFERENCE HONOURED

Comrade Chair and comrades, we had hoped to have this Conference honoured with the presence of Comrade President Jose Eduardo dos Santos. It has been explained that as a result of pressure of national and international work, at the last minute it proved impossible for him to be with us this morning. We are grateful to Comrade President Sam Nujoma for his presence, and for opening this Conference. His presence makes this Conference a most important event for the women and people of South Africa. I should like, on behalf of our women and of the ANC, to thank all those who have spoken at the opening session of our Conference.

Today the South African fascists, not content with their illegal occupation of Namibia, in fact because of their illegal occupation of Namibia, have criminally invaded Angola and are occupying parts of its territory. The Angolan people are engaging these fascist invaders with great heroism. They are fighting not only in defence of the independence and territorial integrity of their country, but also in defence of the right of the peoples of Africa to national and social liberation.

BARBAROUS INVASION

The barbarous invasion of Angola is the invasion of Southern Africa; this war is a war against the OAU. It is the United Nations itself that is under attack, because the starting point of this criminal invasion is the defiance by the South African regime of the decisions of the United Nations over a long period of time. It is a war that has filled the oppressed and exploited people of South Africa with bitter indignation and has reinforced their determination to destroy these fascists at all costs, no matter how long that takes. Angola has been the scene of the most fierce battles fought in Africa in the course of the past six years.

Angola is honoured today in Namibia and South Africa, in Southern Africa and on the continent, and is admired among the progressive forces of the world as the symbol, the embodiment, the expression of Africa's resolute determination not only to fight and win victories against the colonialists, fascists,

racists and imperialists, but also to consolidate and fight to the last child in defence of those victories. In this connection, we hail the heroes of FAPLA. We salute the women of Angola who have suffered the worst in these years of war, beginning from 1961 to date.

But comrades we must do more than honour and admire the heroism of the Angolan people and their dedication to the cause of liberation and independence. We want to appeal today to the OAU, the leaders of this continent, the Heads of State of African countries, collectively to take over the defence of Angola, and with the support of the genuine friends of Africa to lead the struggle to drive the invading fascist forces out of this country and pursue them beyond the southern borders of Namibia into our territory, where our women will deal with them.

TRUMPET SOUND

The messages that have been received have been more than a mere inspiration to us in South Africa. They have been received as a trumpet sound summoning the women of South Africa, the women of Africa, the women of the progressive world to the battle front, where maximum sacrifices are made. I can have no doubt that our heroic ANC women will respond to this summons and will use this Conference, held in Angola, to work out the strategies for ensuring that the struggle is waged at the highest possible level for victory in the shortest possible time.

The heroism of the Namibian struggle has united mankind. A small people - small in numbers but giants in spirit - have taken on the fascist might of the South African racists and are fighting irresistably towards the defeat of these fascists, this fascist power. The enemy has had to resort to conscription, not from his four and a half (4½) million citizens, but from the few Namibian people. But he has had to resort to conscription because he cannot cope with the power of SWAPO and the People's Liberation Army of Namibia.

The size of the invasion into Angola defines the might of the people of Namibia, led by SWAPO. We have seen enough of liberation struggles to know that no matter how powerful the enemy might appear to be at any given time, his defeat is certain, and it is not a mere case of wishful thinking to say that we are assured of the victory of the Namibian people.

SOLIDARITY DUTY

Conscious of our internationalist and solidarity duty to support the Namibian struggle, we, the ANC, have sou-

ght to escalate our own struggle in South Africa. There is no doubt that the struggle is constantly reaching new levels, but as yet not to the extent which would force the fascists to retreat from their adventures outside our borders and return to defend themselves within our borders. In our struggle we are also conscious of the fact that there can be no possible peace for any country in Southern Africa, and no end of wars, until the war of liberation in South Africa has been fought and won.

We therefore bear a sense of responsibility ourselves for the criminal invasion Angola is experiencing today. We feel we could have spared the Angolan people this horror by crushing the enemy at our own home, at our own base. But we shall spare no effort in ensuring that our struggle advances in leaps and bounds until victory is won by the people of South Africa and therefore by the people of this whole continent and of the progressive world.

CATASTROPHIC COURSE

Comrade Chair and comrades, the current atmosphere in international relations is characterised by severe tensions which clearly indicate a dangerous drift towards world war 3. This catastrophic course is being pursued with relentless determination by the Washington trio, headed by President Ronald Reagan. Like Hitler's Germany, Reagan's USA is making heady preparations today for world conquest and world domination. It is organising a global military build-up of pro-imperialist, fascist, racist and other reactionary forces. It is promoting regional wars in Asia, Africa, the Middle East and Latin America. It is producing and supplying to its favoured allies the most sophisticated weapons of war. These will soon include the neutron bomb. It is proceeding on the basis that these wars will be fought away from the United States territory. It is even dreaming of a nuclear invasion of the Soviet Union and the Socialist countries. The fact has not yet dawned upon Washington that it might not escape the consequences of a world war as easily as it did those of World War II.

These global designs of the Washington Administration, which take in and encompass Southern Africa, have their regional counterpart in the strategies of the South African fascist regime which are centred on the preservation of a criminal system through armed force, conquest and domination.

In this connection, it is of interest to note that within the regional sphere, the P r e t o r i a r e g i m e, like

its fond ally in Washington, is promoting, training and equipping puppet armies and counter-revolutionary groups whose criminal task is to install in the various countries of Southern Africa, puppet governments of the Bantustan variety, in place of people's governments committed to genuine independence and social progress.

The support of the Reagan Administration for the continued occupation of Namibia and the invasion of Angola by the South African regime is without any reservations. And so, United States imperialism is yet against assuming responsibility for aggression, massacres and horrible atrocities and crimes that are committed against peace-loving nations and peoples, against the peoples of Angola and Namibia, against Africa and the Palestinian people, and against all opponents of colonialism, fascism and racism.

It is in this context that the special attachment of the Reagan Administration to the South African racists should be understood. South African fascists in turn, isolated and facing inevitable defeat, have lost no time in exploiting the Reagan regime's commitment to colonialism, fascism, racism, zionism and even nazism - anything criminal. The result is that in the perpetration of its barbarous crimes the South African regime feels free to tell any lie whatsoever, secure in the knowledge that the Reagan Administration will swallow it "hook, line and sinker."

MONSTROUS CRIMES

The racist regime can commit crimes of any degree of monstrosity, assured that Reagan will leap to its defence; it can advance any theory, however ludicrous, and the Reagan Administration will adopt it. The regime is apparently able to pull the Reagan Administration by the nose, mesmerizing it with such 'magic' words as: 'terrorism', 'communism', 'Cubans', 'Russians', 'total communist onslaught', 'strategic minerals', 'Cape sea route'. Playing on these words, Botha has turned into a resolute racist. In consequence, the famous Constitution of the USA, as reflected in the policies of the Washington Administration, is beginning to look like a rather unclean carbon copy of the infamous Constitution and legislative enactments of Racist South Africa (RSA).

The growing international isolation of President Reagan's Administration is precisely the triumph of Botha's tactics. At the same time it is a victory for the progressive forces who are beginning to isolate the enemies of the peoples of the world, an achievement which reflects the greater unity of those forces.

REVOLUTIONARY CRUCIBLE

By her protracted and stubborn resistance to the imperialist onslaught, Angola has become a revolutionary crucible where indissoluble bonds of unity, solidarity and proletarian internationalism are being reinforced. It is the meeting point of internationalists. Here, we find supporters of the cause of independence and liberation; we meet fellow combatants; we meet the friends of the African revolution. If Botha is complaining about the presence of Soviet citizens and Soviet personnel in southern Angola, if he and his allies are worried about the presence of the people of Cuba in this country, we on the other hand salute the Soviet Union and the Soviet people; we salute Cuba and the Cuban people; we salute the Socialist countries; we salute the African countries; we salute our friends everywhere in the world and welcome them in our midst, especially in times of trouble, c r i s i s and war.

It was precisely the brutal invasion of this country by the racist South African army in 1975 which drew the conscious world into Angola in the first instance. It is the continuing aggression against this country and the continuing illegal occupation of Namibia which is drawing the conscious world to where the war is being fought, in southern Angola. And if the racists and fascists persist in their international crimes against the peoples of Southern Africa, let them not be surprised if they should some day wake up to find Soviet citizens, Cuban citizens, African and other citizens, not merely in southern Zimbabwe or southern Namibia, but on the outskirts of Pretoria! Africa will apologise to no one for having friends in the world. Africa will be guilty of suicide, if, when threatened with death by a criminal, it did not call for the support of its friends.

Comrades, A n g o l a will regain her territorial integrity; Namibia will be independent under the leadership of President Sam Nujoma and SWAPO of Namibia; S o u t h e r n Africa will be liberated by our heroic women, youth, workers and the general masses and by the forces of our people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and there shall then be peace and security in Southern Africa and renewed progress in Africa.

A LUTA CONTINUA!

A VITORIA E CERTA!

"WOMEN ARE A FORMIDABLE FORCE"

From the 10th of September to the 14th the African National Congress Women's Section sat at a Conference in Luanda, the capital of the People's Republic of Angola. This First Conference of the ANC women in exile was a historical landmark indeed, symbolising a qualitative development of our movement and struggle. In an interview with **RADIO FREEDOM**, **COMRADE GERTRUDE SHOPE**, the newly-appointed head of the ANC Women's Section said: "... We have long wanted to hold a conference outside the country. We thought it would help us to come together to try and formulate a way and method which we should follow in trying to improve our struggle..."

The five-day Conference was a resounding success. Throughout the sessions it was permeated by high morale, seriousness and profound deliberations. The Conference had the honour of receiving among other important guests, **COMRADE PRESIDENT SAM NUJOMA** of SWAPO (who officially opened the Conference), Secretary of the Central Committee for External Relations of MPLA Party of Labour, **COMRADE ALFONSO VAN DUNEM MBINDA**, a representative of the Organisation of African Unity, **COMRADE JOAO HAILONDA**, representatives of the Diplomatic Corps, representatives of the socialist countries and other fraternal organisations. Those who were unable to attend sent in inspiring messages of solidarity from all corners of the world. In this way the Conference was also an epitome of the indissoluble bonds of solidarity existing between our people and freedom lovers throughout the world.

