

DAWN

monthly journal of
umkhonto we sizwe



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VOL. 6 No. 3

March 1982

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■ Cover: Forced mass removals, the cornerstone of the apartheid policy, have been continued without let-up since the Nationalist Party came to power in 1948. This mother flees from police during a raid at Crossroads.



Editorial Comment

ORGANISE OR STARVE!

The month of March is of great significance in the history of the labour movement and the entire oppressed and exploited masses of our country. It was in March 1854 when the stevedores in Cape Town put down tools protesting against slavery wages. Thus the first strike was recorded in South African history. The heroic working class of our land had discovered that wonderful weapon - the strike weapon.

March 5 this year marked the 27th anniversary of the foundation of the ever-resilient South African Congress of Trade Unions. From its formative days SACTU occupied its respective position in the Congress Alliance and lived to her declared objective of organising and leading the South African working class in the struggle against capitalist exploitation and national oppression. From the Congress of the People, the Anti-Pass Campaigns, the £1 a day demand, the potato boycotts and many other battles of the 'roaring fifties' and yesterday Matola, to the present day, SACTU has, together with other organisations, of the Congress Alliance, always been at the forefront of the people's struggles against apartheid tyranny for the establishment of people's power based on the aspirations of the people as enshrined in the Freedom Charter, thus writing exciting pages in the history of the fight of the African masses for economic and political emancipation. And internationally SACTU

has played an outstanding role in the campaign for the total isolation of the apartheid regime in the economic, political, diplomatic and cultural spheres. The importance of the role of SACTU in shaping the destiny of our country is indisputable and its history is, in both word and deed, a proud record of struggle.

The recent past has seen our country engulfed by a wave of workers struggles in a way unprecedented in the history of our struggle. The shootings of strikers, the killings in detention, mass arrests and numerous other repressive measures from the state on one hand and employers on the other have failed to cow our heroic working class. The pace-setting battles at Firestone, Ford, Sigma, Leyland and many other places throughout the length and breadth of our embattled motherland and the enormous growth in trade union membership indicate that our working class, the main driving force of our national liberation revolution is fast assuming its correct position in our battle formations. Today, however, as our working class stand poised for a new round of class and national battles, the tasks and challenges that confronted SACTU 27 years ago, as one of the resolutions adopted at the inaugural conference reads: "This conference affirms that its main task in the coming period is to initiate, stimulate and to undertake the organization of trade unions where none exist amongst South African workers and to strengthen trade unions which are in existence but require support" still remain valid and urgent as ever. The imperative upon all of us is to reach out to the unorganised workers in the mines, docks, railways, farms and in every factory floor and workshop.

In this Year of Unity in Action, a year designated by the National Executive Committee of our vanguard organisation, the African National Congress to be the year of the most powerful offensive our country has ever seen, let us, drawing ever increasing numbers, employ to the full and without fear the strike weapon and deliver crippling blows at the racist enemy. Added to our power is the striking ability of our army, Umkhonto We Sizwe which has pledged to see to it that our right to strike is defended. Action in unity and unity in action around all issues, be they of immediate or national interest is the surest and shortest way to victory and therefore a burning demand of our struggle. We have the basis. The strike by Ford workers in solidarity with the workers sacked at Fire-

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VICTORY IS WITHIN OUR GRASP



ON FEBRUARY 14th 1982 AT BAIRRO DE LIBERDADE, MAPUTO, A MASS RALLY WAS HELD TO COMMEMORATE THE JANUARY 30, 1981 MATOLA MASSACRE, AN EVENT WHEN THE SOUTH AFRICAN RACISTS, IN COMPLETE DISREGARD OF MOZAMBIQUE'S SOVEREIGNTY, ATTACKED ANC RESIDENCES IN MATOLA AND BRUTALLY MASSACRED 12 ANC MEMBERS. THE HISTORIC RALLY WAS OPENED WITH INSPIRING CULTURAL DANCES AND SONGS AND WAS CROWNED WITH AN ADDRESS BY COMRADE PRESIDENT O.R. TAMBO WHO, ON BEHALF OF THE OPPRESSED MAJORITY OF OUR LAND, PRESENTED THE MOZAMBIKAN PEOPLE WITH OUR NATIONAL FLAG AND INVITED THEM, IN HIS OWN WORDS: "WITH SPECIAL REQUEST THAT ON THE DAY OF OUR LIBERATION YOU WILL COME TO SOUTH AFRICA AND RAISE IT ON A PROPER FLAG POLE."

BELOW FOLLOWS A TEXT OF THE SPEECH DELIVERED BY
PRESIDENT O.R. TAMBO AT THIS MOMENTOUS OCCASSION.

Comrade President Samora Moises Machel, President of the FRE-
LIMO Party, President of the People's Republic of Mozambique,
Comrades members of the government and leaders and militants
of the FRELIMO Party,

Comrades Representatives of the National Liberation Movement
and other fraternal forces,

Comrades of the solidarity movement who have presented us with
an inspiring message this morning,

Heroic residents of Maputo and citizens of the People's Repub-
lic of Mozambique,

Comrades,

We salute you all today on behalf of the ANC, on behalf
of the commanders and fighters of Umkhonto We Sizwe. We salu-
te you in the name of the workers, the women, youth, peasants
and all the oppressed masses and democratic forces of South
Africa. We greet you in the name of the heroic fighters held
in the fascist prisons of racist South Africa. We greet you
in the Year of the 70th Anniversary of the ANC, the Year of
Unity in Action.

We salute you in the name of the fallen heroes of the
South African struggle; we remember especially the victims of
the Matola raid at the beginning of last year. It is that
raid which has brought us here today - that raid which insult-
ed the sovereignty of the Mozambican people, defiled their
national dignity, violated their territorial integrity and
challenged the very concept of African independent statehood.

MATOLA RAID

But it is something more than the Matola raid which
brings us together on this occasion. For a people engaged,
day and night, in a continuing struggle against a brutal
enemy, the great question is not that there has been an
attack, or invasion, or massacre or any other crime committed
against the people. The great question is the nature of our
response to that crime.

Comrade President, the history of Mozambique, especially
in the past two decades, has been a history of atrocious cri-
mes committed by colonialism against the Mozambican people,

against FRELIMO. The People's Republic of Mozambique is a creation of the correct responses which the Mozambican people under the leadership of FRELIMO made to the massacres, murders and destruction perpetrated by Portuguese fascist forces.

We are here today because, exactly a year ago this day, at Praca de Independencia in Maputo, the celebrated Leader and Commander of the heroic Mozambican people, comrade President Samora Machel, responded to the Matola raid by summoning his people back to the war trenches that they had known since September 25, 1964. He summoned them back into battle, for the defence of their motherland, their sovereignty, their territorial integrity, their national dignity; for the defence of the gains of the Mozambican revolution - the gains of the African revolution; for the defence of their internationalist essence and their Socialist future - a future of which the victory of the struggle led by the ANC and SWAPO against the Pretoria fascists is an integral part. And we now know that the Mozambican people, from the Rovuma to the Maputo rallied to FRELIMO's call with their knobkieries, their pangas, their knives and with every weapon that they could lay their hands on. They rallied with their revolutionary dances and songs and when the raiders re-appeared at Ponto De Ouro, the people plunged their pick-axes into the skulls of the fascist intruders.

Your response - the response of a nation forged in the furious furnace of two wars - had a dynamizing impact throughout Southern Africa, including South Africa and throughout the continent. It was an act of mobilisation of the international progressive forces for resolute struggle against apartheid colonialism and fascism.

You rivetted together the 35 million people of Mozambique and South Africa and you joined them in solid unity with the peoples of the rest of the region in their determination to rid our continent of this painful and dangerous plague.

GLORIOUS TRIBUTE

By your response, you paid a glorious tribute to the fallen heroes of our common struggle, and especially to the Mozambican heroes, who with their blood and their lives, strengthened FRELIMO, created the Mozambican nation and became our inspiration and our strength.

Nothing today unites people more than the criminal nature of the Pretoria racist minority regime. From the Indian Ocean to the Atlantic; from the Southern tip of our continent to the

Mediterranean; from Africa to every continent on the globe, mankind differs about countless issues. But, about the Pretoria apartheid regime, there is but one unanimous judgement - the regime is an international criminal, guilty of a heinous crime against humanity, a crime of which the people of South Africa and Southern Africa are the first victims.

We are one people today. This means we are recapturing our glorious past. We were one people. We evolved together, shared a common African culture, traded with one another and dealt each with the other as human beings whether in times of war or in times of peace; whether in circumstances of hunger or in conditions of plenty.

Then came the colonialists. Despite the heroic resistance of our forebears, from the Cape of Good Hope to the North of Africa, they succeeded to transform us from a free people into a subject people. They became our masters and made us respond to their commands with 'ja baas, ja baas, ja baas, ja baas'.

To perpetuate our subjugation, they divided us. We ceased to be one people. We became foreigners to one another, living in Portuguese East Africa, British Rhodesia, German East Africa, British Natal, Boer Republics. And this was the pattern throughout the continent. Africa became British, French, Portuguese, Belgian, Dutch, Spanish, German, Italian. Not only had we ceased to be one people, we had ceased to be people. The very earth that we walked, the soil that gave us life and that in its depths afforded refuge to our ancestors, had itself ceased to be African.

NEW CONDITIONS

In their eagerness to plunder, divide and oppress, the colonialists and the racists failed to notice that they were creating new conditions for our oneness, for our unity. Together we had become the dispossessed, dispossessed of our independence and of our countries. Together we had become beasts of burden working for the enrichment of a colonialist and racist minority. Apparently divided by frontiers which the colonialists had drawn across the face of Africa, we were in fact united by the fact that we had become, together, the oppressed, the exploited and the despised. And we had become the oppressed, the exploited and despised through the same system of imperialist domination and colonial occupation.

It was in the course of the struggle against this system that we re-created our oneness on a much broader scale and at

a qualitatively much higher level. We became part of a powerful and ever growing movement of peoples fighting colonial domination, fighting all oppressors, exploiters, fascists, racists and Zionists. We became one mighty army of revolution fighting in various detachments on many fronts throughout the world - an army of comrades. Eduardo Mondlane worked with Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu to strengthen the ANC, not as strangers but as comrades committed to a common cause - the liberation of Africa, the liberation of mankind.

COMRADES-IN-ARMS

Likewise, it was as comrades-in-arms that the commanders and combatants of FRELIMO and the ANC trained, worked, ate and sang together in Algeria, Tanzania and elsewhere. It was because of that comradeship that commanders of FRELIMO and Umkhonto We Sizwe found themselves in the war zones of Cabo Delgado and Niassa in 1967 and Tete in 1970, where the ANC commanders were learning from the experience of their comrades-in-arms. That same comradeship found the Mozambicans fighting with MPLA in defence of the newly independent People's Republic of Angola in 1975/6. That comradeship found them joining the Zimbabwean people in their liberation war against the Rhodesian and South African regimes.

And so here we are today, comrades: British, French, Belgian, Portuguese and other colonialists have been defeated; and yet an intense struggle is being fought by Mozambique and other independent states especially of this region - a struggle on three courageous fronts:

1. Against underdevelopment and for social progress;
2. against the colonisation and occupation of Namibia by the Pretoria regime and for the independence of Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO;
3. for the liberation of the people of South Africa from apartheid colonialism.

