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MAHLANGU LIVES

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COVER: Solomon Kalushi Mahlangu

**FORWARD TO THE YEAR
OF UNITY IN ACTION**



Editorial Comment

PUTTING ON MAKE-UP

Since its ascendancy to power in 1948, the Nationalist Party has moved along fixed paths with satanic determination, the thought of constitutional accommodation for the oppressed hardly every crossing their imagination - not even when the tide of militant popular action threatened the very foundations of the apartheid castle. When the Union became a Republic, the people in their millions rose up in opposition and demanded a non-racial National Convention to which the boer-fascists replied with sten guns and saracens. It is almost unnecessary to stress that this has always been and by all means continues to be the main plank of N.P. policy *vis-a-vis* all sections of the oppressed.

The years of the fascist Republic have seen the National Liberation drive steadily gaining a new impetus and conquering new summits as it does. The unmistakable victories of the forces of revolution at home and, abroad have in the recent period compelled official Pretoria to start considering a peripheral facelift of the non-essential features of apartheid. The Botha-Malan clique believes amongst other things in the juggling of political rhetoric - which is but the replacement of old racist clichés with new no less racist synonyms - and meaningless deals 'aimed at splitting the patriotic forces of our country.

Of late there is talk of a new constitutional deal that is allegedly under consideration by the top brass of the Pretoria cut-throats. And it is spoken of in such tones as if it is the long-awaited magic solution to the so-called problem of political accommodation and 'power sharing'. But the oppressed do not want this type of accommodation; they want a stake in the political and economic processes of the country; we do not want 'power sharing' - that smacks of racism! We have loudly declared that in South Africa "no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people", thus we still demand: All Power to the People!

The April 4th issue of the Sunday Tribune carried reports on current 'confidential constitutional planning' aimed at a 'new white-Coloured-Asian dispensation', Whilst the farcical President's Council, the modern toy telephone is expected to present constitutional reports 'which will deal with all three levels of government from local authority up to national level', to reach parliament's table in mid-May.

The tone of this report is doubtlessly and deliberately creating an impression that something unprecedented is in the offing; that Botha is voluntarily bending policy. What a farce! We spit on it! What is actually happening is that the racists are putting on new make-up in the face of mounting internal and international anti-apartheid pressure. But no matter how thick they apply it nobody will be fooled for beneath the beast is still baring its teeth with eyes burning with insatiable lust for the blood of the oppressed millions.

This new drive at mesmerizing some sections of the oppressed with old carrots is such an obvious tactic of broadening the Nat power base that it is definitely (if ever it is to be carried through) destined to a similar fate as the SAIC. No black man in his correct senses can look upon this as a plausible time-table for constitutional reform in South Africa, nay it is a dangerous tranquiliser to those ignorant enough to think it workable.

Though obviously a meaningless and dangerous gesture, it remains doubtful whether such a programme will meet the support of certain Nationalist Party members, particularly when viewed against the backdrop of inner NP squabbles and wranglings over matters of policy which led to the recent Treurnicht-led split.

As for the oppressed, our duty is to intensify the fight against the Pretoria regime, unsparing of our strength and energy in pursuit of the popular democratic aspirations enshrined in our revolutionary statement of aims, the Freedom Charter.

Let Us Emulate Mahlangu

-Thabo Mziwakhe

The lonely figure of Mrs Martha Mahlangu at the graveside of her slain son, Solomon, is a chilling indictment against the South African racist regime.. It speaks, so eloquently, of the utter callousness, a yawning emptiness of the spirit, treachery and a collective belief that the life of a black is expendable, and is set at nought.

Solomon Mahlangu was hanged in the city of his birth, Pretoria; this is a city which, like a vicious dog, snaps at all black people and bares its fangs. Very few people have made it through the teeth of the South African racist regime, which is what Pretoria, after all, symbolises. His life was so brutally and suddenly snuffed out on the 6th of April, 1979. The choice of the day they executed Solomon is the very height of cynicism. The Dutch brigand, Jan van Riebeeck, the leader of the Dutch East India Company hordes, landed on the shores of South Africa in the Cape on the same day. It was on this day that the racists - violence really being the warp and woof of the racists' heritage - deprived Solomon of his most valued possession, life. To ease suspicions, to appropriate the consciences of the white electorate and to show that everything is all under control; the racists murdered Solomon at the prime of his youth.

TREADMILL

Solomon Mahlangu's youthful days were filled with the kinds of terror and horrors of being on the racial treadmill forever. What this means, then, is that his life was being menaced by the monstrous teeth of the regime the same way millions of the black, beleaguered youth is being threatened. So in a sense he was in the same economic trap that ensnares countless millions of our people. Hence he sought ways and means of supplementing whatever meagre earnings that found themselves in his family's hands. He sold apples in the trains.

Those who've sold anything in a train, be it shoelaces or apples or monkey-nuts, know it is an extremely precarious undertaking. These vendors, called 'smoksers' in the township parlance, have to keep their eyes on the ubiquitous railroad policeman, the township bullies who'd rob him of his wares and the customer. Moreover this terrible drama is enacted in a coach in a train, the actors encapsulated by time and space. These young boys, then are agile, and the nature of their job gets them to know South African society at its basest.

It is not surprising, then, that Solomon was involved in June 16, 1976; his eyes beheld the unprecedented terror unleashed on young men and women of his age - and his colour. He must have been struck by the futility of people, unarmed, face to face, with the vengeful enemy armed with NATO-supplied weapons of destruction.

Solomon, then, hearkening to the cry of his people in the times of anguish, joined the ANC and became a soldier of our people's army, Umkhonto We Sizwe.

On an MK mission in Johannesburg Solomon Mahlangu, Monty Motloug and George Mazibuko had an altercation with some white people in a Goch Street warehouse. What happened was Monty was captured and Solomon had all the chances of beating a hasty retreat. Instead he selflessly went to the aid of his comrade in which brief encounter; in which two whites were shot to death, he was captured. This was on 13 June 1977, three days before the first anniversary of the massacres of June 16, 1976.

A lengthy and agonising trial followed. Monty Motloug could not stand trial, it was reported, because he had lost his mind. This in itself makes us want to ask what kind of system can render a person a raving lunatic after a short stay in the police dungeons? But, then, those who've been through the mill, who've gone through the hands of the grand inquisitors of John Vorster Square will simply shake their heads, remembering the hands of legalized murderers.

In the trial Solomon was convicted of murder and sentenced to death. In the kangaroo court Solomon couldn't have had a fair trial.

Then began a 'Save Mahlangu Campaign' where the UN, OAU, to name a few world bodies - were calling for the stay of execution of the young comrade. Even the wife of one of the men who died at Goch Street, after it had been proved that Solomon hadn't even pulled the trigger that killed the man, asked that the young hero be spared.

Despite the whole condemnation of peace-loving mankind, despite speeches and lofty editorials, Solomon Mahlangu was hanged in Pretoria on 6 April 1979, in the Year of the Spear.

PEOPLE'S HERO

Why, then, does Solomon Mahlangu occupy such a significant spot in our hearts? Why is he a people's hero? In the first place Solomon Mahlangu's deeds transformed the nature of South Africa. South Africa, after him, will never be the same again. He imbued the youth - the current actors in the revolution - with the spirit of no surrender. His selfless example in the face of the enemy puts him in the ranks of men and women who were cast in the mould of bravery. He was a true revolutionary.