Below we publish a message of the Revolutionary Council of the ANC to the Conference which serves to underline its significance. The message was presented by **COMRADE JACQUELINE MOLEFE**. The message also provides an insight into the mood & spirit of the Conference.

On behalf of our cadres inside our country, on behalf of our cadres in our camps, the Revolutionary Council greets women gathered here on this important occasion, the First Conference of the ANC Women's Section away from our Motherland.

For the Revolutionary Council; this First Conference is of special significance for it is held in one of our main base areas, and at a time when women at home have once more emerged to the forefront in the struggle for national and social emancipation. Our women have a glorious history behind them. It is a history on which our struggle is to be based. It is necessary that we today deal with immediate developments and see how our struggle is progressing inside our country.

From January this year up to now, we are witnessing increased mass political battles. Churches fighting against segregation in the church, civil association opposing rent increases, increased bus fares and high prices of basic necessities, workers fighting for better wages and better living standards, students against Bantu Education.

The culmination of these actions was the massive action by various organisations across the colour line rejecting the 20th Anniversary of the colonial racist republic imposed on us without our consent. The people's indignation to the celebrations was expressed in a form of mass demonstrations, strikes and boycotts. The racist republic flags were torn and burnt. The Flag of our Movement was seen flying high in many parts of our country. The role of women under organisations such as the Federation of South African Women and the United Women's Organisation was very prominent and created a favourable climate for the growth of these organisations at grassroot level. This political ferment which is necessary for any revolution has created favourable conditions for the advancement of our struggle.

In the light of the increasing resistance by our people, and the impact of devastating blows of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the enemy in a vain attempt to reverse these gains has unleashed a reign of terror against our people. We have seen intensified repression and harassment, women and children being the daily victims. They have had their homes demolished, moved from one corner of our country to the other, dumped without shelter or food, turned into homeless refugees in their own country. We have at the same time witnessed organised action by women confronting the enemy with renewed vigour, fighting against these forced removals. The women of Crossroads and Nyanga, the continuing fight by the women of

Cape Town demanding the release of Oscar Mpetha and other political prisoners.

These actions of our people, women in particular, have brought the possibility of our victory over the regime nearer than ever before - this has been the calibre of our women ever since 1913 up to the present 80s.

Comrades, there are very few liberation movements in the whole world that can claim such participation of women such as ours. It is therefore, even more important and a necessity for our women to relentlessly engage the enemy on all fronts, for a speedy realisation of our objective, that is freedom.

Propelled by increased actions of Umkhonto we Sizwe, our people became even bolder and daring inside the country. For the first time in many years, the 25th Anniversary of August 9th was openly commemorated in some parts of our country. The traditional defiant mood of our women was once more displayed. Stalwarts like Albertina Sisulu, banned for 17 years, on the first day when her ban expired she was there on the platform urging women to stand up and fight side by side with their men in the liberation struggle.

The struggle inside our country has reached high levels. People openly want to be identified with our Movement. What is significant and more important politically is that all these developments are supported by military actions. At least half a dozen offices have been blown up at the height of rent increase protests. Indiscriminate sacking and the killing of workers was replied with the blasting of Sigma and Leyland in Durban.

After Sasol, after the transformers in Durban, Arnot, Camden and Preterea, after Fort Jackson, after Booysens, G r l a n d o and Mabopane and after the heart of the SADF (Voertrekkerhoogte), we can declare today that there is no place inside our country, no matter how heavily guarded, that we cannot penetrate and the enemy knows that. It will be a blow for a blow. How were all these operations carried out when 40% of South Africa's budget is spent on the defence? That question the enemy must still answer. The skilful delivery of all these telling blows demonstrates that the enemy is vulnerable.

Our masses have moved away from the position of being ordinary spectators and are increasingly involved in assisting MK units inside the country. Our struggle is going to "be bitter and nastier both inside and outside", those were the words of our President in Zimbabwe.

So, Comrades, it is important that we prepare ourselves fully for whatever role each one of us will be assigned tomorrow. In these military actions inside our country, our women cadres and women in general are increasingly playing a significant role. There is a greater need for our women to increase activity in this direction.

To meet these new challenges presented by this situation, the Revolutionary Council carrying out instructions of the National Executive Committee calls on our people, women in particular to maintain their unity and activate our women in both rural and urban areas and intensify the struggle for the final onslaught.

Women are a formidable force which should be utilised. Their anger against the removals, poverty, rent increases, unemployment, broken families, should be sharpened and effectively harnessed in the struggle for a liberated democratic and non-racial South Africa.

We would urge this Conference to send greetings to stalwarts like Albertina Sisulu, Dora Thamane, Florence Mkhize for remaining undaunted. Let us not forget the Dorothy Nyembes, Thandi Medises languishing in jails, it is painful to us because they are our sisters, but we love them and are proud of them.

We call on our women to join the ranks of Umkhonto we Sizwe in big numbers and destroy the monstrous apartheid system.

We call on this Conference to:

1. Demand for a stop to the removals.
2. Demand for a stop to the continuous death sentences imposed on our gallant sons. They are our heroes and not murderers.
3. Demand for a stop to the balkanisation of our country - now that Ciskei is also about to get its so-called independence on December the 4th.
4. Condemn the invasion and occupation of neighbouring independent states by the fascist regime and demand for its immediate withdrawal from Angola.

We on our part, vow to raise still to higher levels both the mass political upsurge and armed activity inside our country, that will be an appropriate act of solidarity with the people of Angola and Namibia. In a message to the Movement Comrade Nelson Mandela on Robben Island says: "Between the anvil of united mass action and the hammer of armed struggle we shall crush white domination."

AMANDLA! MAATLA!

Combination of Forms of Struggle

- BORIFI NTATHELA

(A DISCUSSION OF THE RELATION BETWEEN VIOLENT
AND NON-VIOLENT TACTICS IN THE CONTEXT OF THE
SOUTH AFRICAN STRUGGLE).

For centuries our people have laboured at the receiving end of the whiplash of white minority rule. Reacting to this brutal system they have employed varying means of struggle including armed ones (the wars of resistance raged on for more than 250 years). When the African National Congress was launched in 1912 it was resolved to employ only peaceable and non-violent means for the attainment of its popular objectives. Such an approach was dictated by the objective demands of the times - in particular, the belief in the possibility of white opinion bending in favour of non-racialism as a result of political and moral pressure emanating from African organisation, had a decisive influence on the choice of methods of struggle.

For almost half a century, the ANC pursued this non-violent policy despite mounting repression and naked terror unleashed by successive governments of the Union. The banning of the ANC in 1960, against the backdrop of the 'Treason Trial' and the Sharpeville Massacres, marked the closing of a chapter. The government was closing all avenues of peaceful struggle. By word and deed it was resolutely pushing the reluctant masses to the only alternative left; Armed struggle. This unavoidable outcome was forced by the enemy himself. Thus the time had come, as in the words of the "MK Manifesto, "... when there remain(ed) two choices: Submit or fight". The people chose to fight because the alternative designed to denigrate, humiliate and strangle us.

THE CONCEPT OF VIOLENT STRUGGLE

The political struggle is the main and basic form since it evolves out of the pursuit of settlement of political contradictions. In this context war becomes a concentrated political struggle by other means including violence. "War is a

continuation of politics by other means", Lenin stated. Violence is therefore not a new nor independent method of struggle but is supplementary to and in fact part of the political struggle. "When we talk of revolutionary armed struggle we are talking of political struggle by means which include the use of military force" states the Strategy and Tactics of the ANC. This explains the need for the total subordination of the military struggle to the political struggle. Furthermore, not all political actions are armed actions. In our conditions the armed struggle and the political struggle are basically one and complement one another. This means that the adoption of armed struggle does not mean the rejection of other political methods of struggle, that is strikes, boycotts, protests, etc.

The enemy has to be dispersed and engaged on all fronts; in the battlefields, factories, mines, farms, schools, churches, etc. A fighter against apartheid is not only that one who carries a gun. We do not share the belief that a few brave and death-defying individuals can lead a revolution to victory. Armed actions cannot be victorious without popular mass backing. Insurrectionary conditions will only arise with the intensification of the mass struggle and when the overwhelming majority of the people are committed to armed struggle as the only way to overthrow the apartheid regime.

THE ENTIRE PEOPLE ARE FIGHTERS

The workers, the vanguard force in the national liberation struggle, must intensify their fight against government controlled trade unions, for the establishment of progressive and genuinely working class trade union organisations. They must make effective use of the strike weapon in demanding higher wages, a shorter working day and better working conditions. Strikes will sabotage the production of war material and supplies and cripple the maintenance of the enemy's military forces, render them even more weaker in the face of our armed forces. For co-ordination and growth of the workers' actions from factory and single working place to industrial and national level, the vanguard role of the experienced and time-tested SACTU is vital. On the white farms too, farm labourers must form unions and fight to destroy the inhuman conditions in the white farms. Civic political organisations like the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (PEBCO) have to be set up in all corners of our country and challenge all moves by the enemy on issues of local and immediate interest like rent increases, mass removals, etc. Student bodies must

continue their boycotts, protests and demonstrations against the apartheid educational system. In the reserves the land-starved peasants must form their own organisations and fight for land. The demand for land must be accompanied by acts of occupation when appropriate. The black middle strata, individually and through their associations, have a vital role to play. They have little prospects of growth under apartheid rule and therefore their future is inseparably linked with that of the people as a whole.

All these are tributaries of the revolutionary mainstream. This makes mass mobilisation not only a matter of tactic but the very cornerstone of our revolution. Our movement must always strive to raise the masses to higher and higher revolutionary involvement by, among other means, giving direction to the existing legal and semi-legal organisations. All chances for legal and semi-legal struggle have to be utilised to the full to heighten the consciousness of the people and raise their will to resist. The role of these organisations is convincingly exposed by the rising militancy of the student movement. But the struggle by all these forces should ultimately cross the boundaries of local and immediate interests and grow into the demand for the transfer of power to the oppressed majority.