CENTRAL ROLE

On all these fronts the Pretoria regime features in a central role. It is fighting against the economic independence and development of the African countries; it is defying Africa, the United Nations and the whole international community on the question of Namibia, and adds to its defiance by spreading death and destruction in Namibia and Angola, and defiantly occupying Angolan territory. It murders, massacres,

tortures and engages in kidnapping its opponents in South Africa while harassing, killing, destabilizing and organising coups d'etat against African states.

And with respect to these three fronts, like the racist regime, the people of South Africa led by the ANC and its allies also feature in a central role: The overthrow of the Pretoria racist minority regime will thwart the designs of imperialism in this region and usher in an era of rapid internal reconstruction under conditions of peace and security. The South African struggle is, therefore, as a matter of objective reality, a struggle of the people of Southern Africa, together and as one force spread across the continent from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean, fighting in close ranks with the rest of Africa and the progressive world. But the leading role must be played by us in South Africa.

YEAR OF MATOLA

The year 1981, the year of Matola, the year of the prolonged occupation of Southern Angola by South African fascist troops, the year of nation-wide mobilisation of the Mozambican people against the racist regime - the year 1981 has also been the year of heightened struggle in South Africa. Comrade President, the racists complained early that you FRELIMO, the government and the people of Mozambique - are harbouring the ANC; are harbouring ANC terrorists. But who is complaining? The South African regime is harbouring millions of supporters of the ANC in South Africa, millions of ANC cadres. They are harbouring the ANC so effectively. But while everybody says the ANC is everywhere, no-one can see it. Why complain against Swaziland, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Lesotho, Botswana if you are harbouring because you are harbouring your free people. The mighty presence of the ANC is in South Africa.

In 1981 Umkhonto We Sizwe spread its assaults across the length and breadth of South Africa: in Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, East London, Elliot, Durban, Johannesburg, Sibasa, Ermelo and many widely dispersed points in the countryside. But they concentrated on Pretoria, the fascist capital from where the raids, invasions, killings and bandit armies are controlled and directed;

- Pretoria, the heart and the head of the heartland of racism, the bastion of colonialism;
- Pretoria, which in 30 quick years, had already killed count-

less thousands of people in Southern Africa, including thousands of murdered and massacred children.

Umkhonto We Sizwe combatants concentrated on Pretoria. But the fascist regime complains that the Swazi government is not arresting them in Swaziland. Why are they keeping them in Voortrekkershoogte? The working class, particularly the Black workers, have discovered their power. The youth, women, the masses in the Bantustans, the entire oppressed and democratic forces have reached a striking level of mobilisation.

Around the ANC, the South Africa of tomorrow is crystallising out; the South African nation of the approaching future is being forged in struggle - a nation that is non-racial; a nation committed to total liberation, is therefore opposed to oppression, exploitation, racism and Zionism; a nation committed to democracy, peace and friendship among peoples; a nation therefore which fights imperialism; a nation is crystallising out, comprising peoples whose origins are traceable to many continents, like the Mozambican nation, which was born in struggle.

This year, 1982, we are determined to achieve a much higher level of unity through action and unity in action. The fact that the ANC has battled for liberation for 70 years points sharply to the indisputable fact that the colonialists and racists in South Africa have long over-stayed their time. The ANC and its allies, the masses of the people in South Africa, have it as a duty of the utmost urgency to greatly intensify the struggle and advance towards victory.

In doing so we shall be alive to the fact that imperialist powers are in active alliance with the Pretoria regime. We know, too, that among the defenders of colonialism, racism, and the enslavement of people, there are black slaves in the pay of the master - traitors to the cause of human dignity, independence and freedom. The Matola raiders included black traitors who were frequently heard saying, "Ja baas, Ja baas". We have no shortage of traitors.

BANTUSTAN PUPPETS

Bantustan puppets are working feverishly to keep our country balkanised, our people divided and landless. But today some of them are beginning to burn in the furnace of their treachery. In the Ciskei, the Sebe brothers find themselves confronted by the unflinching hostility of the people, as do the Matanzima brothers in the Transkei. The whole bantustan programme is meeting growing and intense resistance from the

people. Mphephu in Venda is replying to the people's resistance strictly according to the instructions that his masters have given him. He is assassinating our people. Others he detains and tortures mercilessly. And now he has falsely charged innocent ministers of religion with an attack on his central station, an attack he knows very well was carried out by a unit of Umkhonto We Sizwe. It seems Mphephu is blinded by fear and is perhaps no longer able to distinguish between the bible and the AK-47!

Black mercenaries in South Africa are being recruited to serve under the fascist army. These are part of a full set of bandit armies, such as the depraved UNITA mercenary group who are trained, supplied and directed by the regime to spread terror, insecurity and destabilisation in the independent states of Southern Africa who refuse to be converted into bantustans and Pretoria's puppet regimes. There is no struggle without traitors; but traitors have never won a struggle. It is always the people who win. We shall win. The mercenaries, traitors and puppets will be crushed with their masters. This is not to say they are totally harmless, indeed they are not harmless at all. They are harmful. In South Africa the mass arrests, the brutal assassination of Griffiths Mxenge, the cold-blooded murder of Tshivhiwa Mofhe in Venda and Neil Aggett in a police cell in Johannesburg; these are severe blows against the people's struggle. But the struggle always continues, with increased vigour, as it now will continue with increased vigour.

PAID KILLERS

Likewise, when P.W. Botha, loosed his paid killers on the people of Seychelles he could have bled that country's independence to death. As it is, everywhere in Southern Africa, the footprints that Botha leaves are footprints of blood. His trade-mark is the skull-and-crossbones. His favourite diet is death and destruction. This is the daily experience of Namibia; and Angola is in a permanent state of war. But the Botha regime is not acting in isolation. Its criminal role in Africa is an expression of the determination of international imperialism, led by the United States, to defeat the forces of progress and impose its will on the people. In pursuit of these goals, the Reagan administration has entered into strategic alliances with the most reactionary regimes in the world. These include the apartheid regime in South Africa, the Zionist regime of Israel and the genocidal junta in El

Salvador.

United by their absolute contempt for human life and driven by the desire to ensure imperialist domination everywhere, these forces of reaction excluded no means or methods in pursuit of their goals. Above all, brute force constitutes the centre-piece of their strategy. That is why today the Reagan government is busy reducing expenditure on social security while vastly increasing its military budget and sabotaging the disarmament talks with the Soviet Union.

The People's Republic of Angola suffers as she does today because of this policy. She suffers through the occupation of parts of her territory by the apartheid allies of the Reagan administration and through repeated invasions which have inflicted a heavy toll measured in terms of thousands men, women and children killed, maimed and displaced from their homes. We take this opportunity once more to pledge our complete solidarity with the embattled people of Angola, with the MPLA Workers Party, the government and the armed forces of that revolutionary country, convinced that together we will defeat the common enemy.

This same enemy, specifically the Reagan administration, and its ally, the Botha regime, are intent on postponing the independence of Namibia for as long as possible. They are doing this to gain time so that they can prepare their puppets to take power in a nominally independent Namibia. They pursue the strategic objective of destroying SWAPO so that they can impose a neo-colonialist regime on the Namibian people. These heroic people, under the tested leadership of SWAPO and supported by the entire progressive mankind, will surely defeat these schemes in the same way that the people of Zimbabwe defeated the enemy's attempts to make that country a neo-colonial dependency of racist South Africa and the rest of her imperialist allies.

IMPERIALISM

Imperialism is hitting out against the people everywhere. It considers certain parts of the world as areas of strategic importance to its global strategy. These include such areas as Southern Africa, Central America, the Middle East and Europe. All these regions of the globe are today areas of international tension because imperialism, and especially the United States, has decided that in these regions, it will resist all progress, encourage the most backward political forces, assume direct command of the counter-revolutionary offensive

and use all possible means to achieve its objective.

This situation demands that the world forces of progress must enhance their unity, their vigilance, their mutual solidarity and their offensive against imperialist reaction. There is urgent need for all of us to act in solidarity with the PLO and the Palestinian people, with the POLISARIO Front and the people of Sahara; with the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front and the people of El Salvador, the people of East Timor and their organisation, the Fretilin; with SWAPO and the Namibian people, with the ANC and the South African people; with the front line states of Southern Africa.

On the issue of Southern Africa, as on many others, we shall continue to count on the support of the OAU, the Non-Aligned Movement, the Socialist countries, the Nordic people and governments, and the democratic peoples and governments of the rest of the western world. Together we must stand firm in defence of genuine independence, democracy, social progress and peace. All of us gathered here today value human life as a sacred thing. If we did not, would we be prepared to die as we are prepared to, for the destruction of those who deny us the right to life? All of us gathered here today value peace among the peoples as a noble goal. If we did not, would we be prepared to go to war as we are prepared to; for the destruction of those who deny us peace? Could we ever be free if we were not prepared to forgo the life of a slave and an oppressor's peace in order to attain freedom for the people?

That commitment to freedom, to life and to peace demands that we defeat Botha and his fellow racists. It demands that we sweep the Bothas and Reagans off the face of our continent and restore power into the hands of the people of South Africa as we have done here in Mozambique. This means that we must struggle. It means that we must fight. It means also that those with the heart of a chicken should stand aside and not block the way of those who want to go forward. It means that each Matola atrocity that the enemy inflicts upon us must serve as yet another bond that strengthens our comradeship, an added incentive spurring us on to destroy the murderers and save our future.

MESSAGE

That is the message you Comrade President, and the Mozambican people sent to Pretoria and the rest of the world this day a year ago. You said then that the Mozambican and the South African people are one people, 35 million strong. You

said we would surely defeat the apartheid regime. That was a powerful message affirming the unity of peoples and the certainty of victory in the struggle against the people's enemy.

You, Mozambican people, made that commitment because you knew that Mozambique could only be truly free when South Africa is free. So long as there is no just peace in South Africa, founded on the freedom of all her people, Mozambique herself will never know peace. You knew that the bargain the racist regime was offering you was that you buy a false peace by surrendering your independence. You flung their imperialist bargain in their fascist faces and stood firm in the cause of freedom and lasting peace. You refused to bow down to the enemy's threats or succumb to any bribes he might offer; you would not meet an attacking enemy with kisses but with every weapon you had. Your message was a call for the extension of the frontiers of liberty from independent Africa, through Namibia, to Cape Agulhus at the Southern tip of the continent.

We shall surely defeat the apartheid regime, we shall reach Agulhus, marching arm-in-arm. But that will come through bitter struggle and maximum sacrifice by the people of South Africa.

DAY OF FRIENDSHIP

Therefore, on this first anniversary of what in future we shall together perhaps observe as the Day of Friendship between the peoples of Mozambique and South Africa, and in this year, the 70th anniversary of the foundation of the African National Congress, we want to repeat the call that we made to the people of South Africa as the year began.

To the people of South Africa we say: Unite in action and act in unity. Do not allow the enemy to drive wedges among your ranks. Let us all unite to strengthen the spirit of comradeship among ourselves. We demonstrated that spirit when our heroic youth was killed at Matola. We demonstrated it in massive actions last year. We demonstrated it again only a few days ago when we joined in action to denounce the assassination of Neil Aggett. To strengthen that spirit of comradeship, we must isolate those whom the enemy is using to divide us. In action, in united struggle, we must declare war on the Bantustan programme, the community councils, the management committees, and every manifestation of the apartheid separate development scheme.