People, sometimes well-meaning folk, sometimes use the word 'revolutionary' loosely, confusing it with 'freedom fighter'. A revolutionary is a person who's resolved night and day - come what may! - to do deeds aimed at freeing his captive people. He can do this against great odds and imponderables with little regard for personal safety. One somehow gets a glimpse of what a revolutionary is when Ho Chi Minh declares "All my life I have served the fatherland, the revolution and the people with all my heart and strength. If I should now depart from this world, I would have nothing to regret, except not being able to serve longer anymore".

A freedom fighter, on the other hand - and this has been said repeatedly - is a person of good intentions. He'll struggle along but somewhere along the line, when the goal proves to be farther than he thought, he's likely to get tired.

OLDEN DAYS

In the olden days when warriors with spears faced the British marauders in the Wars of Resistance, a shot would ring out and a warrior would lie dead in his own blood. The other warriors would jump up, saying, "*Uyadela Wena Osulapho* - You have finally achieved, you who have fallen!" Invigorated and inspired and unafraid, they would head straight for the hated enemy. This was not being suicidal or harbouring of a subconscious death wish, but these warriors knew that the final destiny of man is death - and they were going to take as many of the enemy with them.

The picking of the fallen hero's weapon has been almost automatic. South Africa shuddered as never before when MK unleashed its firepower, even before the hangman had gone to



wash his hands. When 66m rands went up in smoke in SASOL, it was Solomon Mahlangu the comrades had in their minds. The racists had, to use a popular phrase, stepped on a venomous snake's tail. After every attack the racists get more and more irrational.

There are more police stations sandbagged and black policemen hide their uniforms in paper bags on or from work. And people look at all this with contempt, seeing the minions

of the law cringing - all this is a continuation of the task Solomon Mahlangu didn't finish.

The Botha/Malan clique will change, are changing. What will never change is the people's resolve to freedom. The racists desecrated Mahlangu's grave; but this did not deter Mrs Martha Mahlangu. She has grown stronger, perhaps remembering the last words of her son who exhorted her not to cry, but to worry about those who are suffering. He said, "I have done my bit of contribution and may God spare you". His mother, who won the title of South Africa's Woman of the Year for 1979, must have been very proud of him when she heeded his last words in the fascist gallows: "My blood will nourish the tree which will bear the fruits of freedom. Tell my people that I love them and that they must continue the struggle. Aluta continua!"

The youth of our country have heeded your call, Comrade Solly, and the struggle really continues.

Let Us Emulate Mahlangu

THE LATEST CHALLENGE

Statement by Comrade Alfred Nzo, Secretary General of the African National Congress following the rejection of the appeal against the death sentences imposed on three MK combatants: Johnson Lubisi, Petros Mashigo and Naphtali Manana.

The appellate division of the South African Supreme Court has rejected the appeal against death sentences imposed on Ncimbithi Johnson Lubisi, Petros Tshepo Mashigo and Naphtali Manana, all members of the African national Congress and our People's Army, Umkhonto We Sizwe. In terms of this verdict the ground has finally been cleared for the judicial murder of three more young revolutionaries, the heroic sons of the oppressed and dehumanised people of South Africa.

The death sentences were imposed by the lower courts in defiance of the demands of the overwhelming majority of the South African population and those of the entire international democratic community which made repeated calls for their release on the basis of the internationally recognised right of every people to struggle for justice and human dignity. In this case the three condemned men are part of the multi-million army of the oppressed people who are engaged in a dedicated struggle to rid South Africa of the oppressive apartheid system which has been declared a crime against humanity.

CALLOUSNESS

The apartheid regime has with characteristic callousness once again ignored the voice of the overwhelming majority of mankind, leaning as usual on the increasing collaboration of its traditional allies, especially the Reagan administration. It should be borne in mind that shortly before an announcement of the verdict of the appeal court in Bloemfontein, the US Senate Committee on Security and terrorism has just completed an inquisition seeking to establish the connections between the African National Congress and SWAPO with the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic and Socialist Cuba. The evidence to justify this Mc Carthy-style disgraceful inquisition was extracted from traitors who have deserted to the side of

the racist enemy, one of whom, Nonkonono, have qualified for admission in a mental institution. The South African white minority press is now whipping up a noisy hysteria against the African National Congress and its international allies. This has provided a convenient background setting for this latest crime against our people and against the rest of democratic humanity.

This latest challenge should not just be replied to by mere expressions of outrage and disgust. More than that is needed. The time is long overdue for the concrete implementation of all the resolutions already adopted by international bodies such as the United Nations, Non-Aligned countries, the Organisation of African Unity and many other international forces, seeking the effective isolation of the apartheid regime from international political and diplomatic intercourse, including the imposition of comprehensive mandatory economic and oil sanctions and the strict observance of the arms embargo against the terrorist apartheid regime.

This international activity should also be geared to generating increased all-round support and assistance for the African National Congress, the only reliable weapon for the achievement of the national and social liberation of the oppressed majority in South Africa.

ONSLAUGHT

The African National Congress pledges once again to match the growing barbarity of the apartheid regime with an intensified onslaught in the mass political and military levels. We shall extract a tooth for a tooth, an eye for an eye. Our capacity to effectively punish the racist criminals and their supporters inside South Africa is no longer in doubt.

The heroic youth and all sections of our people should accept this latest challenge with increased determination to forge further ahead along the road to complete victory. This road can be shortened by forging and strengthening united action involving all the democratic sections of our people, by strengthening the reliable shield and sword of the people, the African National Congress and swelling the ranks of our popular army, Umkhonto We Sizwe.

We owe all this to the heroes now languishing in the death cells and to all the leaders and cadres of our movement in prisons, detention cells and the vast majority of our people who are engaged in a life and death struggle against the escalating ravages of the criminal apartheid system.

People's War – Stages And Tasks

-Sol Manthatha

The war of liberation inside our country is definitely on. Umkhonto We Sizwe is daily displaying an expanding presence and the enemy himself has admitted more than once that Umkhonto We Sizwe is there to stay in our land. But as pointed out in our Strategy and Tactics: "Guerilla warfare, the special and in our case the only form in which the armed liberation struggle can be launched, is neither static nor does it take place in a vacuum. The tempo, the overall strategy is to be employed, the opening of new fronts, the progression from lower to higher forms and thence to mobile warfare."

This suggests that guerilla warfare is not an end in itself, but a means towards an end. Guerilla warfare is a tactic employed chiefly at the initial stage of a people's war. The study of past people's wars teaches that a people's war develops through three main stages, each with its own distinctive features and tasks:

- a) The stage of guerilla warfare;
- b) the stage of equilibrium and
- c) the stage of general offensive.

Below follows a discussion of the three stages with particular reference to the South African situation.

GUERRILLA WARFARE

Why guerilla warfare? "Guerilla warfare almost by definition presents a situation in which there is a vast imbalance of material and military resources between the opposing sides. It is designed to cope with the situation in which the enemy is infinitely superior in relation to every conventional factor of warfare. It is par excellence the weapon of the materially weak against the materially strong", states the Strategy and Tactics of the ANC.