It is with this understanding that our liberation alliance headed by the ANC has always called on our people to form mass organisations. Our movement has always called on our people to build and support their illegal organisations, the ANC, SACTU and the SACP. These calls were not just empty calls but were and are still coupled with action despite the risks and dangers our underground workers have to face. Our underground machinery gave assistance, direct and indirect to the best of its capacity to the 1973 strike movement. It was no accident that the ANC slogan "AMANDLA" was a password to differentiate friend from foe during the 1976 student revolt. There's indisputable evidence illustrating that the leaders of the Uprisings always turned to activists of the ANC for advice and leadership. We have and still continue to assist, advise and seek unity of action even with organisations which do not fully agree with our strategy. We congratulate and support them in all their actions directed against the system for we understand all battles against apartheid to be part of the overall war against racist tyranny. These organisations can play a crucial role in the struggle, providing the revolution with yet another important foundation for future battles. The sacrifices made by our movement in the

face of numerous risks and difficulties are yielding positive results. The leading role of the liberation alliance headed by the African National Congress is getting to be recognised and accepted by all forces inside our country.

ARMED & UNARMED MEANS

Military operations of any scale are conceivable only in a politically favourable atmosphere provided by mass popular struggles. By mass popular struggle we do not mean that the masses are onlookers struggling peacefully whilst a group of professional armed men are engaged in a war. A people's war means that the masses are brought to the understanding that they are Umkhonto we Sizwe and vice-versa. The masses engage the enemy with all means at their disposal. Comrade Thabo Mbeki, a member of the National Executive Committee of the ANC pointed out: "It is a struggle of the masses of the people and the masses of the people today can only engage with the only thing they've got in their hands, the strike weapon... Tomorrow those masses of the people will have guns in their hands and they will use both guns and the strike until that fascist regime is destroyed." This means that under the guidance and leadership of the ANC and our people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, we must do more than demand, we must apply revolutionary violence in the noble cause to uproot white minority rule.

To bring this about it is necessary to complement our people's mass struggle with organised attacks of Umkhonto we Sizwe. Such attacks inject confidence in the masses by demonstrating the capability of the revolutionary forces to successfully engage the enemy on his own ground. Furthermore they inject a feeling of security in the masses. The masses of our people get to realise that Umkhonto we Sizwe is there to defend them against all repression, be it police, army, administration offices or employers.

The explosions which rocked two motor car plants in Durban, Parcs for Peugeot and McCarthy Leyland, are, in the words of Comrade President O.R. Tambo: "... going to teach the employers that it is impolite to sack workers who go on strike." The relation of our attacks to issues most affecting the people will show the people the relation between their everyday mass struggle and armed struggle and how the former can grow into a nation-wide armed struggle.

The Anti-Republic Day campaign, the most organised and national campaign in the past two decades, was accompanied by a series of attacks on government installations like the Durban south power sub-station, the rail link near Cettendale in the

north-eastern Transvaal and many more. Commenting on the role of these actions by our armed units Comrade President O.R. Tambo said:

"The armed units of the ANC, members of Umkhonto we Sizwe - the Spear of the Nation - sharpened and gave a cutting edge to the people's protests at the celebrations. Umkhonto added a qualitative element to the massive dimensions of the boycott. The Spear of the Nation is the Spear of the People, it is as strong as the people and it will relentlessly pursue the goal of liberation through the people and as an integral part of the people."

But the complementary role is not one-sided. Mass action must also complement the actions of our People's Army. The violent clashes between the workers at SASOL 2 and 3 and police, two weeks after the heroic attack on the plants by the combatants of our People's Army, is an example to be followed by all our people.

Let us also point out that the combination of the two methods does not mean a mechanical combination on a 50:50 ratio. We have seen victorious armed struggles without intensive military battles in the past. The Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia is one. This means that the revolutionary forces, in combining the two methods of struggle always seek ways that serve the demands of the situation best. (N.B. Emphasis is yet on a powerful, if not superior people's army, for in the final analysis "no revolution is worth anything if it cannot defend itself.") There's also a need to constantly guard against over-emphasis of either of the two methods of struggle at the expense of the other. If emphasis is on legal unarmed actions, the masses, unable to defend themselves when the enemy unleashes his terror, will inevitably be gripped by fear and once again a 'lull' will be the result. Emphasis on armed struggle smacks of militarism and may lead to the separation of armed people's struggle from its political context.

THE WAY FORWARD

Our movement, the ANC, has shown its capability to lead the South African revolution to its victorious end. Skilful combination of armed and unarmed struggle, a line pursued by our movement with so much adherence, has yielded positive and inspiring results. The popularity of our movement inside the

country is growing daily. Even some circles in the enemy ranks are stating openly that there can be no solution to the South African problem without the ANC.

The prospects of a new South Africa are brighter than never before. We have the basis for elevating the revolutionary struggle higher and higher. Our task is to make these positive developments irreversible, even with our blood if needs be. Heightened mass actions coupled up with intensive military operations will lead to mature insurrectionary conditions, a prelude to a victorious revolution.

THE RACISTS WILL FAIL!

- MBEKO STOPFILE

The liberation process in Angola was followed by the South African beer-fascists with utter bitterness and distaste. Consequently the attainment of independence by this heroic country in 1975, after many hazardous and bitter years of bloodshed of an anti-colonial war, was received with great anger by the apartheid rulers. Allied to this was a satanic resolve to actively engage in a campaign to upset the revolutionary transformation of the country. Even before the proclamation of independence on the 11th November of 1975, racist South Africa aided by thousands of mercenaries invaded Angola on the side of Angolan separatist bandit groupings - UNITA and FNLA. The consequent course of events, characterised as they were by much bloodletting and carnage has been much publicised. It was during this period of a serious threat against the independence of the Angolan masses, a period of intense crisis and war, that the real allies of the oppressed peoples assisted the heroic Angolan people to thwart the reactionary designs of imperialism by repelling the invaders with heavy losses.

Since this time the racists, have employed all sorts of ruses, pretexts and slander, seeking to justify their unprovoked and dastardly raids into the southern regions of the People's Republic of Angola. This most bellicose campaign against the peace, independence and integrity of the young republic has since been pursued with unbridled persistence.

The current racist invasion is indeed more intense compared to anything since the 1975-76 one. The fascists began amassing military hardware including heavy artillery, military aircraft (bombers and fighter planes), tanks and personnel numbering over 15,000 men in early July. From the 23rd of August they started with their big scale invasion of peaceful Angola. They did not only go for military targets but seem to have delighted themselves with civilian targets and the destruction of the economic infrastructures.



The remains of a furniture factory bombed by South African fascists in Lubango, southern Angola.

The outrages committed against the civilian population are untold. The fascists brutally massacred thousands of unarmed men, women and children and displaced even more, leaving them homeless, denuded and starving. The so-called Angolan refugees 'pouring' into northern Namibia are, in fact, the Angolan civilians who have been abducted at gun point and forced to leave their Motherland. This is the real face of apartheid fascism! It brings to mind the countless atrocities and brutalities the boer beasts perpetrate against the millions of blacks inside South Africa itself. It reminds one of the criminal detentions and death sentences imposed on black patriots; the homelessness and hunger of the Bantustans; the congestion and squalor of the townships and ghettos, and, above all the continued denial of human rights of the oppressed majority. This is the real face of apartheid! The Pretoria cutthroats are bent on forcibly exporting it into as many states of independent Africa as possible.

One may wonder what the source of this racist determination is. When the arch-racist Ronald "Cowboy" Reagan assumed office early this year, an ill-wind began to blow in international relations. He (Reagan) in defiance of world public opinion leapt to a shameless identification with the Apartheid regime. "I do say South Africa has for a long time been

an ally of the United States," declared Reagan in an important policy statement. In this light therefore, racist South Africa's invasion of Angola should be seen as part of what the Reagan Administration term the fight against "international terrorism". What a deliberate misrepresentation of facts!

The Pretoria fascists have a vast military machine at their command which is oiled and maintained by imperialism. The US is in the forefront of a campaign to beat economic sanctions against South Africa and military non-collaboration with Apartheid. NATO member states on the one hand and the Zionists on the other, continue with shipments of arms and other war materials to South Africa in defiance of the embargo imposed as far back as 1963 by the United Nations. In this way the Pretoria bullies are wound-like robots let loose to unleash a terror only comparable to Nazi pogroms.

PRETORIA'S OBJECTIVES

The objectives the beer-fascists are pursuing are not new. The victories of the peoples of the former Portuguese colonies - Angola and Mozambique, and the defeat of the racist regime of Ian Smith in Zimbabwe, destroyed the illusionary buffer zone which protected South Africa from direct contact with independent Africa and therefore not only opened new vistas for the popular struggle against apartheid inside South Africa itself, but also focussed world attention on the theatre of, perhaps, what will transpire as the fiercest liberation war ever to be fought on the continent. Within a brief period the revolutionary war in Namibia and South Africa under the leadership of SWAPO and the African National Congress respectively, grew from strength to strength - made possible by the disinterested support by these newly independent states of Southern Africa.

The support Angola renders to the brother people of Namibia in their fight against the racist occupiers appears to be the reason behind this endless military aggression. By this South Africa naively hopes to achieve the impossible, that is to force the MPLA and the government of the People's Republic of Angola to compromise its principled and unflinching positions as regards the genuine independence of Namibia in line with Security Council Resolution 435 of the UN. In a broader sense, this ill-conceived scheme was hatched by the most reactionary factions of international monopoly capital (the big shots of the Western Gang of Five) in collaboration with the Pretoria fascists. Playing on political rhetoric and bourgeois jargon they are intent on reducing the Namibian

independence plan to a perfect neo-colonialist blueprint. In this connection, Angola is seen as a giant obstacle and therefore imperialism is bent on bringing pressure to bear upon the government and people of this country to compel them to submit. For this purpose, Racist South Africa is being used as their striking arm.

UNITA COUNTERREVOLUTIONARIES

The racists, in the wake of their marauding campaign have been injecting units of UNITA counterrevolutionaries in parts of the southern provinces of Angola. The underlying motive for this incredible haste in imposing UNITA in occupied parts is to give an impression that the bandits grouping is in fact controlling territories in southern Angola. It is very easy to discern the purpose of this exercise: The boers hope to 'legitimise' UNITA's participation in the next round of talks on the Namibian independence issue. Furthermore, and with the intention of watering down the revolutionary course in Angola, they intend to create grounds for UNITA's claim for recognition and participation rights in a so-called 'Government of National Unity'. This course is calculated to establish a favourable foothold for the defence of imperialist interests and the recapturing of lost positions in the entire region.