The workers, who are the leading social force in our struggle for national liberation, must develop their potential

strength to the full. As workers we have the power, through strike action, to deliver crippling blows at the enemy. But to achieve that we must be organised, united and conscious of our potential and our role as our own liberators. Other sections of the population, both black and white, must themselves organise, unite in struggle and, without wavering, mount the pressure on the enemy.

Umkhonto We Sizwe is faced with the task of strengthening its presence within the country and of striking harder and multiple blows at the enemy. The assassination of the thousands of Neil Aggett's, Mxenge's and Gqabi's must not go unpunished. We must encircle the enemy in an iron ring of revolutionary struggle and hit him from all sides, striking at him with everything we have.

PLEDGE

Our pledge to avenge those the enemy has murdered means that we must intensify the struggle. It means we must ensure the certainty of our victory by using our collective power to crush the enemy. **VICTORY IS WITHIN OUR GRASP:** Let us go forward and take it!

I wish to conclude by addressing to the Mozambican people an extract taken from President Samora Machel's address to them on the 14th February, 1981.

"The Mozambican revolution is the patrimony of mankind and the liberation of people. This is the responsibility we have always borne with courage and pride. This is the responsibility we have constantly honoured, dignified and enriched. At home, in the suburbs, in his place of work at all moments in our life, in all corners of our country, each Mozambican defends the highest values of our country. He defends the history of our country, the memory of our heroes, the sacrifices made, our people's freedom, the right to well-being and happiness, our country's sovereignty, national independence, socialism, internationalism."

LONG LIVE THE INDISSOLUBLE BONDS OF FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN FRELIMO AND THE ANC!

LONG LIVE THE COMRADESHIP OF THE PEOPLE OF MOZAMBIQUE AND SOUTH AFRICA!

AMANDLA NGAWETHU!

MAA'TJA KE A RONA!

Lessons of Our People's War

Part 2

- Khumalo Migwe

On December 16, backed by the ANC and the Communist Party, a new organisation made its appearance in South Africa: Umkhonto We Sizwe. A Manifesto that accompanied dramatic sabotage actions against the economic installations of the enemy, including a bomb attack inside the union buildings in Pretoria (the Administrative Headquarters of the boer regime) said:

"THE PEOPLE'S PATIENCE IS NOT ENDLESS. THE TIME COMES IN THE LIFE OF ANY NATION WHEN THERE REMAINS ONLY TWO CHOICES: SUBMIT OR FIGHT. THAT TIME HAS COME TO SOUTH AFRICA."

OBJECTIVE CONDITIONS

As already documented in most writings on guerilla warfare; from Lenin to Che Guevara, from Amilcar Cabral to the Nicaraguan experience, armed struggle or guerilla war becomes feasible only if:

- a) There is disillusionment with the prospect of achieving liberation by traditional peaceful processes because the objective conditions blatantly bar the way to change;
- b) there is readiness to respond to the strategy of armed struggle with all the enormous sacrifices which this involves;
- c) there is in existence an experienced and dedicated political leadership capable of gaining the organised allegiance of the people for armed struggle and which has the ability to carry out the painstaking process of planning, preparation and overall conduct of armed operations; and
- d) that there exist favourable objective conditions locally and internationally.

In South Africa, the defeat of Bambatha in 1906 was followed by fifty or so years which were punctuated by struggles involving tactics like general strikes, sit-ins and other mass acts of defiance. The importance of this period as

a prelude to the decision to embark on armed struggle cannot be underestimated. By the end of the fifties it was obvious that a showdown was impending between the Pretoria boers and the oppressed black majority. The great series of militant non-violent struggles had succeeded in rousing and mobilising the people's militancy behind the Congress banner as never before, but neither these heroic campaigns nor the world condemnation of apartheid succeeded in forcing out a single concession from the racist power which merely reacted by doubling its machinery and methods of terror.

Michael Harmel writes:

- "It became increasingly clear to the masses and their leaders that new methods, a new approach, was needed in the fight against the fascist-colonialist regime. The violent struggles of the rural people, especially in Pondoland, unarmed or ill-armed as they were, had shown the way." (Fifty Fighting Years).

PREPARATION FOR ARMED STRUGGLE

The necessity for the change of political tactics was not obvious to everybody, particularly since the African National Congress had almost established a tradition of non-violence, a tradition that caused its leaders like Albert Luthuli to be awarded the famous Nobel Peace Prize. So it was vital for the leadership of MK first of all to demonstrate to the whole population that the break had been made with the traditional peaceful forms of struggle; and the sabotage campaign was an earnest indication of our seriousness in the pursuit of this new strategy. In other words, it was not yet the implantation of the guerilla war as such, but only a prelude to it.

The preparation for armed struggle is one of the most painstaking tasks a liberation movement can be faced with. Often than not the urge to take up arms and carry on military operations in desperation, hoping that the masses would join in spontaneously, has led to serious setbacks. A few people taking to arms do not equal a revolution, unless the decisive masses of the people are already in motion of struggle towards revolutionary objectives, and the armed action is related to it, as a feature of it. Let us take a look at the example of how armed actions alone do not necessarily inspire people to take up arms: With the defeat of the Republican government in 1939, the Spanish Communist Party sought to develop guerilla

warfare against the fascist Franco regime. Guerilla warfare was intensified particularly between 1944 and 1949 when 5 381 guerilla operations were carried out. However, these failed to stimulate the hoped for revolt on a mass scale, or even the creation of a broad front of unity behind the struggle.

It is therefore not enough to base the decision for armed struggle on the manifestations of the advanced sections of the population only; even with them, support should not be assumed but should be concretely ascertained. Writing on the experience of the PAIGC in Guinea Bissau, Gerald Chaliand says:

"First of all, contrary to the theory of the foco, and above all contrary to the mechanical application of this theory in a number of Latin American countries (Peru, 1964) Ecuador, 1962; Columbia, 1961; Paraguay, 1962; Argentina, 1964), the PAIGC got underway only after a protracted phase of preparatory political work undertaken in view of special conditions obtaining in Guinea."

Preparation for armed struggle thus means political preparation, i.e. the political mobilisation of the masses around their concrete grievances and prepare them to be ready to support and reinforce their combatants. This political preparation cannot be bypassed, it is particularly important to the success of the armed struggle because, as all guerillas have testified, guerilla war means unparalleled hardship, years of cruelty, bloodshed, hunger and unimaginable privation not only for the combatants but for the general population in the struggle as well; and this is a sacrifice only the convinced and resolute can make. When the decision for commencing armed actions is taken, leaders move from more than mere subjective military considerations; they should always take a responsible attitude towards the people who are the ones that feel on their backs the results of the mistakes of those who would claim to lead them. In a fair criticism of Regis Debray's writings and his contention of the universality of the foco theory as well as his misunderstanding of the background to the Cuban armed struggle, Jack Woddis correctly warns against subjectivism in taking a decision for armed struggle, pointing out to those who would like to pantomime other guerilla struggles that such pantomime has too often ended not in laughter but in tragedy and tears.

Those who have attempted, on the basis of a shallow understanding of the Cuban revolution, to imitate Fidel Castro

by going up to the mountains to start armed struggle and who did not succeed, failed to appreciate that one of the main reasons for the success of Fidel was that much political work had been done by the other political parties, particularly the Popular Socialist Party of Cuba, in the years preceding the Sierra Maestra days.

On the other hand, experience has also shown that this phase of political preparation, once the objective factors favouring the initiation of armed struggle are present, amounts to nothing more than psychological preparation of the masses. The tendency to see it as an end to itself, as so often happens in the cycle of social reformists, is a manifestation of a metaphysical understanding of the relationship between the political and military work in the struggle.

Preparatory work means the training of political cadres who should go to the masses, disguise as ordinary civilians and carry out political work, establishing which sectors of the population are the most potent in developing the armed struggle. It is vital for such political cadres to conduct an on-the-spot mobilisation, to discuss with the people on the basis of an individual man or household. This political mobilisation tactic, which was the main one in Vietnam, accomplishes what a banner or a leaflet cannot do. In the context of South Africa, it means that political cadres are sent back into the country first of all to survive, then to make reconnaissance as to who is who in the fight for liberation, and on the basis of such knowledge to approach such people, to discuss with them how the Freedom Charter presents the alternative to the apartheid system of oppression, and to draw such people to a concrete realisation that the democracy envisaged in the Freedom Charter can never be achieved through the begging of the Nationalist Party of the boers, but by armed struggle. It means that such propagandists and agitators suddenly appear in buses, trains, cinemas, churches, meetings, etc. talking to the people about the need to support armed struggle by giving the guerillas shelter, food, information about spies and the enemy forces within their ranks, and to disappear as suddenly as they had appeared.

Political preparatory work can be likened to the fertilisation of the field before the ploughing process. The crops that come from the field, that is, the revolutionary units that get established in any locality depend very much on the degree to which the fertilizer was used. Of course this analogy is not absolutely accurate because political work,

unlike real fertilising of the field, continues constantly.

The significance of political work among the masses is further underlined by the necessity to develop political leadership at grassroot level. No strategy of revolution will supercede the one that transfers the liberation initiative from the few leaders in exile, to the local leadership within the country. The struggle cannot be conducted by remote control; as Amilcar Cabral said: "One cannot cook the rice outside the pot." The fundamental task of the exiled leadership is to develop grassroot political as well as military leadership in the real theatre of the struggle. It is this grassroot leadership that sustains the anti-racist and anti-imperialist campaigns that are initiated by the movement; it is them who advise on the correct strategies and tactics to defeat the enemy: they select the best targets for combat actions and supply the most accurate data on the mood of the people, the best elements among them, the informers and administrative stooges, etc. - in short, they provide the dynamic link in the liberation equation, without them the struggle is doomed.

TO BE CONTINUED IN THE NEXT ISSUE.

CIVIC ORGANIZATIONS BRING THE HORIZON NEARER

-Mthambeleni ratele

South Africa is at present reeling under a barrage of condemnations from the more progressive sections of mankind for her somewhat bizarre methods of silencing her political opponents. A country that has had to travel a long, lonely path - not unlike a leper - South Africa finds itself being an embarrassing and strange bedfellow even to the apartheid apologists of Washington. It is a skunk among nations with the United Nations having declared apartheid a threat to world peace and a crime against humanity. How does South Africa manage to earn itself such repugnance?

Hardly two months pass, each year, before the sensibilities of right-thinking people the world over are affronted by reading or hearing of another detainee who has died in detention. There has been so many gone: Looksmart Ngudle, Mini, and a host of others whose young lives were cut down in a cold disregard for life. A short while ago (05.02.82) Dr Neil

Aggett, a white trade unionist, was slain by P.W. Botha's paid assassins in his detention cell. The time-tested excuse of suicide was used. Aggett's case is somewhat peculiar in that he is the first white person to die in detention. Fascism has no colour.