During this stage the guerilla forces, small in number and armed with relatively inferior weapons have to contend with an

enemy who has at his command a relatively stable economy and enormous manpower resources to draw on. It is this disparity in strength which makes guerilla warfare an imperative for the materially weak. To commit the whole guerilla force to a few battles against an enemy who is well equipped with modern planes, warships, tanks, etc., should be suicidal. Consequently, a characteristic feature of this stage is the absence of an orthodox front of fighting lines. The front is where the enemy is and can be successfully engaged in combat.

The tactic employed chiefly during this stage is that of hit-and-run. The guerillas operate in very small units, hit the enemy where and when he expects least. "They attack the enemy from behind, outflank him or launch sudden attacks on his weak points. They pretend to attack the enemy's right flank while actually attacking his left, they concentrate for attack and disperse to dodge the enemy's reply" wrote Tru Ong-Chinn, a famous Vietnamese military leader, strategist and writer (*Selected Works*). Such hit and run operations spread all over the country disperse and stretch to the maximum the forces of the enemy, presenting them ever weaker and vulnerable in the face of the guerillas. In this way this mode of operation compensate the guerilla's initial weakness in strength since the enemy has to "attenuate his resources and lines of communication over the vast areas, ...to protect the widely scattered installations in which his economy is dependent." (*Strategy and Tactics of the ANC*).

The tasks of this stage are many and varied. Most of the battles especially the initial ones have often been referred to as armed propaganda. The successes scored by the guerillas in these initial battles are of much significance not only in as far as the physical damage they inflict on the enemy. By exposing the vulnerability of the enemy they demonstrate the ability of the revolutionary forces to successfully engage and defeat the enemy in combat and in this way instill confidence in the masses and reinforce their belief in the certainty of victory. On the other hand the losses the enemy suffers weary and discourage him, lowering his morale and that of his supporters. Armed propaganda in this instance should in no way be understood to be a means of mobilisation and consequently a substitute for political propaganda and agitational work. This article will not endeavour to discuss this very important aspect of a people's war. But it remains imperative to stress the indispensability of political mobilisation in a revolutionary war.

This stage is also charged with the task of heavily reducing the strength of the enemy, both personnel and material. of the latter objective is sabotage. Sabotage actions complement other armed actions in a very significant way. Through the destruction of roads, railways, communication and power lines, bridges and many other economic installations, economic setbacks with a telling effect are engendered and the finances of the enemy are gradually drained, making the maintenance of the armed forces arduous. On the other hand the guerillas, while gradually reducing the strength of the enemy, maintain and preserve their forces, expanding their army into a powerful force for the future higher forms of warfare.

If the burning question during the formative years of MK was how to launch guerilla warfare, now it is how to develop the armed struggle; how to raise the scope and scale as well as the quality of guerilla operations. Our war of liberation has definitely entered this first stage and is visibly growing. The recent past has seen our people's army, Umkhonto We Sizwe, spreading its assaults all over the country and itself steadily expanding. In the words of Comrade President O.R. Tambo: "...the enemy has proved unable to stop its growth, its expansion and the increasingly effective striking power of our guerilla army." However, the path immediately ahead is not a rosy one. To reduce the strength of the enemy considerably and transit to the next stages of the people's war fierce battles are still to be fought.

EQUILIBRIUM

Militarily speaking guerilla warfare cannot topple a government. The enemy can sustain such small scale hit-and run operations for a very long if not indefinite period. Hence the need to switch over to the second stage of a people's war once the guerilla forces have grown in numbers and the strength of the enemy reduced to the extent that the initial disparity in strength has almost disappeared. As the word 'equilibrium' would suggest, the balance of forces during this stage has changed in favour of the guerillas; the forces of the two sides are now almost equal.

There's also a notable change in tactics during this stage. Though guerilla warfare remains the most widespread tactic,

especially during the initial phase, a new tactic known as mobile warfare is introduced. What is mobile warfare? It is a form of fighting in which the 'guerilla forces organised in bigger units and armed with relatively advanced weapons "group themselves rapidly and launch lightning attacks; encircling the enemy in order to destroy him, working round positions in order to attack him, attacking from behind rather than launching frontal attacks, advancing rapidly and withdrawing quickly". (Tru C'ng-Chihn - *Selected Writings*). At first mobile warfare plays a complementary role in relation to guerilla warfare and with the growth of the war their position change and mobile warfare becomes the principal tactic

This second stage is often referred to as a long, extremely hard and complicated one. It is also the key stage because it is during this stage that the outcome of the war is decided. This is the stage when the guerillas pass from an inferior position to a superior one; a stage when conditions are laid for the last stage, that of general counter-offensive. More often than not a question arises: shall we at some stage engage the powerful racist South African army in mobile warfare? While it may not be very possible to predict the course of a war, the arguments of those who answer the question in the negative are abstruse, absurd and far from convincing. They use the same arguments advanced earlier to disprove the very feasibility of armed struggle in South Africa, e.g., the strength of the South African Defence Force and Police, the high level of development of South Africa's transport and communication systems, the absence of bases to which we can flee across to sanctuary in the neighbouring countries, etc.

True enough, the South African army is powerful and the strength of the enemy should never be overlooked when working out tactics to be exercised at all times. But mobile warfare was applied by the Vietnamese against an enemy far more powerful and in command of modern transport and communication means, i.e. the United States of America. Cuba employed mobile warfare notwithstanding the absence of bases to flee across to sanctuary in the neighbouring countries. Even in our land it is just a matter of time before these defeatist conceptions are placed where they belong. We shall definitely employ mobile warfare when the time comes. The 'efficient' transport and communication systems shall have been rendered inefficient by our intensified actions of sabotage. We shall also have applied guerilla warfare to the greatest possible extent and as a result the enemy forces shall be scattered all over the

vast expanses of our land and with such a situation mobile warfare shall also become an imperative. Modern warfare also teaches that success in modern combat belongs to he who has the ability to muster large forces, deliver lightning but deadly blows and disperse and retreat at lightning speed before the enemy can group and counter-attack. As noted by the African Communist (*Fourth Quarter 1970*): "In such a huge country as South Africa, our men will be hard to find. By the time his planes arrive to bomb the guerilla fighters, they will have melted into the country-side. They will have merged into the people, to whom they belong and of whom they are part."

GENERAL OFFENSIVE

During this stage the balance of forces has decisively changed in favour of the revolutionary forces. The guerillas, numerically and in arms, have gained an upper hand. The switch-over to this stage can be made even if the material forces of the revolutionary forces are still not superior to those of the enemy. Many factors, e.g., the weariness and discouragement of the enemy troops as a result of the long war and the defeats they always suffer, the exhaustion of the economy and finances of the enemy; severe condemnation of the regime by the world opinion and the growth of the campaign for the intensification of sanctions against the regime are but some of the many factors that may facilitate the transition to this last stage even if the revolutionary forces are still somehow inferior.

Mobile warfare plays a predominant role during this stage and is complemented and supported by guerilla warfare. Gradually mobile warfare grows into positional warfare which plays an outstanding role in the last phase.

What is positional warfare? "It is the deployment of forces of the regular army in readiness for a battle, digging trenches, setting up fortifications, checking the enemy's advance, taking advantage of the enemy's weak points and inadequacies to attack him and occupy his positions." (Tru O'ng Chihn - *Selected Writings, Emph.-Ed.*) In positional warfare the entire guerilla force, organised in large units, i.e. companies, battalions, brigades, etc., is thrown into battle to rout the enemy once and for all. Battles for cities and strong points is a characteristic feature of the war at this stage. "Our troops concentrate rapidly, act vigorously on the offensive and launch a series of well-planned lightning attacks on the cities and enemy positions to encircle and annihilate them."