On the other hand, the build-up of such pressure and subversive designs is naively intended to demoralise SWAPO, create a climate of disillusion amongst its general membership and in this way, sow the seed of compromise.

The treacherous schemes against Angola should also be seen as part of the general imperialist offensive against independent Africa. The desire of the African countries to pursue a policy free from imperialist superintention and their increasing positive role in world politics, is frightening imperialism. To defeat this progressive development imperialism will use all the evil tricks in the bag including brute force as is the case with Angola and the entire Front-line States.

IMPERIALIST OUTPOST

For this purpose, Racist South Africa plays the role of imperialist outpost with the aim of blocking the sluice-gates of revolution by frantic endeavours to destabilise all independent states within her reach and weld them together into a commonwealth of reaction. The monstrous dangers of such a play are too ghastly to contemplate.

The aggressive incursion into Angola is also part of a frontal attack against the non-capitalist process unfolding

in young revolutionary states. The revolution in Angola has entered a qualitative phase characterised by the world transforming ideas of scientific socialism establishing firm root. The racist marauders aim to arrest this process. They are intent on strangulating the People's Republic of Angola, destroying social life and fanning public dissatisfaction and by so doing destroy this seed-bed of the African revolution.

Under the shingle of fighting so-called 'Soviet expansionism' and 'Cuban intervention' the racists and their imperialist props intend to divert Angola from her struggle for a new and better social order. The fascists also aim at catching the eye of the entire imperialist bloc as determined bully-boys and anti-communist gendarme, to entice more support from these quarters. Already the voice of US imperialism reflects satisfaction over this. They have declined to join other members of the UN Security Council in condemning the invasion. "The US has no desire to act as Africa's policeman, but it would not hesitate to help its friends or resist others" it warned. Have they forgotten the lessons of Vietnam?

The acts of aggression by the racist South African regime are not aimed at independent Africa alone. One of South Africa's chief dreams is to weaken physically and if possible eliminate the national liberation movements, that is SWAPO and the African National Congress. Innocent, unarmed and harmless refugees are not spared the brutality which characterises the daily raids by these fascists against what they term as 'terrorist bases'. The world will never forget the Rhodesian Selous Scout massacre of Nyazonia, the racist South African regime's murder of unarmed old men, women and children in Cassinga. The attacks against liberation movements are not limited to such large scale military operations. The formation of assassination squads to eliminate the leadership of the liberation movements is assuming the rank of state policy. This is indicated by the recent cowardly murder of the ANC leader, Comrade Joe Gqabi and the statements made by the racist leaders thereafter.

The racists also intend to deflect the attention of the African continent and our sub-continent in particular from the dauntless struggles waged by our people to destroy the tyrannical apartheid system. Our people under the leadership of the ANC and its military-wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, are inflicting heavy blows on the enemy. The enemy's inability to match Umkhonto we Sizwe's combat skill inside the country sows confusion, fear and despondency in his ranks. The raids against Angola and other neighbouring African states are not an exhibi-

bition of strength but a show of weakness and desperation.

THE RACISTS WILL FAIL

The Angolan people stand firm as a rock in defence of their Motherland, and their hard-won independence. Rallies are held in all towns of the country and all sections of the Angolan society express not only anger at the racist South African invasion but also readiness to fight till an end is brought to the invasion. No force on earth will drown the Angolan revolution. The meeting of the Front-line States held in Nigeria condemned these racist attacks, pointing out that they are not attacks against Angola only but against the entire African continent. The assertion that Africa will never know freedom, peace and stability as long as the odious Pretoria regime still exists remains as true as ever. The meeting (of the Front-line States in Nigeria) further appealed to the OAU to consider ways and means of rendering all-round support, including military, to help Angola repel the aggressors. Several African states have already expressed readiness to send their armed forces pending an invitation from Angola. This should serve as a reminder for the racists that Angola is not alone. The entire continent and progressive mankind the world over is on the side of the Angolan people. Furthermore, half a decade is a period not long enough to allow the racists the luxury to forget the ignominious defeat they suffered when they were repelled by FAPLA soldiers with the help of the Cuban internationalist soldiers.

The power of proletarian internationalism has been demonstrated clearly in Angola, Ethiopia and Afghanistan. The socialist countries, the natural allies of African liberation have shown their readiness to commit their all in defence of the African revolution against the enemies of the people; imperialism, colonialism, racism and apartheid. We, of the ANC and its allies, pledge to raise the struggle in our country to even greater heights, making it impossible for the enemy to cross our borders, till we attain our freedom and build a democratic South Africa based on the Freedom Charter which states: "South Africa shall be a fully independent state, which respects the rights and sovereignty of all nations... The right of all the peoples of Africa to independence and self-government shall be recognised and shall be the basis of close co-operation." The racist crimes will not go unpunished!

HANDS OFF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ANGOLA!

REPUBLIC SLOGAN

- JOYCE MEKONG

(AN HISTORICAL APPRECIATION OF THE EVOLUTION OF THE THEORY OF THE MAIN AIM OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN REVOLUTION).

We know very well that the decisive moment in our freedom struggle is fast approaching the day when our national banners, black, green and gold will rise never to fall. United under this banner we will advance to wipe out all forms of oppression and exploitation from the face of our embattled Motherland. This will not be easy, we understand. It calls for our blood, sweat and toil guided by knowledge. At times we will be confronted by obstacles which seem unsurmountable; even then we will never lose courage. We will always be inspired by the well-known and confirmed truth that in the pursuit of their goal of freedom every people and whenever the situation demands, develop the necessary added ability to overcome obstacles that emerge on their path. Our people's history, too, has this on record. The invaluable experience of the South African Communist Party (SACP) when it had to begin to search for an understanding of the vital connection between the inseparable class and national aspects of our revolutionary struggle is a fine example.

HISTORIC MISSION

What we have in mind here are the testing moments immediately after the formation of the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA) in 1921 up to the moment when the slogan of "Native Republic", which meant the liberation of the oppressed majority, first appeared in the revolutionary political scene in South Africa. But to appreciate the significance and complexity of the challenge facing the communists of our land in these eventful days it is necessary to briefly point out the historic mission of the SACP and the South African working class it is leading, and the dual nature of the South African society.

As with all contingents of the working class, the historic mission of the South African working class, black and white, is to completely destroy the enslaving capitalist sys-

tem and build a completely new society, a bright future in which "the class war shall have been for ever stamped out, when mankind shall no longer cower under the bludgeon of the oppressor, when the necessaries and amenities of life, the comfort and the culture, the honour and the power shall be to him who toils not him who exploits, when none shall be master and none servant, but all shall be fellow-workers in common." This is the lefty ideal for whose realisation the CPSA called upon "all South African workers, organised and unorganised" to fight for as published in its Manifesto adopted at the Party's foundation Conference held in Cape Town on July 30th to 1st August 1921.

SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY

South Africa is a capitalist state - and a highly developed one for that matter. Here you have a handful of people owning and controlling the means of production; the mines, factories, shops, banks, insurance companies, farms, etc., obtaining, maintaining and increasing their wealth by exploiting the millions of black and white workers who own nothing except their ability to work. At the same time the Pretoria fascist regime, through its racist laws and practices, denies the black people, Africans especially, be they workers, peasants, businessmen or intellectuals, the right to own land or any other productive property, to participate in ruling their country, to have their own political organisations, trade unions or live and work where they choose. Through this brutal system of national oppression, colonial domination, the racist regime ensures the continued super-exploitation of the black workers for the enrichment of the South African capitalists and the imperialist investors of USA, Britain, France, FRG, Japan, etc. This also provides for the privileges with which the white workers are bribed to win them over to the side of the oppressors and exploiters against their black fellow-workers. Our people are presently engaged in a struggle for national independence and freedom to bring an end to this system of national oppression.

The connection that exists between these two inseparable aspects of our situation and the types of struggle arising out of them is that socialism can only be achieved when the national aspirations of the oppressed majority are satisfied by the victory of a national democratic revolution. The aims of this revolution are clearly stated in the Freedom Charter. This is a pre-condition for the unity of the black and white workers which is indispensable for the victory of socialism.

Briefly, this is the basic question of our revolutionary struggle as understood by the main forces of our revolutionary struggle - class and national. Without this crucial knowledge it would have been impossible for our liberation movement to advance our struggle to where it is today. Yet to the young Communist Party this situation presented itself in a completely different way.

THE AFRICAN PEOPLE

It should be remembered that at that time the national liberation struggle of the African people and their Coloured and Indian compatriots following colonial conquest had not as yet had enough impact. The armed resistance by the African people against colonial domination up to 1906 still had to express itself in strong political national organisations. The African National Congress formed in 1912 to unite the African people to fight for their liberation certainly stimulated the national consciousness of the African people but had not yet developed powerful means of struggle. That was to be achieved decades later. And although the African working class had already been involved in some strikes, they still lacked stable trade unions. Pass laws and the migratory labour system greatly hampered this process.

On the whole the great class battles which accompanied the development of capitalism in South Africa were mostly led by the organised white workers, most of whom had the benefit of the tradition of organised struggles in Britain where they came from. In fact it was these struggles which produced the Communist Party. That is why too the membership of the CP was composed of white workers, including veteran trade unionists and socialists, when it was born. Added to these hampering factors was the fact that the advanced Marxist-Leninist thinking on the national and colonial question had not yet reached South Africa and most literature on this question had not yet been translated into English. In other words, the CP had to find its bearings in a hitherto untrodden path. It had to blaze the way into the future.

Naturally the pioneer communists of our country set off to mobilise the workers to fight for their emancipation on the basis of what the earlier class struggles had already produced. They concentrated on political work among the white workers. It was hoped that white workers would come to realise the oneness of the basic interests of all workers, black and white, in spite of the privileged position which the latter already occupied. Thus the white workers would lead the struggle for

socialism. This would bring an end to all forms of oppression. As for the black workers it was believed that the more revolutionary ideas had an influence on them the more they would become a significant force within the labour movement. Their urge for national emancipation was not seen as a potential revolutionary force.