SHAMEFUL TRAVESTY

As of this writing an infinitely shameful travesty of justice is taking place in the Cape Town Supreme Court where 71-year-old Oscar Mpetha is fighting for his life. He has been in detention for well over ten months charged - together with eighteen others - under the all-embracing, draconian Terrorism Act, two charges of murder arising from the death of Casper Jansen and George Beeton in Crossroads in August 1981. The whole Kangaroo court bases its charges on testimonies of minors - one who is eight years old - and Oscar Mpetha is brought to court in chains and leg irons. Comrade Mpetha, it should be remembered, was the lastly-elected ANC President in the Cape before the organization's banning in 1960. He is also a resolute fighter, his political history spanning about five decades.

Thozamile Gqweta of SAAWU (South African Allied Workers' Union) was detained by the South African Gestapo. While in detention his fiancée was shot dead by police in a funeral; in a nightmarish coup de grace the South African racist agents overdid themselves by firebombing the house in which Gqweta's mother and uncle were sleeping. Both died.

The hideous and bestial murder of Griffiths Mxenge, the Durban advocate, ex-Robben Island inmate, who had been a prominent force in the organization of black jurists and who has done so much to popularise the "Free Mandela Campaign" convinces one that the beasts the people of South Africa have to contend with need to be decapitated. They are without the merest mustard grain of compunction in their blood. Their crimes are in par with those that made mankind release a collective gasp of horror at Nuremberg.

The fact that the abovementioned people who have suffered so hideously in the hands of the South African racists are connected by their affiliation to civic and trade union organizations is not accidental. And fascism's main weapon being intimidation it is not surprising that South Africa employs the modus operandi of the late Haitian dictator, Papa "Doc Duvalier" and his Ton Ton Macoute.

How effective are the civic organizations to bring about

such panic and widespread hysteria in the ranks of the South African ruling clique?

It will be noticed that it is only in the economic sphere that when workers start flexing their labour muscle some people - the whole military-industrial complex sits up, becomes extremely attentive and listens with big ears. The history of strikes and miscellaneous industrial unrest is a long one - and is written in blood. From the incredibly successful General Strike of March 28, 1960, through the 1973 Durban strikes that effectively tied up the Natal industrial machinery, up to the plethora of industrial actions that are keeping industrialists and investors in a tizz today, there is an increasingly marked sophistication, resilience and utilization of new forms of struggle on the part of the black workers. Observers of the South African political phenomenon who believe in the efficacy of strike action maintain that South Africa wouldn't last for two weeks (and that might even prove long!) if all workers through the length and breadth of the country could act in concert and speak in one voice.

UNIFYING FACTOR

\ Civic organizations, because of their unifying factor, have always been a thorn in the side of the South African racist regime. These are organizations through which people's grievances are channelled. When people say, "Power to the People" they are usually talking about their collective power as expressed in concrete form through the conduits that are civic organizations. And the mass media is loud in the land about Soweto Teachers' Action Committees, Nyanga Residents' Associations, Port Elizabeth Students' Committee, etc. The South African realities forced Prof. N. Wiehahn to say that Trade Unions were part of the industrial community and attempts to ignore them were counter-productive, short-sighted and stupid.

The African National Congress has throughout its existence done just about everything to get the South African regime to change. The ANC did this, knocking on the doors of opportunity for so long that it was ultimately seen that the regime will always remain deaf and intransigent.

The past eighteen months have adequately demonstrated the effectiveness of the work of the civic organizations, - popular discontent and resistance and the timely activities of Umkhonto We Sizwe.

The people of KwaMashu and other townships around Durban were engaged in an Anti-Rent Campaign, protesting against

increased electricity and rental rates. Electricity was cut which was a futile gesture against people who've always used candles and paraffin lamps. The discontent of the people was translated into positive action by a unit of MK combatants who sabotaged an electricity supply sub-station with limpet mines. This operation cost the racists a cool R2,5 million. Thousands of workers were sent home, communication lines disrupted, tons of food perished and industries suffered considerable loss as factories stood idle during the power cut.

Again in Durban - two bombs exploded in a motor-area of Smith Street, ripping open show-room frontages of McCarthy Leyland damaging four new cars and shattering more than fifty windows on both sides of the street. All this had a direct bearing on the fact that the National Union of Motor Assembly and Rubber Workers and Sigma Motor Corporation had been locked in a bitter dispute. The South African Labour Bulletin of July features an article on "Strikes in the Motor Industry" and makes special mention of strikes at Sigma in Pretoria and Leyland in the Western Cape, both triggered off by dissatisfaction over wages.

SHOW OF SOLIDARITY

Among the workers and their civic organizations there is an unprecedented show of solidarity. 800 Workers in the Cape Town meat industry held a one-day strike in support of demands by workers at Table Bay Cold Storage and National Meat Suppliers. In June 1980 AZAPO, the Committee of Ten and Soweto Traders Association supported the Western Province General Workers Union (WPGWU).

There are wild rumblings abroad in the horizon as the beleaguered masses of South Africa finally see who their oppressor is; people are no longer playing guessing games and everyday they go to sleep resolved to wrest one more inch of concession from the grapnel that holds into all these riches. Civic organizations, then, working in concert with the National Liberation Movement have this effect of bringing the horizon nearer. All the things that are happening within South Africa, the unbridled excesses of the fascist regime and their collision with last-ditch resistance from the people who have, at last, nothing more left to lose show us that we really are in a Decade of Liberation and that nothing short of Unity in Action will usher in Freedom Day.

POLITICAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL TASKS

-Lerato Morena

For revolution to triumph it is not sufficient to have in existence a core of professional fighters for freedom, organised in a vanguard political union. This fundamental truth of revolution ever hovers, above our heads warning us of possible pitfalls in case we tend to overlook revolutionary procedure.

Finding ourselves at the hub of epoch-making events, we young South African revolutionaries have no choice but to get down to serious study of revolutionary perspectives with the view of smooth implementation if we are to elevate our national fight to majestic heights. We are thus confronted with immense yet lofty political and organisational tasks, the importance of coping with which becomes a mirror of unwavering determination. Our premise in the pursuit of coping up with the tasks must therefore be political clarity, militant organisation and unfailing vigilance.

The Year of Unity in action falls upon us when our agenda for revolution more than ever calls for more than mere rhetoric or a display of great propagandistic fervour. It finds us at a time when the immediate political demands of our revolution stand challengingly like a tilled field ready to be sown! We are therefore to hasten with our seedbags with the speed and skill of seasoned sowers.

IMMEDIATE TASK

The fact of our immediate tactical goal of UNITED ACTION is beyond question. But we need to proceed on a carefully plotted path in order not to lose sight of the central object of this year's campaign.

Our major immediate task is organisation - the organisation of a militant mass base with emphasis on active unity, readiness to sacrifice and the need to shoulder responsibility. This should indeed be our main area of emphasis if we are to succeed.

The dynamics of this indispensable process already have a firm political basis in the Freedom Charter - "the basic political statement to which all genuine patriots adhere! With such a basis our task is greatly facilitated - in fact the unity of the immense majority on the imperative of struggle

against apartheid reaction is in this way manifest. What remains therefore is the need to actively strive for militant and positive action.

Our appropriate slogan should therefore be to fight for the immediate political and economic demands of the people.

THE ECONOMIC STRUGGLE

Let us build a powerful Trade Union Movement! This should be our battle-cry beckoning the millions of our workers to the battlelines. The workers' daily fight for bread must practically be elevated to the level of key issue of the people's daily battles since it is the fight for bread that runs central to the objectives of our revolutionary programme. "Forward to Freedom! - the Strategy and Tactics of the ANC" stresses this most amply; "Our drive towards national liberation is therefore in a very real way bound up with economic emancipation. We have suffered more than just national humiliation. Our people are deprived of their due in the country's wealth; their skills have been suppressed and poverty and starvation has been their life experience. The correction of these centuries-old economic injustices lies at the very core of our national aspirations."

What we need therefore is adequate revolutionary organisation of the trade union movement of our country, headed by the ever resilient SACTU. Hence the imperative of strengthening SACTU. It therefore becomes the duty of the entire patriotic forces of our country; of the ANC and MK, of the SACP, of our progressive intelligentsia and our youth and students, to do all within our abilities to strengthen SACTU - the indispensable weapon in the economic struggle of our exploited working class - and see to its firm establishment as the co-ordinating centre of union organisation and industrial battles throughout the length and breadth of South Africa. More than ever before the demand for building upon SACTU's victorious half-a-century history is reverberating.

SACTU has done much to arouse the workers and to educate them to their role - to lead them to an understanding that the future lies in their hands. To all who possess common sense, and particularly in this great Year of Unity in Action, the task of building effective workers' unions sticks out as a collective responsibility of our liberatory forces. We are therefore called upon to take up the instructive message of the great leader of the international working class and the Great October Socialist Revolution, V.I. Lenin:

"Let every worker who understands the need to unite for the struggle against the employers and the government join the Trade Unions. The very aim of the trade unions would be impossible of achievement, if they did not unite all who have attained at least this elementary degree of understanding, if they were not very broad organisations."

MASS ACTION AND REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP

"The masses of the peasants, workers and youth, beleaguered for a long time by the enemy's military occupation, have to be activated in a multitude of ways not only to ensure a growing stream of recruits for the fighting units but to harass the enemy politically so that his forces are dispersed and therefore weakened. This calls for the exercise of all-round political leadership". (Forward to Freedom - Strategy and Tactics of the ANC).

In this Year of Unity in Action when we aim to build a powerful popular offensive we need to properly prepare our combat formations - both in the political and military sense - in a revolutionary way. We are not in anyway suggesting that the approach of our liberation movement has not been revolutionary, on the contrary, the movement has been at pains to stress that revolutionary organisation is a matter of acute importance. The very history of our fight provides ample evidence of such an approach: The ANC from its inception has always understood and revered the masses of the oppressed as the mainstay of our fighting energy and no political, tactical or strategic decision has ever been taken by the organisation without an appreciation of the feeling and attitudes of the people. From the opposition to the Draft S.A. Act, the deputations and petitions during Congress' formative years, through the surging militancy of the 30's, the Programme of Action, the 'roaring fifties' and the adoption of the Freedom Charter, the masses have always been the barometer.

Today, when we are poised to strike the final highroad to victory we have to perfect our organisation of the people and revolutionary leadership. Our history proves beyond any shadow of doubt that our people are capable of displaying enormous fighting vigour and self-sacrifice in manifestations and in confrontations with the fascist police and army, are capable - are in fact - the determinant of the manner and rate of the unfolding of our war.

But to lead the masses in active struggle requires certain

qualities and important considerations. Primarily, the ability to consistently pursue the concrete demands being advanced by the masses, and with your tactics be seen to have prospects of success. In other words, the ability to appeal to the hearts and minds of the people is of great import. Once this has been achieved, then we shall continuously see what seems to some to be a characteristically spontaneous movement of the masses begin to produce a growing body of militant patriots and unflinching revolutionaries.

In our case the post-Soweto - June 16 developments greatly substantiate the point we are making. Replying to racist propaganda and distortions as to the role of the ANC during the risings - that the "ANC agitators took the schoolchildren out into the streets and played upon the spontaneous element in the events - the ANC pointed out that the Congress "...will always be with the people as their reliable vanguard..." Since then the ANC's presence inside the country has grown from strength to strength and with it the growing popularity of its policies programme and tactics. The armed actions of our MK "giving a cutting edge" to the rising political ferment brought about by the vital link provided by our ANC, have magnified in scope and sophistication. These are the heights we have conquered this far. We are now to build upon these successes.