(*ibid*). In the face of such a powerful guerilla offensive the enemy is forced to abandon and surrender many positions and withdraw to entrench himself in the big cities. The revolutionary forces occupy the abandoned, in fact, captured positions, build strong defences and establish people's rule. These liberated zones keep on expanding as the enemy retreats deeper and deeper until the whole country is liberated.

LIBERATED ZONES

Shall we have liberated zones? The South African racist army is in a position to launch large-scale attacks against independent countries and occupy some territories for relatively long periods, what can stop it from overrunning those liberated areas? As pointed above, the balance of forces shall have shifted in our favour and besides that, the switch-over to positional warfare, let alone the establishment of liberated zones is possible when and only when we are as well-armed as the enemy. To apply positional warfare or establish liberated zones before this important condition is met would be to doom ourselves to defeat and destruction. If we are heavily armed to rebuff any attack in defence of an abandoned area and its people, why not occupy it and establish our rule?

In conclusion let us note that there are no strict and inviolable boundaries dividing the three stages. The latter stage grows out of the former and the former lays basis for the latter. The same can be said of the task of each stage. While the tasks of an earlier stage should never be postponed, some tasks and targets of a later stage can be carried out during an earlier stage, e.g., the attack of the SADF's H.Q. with 122mm rockets in August last year, something which no other guerilla force has ever managed to do at such an early stage of the war. Guerilla warfare, the tactic of the first stage is applied effectively through all the stages, giving the enemy no peace to eat, drink, no rest. The same can be said of sabotage, a weapon employed till the last minute of the war.

History teaches that not all people's wars develop along the three stages discussed above. The course of a particular war is not decided in the military battlefield only, but is influenced by numerous factors. For an example, the Zimbabwean war of liberation came to a close before reaching the third stage in full.

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A Trail of Courage And Determination Part 3

- Amos Aluko

The beginning of the twentieth century ushered in a new phase in our people's struggle for liberation. Through bloody means the British imperialists and Boer colonialists (the Boers on their own would have failed) had succeeded to impose their brutal system of capitalist exploitation and national domination in our country. Our people had become virtually landless in the land of their forefathers with almost every aspect of their traditional life especially economic, political and social, completely disrupted. This situation posed a new and greater challenge on our people who were and remain resolved never to surrender but to continue to fight until they regain their national independence and freedom. This historic task was the forging of new weapons and methods of struggle.

Our people had learnt their lesson well: while the lack of unity in the face of the marauding colonialist plunderers armed with modern weapons was the main reason for our defeat, it is this very unity which when forged becomes the most effective and invincible weapon in the hands of the oppressed. The dire need for the creation of a national political organisation to serve as the pillar of unity for the oppressed in their common struggle was already dawning in the minds of our people. In the preceding part of this series we have seen how our people began to form provincially based political and other organisations in the early 1900's and before, like the Natal Native Congress, South African Native Congress formed in the Western Cape, the Orange River Colony Native Congress and the Transvaal Native Congress. It was this experience including the joint actions taken on this basis such as the holding of the South African Native Convention in Bloemfontein in 1909 with 60 delegates representing the various organisations in the country, to take a common stand on the Draft South Africa Act, which to a certain extent provided the schooling so necessary for creating national union for liberation.

UNITY IN ACTION



UNION FOR DOMINATION

The formation of the Union of South Africa by the British and boer community in 1910 with the blessing of British imperialism and to the total disregard of our people's aspirations emphasised the urgency of organisation and unity by the oppressed. It was clear that the political union which was an expression of the economic intergration of the four provinces meant not only the consolidation of the system of imperialist exploitation and national domination of

our people and the continuation of the policies directed towards this end. It also meant the intensification of this system. This can be seen in the anti-African legislation made by the union government of Botha from the very first years of its operation.

As early as 1910 a land bill aimed at completely expropriating Africans of the little plots of land to which they still had access was already being prepared with Hertzog hysterically shouting about Africans threatening 'to squeeze out the white man from South Africa' using this extremely racist slogan to mobilise the Afrikaner farmers for the perpetuation of the policies of the old Transvaal and Orange Free State boer republics. There were also the Native Labour Regulation Act and the Mines and Works Act of 1911. The former enabled the white employers to repudiate a labour contract concluded with an African labourer and the shifting of the blame on to the African and the imposition of a heavy penalty on him. The latter debarred African mine workers from performing skilled jobs, in favour of white workers. To defend this naked robbery and the accompanying domination from the inevitable resistance by our people the Defence Act was passed for the establishment of European permanent force and an additional citizens' force. In addition to this oppressive legislation there was the perfection of the pass system, the curtailment of African freedom of movement, heavy taxation, denial of the blacks the rights of trading in their areas and countless other repressive measures.

UNION FOR LIBERATION

With the plight of our people increasing in the wake of the unity in the enemy camp, unity of the oppressed could not

be postponed any further. This urgency of this vital issue was expressed by Pixley ka Izaka Seme, perhaps the most outstanding pioneer champion and theoretician of our national unity. Writing in October 1911 he sounded the clarion call saying:

"Again, it is conclusively urgent that this Congress should meet this year, because a matter which is so vitally important to our progress and welfare should not be unnecessarily postponed by reason of personal differences and selfishness of our leaders."

Emphasising why national unity of the African people was so crucial Seme went further:

"The demon of racialism, the aberrations of the Xhosa-Fingo feud, the animosity that exists, between the Zulus and the Tongas, between the Basutos and every other Native must be buried and forgotten; it has shed among us sufficient blood. We are one people. These divisions these jealousies, are the cause of all our woes and of all our backwardness and ignorance today."

Seme's words of wisdom were the most eloquent expression of the deepest aspirations of our people and they received the response they deserved. In a national conference held in Bloemfontein on January 8, 1912, by unanimous decision of our people the African National Congress (then named the South African Native National Congress) was established. This was a great occasion for our peoples in Southern Africa, a historic moment. The Conference was attended by delegates from every corner of our land. There were the traditional leaders, people who symbolized our people's tradition of heroic resistance created in the past centuries and who represented the vast majority of the rural population in our country and beyond who were clamouring for the return of their stolen land; these were patriots like Solomon ka Dinuzulu of the Zulu, Montsiwa of the Barolong, Lewanika of the Lozi (Southern Zambia), Letsie II of the Sotho, Labotsibeni of the Swazi, Dalindyabo of the Tembu, Sekhukhuni of the Pedi and Khama of the Tswana. There were also workers, peasants, ministers of religion, lawyers, teachers, clerks, interpreters, small traders and others.

After the opening speeches were made, the gathering sang Tiyo Soga's *Lizalis'idinga lakho Thixo, Nkosi Yenyano* (ful-

UNITY IN ACTION



fil thy Promise, God, thou Lord of Truth). Delivering the main speech, Pixley ka Izaka Seme declared:

"Chiefs of royal blood and gentlemen of our race, we have gathered here to consider and discuss a theme which my colleagues and I have decided to place before you. We have discovered that in the land of their birth, Africans are treated as hewers of wood and drawers of water. The white people

of this country have formed what is known as the Union of South Africa - a Union in which we have no voice in the making of laws and no part in their administration. We have called you therefore to this union so that we can together devise ways and means of forming our national union for the purpose of creating national unity and defending our rights and privileges."