YEARS OF EXPERIENCE

However, years of painstaking work among the workers were to influence the thinking and further activities of the CP. Such eye-opening events as the 1922 great Miners' Strike had a tremendous influence. As we know this was the greatest and last militant action by white workers. The entire mine workers in the Transvaal came out in a powerful strike, involving lots of bloodshed, directly challenging the power of the greedy and monopolist Chamber of Mines. Regrettably this heroic action was marked by the 'colour bar' stand of the white workers against the black workers whom the bosses had decided to employ in jobs previously reserved for white workers at very low rates. This the bosses did to lower the production costs in the face of the grave depression which followed in the wake of World War I. The CP found itself in the "horns of a dilemma". It could not stand aloof in a conflict between the workers and the capitalists while at the same time the colour bar content of the strike was irreconcilably in conflict with its principle of equality of all races. Thus in giving assistance to the striking workers it insistently pointed out to them that their enemy was the Chamber of Mines and not their African fellow-workers and also pointed out that it did not identify itself "with every slogan heard in the strike". Four decades later (in 1961) the SACP, looking back, observed: "From 1922 onwards, the purely 'white' labour movement in this country was transformed step by step into an emasculated adjunct of the boss class, exchanging their independence for concessions and privileges, the price for their support for white imperialism in its brutal oppression and exploitation of the African people."

On the other hand the black workers were beginning to display their capacity for organised militant action and to lead the national liberation struggle and turn it into a powerful and decisive force. This was indicated by the strength of the International Commercial Workers' Union (ICU) before it collapsed.

TURNING POINT

During the days of the International Socialist League

(ISL), the forerunner of the CPSA, foresighted socialists like David Ivon Jones, its first Secretary, had predicted in 1915: "An internationalism which does not concede the fullest rights which the Native working class is capable of claiming is sham." On his return from the Fourth Congress of the Comintern, in Moscow in 1922, S.P. Bunting echoed Jones' words and went further saying: "An all-Negro liberation or anti-imperialist movement throughout the world may well be more potent for the victory of our common cause than anything, our mere handful of white workers as such in South Africa can achieve, and it is also time we acted upon our professions regarding the organisation of Native workers." This was not a lonely voice. A shift in the CP's line of action was coming.

The 1924 Annual Conference was a turning point. It resolved that the Party should pay particular attention on organising the African workers. Immediately thereafter the Central Committee of the CPSA issued directives to members experienced in trade union work to concentrate on organising African trade unions. Party schools were established where African workers not only learned to read and write but acquired political knowledge. It was during this period that many African workers and revolutionary intellectuals came into the Party. Albert Nzula, Johannes Nkosi, "Uncle" J.B. Marks, Moses Ketane, Gana Makabeni, Josie Mpama and many others. The advances made by the Party on this basis were most clearly expressed by the then President of the ANC, J.J. Gumede when he addressed the International Congress of the League Against Imperialism held in Brussels in 1927. He said: "I am happy to say that there are Communists in South Africa. I myself am not one, but it is my experience that the Communist Party is the only Party that stands behind us and from which we can expect something." Gumede was expressing the feelings of an increasing number of our down-trodden people.

THE NATIVE REPUBLIC SLOGAN

At this point it is important to mention the invaluable assistance given by the Comintern to its section in South Africa (CPSA). The crucial problem which the CP had been grappling with in South Africa, the colonial question also became one of the main issues on the agenda of the Comintern. At its 1928 Congress, the Comintern acting on the recommendations and evidence of South African Communists e.g. J.A. La Guma adopted a resolution to the effect that the CPSA should mobilise for the achievement of "an Independent Native Republic". Many related questions remained unanswered in spite of

the discussions held within the CP and its exchange of views with the Comintern. The Party was still in the early stages of the process of overcoming the obstacles created by the factors which hampered the achievement of clarity on the place of the national liberation struggle in the labour movement as mentioned earlier.

As a disciplined section of the Comintern, the CPSA accepted the directive of mobilising for an "Independent Native Republic". Continued determined work among the nationally oppressed; African, Coloured and Indian people including the co-operation between the CP and the ANC and other revolutionary national organisations was to help the CPSA in giving meaning to this slogan. Thus the slogan brought about a permanent and beneficial change in the Communist Party's understanding of the colonial question in South Africa.

It was in these early years in the life of the CPSA that the foundation-stones on which our freedom struggle now firmly stands, were laid. Therefore, the unity in common struggle for common goals achieved by the class & national forces of our revolution and which is so vividly expressed in our entire people's loyalty to the lefty ideals of the Freedom Charter, the unbreakable comradely bonds between the ANC and SACP, and the resultant giant strides made by our people towards our goal of freedom are all living testimonies to the heroic efforts made by those first communist sons of our soil.

Inspired by this example the SACP will always remain firm on its revolutionary position as clearly stated in its programme adopted in 1962 which declares in part that: "The South African Communist Party works for a united front of national liberation. It strives to unite all sections and classes of oppressed and democratic people for a national democratic revolution to destroy white domination... The Communist Party has no interests separate from those of the working people. The Communists are sons and daughters of the people and share with them the overriding necessity to put an end to the suffering and humiliation of apartheid. The destruction of colonialism and the winning of national freedom is the essential condition and the key for future advance to the supreme aim of the Communist Party; the establishment of a socialist South Africa, laying the foundation of a classless, communist society."

DAWNLIGHT...

**DOWN WITH THE CISKEI!
'INDEPENDENCE'**



GERT "THINKING AHEAD"



PERSPECTIVES OF OUR STRUGGLE

PART 4

QUESTION: Comrade Thabo, if we follow that line, we come to certain basic positions which we have taken as a people. There is the ANC and its allies which have taken the revolutionary path. You have another group which has taken what I would call an evolutionary path, you see. These basic positions do not meet anywhere... or let me put it in this way; given these two positions, do you think we would be united enough to be as strong as we are needed to be in order to push the enemy to a point where he is going to say "I've had it, let us negotiate?" You have just told me that the enemy, like it happened in Zimbabwe, had to realise certain hard facts, that if it does not succumb, if it does not go to Lancaster it is going to be swept out - "now let's go and talk to the united patriotic forces of Zimbabwe" and it did that. Now given these two positions in South Africa, where the ANC and its allies are revolutionary & there's another group which is evolutionary, do you think we can push?

CDE. THABO MBEKI: Well, I agree that there is a revolutionary tendency in South African politics and there is also an evolutionary tendency. I would say there is a third one, the fascist tendency, which some people would call conservative, that's a fascist tendency. Now it's true that there are all those three trends in South African politics. Now of course we forget about the fascist one, in terms of the issue that you are raising... Talk about this evolutionary and revolutionary one. Now you say that on the basis of this we are not united because these two schools of thought, these two political tendencies exist. Now you see I might throw the question back at you and say: "Who is not united because of the existence of these two tendencies?" I was saying last time and I will like to repeat it again that the ANC.. that the masses of the people are united around certain basic questions, including the question of how should change in South Africa be achieved. I think anywhere you go; you can go to the townships, you can go to villages, you can go to the resettlement camps, you can go anywhere in South Africa - the oppressed majority of the people of the country are saying: "Let us remove this regime." They are saying: "Give us weapons," because everyday they are confronted by

the armed might. As I was saying, people go on strike, they are confronted with guns. They protest about increases in rents, they are confronted with guns. Anything you do, you complain about Afrikaans as a medium of instruction, you are confronted with guns. The masses of the people are not saying that there is a possibility that something good can evolve out of the Apartheid system. I am still saying the masses of the people in the town and countryside are united in a revolutionary perspective, a perspective which says we must sweep away this regime and replace it with a democratic government of the people of South Africa. People are united in that. Now it doesn't mean that among the black people there, there is no tendency which is saying: "Let's have evolutionary change."

Now what is evolutionary change? Evolutionary change must mean that the Apartheid regime remains in power... that is the basic thesis of any evolutionary outlook. Then the next thing we'll say alright let's amend or scrap the immorality act - we're evolving out of the Apartheid system. Now I'm saying the Apartheid regime remains and for whatever reason it decides to remove things one by one. Botha is claiming that the fact that they have now said that African workers can belong to legally recognised unions, that is part of this evolutionary process - that's an evolutionary thesis. It presumes and assumes in the first instance the continued existence of that regime in power because revolution means that you must destroy, remove this regime - transfer power to the people and then they use that power which they have to change whatever they want to change in that system.

A precondition of any revolutionary change must be the destruction of the oppressive regime that is there. But I'm saying an evolutionary one does not pre-suppose that, now I'm quite sure of it. You forget these long English words like evolutionary and revolutionary. You go to the people and you say to them the perspective I'm putting forward to you is that let us leave P.W. Botha in power - let us leave his Apartheid system there. Let us through a process of consultation and negotiation persuade him to remove things bit by bit so that we can evolve into a situation where South Africa is better. So let's leave him there and wait for him to open the hotel, to be kind-hearted. Open the hotel then wait for six months he removes the immorality act or whatever important that immorality is and then wait for another six months and he does something else, wait for another six months and he builds a school so on and you say: "You see now." Go to the masses of the oppressed people and say: "That's my strategy."

think you wouldn't leave such a meeting alive because the people are not saying please 'Baas Botha' can you please change things for us nicely, steadily according to your own timetable, according to your pace so that one day in a hundred years' time you say: "Ah! South Africa is now evolved out of the Apartheid system and it is now a nice country." The people say: "We don't want apartheid now, it must go now. Botha must go now, his government must go now; their system must go now." If you go to the people and say let us allow Botha to evolve out of apartheid, the people will stone you and that's why I'm saying that the masses of the people are united in wanting to uproot the Apartheid system.