ORGANISATION OF THE RURAL MASSES

"In South Africa the day-to-day struggle of the black peasants and aspirant peasants is inseparable from their struggle as a subject people. Even localised struggles invariably assume a political form connected with their status as members of a subject group" (Slovo, S.A. - No Middle Road)

In the spirit of the year's campaign special attention needs to be given to the organisation of our rural masses. Recent developments inside South Africa point to the emphasis the boer-fascists place on the further bamboozling of our rural poor by such abominable schemes as 'Homeland Independence'. Throughout the history of our struggle the rural people have demonstrated their revolutionary potential through firm and active opposition to the Bantustanisation process. But the fact remains that they have been forcibly dragged into these pig-sty reserves.

Our rural poor, condemned by the oppressor to live in the most arid corners of South Africa under the most horrid and unbearable conditions, are a restive lot. Agitation is high, they see their stakes in a united and independent South Africa

and not in pseudo-states under Pretoria's vassals. By all means they seem quite ripe for revolutionary activation since anger against oppressive rule alone can never be a criterion for advance. What we need therefore is the harnessing of this anger into fighting energy.

The almost complete boycott of the 'Ciskei' 'independence' celebrations is a pointer to the lengths to which our rural population can go in pursuit of their aspiration to conquer a future of hope. It seems like the spectre of the 'Peasant Revolts' of the late fifties is once again haunting the racists. And we cannot afford to miss the opportunity of fanning up the apparent turmoil into a revolutionary storm.

The rural situation calls for our speedy injection of the revolutionary factor using as our springboard "...the basic provisions of our programme - the Freedom Charter. This, together with our general understanding of our revolutionary theory, provides us with the strategic framework for the concrete elaboration and implementation of policy in a continuously changing situation. It must be combined with a more intense programme of research, examination and analysis of the conditions of the different strata of our people (in particular those on the land), their local grievances, hopes and aspirations, so that the flow from theory to application - when the situation makes application possible will be unhampered." (Forward to Freedom - Strategy and Tactics of the ANC)

The successes of the Year of the Youth have elevated our struggle to a high summit from where our glittering prize in the not-so-distant horizon is easily discernible. We are to reach out and claim it, yet the ascend is still precarious and it calls for a skilful exercise of tactics.

It has been the commitment of this article - directed particularly to our youth - to make an effort at provoking discussion of the issues raised herein, for the edification of all of us. The article shall have achieved its object if its counsel be received with positive criticism since it lays no claim to faultless theoretical profundity on revolutionary perspectives. But it is hoped that it will serve as a guide to properly directed propagandistic, agitational and revolutionary work in this, the Year of Unity in Action. As in the words of L.I. Brezhnev, we the revolutionary youth in the ranks of the ANC and the MK remain firm in the belief that, "There is nothing more futile than propaganda that has no target, that is divorced from the interests of the audience, from the needs of this day."

STRAIGHT TALK...

Defend Fascism...

The Rabie Commission recommendations on security legislation have been accepted in principle according to the South African media. Of course everybody who knows the psychology of boer fascism would not have expected anything short of acceptance. The recommendations are in themselves a reinforcement of Pretoria's satanic legislature arsenal ever being piled in the hope of stemming the tide of revolutionary ferment in South Africa. It is quite ludicrous how the big brass of Afrikaanerdom see this as a panacea.

It is no coincidence that Botha's cousins in Washington are at the moment staging the most slanderous of shows the world has had to be poisoned with for some time. The toxic show has been pronounced the "U.S. Senate Hearings" and it stars Chester Crocker and a host of other shameless chameleons including incredible fabricators, so-called ex-members of the liberation movement. Here the liberatory forces are labelled 'terrorists', 'Communist agitators', 'Soviet surrogates' and so forth. What a revolting vocabulary the imperialist howlers and their stool-pigeons have! Such campaigns of slander against the liberatory movement are not new. But what is strikingly evident in the timing and scope of the present one is that it is a rushed effort at polishing the faces of the real criminals in an attempt to regain lost ground at a time when the revolutionary forces in South Africa and Namibia are making giant strides, at a time when the oppressive forces inside our country are gripped by liver-splitting fear of an imminent popular upsurge.

American 'strategic interests' in Southern Africa have hurried the Reagan Administration to the defence of fascist reaction and therefore to be active in the national strangulation of our peoples. This is in fact the real motive behind the 'Senate Hearings' - they should have called them *Defend Fascism Hearings* - and their relation to the Rabie report in South Africa.

No doubt the US Senate barkings will resound for some time - particularly since they are managed by a seasoned cowboy in the person of Reagan. The Rabie recommendations will also!

be implemented with haste because the boer-fascists fear the heights to which the Year of Unity in Action might elevate our struggle. In this connection the feverish doings of Pretoria, abetted by Washington are to be seen as an illusionary counter-strategy to the ANC's 1982 campaign at home and abroad.

The enemy anxiously works to defeat Unity in Action by attempting to split the ranks of the oppressed into pro-communist and anti-communist forces - a futile campaign since it is not new and has only yielded unmendable fissures within the boer top-brass in the past. Pretoria has a 'short memory! Since their enactment of the 'Suppression of Communism Act' of 1950 they have sought justification of their draconian act by dangling the anti-communist bogey without let-up. So, we are not surprised by the current fervour - after all we shall, as we have always done, know the vile schemes behind every new wave of enemy lamentation.

Our ranks will remain compact. We shall never be divided by slanders and distortions, no matter how concerted the campaign might be. The world revolutionary movement, comprising of the Socialist Community, the Working Class in the capitalist world and the Liberation Movement will continue to dog imperialism and reaction everywhere in the world. Our strength and support will continue to grow as we escalate our offensive and no force on earth can ever bog us down. We are at the hub of a just struggle for a better future for mankind.

FORWARD TO VICTORY OVER REACTION!

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2.

stone has set us a precedent. Let us, combining our industrial actions with other community struggles raise our struggle to majestic heights by marching into the battlefield immediately ahead of us with the motto of SACTU: "AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL" as our battle-cry.

To unite and co-ordinate our actions the establishment of a single Trade Union Front for all progressive trade unions is vital. The Langa conference on Trade Union unity could not have been more timely. Let us in that spirit throw in all effort towards the revitalisation of our tested trade union vanguard, the South African Congress of Trade Unions. This is a task of utmost urgency for all the patriotic forces of our land.,

An MK Combatant Speaks on Sharpeville

Before March 21, 1960 Sharpeville had not much significance, except that it is a small ghetto where Africans daily struggle for survival a few kilometres from Vereeniging. True, the sharp contrast between the squalor of Sharpeville and the glitter of Vereeniging expressive of the deep-rooted inequality between oppressive and exploitative apartheid rulers on the one hand, and the millions of their victims on the other, between black and white throughout the country, still exists undisturbed. But over the past 22 years Sharpeville has acquired great significance.

To the Bothas and Treurnichts, the Oppenheimers and Louis Luyts the very mention of the word 'Sharpeville' strikes a note of uncertainty about the future of their decadent system of fascist colonial domination and exploitation - the false and sinister pride they once deprived from their massacre of our people at Sharpeville and Langa in defence of apartheid is fast diminishing. To oppressed but fighting people Sharpeville calls to mind all the grisly atrocities perpetrated by these racist colonialists since they set foot on our land; and reminds us of all our martyrs and heroes who have laid down their lives in the name of our just cause of liberation. Sharpeville sharpens our hatred for apartheid, this system which has brought only hunger, disease, broken families, ignorance, insecurity and death to our peoples in South Africa and Namibia and a constant threat to the peace-loving peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Lesotho, Botswana, Swaziland, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Seychelles. To the international democratic community Sharpeville emphasises the importance of unity in isolating the apartheid regime in the economic, political, military, cultural and all other spheres. Sharpeville must draw our attention to the urgent need to destroy apartheid fascism and build a new non-racial democratic and peaceful South Africa of the Freedom Charter.

The circumstances surrounding the Sharpeville massacre and the immediate consequent events are well-known. In 1959 at its

annual conference held in Durban the African National Congress which had by then won respect as the true leader and defender of our people had resolved to conduct a massive National Anti-Pass Campaign the following year. The campaign was to start on March 31, 1960. The preparations were well underway when the PAC, created with the promptings of the U.S. imperialists and their racist allies in Pretoria, to divide and weaken our national liberation forces, sought to sabotage it (the campaign) by launching its passive resistance only 10 days before the date set by the ANC, that is on the 21st. When the fascist police shot our people killing 69 and maiming many others and the PAC was in disarray, the ANC called a national one-day strike on March 28 and ordered massive burning of passes. The Pretoria fascist regime, alarmed by the powerful wave of mass action by our angered people, declared the ANC illegal. The ANC refused to surrender and decided to continue the struggle as an underground and illegal organisation to lead our people in their liberation struggle.

As we continue to commemorate the Sharpeville Massacre every March 21, a day which has become known throughout the world as the International Day for the Elimination of Racism, what must dominate our thinking as we daily strengthen our forces is this: How do we bring an end to the massacre of our people by the racist fascist rulers of Pretoria? Our experience has proved convincingly that the apartheid fascist regime is bent on pursuing a policy of genocide in order to keep us in domination. To Sharpeville has been added, Soweto, Gugulethu, Mamelodi, New Brighton, Bonteheuwel, Matola and Salisbury. Disregard of the racist bosses and law-makers for the lives of our people leads to the death of our people in their thousands in the mines while others still are left to die of diseases like cholera. Add to this those who are murdered in cold blood in prison farms like Bethal, in fascist gaols or in banishment and those who are executed - right now six of our patriots are condemned to death - Manana, Lubisi, Mashigo, Tsotsobe, Moise and Shabangu in addition to Mini, Mkaba and Khayinga who died at the hangman's noose in 1964 and Solomon Mahlangu in 1979 while the life of James Mange was saved by the militant actions of our people supported by the international democratic community.

As if this was not genocidal enough the Pretoria regime, working on the basis of 'total strategy' it had devised hardly two years ago, is now preparing to implement what it calls 'area defence' according to which white residential areas will be

turned into military deployment with every white man called upon not only to go about with arms but to shoot at any black man in sight at a moment's notice. At the same time the apartheid regime is spending billions of rands (the military budget was R2 465 billion in 1981) for military purposes including the recruiting of mercenaries. All this confirms a point made in an article 'Ten Years of Umkhonto We Sizwe' by Sol Dubula in the African Communist, Fourth Quarter, 1971. Looking back on Sharpeville the article points out in part that "...the massacre at Sharpeville was a turning point...because from that point onwards the white state geared itself for total mobilisation to smash the liberation movement".

MANIFESTO

Therefore, our answer to the massacre of our people by the Pretoria racists can be found in the Manifesto of Umkhonto We Sizwe, our people's army formed on December 16, 1961 at the initiative of some of our leaders of the ANC and SACP. The Manifesto declared: "We shall not submit and we have no choice but to hit back by all means within our power in defence of our people, our future and our freedom .