Indeed the Bloemfontein Conference successfully carried out its historic task - the creation of the ANC. It resolved that two houses, The Upper House and Lower House should be set up. Honourary Presidents were elected; these were Chiefs Dalindyebo, Montsioa, Lewanika, Letsie II, Khama and Dini-zulu.

The actual executive committee which was also elected consisted of: The Rev. John Langalibalele Dube, as President; Solomon T. Plaatjie, Secretary; Pixley ka Isaka Seme, Treasurer; Thomas Maphikela, Speaker. The Rev. Mqoboli of the Wesleyan Church became Chaplain-in-Chief and Rev. H.R. Ngcayiya his assistant. Vice-Presidents were: Rev. Walter Rubusana, Meshack Pelem, Sam Makhatho and Alfred Mangena. These were men who were playing an active political role among our people locally and nationally.

To close the conference the delegates, whose confidence in the great strength that lies in our people was so tremendously raised, cast their minds as they sang one of John Knox Bokwe's 'Give a Thought to Africa' which calls on our people to 'raise the flag of freedom, on the hills and valleys'.

FIRST BATTLES

The African National Congress was born in battle to lead our people in future battles for freedom and this is the

truth which was expressed by one African in response to President Dube's address in which he was explaining to a group of Africans in 1912 in Zululand why the ANC was formed and appealing for unity. The man declared:

"I thank Bambata. I thank Bambata very much. Would this spirit continue! I do not mean the Bambata of the bush who perished at Nkandla, but I mean this new spirit which we have just heard explained!"

From birth the ANC had to live up to the expectations of our people. In 1913 the Union government passed the Land Act. This racist law, which signified a serious attack against our people, stipulated that the white minority totalling 1.5 million was to enjoy the monopoly of more than 90% while the African population of 5.5 million and the rightful owners were allotted less than 10% of the total land. Previously Africans could purchase and lease land outside of the reserve on the same basis as whites. This was the position in all provinces except the Orange Free State. The pressure exerted by extreme racist elements like Hertzog also had an effect on government legislation.

It is not difficult to imagine how this piece of legislation affected the lives of our people. Now they were forced into areas where they could only have access to very small pieces of infertile and eroded land and infested with malaria-carrying mosquitoes. In addition to heavy taxation the reduction of our people to a status of refugees was designed to force them to the mines, with no other alternative. In his book 'Native Life in South Africa' Sol Plaatjie most accurately described this intensification of robbery of our people as 'one step to complete slavery'! Our people had good reason to be angered and be filled with more hatred.

REPRESENTATIVE

As the representative of the aspirations of the oppressed the ANC had to take action, and this was done. The ANC mounted a campaign against the Land Act. A delegation appointed by the March 1913 ANC annual conference and consisting of J.L. Dube, Dr W.B. Rubusana, A. Mangena, Rev. I. Dlepu, W.Z. Mfenyana, S. Msane, L.T. Mvabasa, D. Letanka presented to the government our people's objection. This is an initiative to

UNITY IN ACTION



which our people attached great significance as can be seen in the delegation which gathered at a conference called by the ANC to hear the report of the delegates who had met the government and to decide on further action. People came from East London and King Williams-town in the south, Zoutpansberg in the Northern Transvaal, from Natal as well as from Botswana (then Bechuanaland) and converged in Johannesburg.

The racist government as could be expected paid no heed to our people. As a result and still entertaining the hope that the British government which still exercised significant influence over South Africa would intervene in favour of Africans, a deputation was sent to London while another to Pretoria to present the Union government with resolutions expressing the African people's rejection of the terms of the Land Act and their intention to proceed to Britain. All these deputations yielded no success but a start had been made of joint action led by the ANC. It is significant to note that our people throughout the country contributed funds to meet the costs of sending deputations.

There were other battles in which the ANC was soon to be involved like the 1913 anti-pass campaign involving 600 women in Bloemfontein and 800 women in Winburg.

At this moment when African workers were rising to action as in the 1918 African Miner's Strike in which 100 000 workers were involved, the ANC backed the ISL (International Socialist League) in forming the Industrial Workers Union, the first trade union of African workers. This was the time of the world-changing Great October Socialist Revolution of the Russian workers. In 1919 the ANC led anti-pass campaigns in the Orange Free State and Transvaal in which more than 700 ANC members and sympathisers were arrested. This was only the beginning.

In 1919 the ANC adopted its first constitution which explained the aims of the movement and dealt with the problems facing the African people. Undeniably the fact that this constitution omitted a demand for equality and national liberation was one obvious weakness. But one cannot fail to appreciate the foresightedness of our founding fathers expressed in this constitution. It referred to the ANC as

a 'Pan African Association'. The understanding by our leaders of the imperative of African unity in the whole continent against a common enemy at such an early date is immeasurably great.

INVALUABLE HERITAGE

Looking back from the vantage point of our times when our movement has become truly a revolutionary mass organisation it is not difficult to identify the shortcomings which the ANC had during its formative years. To the extent that such cognition of early shortcomings is intended to fully appreciate the process of the growth of our vanguard movement, to clearly see the problems confronting our founding fathers, to arm ourselves for the future battles for victory, it is a healthy revolutionary practice.

It would be criminal to fail to see that in charting out a new road to liberation, our people were bound to have shortcomings born of inexperience. What is more there were other decisive factors like the fact that the African working class, which was destined to play the leading role in our national liberation struggle and the accompanying transforming effect on the leader of this struggle the ANC, was also in its formative years, only beginning to learn to use the weapon of organisation for economic and political battles.

The creation of the ANC on January 8, 1912, therefore, was the first greatest step forward in our struggle to achieve our national independence and freedom. For the first time in our history our people had forged for themselves the most reliable weapon for continuing the struggle to its inevitably victorious end, an organisation without which our national unity which is so vital for winning our liberation would not be possible. With the birth of the ANC, the seed of nationhood devoid of all hatred and mistrust, a peaceful and prosperous nation, was sown on our blood-soaked soil. From the very day of its founding conference which was attended by delegates as far across our borders as from Zambia the ANC inspired the formation of national political organisations in many African countries and this has been a significant contribution to the liberation of the African continent from the chains of colonialism, oppression, exploitation and ignorance. The ANC is a committed fighter which has its place within the trench of the world forces which are relentlessly struggling for a new world of universal peace and boundless progress.

This is the invaluable heritage left to our embattled

people by our founding fathers - the ANC. . A custodian of our ancestors' heroic tradition of resistance on whose basis our people have continued to place stepping-stones to final liberation over the past 70 years, the ANC is our beacon to the future when the dream of Pixley ka Isaka Seme of a 'new and unique civilisation' shall have become a reality.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 14

Our war of liberation will also, as it has started, introduce new chapters in the history of guerilla warfare. But whatever the case may be, the revolutionary forces must be in command of a strong army by the time the conditions are ripe for the seizure of power, an army in a position not only to seize power but also to defend it.