There are black people who out of whatever reason believe that it is possible for a better South Africa, for a democratic South Africa to evolve out of the apartheid system. I don't quite know why anybody would want to believe a thing like that, to believe essentially that the racists of South Africa are tomorrow, for some reason, going to have a change of heart and cease to be racist. That the exploiters of South Africa are again for some unknown reason going to cease to be exploiters and say no, let's stop exploiting the people; let us now give them their rights and so on. I don't know why anybody wants to think that the South African oppressors and exploiters are exceptional, that they will do something that no other exploiter and oppressor has done to suffer the change of heart and then decide: "Ok, now let us evolve out of this system." I think it's an illusion. It's not going to happen. It is in another sense an avoidance of struggle, a notion that you can shout and bang tables and scream at the regime, and you scream so loudly that the regime will get frightened into an evolutionary position. If the enemy is not going to be changed by militant statements that are made, it's not going to be changed even by militant threats that are made.

You know people say look, we have not used our labour power sufficiently, one day we'll use our labour power to change our conditions sufficiently. Use it, what are you waiting for? A n y b o d y i n South Africa today who can say here is the oppressor regime celebrating 20 years of its fascist republic, no more, I've got the strength and the following, the power and everything to call out these millions of black workers on strike to protest and to demonstrate to show their hostility to this fascist regime. Let them do it today. What is the point of a threat? You can threaten, as I say you can scream as loudly as you want against the regime, that's not going to change the regime. I'm saying that t h e

oppressors of South Africa are not exceptional. They are not going to have a change of heart today, tomorrow or the day after and decide as a result of a change of heart, decide that oh no, Ok let's reform the system, let's evolve toward a South Africa that is acceptable to the people of South Africa. They are not going to do that. The only way South Africa is going to change is if the people themselves moving from this position of complete rejection of the Apartheid system and the Apartheid regime, make sure that that regime goes, that system goes; that they use the power that is in their hands to change that South Africa in whatever direction the masses of the people think it is a direction that they want for their country.

QUESTION: But Comrade Thabo, the problem with revolution, as I said is that it is a very unruly horse. Once you get astride this horse, you never know where it's going to lead you because you know, I don't think it's possible to plan what is going to happen after the revolution, because it depends on the revolutionary situation if it exist. Now if it exists in South Africa it means, therefore, that the people are ready to do something about their lot and they are ready to pick up arms and do something. Now whoever is there at that moment if the situation is opportune, whoever is there can lead them anywhere. Now that's why I'm saying it's an unruly horse. And here you are saying we are a revolutionary movement, we want to overthrow the regime and after that replace it with a democratic people's government. That cannot be said if we are going to move according to revolutionary principles.

CDE. THABO MBEKI: No! I think that this is wrong. You see it has been said that a revolution is a locomotive of history. That means that history is pulled forward by this locomotive which we call revolution as a train is pulled by a locomotive at the head there. It is also said that revolutions are a celebration of the oppressed. Now you see the notion that you are putting forward, that revolutions are an unruly horse, and that they can end where one doesn't know - you see it's a reflection of contempt for the people, for the masses, a belief that the masses do not know what they want, a belief that there are some very clever people - demagogues who can come and sway the masses of the people this way and that way; what Botha and his crowd call 'agitators'. It's a wrong conception, any revolutionary to be a revolutionary has to have a very sound respect for the masses of the people. I think that the African National Congress has that respect, I hope so, for the masses of the people.

You see, we say here is the ANC, its allies, other patriotic forces of South Africa, have a view of what kind of South Africa they want. It's in the Freedom Charter. We were all of us discussing the Freedom Charter last year. It's there in the Freedom Charter, we want that. This is the kind of South Africa we want. We want that understanding of that kind of South Africa. Not to be just an understanding between Thabo and somebody else. The masses of the people themselves must have this picture. We are very fortunate, with regard to the Freedom Charter, of course, in that the masses of the people participated in the drafting of the Freedom Charter. These masses therefore have a view about where South Africa is going when we say we are going to take up arms and fight and die in the process some of us. They know what they are dying for. Therefore, when a revolutionary transformation takes place, when the oppressed masses have this celebration because of revolutionary change, they know what they are celebrating. And if a demagogue is going to come tomorrow and say: "No, the revolution that we were fighting for was not for a united South Africa but a ...", the people will say: "No, we knew what we were fighting for. We knew that these are our objectives, we have achieved those objectives". And it's not in any sense an unruly thing because no revolution can take place without conscious and active participation of the masses of the people who must know what they are fighting for.

DAWN politiXword No. 8 - Answers

ACROSS: 1. Con 3. Mhlaba 6. Renegade 8. Mew
9. Ambush 13. Agenda 15. Marxism 16. Tar

DOWN: 1. Communism 2. Norway 3. Man 4. Leg
5. Ape 7. Ash 10. Bhayi 11. Steam
12. Radar 14. Try

STRAIGHT TALK...

A Growing Terror Web

Suddenly South Africa is on the lips of mankind. It tops the lists of priority attention on desks of news agencies from East to West. To some it is a zone of strategic moment; an Eldorado teeming with treasures; a vast garden of profits to be secured through the rape and strangulation of its aborigines, through aggression and war. To men of conscience it is a land of lamentation and weep for the majority of its peoples. Its peoples labouring under tonnage of cruel rule, starved and denuded, are harassed by evil pirates and profiteers. The country is the work-shop of the Botha-Malan clique from whence they generate great unease for the whole of the sub-continent at the least, and the entire world at most.

Southern Africa is therefore becoming the cross-roads of history. And the course of events here (in whatever direction) will be an important factor in determining the future of today's world.

Attention must be paid to the ghastly ploys of imperialism managed through the hand of the evil apartheid rulers. The beer-fascists are bent on throwing all and sundry into suicidal conflagration - and the Reagan Administration is actively urging them in this direction. They must be checked! The boers are attacking and murdering in Angola; they are plotting coups in Zambia; they are bullying Botswana and threatening Tanzania. In Lesotho, Mozambique and Angola they are managing herds of bandits who are employed in the perpetration of the most vile and untold crimes against the people and governments of these young independent African states.

PROBLEMS

Tagging themselves with such attractive names as 'Liberation Armies', 'Resistance Movement', 'Movement for National Independence', etc., these elements seek to confuse the peoples into supporting their reactionary cause. They clothe themselves in the skins of saviours whilst they are in the service of the monster himself. We cannot pretend that young independent Africa has no problems. There are problems - political and economic. But all these problems, which are a legacy of many years of colonialism, can be solved through the united efforts of the peoples of these countries. Not through

the resurging hand of colonialism itself, or through the criminal and treacherous activities of soulless traitors, who in the service of the enemies of the people have stooped so low as to allow themselves to be used as tools in the tearing apart of Southern Africa - all in the interest of the real enemies of the people which are Imperialism and Apartheid fascism. They are murdering people, kidnapping and attacking eminent public figures and sabotaging economic infrastructures, (A spate of such criminal actions during the past few months has been witnessed especially in Lesotho and Mozambique - to say nothing of the big scale boer aggression against the People's Republic of Angola) and yet they naively hope to be declared heroes by the very people they are sending to the doldrums. If they were wise they could be learning from the Red Brigades.

Yet we doubt if they are capable of heeding the lessons of history for they are not their own masters. They are the thin strands of a growing web of terror unleashed by reaction in a futile attempt to stem the tide of revolution in the sub-continent. In this way the enemy hopes to throw the peoples into conflict and self-destruction whilst he stands by, ready to leap in, pick up the pieces and construct a cordon of puppet states around himself wherein the traitors will be appointed to manage his affairs whilst he occupies the throne of supreme authority. Only the myopic or the bamboozled will not see these real intentions of Pretoria.

In the face of such dangerous schemes, Southern Africa, Africa and the world must unite and rally around the urgent call to destroy apartheid. The people of South Africa and Namibia under the leadership of the African National Congress and the South West Africa People's Organisation are leading the offensive. We call on all the conscious people to extend a hand of solidarity. The time to act is now. Surely the memory of Hitler's Nazism is still fresh and in the case of Southern Africa mankind cannot afford the lamentable half-hearted 'Phoney War' method.

DOWN WITH APARTHEID!

DOWN WITH THE LACKEYS OF APARTHEID!



NAKED AMONG WOLVES

by

BRUNO APITZ

Chapter 7

He carried the coats through the rows of prisoners sewing assiduously at their machines, and slammed the package down on the cutting table before Lange. The K a p o laboriously inspected each one of the coats. He held one up, turned and twisted it to all sides, spread it out on the table, examined the lining and the material, and was very busy. Only his eyes, during this concentrated activity, travelled in a particular direction which Pippig attentively followed.

Aha, in the rag box under the table!

Pippig stooped down quickly. His disappearance was covered by the coat Lange was holding up, and on the floor Pippig was hidden by the material nailed around the table. With nimble fingers Pippig unbuttoned jacket and shirt, unscrewed the top of the hot-water bag, rummaged in the rag box, found the bottle; and as he was still peuring the milk in and concealing the empty bottle among the rags again, a little package fell from above. The grape sugar! Pippig looked up at Lange. Lange winked. They had understood one another.

Pippig put away the package, straightened his clothing and stood up. A few more insignificant words, and the little man toddled off. The Rottenfuhrer in front signed the pass.

The ice-cold milk cooled Pippig's belly. On the way he transferred the package of grape sugar to the front of his peakless inmate's cap, so that he would always be holding it in his hand if he had to take off the cap to an SS man.

As Pippig came towards the camp gate, he saw from a long way off a crowd of prisoners standing at the window, and he realised that the block fuhrer was searching their clothes.

D a m n ! The bastard is frisking every one of them!

Pippig could neither go back now nor stay where he was; he was too near the gate. What to do? Never, man! Who's pipping here, you or me? I'm pipping! Fearlessly Pippig approached the eye of the needle. Here he forced his way through the crowd of prisoners, whipped off the cap with the package, clicked his heels and shouted: "Prisoner 2398 back to the camp

from the SS tailor's shop!"

As the block fuhrer occupied with the frisking turned around, Pippig held the pass out to him, executed an elegant about-face, and - he was through the needle's eye. Seconds passed, filled with tension that nearly snapped. Would there be a shout behind his back? Hey! You from the effects room! Back to the gate!...

With every step that led Pippig away from the gate, the tension relaxed. He no longer felt the cold against his belly. No one shouted! An infinite, protective emptiness stretched out behind Pippig. When half of the mustering ground was behind him, Pippig broke into a trot. The tension vanished completely, and in its place tremendous jubilation flowed into his breast.