"We are striking out along a new road for the liberation of the people of this country. The government policy of force, repression and violence will no longer be met with non-violent resistance only. The choice is not ours; it has been made by the Nationalist Government which has rejected every peaceable demand by the people for rights and freedom and answered every such demand with force and yet more force!"

The answer lies in using every means at our disposal including arms to destroy the entire apartheid system which survives through brute force. Similarly the destruction of apartheid system and consequently of massacres, cannot be achieved through a single blow. This means we must strike a series of blows against the enemy to weaken and finally destroy him while strengthening our forces. Confident as we are of final victory, we must never lose sight of the fact that the enemy we are dealing with not only has a strong economic base for building his military might but can also rely on aid from the imperialist powers like the U.S.A., Britain, France, F.R.G. and Japan who have a big economic stake in South Africa.

Our strength lies in united action. We are the great majority and the economy of the racists depends on our labour and we can bring it to a standstill. But we can only succeed in doing this when we are united into strong and militant

trade unions controlled by the workers themselves. It is through these trade unions that we can mobilize the workers throughout the country to fight not only for higher wages and better working and living conditions but also against the racist policies of the Pretoria regime in general including the continued massacring of our people.

UNITY

Our unity must be broadened to include all the oppressed people, the rural population, church groups. This demands the strengthening of our existing civic organizations and the creation of new ones where necessary both in town and countryside. Our past experience has shown that our actions can advance our struggle when we are acting together organised into our local organizations which in turn co-ordinate their actions throughout the country and fighting for specific demands which concern the community in general. Fine examples of this experience are the campaigns we have waged like the 1981 May Anti-Fascist Republic Campaign, the Campaign against dummy South African Indian Council, our boycott against Bantu Education and the recent protest against the murder of our trade unionist Neil Aggett.

At the same time we must bear in mind that to maintain our unity throughout the country we must, in addition to strengthening our local civic and other organisations, rally around the African National Congress which has over the past 70 years proved itself capable of representing the interests of all the people of South Africa, black and white, on the basis of their basic demands outlined in the Freedom Charter. This also means that we must also actively contribute, individually and collectively, in strengthening our people's army, Umkhonto We Sizwe in every possible way. We must join Umkhonto We Sizwe and give assistance to its combatants who are within our midst. As the Sharpeville Massacre showed, we can only defeat the apartheid regime only when we are combining our mass united political action, which is very important, with organized military action.

It is only through united purposeful action that our hatred for the apartheid fascists who massacred our people at Sharpeville and elsewhere becomes meaningful. It is only through opposing every policy of the apartheid regime in every corner of our land with a purpose of finally destroying the enemy that the pledges we make to avenge the death of our innocent people become fruitful.

HEROES OF OUR REVOLUTION

James A. La Guma (1894-1961)

-Phakamisa Lee

It sometimes happens - history being wont to act in strange and hidden ways - that in society some men and women are moulded and shaped, usually by trials and tribulations, to rise head and shoulders above their fellowmen. History is replete with examples of people who have effected Herculean feats in the arts, social sciences and in that infinitely precarious field of politics. Such men leave indelible marks etched on the hearts and minds of the people they have sworn to serve; they epitomize the collective strength and manhood of a people, these selfless heroes of our time.

In South Africa such men have receptive ears and they hear the wretched cries of oppressed masses in bondage and they take it upon themselves to pick up the cudgel, take the sword and slay the dragon. It would be false hero-making to make it sound as though these deeds are done without major participation of the masses. One such man was James la Guma.

James la Guma was born in Bloemfontein at the tail-end of the 19th Century in 1894. He was to become one of the leading figures in the shaping of all the main forces of our revolution, namely, the national liberation movement as well as the SACP. He became a member of the proletariat at the age of eight by becoming apprenticed as a leather worker in Cape Town, thus developing a working class consciousness at a very early age.



As a 16-year old worker he went to Namibia, in 1910, at the time still a German colony. He started working in the highly-productive diamond fields along the Namibian coast, seeing and experiencing ruthless exploitation at first hand. La Guma, like countless other workers under apartheid, came to an early realization of the need of the working class to organize in order to score victories on questions affecting their very existence in all spheres of their lives and activities. A highly energetic organizer, he formed the first trade union in Namibia called the South West African Diamond Workers' Union.

Dissatisfied with conditions of labour as well as with pay led him to organize the workers in this branch of the Namibian industry in the first workers' strike in the territory. The diamond-mining industry was completely paralysed with huge losses on the side of the mine-owning capitalists. La Guma and many of his fellow workers were put on a train by local authorities and banished from the diamond fields. A year later La Guma was once more convicted, this time for organizing an anti-pass demonstration in Luderitz, one of the first actions of its kind in Namibia. In 1920 he founded a branch of the then recently-formed Industrial and Commercial Worker's Union (ICU) in Luderitz.

I C U

The great organizational skills of this highly-conscious worker came to the notice of Clemens Kadalie who called him back to South Africa to serve in the ICU in Port Elizabeth where he subsequently became branch secretary. The Port Elizabeth branch became one of the fastest-growing in the ICU resulting in La Guma's election to the post of Assistant Secretary-General of the Union. The ICU at this time was at its peak, due largely to the great work of Communists within it like Gana Makabeni and J.B. Marks among others. As a natural consequence of the development of this class-conscious worker, La Guma joined the Communist Party of South Africa at a time when it was increasing its black membership. So high was his ideological development and capabilities - gained from practical activity in organising the working class and not from theoretical discussions - that he was elected to the Central Committee of the Party within a year after joining it, becoming together with A.T. Nzula and T.W. Thibedi the first blacks to attain leadership positions within the Party. Under pressure from the right-wing "adviser" Ballinger from the British TUC, a decision was taken by Kadalie to expel all Commu-

nists from the executive and later from membership of the ICU. The major conflict between Kadalie and the CPSA was only superficially the question of race, as Coloured and African members, La Guma, Johnny Gomas and Edward Khaile, among others, were very capable Communist Party members holding key positions in the ICU until 1926. The Communist criticism of the ICU leadership concerned (a) its unwillingness to organize disciplined industrial unions (rather than the amorphous general workers' union), to introduce rank-and-file democratic control of union funds and elections, or to pursue an active policy of strike action and; (b) "inefficiency, dishonesty and unconstitution- alism." The latter charge was made by La Guma following a national tour of ICU branches in 1926. Whereupon he concluded that Kadalie was the "arch pilferes" of them all and a "dicta- tor in embryo."

The petty-bourgeois nature as well as the self-centred- ness of Kadalie led him along ways of reformism and when criti- cised for this by the Communists, as has been noted above, he seized this as grounds for attacking them. The expulsion of the communists meant the expulsion of the most active organi- zers who had grown together with the ICU. Swiftly the right- wingers and petty bourgeois elements, cleverly manipulated by the reactionary Ballinger, took over to run the Union into the ground. The ICU withered away and finally split into atoms. In the Transvaal, the industrial centre of South Africa, Comm- unists like La Guma, purged by Kadalie from the ICU, had begun the difficult task of organizing black workers in 1927.

NATIVE REPUBLIC SLOGAN

James la Guma had always been one of the prime supporters of the Native Republic slogan. It was not surprising, then, that this stalwart fighter joined the ANC in the 1920's and became secretary of its Cape Town branch in 1927. The Native Republic slogan was not inimical to the policy of the ANC, in its quest for a national democratic revolution in that it (the slogan) called for "an independent native South African Repu- blic as a stage towards a workers' and peasants' republic, with full and equal rights for all races, black, coloured and white.

Like "Malume" Kotane, La Guma saw no contradiction in being a member both of the ANC and the Party. Later he became Secretary of the ANC for the Western Cape and still later Cape Town Chairman. He was convinced that the liberation of the black masses was an essential step towards the social and eco- nomic liberation of the working class.

In 1928 the Cape Town branch of the ANC passed a

resolution calling for greater co-operation between the ANC and the CPSA. They placed "full and unqualified confidence in the CPSA" because it was the only political party in South Africa advocating full freedom and equality for all races. Also because it was the only party which championed "the cause of the workers of South Africa irrespective of colour and knows no colour discrimination within its ranks." This resolution also called the constitution of the CPSA as correctly interpreting the aims and aspirations of the workers of South Africa. They then called upon the HQ of the ANC to explore every means of co-operation with the CPSA. This was a far-sighted and far-reaching viewpoint to have been held by a branch of the ANC at the time. This also smashes to smithereens the conception spread by our detractors that the ANC during that period, was an outrightly conservative and anti-communist organization.

Within the Party itself James la Guma propagated the Native Republic slogan, calling, as has been mentioned above, for the national liberation of the oppressed blacks as a necessary first step towards a socialist revolution. He was one of the people who felt that the failure of the blacks to pass the "Specific gravity" test stemmed not from their inadequacy but from the wrong policy pursued by the Party on the national question. This brought about a great deal of controversy that this was a reformist approach whilst still others clung to the viewpoint that an immediate socialist revolution was the only way forward. A fierce ideological struggle erupted around this issue.

LEAGUE AGAINST IMPERIALISM

Meanwhile in 1927 La Guma went to Brussels as a CPSA delegate with J.T. Gumede, ANC president, to the conference of the League Against Imperialism. Thereafter they visited the Soviet Union, with La Guma returning later in the same year to attend the celebration of the 10th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. He had discussions with Bucharin and other members of the Comintern Executive in Moscow. The following year the Comintern adopted the Native Republic slogan and forwarded it to the CPSA. La Guma reported that Bukharin had said that the white workers in South Africa, soaked as they were with imperialist ideology, were not of primary revolutionary importance in this country. He was expelled twice from the Party during this period. His main ideological adversary was Lazar Bach who, it must be remembered, had had some altercations with Moses Kotane. La Guma had been one of the most inveterate opponents of Bach in the Communist Party, and a few

years earlier had called for a commission to investigate the activities of Bach whom he described as a "serious menace to party welfare and progress". The local District Party Committee had arranged for the commission, but in finding that Bach himself was a member of the commission, La Guma withdrew in disgust, and was later expelled, to be re-admitted to the Party in 1931. Through all these expulsions and readmittance La Guma remained loyal to the Party, serving as one of its most dedicated leaders throughout its most stormy period in the 1930's.

In the Cape La Guma had been one of those taking the initiative in the formation of the National Liberation League, launched in 1935 with Mrs Z. Gool as President and La Guma as Secretary-General. The foundation conference adopted a programme and constitution which pledged "to unite all individuals organizations, complete social, political and economic equality for Non-Europeans with Europeans in South Africa". Although this was an organization of Coloured radicals who hoped to attract African mass support, a point worth stressing is that white radicals played a part in the National Liberation League. In 1950 La Guma served on the last Central Committee of the CPSA before its banning.

INTEPRID FIGHTER

As the saying goes, it's hard to keep a good man down; it must have been infinitely very hard for the South African racist regime to dampen the revolutionary spirit and resolve of an intrepid fighter like James la Guma. He carried on his work during the hectic fifties, participating in all the activities which were shaping the future of our country and our movement. In 1957 he was elected president of the South African Coloured People's Congress (earlier called the South African Coloured People's Organization). His political and revolutionary activity could not - by any stretch of the imagination - have passed the notice of the fascist legislators. In the 1960 state of emergency La Guma was detained for four months.