In many cases than one the closure of the third stage with victory over the colonial enemy has not meant an end to the war. The Vietnamese people, after a long war against the French had to live through yet a more bloody war against the United States of America. The history of Angola is well known to us all. After the defeat of the Portuguese colonialists, the Angolan people were locked in yet another bitter war against the South African interventionists, a war that persists to this day. Such are the lessons of history and they should not be forgotten, especially by us who are still fighting. This means that we should not only be geared towards a protracted and bloody war but also be ready to face any intervention for the forces of reaction will not hesitate to come to the aid of their racist allies by all means, including military intervention as our war grows from strength to strength.

DAWN politiXword No.3 Answers

ACROSS: 1. Morogoro 7. E r r s 8. Posters
10. Hoe 11. Orbs 13. Mission 15. KO
16. Dew 17. Women 20. Aggett.

DOWN: 2. Rush 3. Glee 4. Resound 5. Or
6. Asks 8. Poem 9. Toes 12. Bokwe
14. Seme 18. Nag 19. Be

LESSONS OF OUR PEOPLE'S WAR PART 3

- Khumalo Migwe

Since by definition guerilla warfare is that form of warfare adopted by the strategically weaker side to give it the capability of taking the tactical offensive at chosen times and places, it generally stands to reason that, from the point of view of military science it can never be decisive on itself, but is the initial phase developing towards mobile and positional conventional warfare. Practical experience, however, has demonstrated that given certain political factors, guerilla warfare can of itself, without developing into higher stages of military deployment, bring down an oppressive state. It is this political dimension, that is, this popular will as the key to military strategy, which renders it possible to overthrow even the most economically and militarily powerful government by means of guerilla tactics alone.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE POLITICAL AND THE MILITARY

The history of all hitherto guerilla struggles indicates that their successes or failures depended very much (but not solely) on the relationship that is created between the political and the military; nevertheless this question needs to be understood even much more deeper, and so we must discuss it further. Facts, unlike coins, do not wear off through constant handling.

It would not be correct to mechanically say that only those who have maintained the primacy of the political to the military have necessarily succeeded, in as much as on the other hand, history yet knows not of successes of guerilla war in those situations where the political was ignored. Striking the necessary balance, depending on the concrete situation of a given country, constitutes the art of guerilla warfare - and art cannot be reduced to scientific formula.

Success has been guaranteed by the artful combination of the two, with the proportions dictated by the concrete historical reality of the country concerned, and at times by the level

of the development of the struggle towards armed insurrection. What, however, has been irrefutably proved, is that in those conditions where the primacy of politics was maintained both in principle and actuality, victory was guaranteed. The contrary has never bore fruit.

The primacy of politics is fundamental because all the revolutionary tactics, and this includes military tactics as well, are aimed basically at 'conquering' the hearts and minds of the people and at the same time destroying the spiritual fibre of the ruling class. This is the political power that causes the trigger-finger of the enemy troops to hesitate to shoot; this is the force that produced, for example in Mozambique, "a general crisis and a situation of neuropsychological exhaustion" (to quote General Spínola) and the possibility of the transfer of political power to the people while the enemy soldiers still retain their weapons and ammunition in abundance.

When we talk of revolutionary armed struggle we are talking of political struggle by means which include the use of military force. It becomes important to emphasize this because of the danger of the guerillas developing what Basil Davidson refer to as "military commandism" which is always manifested by militarism, a cow-boy approach to armed struggle that seem to make a cult out of the bullet. The ever present debate in South Africa on the overemphasis of this or that aspect (political or military) arises from the fact that it is not easy to determine the point at which concrete political preparation has been sufficiently carried out to give our combat detachments the maximum chances of survival and growth within any given area. There is no instrument for measuring this. The only guarantee against blunders is to move the debate from the academic seminars to the actual political situation.

The other danger here exists in the creation of a strict dichotomy between the political and the military. In theory this question presents no problems, but in actual practice it creates a group of political revolutionaries and a separate group of military revolutionaries, that is, those who do the shooting and destroying. The armed combatants thus develop a negative attitude to political education, tending to view it as a mere verbal necessity forced on them by the political leadership ('because all talks', says one slogan, 'end in

Geneva'). If this is not checked early enough, it finally results, with the development of the struggle, in the competition for power between the so-called military and the so-called political.

Che Guevara described a guerilla as a social reformer who takes up arms in reply to the cry of his people. In an article printed in *Granma* (English edition), Havana, December 3, 1977, he said:

"The guerilla is a liberation fighter par excellence: elected of the people, vanguard combatant in their struggle for liberation."

In other words, each guerilla must be a political activist with a weapon in hand. Here there is division of tasks, it must relate only to the specific duties and assignments but not to designation. A guerilla that is void of political content will lack creativity and initiative - he will wait for a distant command for the situation he is supposed to appraise and command. A conscious drive should ever be directed towards co-ordinating political and military leadership until eventually it is intergrated.

ARMED STRUGGLE - NOT A SUBSTITUTE FOR OTHER TACTICS

It would be appropriate to quote at this stage from the Report of the Eighth National Congress of the Popular Socialist Party of Cuba (PSP) which was given by Blas Roca, a Member of the Politburo:

"Even though armed struggle was a decisive means for achieving the overthrow of the tyranny and the triumph of the revolution, we should not underestimate the role played by other forms of struggle, which co-operated in achieving these ends. The constant struggles, large and small, which were carried on in the cities and fields, outside of the field of military operations, kept the repressive forces of the government in check, prevented them from concentrating against the guerillas, politically influenced many members of the army and the police, disorganising these forces and tending to paralyse them. The actions and mobilisations of every type, in city and country, co-operated effectively in helping the Rebel Army to defeat the offensives of the army of tyranny and finally to win the battle for revolutionary power".

If the people in struggle were to be represented by the stormy sea, then the armed combatants are the waves - remove the sea or lower its tide, then you are tempering with the very existence or tide of the waves. It would be an error to think of armed struggle as a dichotomy separate from the other forms of struggle waged by the people. Armed combatants are given rise to by the people in mass action, and in turn their armed actions further stimulate more mass actions. The two exist in dialectical unity, to think otherwise would be tantamount to being metaphysical, philosophically speaking. Nelson Mandela had this very truth in mind when he said that between the anvil of mass action and the hammer of armed struggle, we shall crush the racist system. This is our formula for victory.

The prominence of armed struggle in liberation movements in many countries should not obscure the fact that independence from imperialist rule have been gained in a large number of African countries by other means, including general strikes, mass demonstrations, etc. If these tactics by themselves are capable of rendering imperialism under certain conditions weak, for what reason should they be ignored once the armed tactics are applied? In the case of South Africa, for instance, strategists of varying political persuasions have maintained that given the degree to which the South African economy is dependent on the labour of the oppressed black population, a nationwide general strike for a period of only two weeks by at least four-fifths of black workers, could of itself overthrow the Pretoria boers. This therefore means that a significant amount of energy should be directed towards the organisation of the working class. What, however, should also be guarded against in this regard, is to approach this mobilisation in divorce from the development of armed struggle. In fact, what the above-mentioned strategists fail to grasp in the South African reality, is that without accompanying manpower as well as economic installations, such nationwide general strike leading to the overthrow of the boer regime is only a pipe dream.