Pippig ran! Good news, little boy, we've got milk!

K r o p i n s k i had tears of joy in his eyes. Again and again he stroked Pippig's arm as the two squatted before the child and worshipfully watched how the little boy enjoyed it. The child held the big aluminum cup tightly with both hands, looked like a little bear and kept smacking its lips.

"Good brother, good brave brother," whispered Kropinski.

Pippig replied: "Boy, if you knew how I nearly shit in my pants..."

He laughed, he didn't believe it himself.

Suddenly Hofel was standing behind them; they looked up at him happily.

"Where did you get the milk?"

Pippig grinned at Hofel and poked the child in the belly with his forefinger: "Cow in the meadow. How do you do? Give us some milk, and then go moooooo ..."

The child laughed.

Pippig rolled over backwards and struck his hands together.

"He laughed! Did you hear that? He laughed!"

THE FUHRER'S MISCALCULATION

For the rest of the afternoon Zweiling sat in his room brooding. After the evening roll call Reineboth usually vaulted onto his motorcycle and drove down to Weimar to see his lady friend. To get the note delivered Zweiling had no other alternative than to wait until the roll call was over and Reineboth had left the camp.

Was it r i g h t t o send this damned note at all?

His limbs were still weak from the fear that Hortense had

thrown into him. As long as he was in the SS he had never had to worry about his future. His membership in the death's-head league and the camp SS had relieved him of all the struggles of life up to now. Only since yesterday's discussion with Hortense did he see the end of the camp frighteningly near at hand; it could no longer be pushed back to a comfortable distance. He did not think of the possibility of his own death - he was too slow-witted for that. With apathetic boredom he gazed through the window at the prisoners who were busy in the clothing room, and thoughts smouldered in him. What would become of him?

Until now Zweiling had always had his living. And all of a sudden this was to stop? Der Führer had miscalculated. Führer? Shit! Zweiling thought of him at that moment as of a complete stranger, out of reach, who was sitting in a nice snug bomb shelter somewhere, safe and sound!

Zweiling felt forsaken. The camp commandant scarcely noticed him. And the others? Kluttig? Heineboth? They only put on a friendly act when they could get something out of him. A gold cigarette case from some Jew, a diamond ring, a gold fountain pen...

Hofel had gone over to the long counter and was talking with the prisoners. Zweiling watched malevolently through the window. His fear discolored to hatred of that bastard out there who had got him into such a mess over a Jew brat. It's him I have to thank, thought Zweiling; I'll see you roasted, you swine!

Shut the hatch, you're drooling again... Hortense made a habit of saying this because she could not bear Zweiling's everlastingly open mouth. As if she had just said it again, Zweiling started up from his brooding, shut his mouth guiltily, got up, stalked to the door and opened it: "Hofel!"

Hofel looked up and followed Zweiling into the room. As often as they faced each other, there was something between them which had to be intentionally ignored, the affair of the child. It only hung in the air as dangerous knowledge, and Hofel waited in some suspense for what Zweiling had to say to him. He looked the Hauptscharführer in the eye evenly. Zweiling stretched out his long legs behind the desk.

"There's no more transport coming today. After the roll call, you all get to your blocks."

What did that mean?

"Oh, you don't even like it when you get off early?" He was trying to sound affable.

"We still have a lot to do."

Zweiling waved the idea away. "Tomorrow. For today it's finished. It's finished soon anyway," he added.

"How do you mean, Hauptscharfuhrer?" Hofel asked, pretending naïveté.

"Don't put it on," Zweiling replied with forced familiarity. "You and I know the score..."

They measured one another with their eyes.

"Let them line up to be counted. I'll take the key myself today."

As Hofel left the room he thought he felt Zweiling's watchful look on his back. A wink of notification to Pippig, who had been standing at the counter and apprehensively observing them, told him that something was going on. They did not exchange a word, only their eyes spoke: Watch out!

Line up for the count! Hofel went through the building.

Line up for the count!

The inmates of the commando, surprised to be called so early for the roll call, gathered in the room before the long counter. Meanwhile Hofel went through the building checked up whether all the windows were locked. As he did so he considered. If Zweiling brought the key to the gate himself this time, they were locked out and could only get into the building from the outside.

The original plan had to be altered. Hofel could no longer get rid of a feeling of hidden danger.

Why did Zweiling want to stay in the building longer than usual, what was he going to do? Kropinski, also wondering about the early count, came out of the corner. "What is?"

Hofel reassured the Pole and sent him up front. When he was alone Hofel opened one of the two windows at the face of the building and leaned out, taking his bearings. Not ten feet below the window was the roof of a building that connected the clothing room on the first floor with the shower room. Hofel saw this with satisfaction. He pulled the wing of the window shut but latched it so loosely that it would have to give if anyone pressed against the window frame outside. Then he went up front.

It was dark already and the camp roll call long past, but Zweiling was still in the effects room. Hofel, Pippig and Kropinski stood in the sheltering darkness of a corner between the kitchen and the shower room. They silently watched the window in the second story of the big brick building.

Shivering in a penetrating drizzle, their hands deep in the pockets of their thin trousers, they stared up at the win-

dows. The stillness bore down fixedly on the camp. Not a prisoner was to be seen. Now and then a hurrying block senior on his way from the clerks' room ran over the cracked stones and disappeared somewhere into a block.

Zweiling had put the lamp under the desk and hung a cloth in front of it, to shield the light from the uncurtained window. Now he could be sure that Reineboth had left the camp and that they had changed guards at the gate. He put the note in the upper outside pocket of his uniform, where it was handy, switched off the lamp and put it back on the desk. He felt his way in the dark along the window side of the clothing room to the corner in the back and pushed the stacks aside. His flashlight stabbed into the room. The child looked into the dazzling light with wide-open eyes and crept under the cover.

Outside Kropinski jerked at Hofel's arm: "There!"

The three stared up at the last window, behind which the beam was darting. Suddenly Pippig ran towards the effects room. Hofel caught him before he could rush through the unlocked door into the building, pulled him back and hissed: "Are you crazy?"

Pippig gasped: "I'll beat him to death!"

Kropinski had also reached them. Upstairs a door creaked. Only seconds remained for a decision.

Hofel disappeared into the building, and the other two whisked like mice into the dark niche under the projecting stairway. Quick as a flash Hofel had closed the door behind him. Above him the iron heel tips clanked on the stone of the steps. A spectral gleam from the dimmed flashlight flitted over the stairway. The corridor was dark. Hofel had less than a second to decide where he could conceal himself, and he had no choice. There was only the corner of the wall, six and a half feet wide, beside the entrance way. Stand or squat? Instinctively Hofel squatted down fast against the bare wall, pressed his head against his knees and clasped his arms around it. He even squeezed his eyes shut, as if he could make himself more invisible in that way.

Zweiling had come to the last landing and was advancing towards the door. Now it remained to be seen whether the coming moment would be lucky or... The flashlight only had to tip carelessly sideways, and Hofel would be discovered. But Zweiling aimed the beam at the door handle.

Hofel held back the breath in his lungs and listened to the seconds racing past. They remained uneventful!

In profound relief Hofel heard the door open and then shut. From outside the key turned noisily in the lock, and

it clicked twice. Steps crunched away.

Hofel raised his head. He became conscious that he had thought at high speed during those seconds. But this was no time for retracing thoughts. He straightened up.

In the niche under the stone stairway Pippig and Kropinski were holding their breath and pressing themselves flatter against the wall. Zweiling passed quite close by them. His leather coat shone, and the turned-up collar thrust against the bottom of his cap. On his long legs, whose knees never straightened all the way, he stalked uphill along the road, and the gaunt shape was obliterated like a phantom in the rain and dark.

Now everything proceeded in the manner planned and allowed for in the time between their own and the camp roll call.

Pippig and Kropinski stole along the facade of the effects building. Level with the ground were the light shafts of the underground cellar's many windows. Into the last of these they slid noiselessly down. A few soft taps against the window, and it yielded. The two slipped through.

At the same time Hofel was on the first floor. He had thought everything through exactly. Although he could get into the effects room with lightningspeed from the roof of the connecting building, the child could not be transported along the same route. The process had already taken up too much time, and the danger of discovery was too great.

Hofel opened the window of the stairwell and listened into the darkness. In the suspense of the moment he felt how wide awake he was. It did him good. Keen-wittedly he worked out the procedure to be followed. First of all wait and listen. Two or three moments more, until he was quite certain that nothing, nothing whatever, was anywhere in the vicinity. No inmate, no SS man who perhaps, at this very moment, was leaving the camp. In back was the fence, invisible in the darkness, only betrayed by the covert red point of light. Opposite the gable wall was a watchtower. Hofel did not worry about that. Between it and the effects building was the shower room, and this cut off the view. The next tower was twenty-five yards away. That was more dangerous. But Hofel had thought through this danger point time and again. In the rainy darkness the sentry would have to stare at a particular point for quite a while in order to distinguish anything. There was no reason to assume that precisely at the moment when Hofel swung himself up from the roof into the window above, the sentry would be gazing at that point. Naturally, a man could have had luck. Then the searchlight

would flash on, and ... that was that.

But lives had already been risked for less important things, and a bit of spunk was always part of the game. So get going, Andre! Noiselessly Hofel crept up to the roof of the connecting building, lay flat and listened... Nothing.

Carefully he made his way along the gable wall of the effects building, half stooping. With the first jump he had to reach the cornice overhead.

Hofel crouched like a runner before the start, consciousness and will concentrated on one point, and then he leaped up with all his energy. His hands took hold, held fast, he was hanging! But the climb went much more slowly and arduously than he had imagined. In fractions of seconds, Hofel had the feeling he was steeped in bright light and visible to everyone. Fear suddenly shot through him, hot and piercing. But it immediately distributed itself as tough strength in his muscles. In this way he pulled himself up. With his forehead pressing against the window frame he felt as if the wall he was clinging to was pushing him off and he was going to fall. Quite unexpectedly he lifted one hand, shoved the window open as if nothing could be more natural, and before he knew it the hand was clutching the window sill. One heave up, and Hofel was inside. He closed the window quickly, squatted down, closed his eyes, and let the wave of relaxation pass over him.