James la Guma - affectionately known as Jimmie - died in 1961 still active in the struggle of the working class and the oppressed masses of South Africa. His contribution to the liberation struggle, his acute vision of a future South Africa, places him in the ranks of the immortals and his memory transcends the grave. He participated in all the momentous battles which shaped both the working class movement as well as the national liberation movement through the length and breadth of our country. He saw the transformation to mass action and later

the closure of all legal means of struggle.

He died, however, just shortly before the first blows were struck by the masses using new means - armed struggle under the direction of the ANC and its armed wing, Umkhonto We Sizwe. Such were the people both the known and unknown, who helped to create and cement the ANC-SACP Alliance into what it is today, in order to lead the masses to national liberation of the oppressed blacks and ultimately to the liberation of the proletariat of all races in South Africa. A fine example of Unity in Action.

NAKED AMONG WOLVES

by

BRUNO APITZ

Chapter 12

From one day to the next, a new man had turned up in the commando of the effects room, allegedly as a substitute for the two arrested men. The circumstances under which the new man had come into the commando seemed suspicious not only to Pippig but to all the others. No new man ever came to one of the camp's important commandos, whether the infirmary, the effects building, the work records or the clerks' room, before his dependability of character was examined by the responsible inmates of the work records and the clerks' room, [who had the job of supplying the labour commandos. This was founded on the peculiarity of the prisoners' self-government system; proposals for the employment of a new man in such a commando were made by prisoners in leading positions to the SS labour service fuhrer. The SS camp administration never bothered over the inside considerations that preceded such a proposal. All they cared about was that "everything tallied" in the camp, because they themselves were neither able nor willing to direct the complicated camp apparatus.

Pippig sensed the falsehood and made no comment. What was the new man supposed to do, he asked. The new man wore the identification of a political prisoner; no one in the

Commando knew him. Where did he come from?

It left Pippig no peace. Under a pretext he sneaked out of the building and hastened excitedly to Kramer. "We've got a new man. There's something fishy about him." Kramer had Proll bring him the file card on Wurach - that was his name - from the clerks' room. It contained no information. Wurach, Maximilian, formerly in the Wehrmacht. Arrested two years ago. The card did not state why. No doubt for theft from fellow soldiers, Kramer guessed.

A few months earlier, Wurach had come as a single "transport" from the concentration camp of Sachsenhausen to Buchenwald.

That was entered on the card. A single transport? A few months ago, a number of political prisoners in Sachsenhausen had been betrayed and shot... Prisoners who had come to Buchenwald from Sachsenhausen had told about it. Proll, Kramer and Pippig looked at one another.

"Jesus, Walter..." Pippig's eyes were transfixed. Kramer wiped his brow. "Damn!"

Maximilian Wurach, single transport, personally installed in the commando by the labour service fuhrer - that was a stool pigeon!

Kramer's first thought was for the pistols. An uneasy feeling - a premonition of danger - connected the thought of the weapons with the stool pigeon. Kramer could not shake it off. What was the stool's assignment? All at once Kramer felt that the sacks were no longer safe. The pistols must be removed from the sacks! Shouldn't he speak with Bochow about it first? Kramer thrust away his doubts, and the decision to act independently matured in a moment. Kramer stood up and noticed that Pippig was still talking to him. He cut him short with an impatient wave of his hand.

"Listen now."

Pippig was silent. "Three clothing sacks, understand?"

He told Pippig their numbers. "They're hanging all the way at the top in the seventh row, straight to the side of the first window."

Kramer's words were obscure to Pippig; he waited tensely for the camp senior to explain further. He looked at Pippig with stern eyes and said suddenly: "Three pistols! One in each sack."

Pippig's breath caught, but none of his surprise showed in his face. Very good, thought Kramer.

"They've got to disappear, you understand?"

"Pippig swallowed silently, his Adam's apple rose. Why, that was... boy, oh boy... Suddenly Pippig recalled Hofel's hesitation to keep the child, and he was ashamed of having suspected Hofel of cowardice. Now he understood how it all hung together. Kramer was pressing him: "You've got to find a better hiding place. Look around the building. Tell me immediately when you've found something."

Pippig was too overwhelmed to speak. He only nodded and gave Kramer a firm handshake. This was a promise. Then Pippig went back to the effects building.

Suddenly acute alarm shot through Pippig! In his imagination he saw the new man feeling about among the clothing sacks.

Pippig ran. He entered the clerks' office out of breath. The inmates received him impatiently.

"Where've you been? The new man's been with Zweiling for half an hour. What are they up to?"

Rose growled: "The next thing they'll lock us all up in the bunker. You couldn't keep your fingers out of the pie."

Pippig turned on him. "I'm responsible for this business, just me, understand? Leave the others out of it."

Rose crowed: "On account of you we'll all end up on the grill."

Pippig flew into a temper. "Say, if you don't like it in concentration camp, why don't you go home to your cozy fire-side? You've got my permission."

The prisoners moderated the brewing quarrel.

Pippig left the office angrily. He cast a quick glance into Zweiling's room. The new man was standing at attention before the desk.

WHERE SHOULD THE PISTOLS GO

Where should the pistols go? Pippig ransacked his brain. The whole afternoon, under the pretence of sedulous activity, he had been searching for a suitable hiding place. He went over the entire building from roof to cellar floor. Where should he put the stuff? Where? He could not find any place that seemed sufficiently secure. Goddamit!

Through the window he saw Zweiling sitting lethargically at the desk. Suddenly an inspiration came to the little type-setter: He had found the right hiding place! As usual Zweiling left the building after the evening roll call, and the commando continued its work until shortly before the curfew whistle.

Pippig had taken over the arrested Hofel's duty of locking the building, leaving the key with the gate watchman, and fetching it again in the morning before roll call. This was an important element of Pippig's scheme. If he was not disturbed by Zweiling, as had happened when they took the child away, everything would work out.

This time it went well. Zweiling was gone. A half-hour before the whistle the commando left the building. P i p p i g locked up - or so it seemed. The latch snapped twice, but in reality he had left the entrance open. Pippig brought the key to the gate.

It was dark. Pippig had no difficulty in coming to an understanding with his block senior.

"Listen, Max, I'm not sleeping in the block tonight, I'm staying in the effects building." True, the block senior growled good-naturedly: "What are you up to now, you rascal?" But Pippig darted off.

The effects building stood somewhat to one side, part of the complex that included the kitchen, the laundry, the disinfection building and the shower room. Pippig had to steal adroitly across the roads in order not to be seen by any prisoners or any SS men tardily leaving the camp. Under cover of the dark buildings he was safe. Softly he opened the door and slipped inside...

Pippig waited an hour, two hours... He had no watch, he judged the time by his feelings. When it seemed to him to be midnight and the quiet in the building promised safety, Pippig left his concealment. He fetched hammer, pliers and a chisel from the clerks' office. Tools of that sort were on hand. Then he stole into Zweiling's room. Pippig had thought out his undertaking well in advance and he carried it out chore for chore in the order planned. First Pippig lifted the heavy desk and moved it carefully to one side. Then he rolled back half of the worn rug, realising that every object must be replaced exactly where it had originally stood. Zweiling must not get the impression that his desk had been moved.

After that Pippig began a most difficult and complicated piece of work. Under the exposed place he had to pry up a floor board one yard long. He strained his eyes in the wan shimmer of night and felt about for the nails. They were driven deep into the wood! He had not anticipated that!

Now don't get nervous. Who's pipping here...

He groped along the boards over a distance that equaled the breadth of the desk. The head of one nail protruded just a

little - too little, however, to be grasped with the pliers. Pippig tried with the chisel. It would not catch, it kept slipping over the head of the nail.

Easy, Rudi, easy! Don't damage the wood! Think of everything!

Pippig felt around the nail head with the chisel. He probed with the utmost concentration. It had to catch somewhere. There wasn't a nail in the whole world whose head sat perfectly straight in the wood. Pippig found the place. But to push the chisel under the nail head by so much as the fraction of a millimeter - that took precision of the tool, the muscles and the nerves. The chisel caught slightly. With repeated little jerks Pippig attempted to make it lift. After countless endeavours he felt success coming. Using all his caution, he finally succeeded in bending up the edge of the nail head to a point where he could get hold of it with the pliers. But he had to proceed warily with this tool also, avoiding crude force, so that no traces of pressure would be left in the wood. He made the pliers chew round the nail head and when it had finally taken a good hold Pippig laid his cap under the cheek of the pliers and naggd the nail with levering movement millimeter by millimeter out of its bed.

At last!

Five more nails had to be loosened. But that was child's play compared to the first one. He applied the chisel as a lever against the loosened board. Carefully, always using the cap as a guard, he finally forced the board away from its nails and pried it up. Pippig, who in former years had worked in the construction commando, knew that there was only slag under the boards. Now everything went quickly. Pippig pushed the slag under the boards, dashed into the clothing room, set up the ladder, and fetched the sacks down. Up to now he had been calm. But as he rummaged through the sacks, putting his hand into the shafts of the boots, a nervous haste came over him. Easy, damn it all. But he could not prevent his hands from trembling as he came upon something strange and mysterious at the bottom of the boot, wrapped in rags. Pippig grasped it, and a shiver ran down his spine as his hand felt the shape of the weapon. He pulled out the pistol.

Heavy, imperious and proud, it tolerated being hefted by the trembling human hand. Only for a brief moment did Pippig permit himself the thrill. Speedily he took out the other pistols, tied up the sacks, hung them back in their places, put away the ladder, and hurried with his treasure to Zweiling's room.

He did not take the time to remove the wrappings, but pressed them hastily into their prepared bed, as if every moment of exposure was a profanation. At the very moment when Pippig was about to replace the floor board, a terrible fright shot through him.

Pippig distinctly heard the door softly open and then close. For a moment it was quiet.

Then careful steps creaked. Still with the board in his hands Pippig kneeled before the opening. All his senses were numb with terror and standing at bay against the approaching calamity. A drop of cold sweat ran down Pippig's chest, ending in a trickling shudder. The steps came nearer and two figures stepped into the darkness of the room. They were Muller and Brendel of the camp patrol. By chance they had tried the door of the building while making their rounds.

"What are you doing here?" asked Brendel, with dark reserve.

Pippig opened his mouth, but his benumbed senses rendered him incapable of answering. Brendel and Muller stepped closer. They bent over the opening, and Brendel, who could only faintly distinguish the objects in the dimness, reached out for them.

Pippig awoke from his torpidity. He pushed Brendel violently in the chest. "Hands off!" But Muller had also reached in, and both of them found, to their consternation, pistols in their hands.

"Where did you get this stuff?"

Pippig was on his feet. "That's none of your business!"

The powerful Brendel had already grabbed the little man.

"Where did you get it? Tell us!" It was a critical moment.

Muller stepped between them and separated them. "You can talk to us, Rudi. If you're not a bastard trying to put one over on us, tell us what you..."

"Bastard? You got wheels in your head?" Pippig turned on him. "You know yourselves what it's about. We've got a louse in our hide. These things are Hofel's. You've seen them now, all right, don't blab about it but help me get them out of sight."