When we study the lessons of the Malayan as well as Philippines liberation struggles, and particularly the cause of their failures, we note that here the forms of struggle were not diversified and developed to bring all sections of the population, including sections of the national bourgeoisie, into the liberation movement, and "insufficient masses of the people were led by their own struggle experi-

ences to acceptance of the armed struggle as the only logical alternative. In short, Marxist-Leninist principles of revolutionary situations and their development were not closely observed", wrote William Pomeroy. (*Guerilla Warfare and Marxism*, London 1969, p.34).

Looking back over the whole process of development of the Vietnamese revolution, one again sees how the Vietnamese constantly relied on the all-round employment of all revolutionary tactics, with the proportions being dictated by the concrete situation and the stage of the development of the struggle towards mass insurrection. "Military struggle, coupled with political struggle is the fundamental form of revolutionary violence in the South", said Le Duan, "and the combination of the two is the fundamental rule of revolutionary methods." Mass uprisings combined with revolutionary warfare in close co-ordination! They enlarged the people's field of action - conversely, the more the revolutionary war developed, the more favourable conditions it created for the outbreak and spreading of uprisings. The combat activities of Umkhonto We Sizwe therefore aim not only at wiping out the enemy's military forces, but also at boosting the political struggle, and in particular at helping the insurrectionary masses of South Africa break up all forms of enemy control and oppression, win sovereignty and set up revolutionary power. This means the elimination of informers and administrative stooges as well as government representative organs and institutions in our midst. It means to arm ourselves with modern war equipment and to adopt an offensive strategy against our racist tormentors. To quote General Giap, "It means to fight the enemy in our fields and orchards, villages and hamlets, forest clearings and streets. It means to cling to and be masters of the land, to control the administration in varying degrees. to be masters of the situation."

"Our aim is a war fought by the entire people, not only in strikes and demonstrations but precisely in the field of armed struggle. In other words, the role of the masses as the combat forces is growing, and their political education is a principal task which will facilitate unity in action involving the black masses and democratic forces of our country." (*Unity in Action - A History of the African National Congress 1912-1982*, Page 71)

STRAIGHT TALK...

Racist Terror Unmasked

Does it surprise anybody to see the guardians of 'law and order' in the payroll of the Pretoria regime dragging their feet when they have to deal with an obvious case of mercenaries who committed acts of terrorism against an independent state? We must pose this question especially when it is so easy for these very preachers of justice to condemn people who are fighting for a just cause of freedom and social justice to death or to a life of imprisonment. From this point we must go a little further and pose another question: is there any link between this condoning of mercenarism by the Pretoria rulers in full view of the whole world, on the one hand, and the slanderous campaign of fabrications, distortions and lies waged by the Reagan administration against the struggles of the oppressed peoples for national liberation and those people who are rendering brotherly support to these just struggles?

Let us look at facts. On the 25th of November, 1981, 45 mercenaries arrived on Mahe airport in Seychelles with a clearly defined mission: to take the airport, the military barracks and the State House. The objective? One of the mercenaries who turned state witness, a certain de Jager explained further that the objective was to bring down the government of the Seychelles! The reason? Mercenary state-witness de Jager continues to state what he was told by one Tullio Moneta who briefed him, that is, that the coup "might be in the interests of the country. The situation was changing as People in Mauritius were moving to the left. It was thus important to get an alternative. The alternative could be to place a well-disposed power in the Seychelles."

The coup attempt failed and the mercenaries hijacked an Air India Boeing 707 which takes them to Durban. The South African government let most of the mercenaries go free, charging only five of them instead of strictly applying its anti-hijacking laws. Later on this move is reversed and a mock trial began presumably on the basis of the hijack charge. The central issue, however, sticks out inspite of the govern-

ment's attempts to divert attention from it. It did not succeed even when the judge imposed a ban on the publication of certain evidence on the ground that it was 'in the interests of the security of the state'.

What conclusion can be drawn from these pieces of evidence? The South African government was certainly behind the coup plot. After all, the Pretoria fascist regime has become notorious for its total disregard of the African states' territorial integrity and independence especially in Southern Africa. Right now the Pretoria regime is committing acts of aggression against the People's Republic of Angola, it is training, maintaining and directing the bandits which are engaged in distabilizing activities against the Mozambican people and their government. In Lesotho Pretoria is employing Ntsu Mokgetle's bandits. The peoples of Botswana and Swaziland are also victims of Pretoria's unprovoked aggression.

It is clear, therefore, that the apartheid fascist regime is waging a full-scale campaign against Southern African states. Its aim is to force these countries under its subjugation. Besides, these expansionist activities of the Pretoria regime encouraged by the forces of world imperialism led by the United States monopolies which constantly supply the Pretoria regime with arms including nuclear know-how, are an intergral part of imperialism's strategy for world domination - to gain control of the world's sources of mineral wealth and oil. The slanderous campaign against national liberation movements and those who support these just struggles is used by the Reagan administration to hide its mercenary activities the world over.

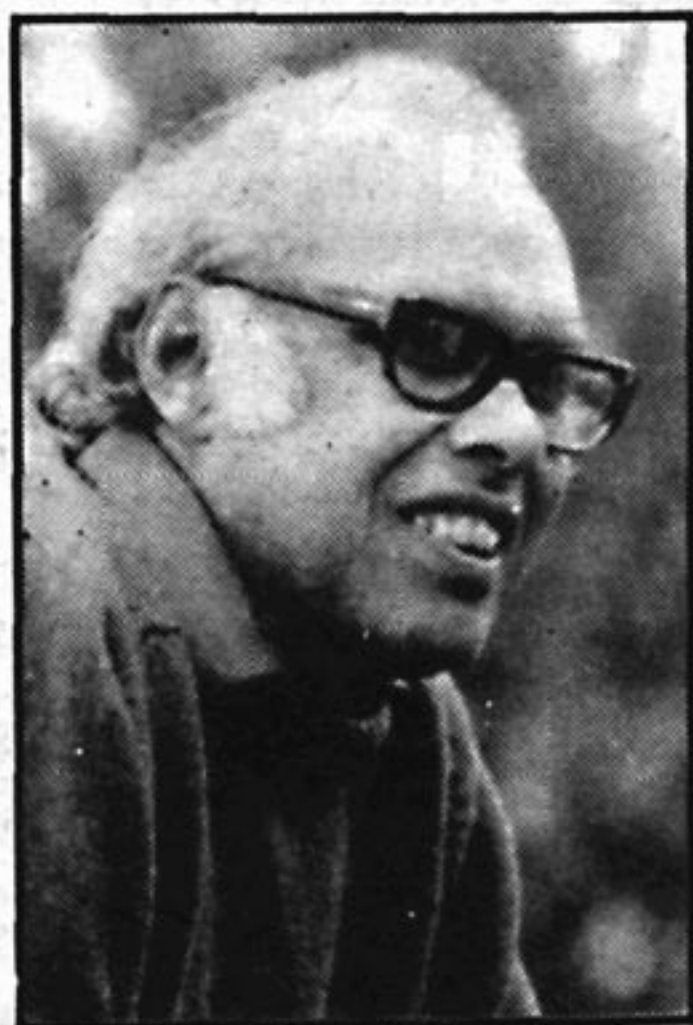
Yet, this abortive coup by Pretoria-hired mercenaries against the Seychelles completely unmasks the terrorist nature of the Botha-Malan clique which is called South African government and its imperialist backers. To those who have allowed themselves to be fooled by Pretoria's flimsy and groundless explanation of its continuing aggression against Southern African independent states, Pretoria's attempt to topple the government of Seychelles should serve as an eye-opener. Apartheid, like its twin fascism, means terror and that is why the campaign for the all-round isolation of the apartheid regime is so important. It is a campaign aimed not only at contributing to the victory of the oppressed people of South Africa but to save mankind from yet another monster of the nazi-mould.