A b r i e f m o m e n t of enervation, and Hofel was completely alert again. He pulled the sack aside. His hand felt for the child's body.

"It's me, little boy, be quiet, nice and quiet!"

Hofel hurried through the long clothing room with the child, up front to the clerks' office. It all had to be accomplished very quickly; they were waiting for him in the cellar. The child, accustomed to unusual happenings in his concentration-camp world, and prepared beforehand by Kropinski, behaved admirably. Hofel put it down on the floor, and fetched from the clothing room one of the many ladders used for hanging up sacks of clothes. One such sack was hanging on the ladder, apparently forgotten. It contained a long rope. Hofel took it out, packed the child in the sack, tied the sack together at the top, and attached the rope to it. Then he placed the ladder on a table and climbed up. Next to the chimney was the scuttle leading to the roof. Avoiding any sound, Hofel opened the scuttle. Again he listened into the darkness before crawling out on the slanting roof with the rope in his hand. C o n c e a l i n g h i m s e l f b e h i n d

the scuttle he pulled the sack after him. He pressed himself flat against the roof, squirmed over to the low chimney, and listened. Then, with a determined swing, he hove the sack into the chimney.

The rope scraped along the sharp edge of the chimney opening. Suppose it rubbed through and tore? Hofel stopped in fright and considered for the space of a second. Disregarding the danger of discovery, he stood up against the chimney, laid his arm as a guard under the rope, and let it unroll. It slipped from the protecting sleeve onto the bare wrist and pushed, burning, over his skin. Hofel pressed his forehead against the chimney in order not to groan. At last came the agreed signal from the cellar, a pull at the rope. Hofel let go and sank exhausted onto the roof. He put his burning hand under his armpit and let his head fall forwards. He sat that way for a long while, until he had mastered the pain.

In the cellar the other two were trying to pull the sack through the soot hole. The small child was whimpering.

"Christ, Marian, be careful!"

Kropinski stopped and talked in a whisper to the child. It became quiet and moved a little. Kropinski helped, pulling at the part of the sack that was hanging down loose. The child squeezed its way out of the narrow opening.

"Is it there?"

"T a k ."

The tiny human creature trembled all over. Its little soul was sheared through and through. Kropinski caressed and comforted the boy, who clung to him sobbing and helpless. At last the child was sufficiently calmed so that they dared to set out on their dangerous journey through the camp. They packed the child in the sack again and closed the soot hole.

Hofel had already pulled up the rope. They conferred. Kropinski was to go ahead and reconnoitre. If he saw nothing suspicious within a distance of thirty yards he was to come back and fetch Pippig. They climbed out of the light shaft into the open. Luckily, it was raining harder. Their eyes drilled into the darkness.

"G o , M a r i a n !"

The last part of the way was the most uncertain. Emerging from the protection of the rows of blocks, they had to walk a considerable distance over the wide road that led to the infirmary before they could turn off to the side. Here

prisoners were going to the clinic, a smaller number than usual because of the rain. Hidden by a barrack the two watched the road. Only a few prisoners were still out, a sign that curfew would soon be whistled. To shield themselves from the rain, many of them had hung their thin zebra coats or a piece of sacking over their heads. "Shall we, Marian?" asked Pippig.

"Must get to have luck," the Pole said.

"There, we'll attach ourselves to those three. Come along".

Pippig had already sprung onto the road, Kropinski after him. They kept close behind three prisoners who were going to the infirmary. Two of them had bundled themselves up against the rain. They had scarcely gone a few steps when Kropinski grabbed Pippig by the arm, "SS!"

Two Scharfuhrers were actually approaching at a slight distance. Pippig was no less frightened than Kropinski, but the presence of mind he had acquired in the camp made him react swiftly. Before the Scharfuhrers could get near enough, Pippig had pulled the sack over his shoulder and thrown the overhanging part of it over his head. He felt how the child's body pressed against his and the little hands tried to hold onto him through the sack. Looking as bundled up as the others, he steered skillfully past the Scharfuhrers, using the three prisoners as cover. The Scharfuhrers had not noticed anything, they were tramping noisily up the rain-wet road.

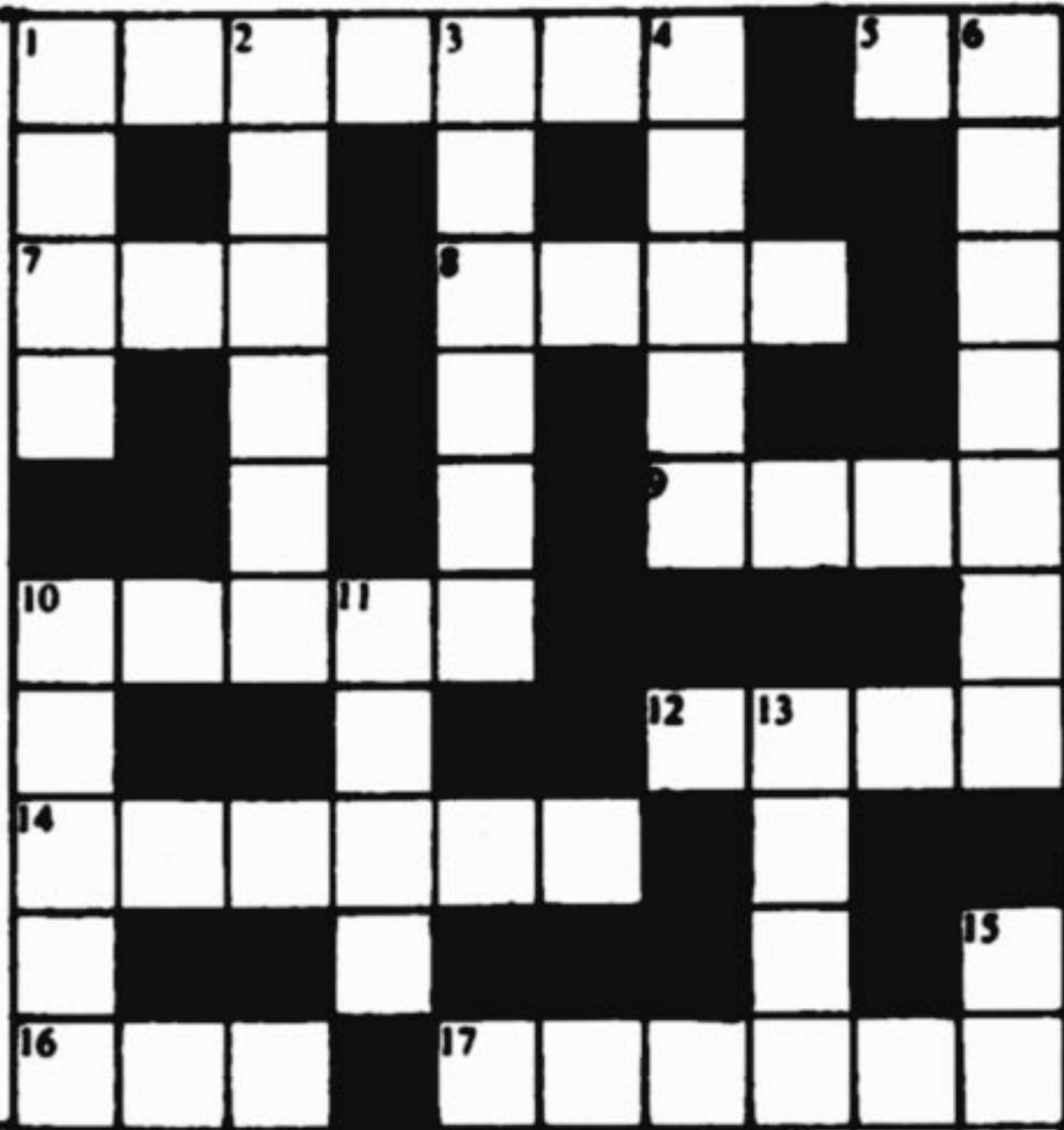
At last they were able to turn in towards the Little Camp, Once behind its barbed wire they were safe. No SS men came here. Barrack 61 was one of the stables that had no windows. A pestilential stink greeted them as they entered the dim room, which was scantily lit by a few miserable bulbs. The entire floor of the barrack was covered with straw sacks. Zidkowski and his helpers had to economise with space and utilise every little spot to accommodate all the sick. The dying ones lay on the straw sacks. It was less complicated to drag a corpse outside from the floor than to pull it down from one of the three-tier wooden bunks along the walls.

Pippig and Kropinski hurried towards the front along the narrow space between the straw sacks. A Polish attendant stepped out from behind a partition and looked towards them. They disappeared with him behind the partition. He helped Pippig release the child from the sack, lifted it up with paternal hands, and seated it on the bedstead. Still shocked by the adventure, the child looked fearfully at the strange figures. It wanted to cry, and stretched its arms yearning towards Kropinski. Pippig hurried him. They must say good-bye. "Don't you worry, Marian, the Lord never forsakes a freethinker."

DAWN

PolitiXword

No. 9



CLUES

Across

- "Courage but intelligent ..."
- Tuberculosis.
- Late treacherous Chinese leader.
- R e a l .
- A printed symbol used as an emblem.
- Exchange of goods for money or other goods.
- Ruling Party in Angola.
- Capital City of the USSR.
- Song or poem expressing sorrow.
- Progressive military bloc.

Down

- Where soldiers stay.
- A place that does not exist.
- C l o t h e s .
- "All National Groups Shall have ... rights".
- Weapon used by MK at Booyens.
- The President of our People's Organisation.
- Where ships load or unload.
- One of the unjust laws in our country.
- FRG's car plant exploiting our people.

See answers in DAWN Vol. 5 No. 10

DISCIPLINE IS THE MOTHER OF VICTORY

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Courage but intelligent courage!**

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**STOP
THE
APART
HEID
MURDER
OF**



**C O M R A D E S
NAPHTALIE MANANA
JOHNSON LUBISI
PETRUS MASHIGO
A N D N O W
ANTHONY TSOTSOBE
JOHANNES SHABANGU
A N D
DAVID MOISE.**

**THEY ARE PRISONERS OF WAR AND MUST BE TREATED UNDER
THE RELEVANT GENEVA CONVENTIONS.**