The camp patrolmen looked at one another. Hofel was their instructor, and they had seen the connection immediately. Their initial mistrust was more the surprise of the moment than suspicion of Pippig, whom they had known for years as a good and reliable pal. Their intuition, well-trained in the long years of imprisonment, enabled them to distinguish the

real from the fake even in unprecedented situations, and to act accordingly without hesitation they helped Pippig to conceal the pistols. Brendel was only amazed at the hiding place.

"Christ," he whispered, "where'd you get the idea of hiding the stuff under Zweiling's desk, of all places?" Pippig whispered: "Because a Scharfuhrer's behind is always the best cover. They may shake us till everything falls out, but they'll never think to look here. See?"

The compelling logic fazed Brendel.

"Rudi, you're a genius..."

"Cut it," replied Pippig, nonetheless flattered.

"Boys," he pleaded, "you'll keep quiet, won't you?"

If they had been able to explain to him what the camp patrol really was - but they could only clap Pippig on the shoulder. "Don't worry, Shorty, we know what's what."

As softly as they had come they disappeared.

Pippig put away the tools and hid in the back corner, waiting for daybreak. He could not sleep. He sat on a few old coats that he had arranged, his knees drawn up and his arms clasped round them.

The three pistols were certainly not the only weapons in the camp. Although his decent sense of discipline renounced any inquisitiveness, he would still have liked to know more about the secret. There was something like a hidden leadership, he knew that - but what else was there? Pippig pressed his chin against his knees. Damn it, Rudi, here you've been hanging out in this underworld for years, a miserable beaten dog among miserable beaten dogs, and the one vague notion in your thick skull was that this endlessness must come to an end some day, somehow... How did you picture the somehow, you dunce?

Was Kramer one of them?

For sure!

The morning was still black as night when Pippig left the building after the getting-up whistle. The roads between the blocks had already come to life. Room attendants were coming from all directions to the kitchen, to tote the big containers of ersatz coffee back to their quarters.

His absence had not been noticed in the block. They were already putting their beds to rights in the dormitory when Pippig arrived; only his bed neighbour asked him where he had been during the night.

"With a girl," answered Pippig dryly and in a tone that

permitted no further curious questions.

GET THE KID!

Get the kid! Kluttig wanted to have the entire camp searched for it.

Reineboth laughed. "For Christ's sake! How do you figure that? Fifty thousand people! The Camp is a city! Can you be everywhere at the same time in a city? Those bastards toss the kid from hand to hand and we run around in circles like sheep. Do you want to wind up by making yourself ridiculous too?" Reineboth threw himself down on a chair and stuck his thumb behind the button seam.

"You want to go back to the effects building?" asked Kluttig in wonder. Reineboth flung out a distracted hand.

"We can't do this alone any more, no time! Gestapo!" He hurled the word like a knife thrower, and it stuck painfully in Kluttig.

"That's going too far! It's enough we went into this on our own responsibility, but the Gestapo? If the commandant hears about it..."

Reineboth planted himself in front of Kluttig and said witheringly: "And a type like you wanted to become commandant himself... Tomorrow we'll all be running around in civvies anyway, if we're lucky. But as long as I wear this uniform..." He was challengingly silent. Kluttig again felt his inferiority to the young man. The former owner of a pleating establishment had become frightened for a moment inside the uniform of a Hauptsturmführer.

"All right then," he decided. "Gestapo".

Although the prisoners of the commando knew they were under constant observation by the camp leadership and were prepared for a new disaster at any time, the reappearance of Kluttig and Reineboth hit them like a lightning bolt. They were to line up immediately. Zweiling himself was so confused by the appearance of the two officers that he watched their approach in terrified apprehension. Weren't they after him too? Wurach stood in the rear row. He observed the goings-on with secret placidity; he had a perfect alibi if he needed one. Rose was in the front row. He had become waxy pale and was exerting himself to suppress the trembling of his limbs. Pippig had taken Hofel's place. Now he stepped a pace forward and announced: "Commando effects room reporting!"

"The new Kapo, eh?" Reineboth remarked to no one in particular, and reviewed the ranks with searching eyes. Kluttig followed him.

Behind Pippig's forehead one guess displaced another; why this menacing visit? Could Hofel have... Pippig drove the thought back into the farthest corner. Wurach, Zweiling? Pippig's eyes glanced over Zweiling's face as if an explanation of this occurrence could be read in it.

Zweiling was standing as stiffly as the prisoners.

As Reineboth passed along the rows he mentally noted the prisoners he intended to call out. In ~~the~~ rigid fear of the faces, in ~~the~~ deadly stillness of the room where only the creaking of his boots could be heard: Step...Step...Step, and in his own silence, Reineboth was relishing power. There was a lascivious twist to his mouth. These guys shit in their pants when they see us. If they knew how our own asses are boiling... Reineboth thought this in cynical scorn of himself. And the prisoner Pippig thought: You kid yourselves that we're afraid because we stand stiff and straight in front of you? Nothing of the kind. You won't twiddle your fingers on your jacket long, you dandy..

The seventh row straight to the side of the first window...

Step...Step...Step...

Reineboth stopped in front of Rose. Fear began to flicker in his eyes. The right one?

Reineboth pulled Rose out of the row by his jacket button.

"You're an elderly, reasonable man. How could you get mixed up in such a stupid business?"

"Herr Report Fuhrer... I didn't... I know nothing... really not..."

Reineboth had the diverting illusion that he was holding the wobbling man up in the air. This was the right one!

"Whether you did and whether you know, that will be determined later." Reineboth pushed Rose to one side. The isolated man was in mortal dread.

"Herr Report Fuhrer... I really didn't..."

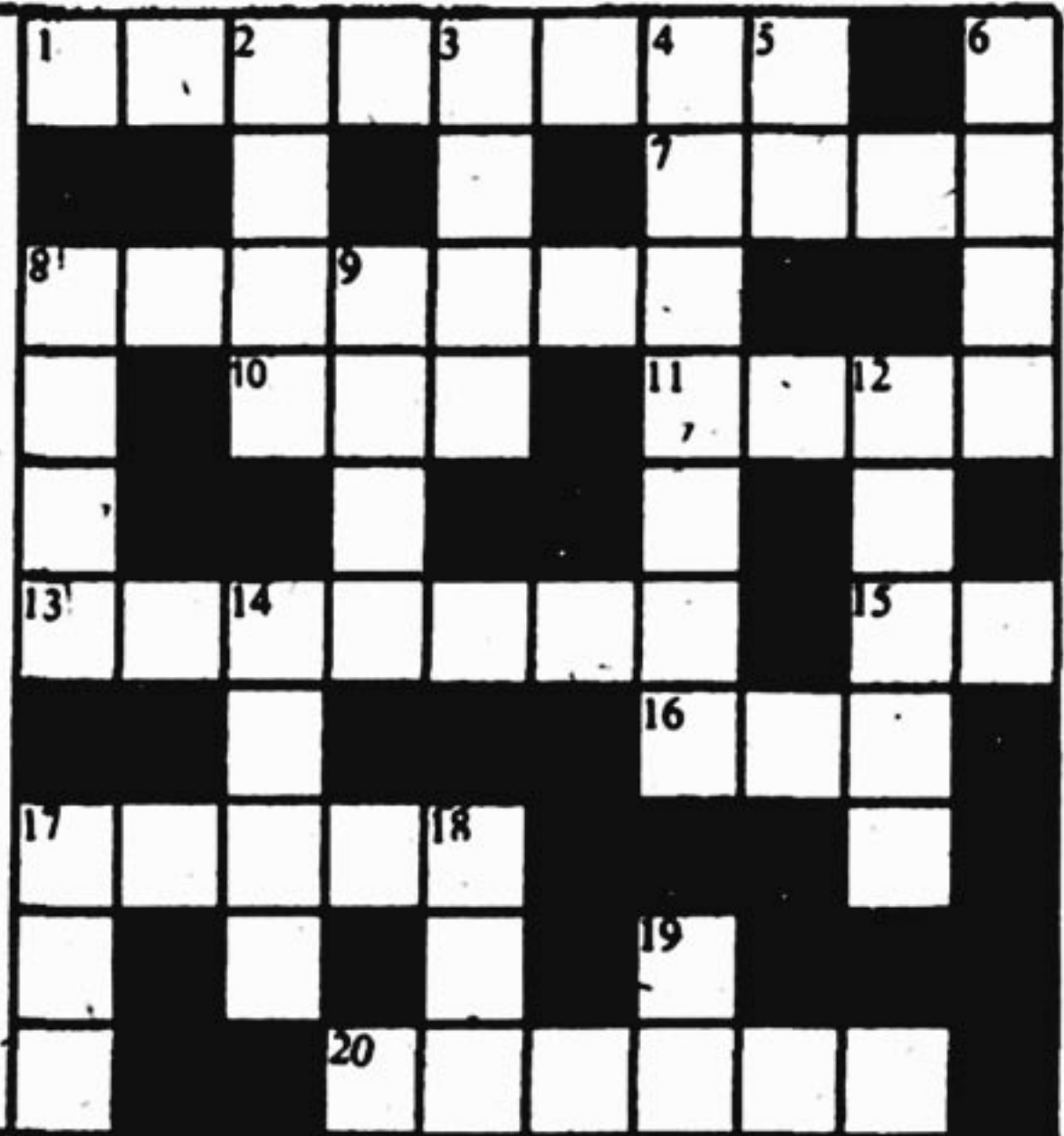
One more word and I'll jump at his throat, raged Pippig. Unexpectedly Reineboth turned on Rose and shouted: "Swine! Shut up!" It was like a shell burst. Reineboth crooked his finger at the next man and mutely indicated that he should stand beside Rose. The man was Pippig. He stepped out of the rank, stood next to Rose and in a brief moment of being unobserved, cuffed him in the small of the back. The cuff was the augmented beat of his pulse, in which anger was throbbing.

TO BE CONTINUED IN THE NEXT ISSUE.

DAWN

PolitiXword

No.3



CLUES

Across

1. Venue of the 1969 ANC Conference.
7. He/She makes a mistake.
8. Used for spreading ideas.
10. It is a tool.
11. Spheres/globes.
13. A n . important t a s k
15. K n o c k o u t.
16. Moisture in small drops.
17. March 8 is the International Day for...
20. Trade Unionist recently murdered by Pretoria.

Down

2. A c t hastily.
3. Triumphant j o y.
4. P r o d u c e echoes.
6. Calls for an answer.
8. 'Mangaung' is a title of one.
9. A human being has ten.
12. Composer of 'Give a Thought to Africa'.
14. Founder-member of the ANC.
18. To continually find fault.
19. T o e x i s t.

See answers in DAWN Vol. 6 No. 4

DISCIPLINE IS THE MOTHER OF VICTORY

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

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

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

RADIO LUANDA: *shortwave 40 m & 30 m bands;
medium wave 27.6 m band, 7.30
pm daily.*

RADIO TANZANIA: *shortwave, 19 m band, 15,435
KHz,
8.15pm Sunday, Monday,
Wednesday, Friday; 31 m band,
6.15am Tuesday, Thursday,
Saturday.*

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

ACT NOW !!

STOP THE RACIST MURDER



MANANA



LUBISI



MASHIGO



TSOTSOBE



SHABANGU



MOISE

FIGHT FOR THEIR RELEASE

PROTEST TO: P.W. BOTHA

UNION BUILDINGS PRETORIA

SOUTH AFRICA