CARIBBEAN - NOBODY'S BACKYARD

Excerpts from a talk over Radio Freedom by Comrade Alex La Guma, ANC Chief Representative in the Caribbean.

What is described as Caribbean consists of a number of small islands, each one containing a very small population - and these islands are mostly ruled by conservative governments who have allegiances to the old British imperialist connection and who carry on the neo-colonialist policy which is directed by big corporations in Europe.

One must of course add at the moment that these islands are also involved in opposition to these conservative governments on the part of the groups of democratic, progressive, revolutionary people who are determined to change the situation in this part of the Caribbeans. At the moment activities take the form of electioneering campaigns, agitational work and creating of political organisations of the people. In countries like Trinidad, Tobago and Barbados, etc., at the moment people are preparing for elections and it is hoped from the point of view of the democratic organisations operating there that change will come about.



Alex La Guma

In Jamaica where the pro-US imperialist Labour party ousted Mr. Manley's People's National Party in the last election, this latter party is active in regrouping itself to make a come-back.

Most of these small islands which mostly are English-speaking have taken the example from Grenada where people led by the New Jewel movement which in turn is headed by Maurice Bishop seized power from the old Gueri regime and established

a democratic regime in its place and is now engaged in social transformation which is directed at raising the standard of living of the people, extending democracy and creating new conditions for the masses...

In terms of what is taking place in the Carribeans and the Central America, the US has adopted an attitude of its own which proves to be bellicose, warlike and threatening. In terms of the US strategy, it views the Carribean as its so-called backyard and Maurice Bishop replied to this by saying very firmly, "We certainly, that is, people of Grenada, are in nobody's backyard."

The Carribean is also strategically vital to the US and its program and policies in that as we all know from looking at the map it describes the entrance between the Atlantic Ocean and the Central American area. It is sort of a gateway to the Panama Canal and it leads from Central America to the Pacific.

CUBAN EXAMPLE

Politically, the Cuban example has proved to the Central America and Carribean in particular that no small people, no small country need hesitate in the fight for liberation... irrespective of the presence of vast US arsenals. Cuba proved to the people to be capable of continuing the struggle. As a result of this the US has adopted this increasingly hostile attitude and in particular since the Reagan administration moved in this attitude has become more and more harsh, more and more severe.

Recently of course the struggle in El Salvador, has in particular reached a new impetus resulting from the tyrannical and murderous regime of Napoleon Duarte. Over the years and up to now guerilla actions which have been carried out on a local basis have now developed into a war on a national scale. The FML Front, we learn, at the moment controls about one-fifth of the national territory and the population has already started a program that should give encouragement to the rest of the population still under the heel of the fascist dictatorship. They have, for example organised land to improvise food and supplies both for the population and guerilla fighters. Medical aid is being organised and at the same time illiteracy is being dealt with and political schools have been opened and

military training is taking place among the population. So that it is quite clear that the people of El Salvador have established a substantial base and also ensure that they will be able to advance from this base.

LOCAL REACTION

Of course all this has given the local reaction and US a really uncomfortable time and has resulted in the growing awareness on their part of the inevitability of the victory of the popular forces led by the FMLN. In order to counter this of course they have tried their best to project a picture of a democratic process reigning in the country, but all the dead bodies that pile up in El Salvador do not hide the fact that the regime is corrupt and only exists because the US props it up. Anyway in order to project the so called democratic image, the regime and Napoleon Duarte has been talking about holding elections which is encouraged by the US with the hope that the popular forces, given general participation in these elections and the endorsement of the regime will be gained. However the revolutionary forces have pointed out that while they are not against elections, it is of course impossible to hold elections on the conditions that prevail in El Salvador today.

First of all, there is a reign of terror by the government which results in thousands of people being killed, actually butchered by the fascist forces. The country is therefore being placed in a state of civil war. More than 2 000 000 people have had to flee the country to escape the battle, the war and terror that have been the usual feature of the society. There are no proper electoral rolls by which voters can be organised the usual way and all these factors contribute to a situation where nobody believes that an election in a normal way can take place. Hence, I said the indications are that the revolutionary forces led by FMLF are prepared to find a political solution to the terrible situation prevailing in the country.

At the same time this can only be carried out if a normal situation prevails. They are prepared to negotiate for a peaceful settlement of the dispute between the democratic forces and those who stand in their way... This attitude has been supported by the reasonable forces, peoples internatio-

nally, but these conditions have been refused and Duarte and the US hope that irrespective of the fighting that is going on, this election that is about to take place soon - the so called election - will help to give them a sort of an aura of respectability and licence to carry on as they have done before.

Of course the US is devoting hundreds of millions of dollars to arming the fascist junta in El Salvador and giving it economic aid in order to carry on boosting the country for as long as possible, under the pretext that the government there is upholding human rights and deserves to be assisted. In the neighbouring states of Guatemala in Central America, the people also suffer under a dictatorial regime. We know that in 1954 the democratic government was overthrown by the reactionaries with the assistance of the CIA and as a result all freedoms have really disappeared in this country. There is no such thing like individual freedom, freedom of speech, freedom of political activity, etc... In addition of course all revolutionary organisations are banned in Guatemala and the people live under a barbarism carried out by the military who have no compunction to kill off whole populations of villages if they find to be harbouring or engaging in helping the revolutionary forces and the democratic movement.

In Guatemala, some weeks ago, ... many popular organisations came together to form a united front to face the regime in an organised way and to advance towards a democratic state supported by the people. It has been reported last month that the revolutionary movement and guerilla struggle have achieved certain victories that have shaken the regime. For example at the moment the guerilla movement controls certain localities in the country and last month it was reported that they conducted two house raids at army barracks and police stations and seized four radio stations in the capital and broadcast from them over a certain period. And so it is expected that the struggle in Guatemala will take on significant proportions and that the victory of the Guatemalan people is on the cards.

US STRATEGY

As I have said, in this whole area Central America is important to US strategy as well as for the economic resources which exist there and as a result of this the US continues an offensive against the popular movement in this area. And in the face, however, of obvious failure, Reagan is trying to now justify outright intervention in Central America by blaming

the so called assistance which countries like Nicaragua and Cuba are giving to El Salvador, for example.

These are of course lies and untruths about Nicaraguan - Cuban participation in El Salvador; no, there is no direct material aid nor troops of men in the guerilla armies of Nicaragua or Cuba. Reagan is obviously lying to justify himself since he can't produce an evidence of this so-called intervention of Cuba and Nicaragua. Whether Reagan can actually intervene, sending troops into that area, that of course is another matter. In spite of all these things, Reagan is unable to convince his own friends or anybody else in the US. The US intervention of El Salvador, everybody feels, can only result in aggravating an all-out offensive by the entire democratic forces of Central America which could possibly lead to another Vietnam-like situation which will involve the very broad strata of the Central American and Latin American people and of course in addition, the entire democratic forces of the world are on the side of the Salvadorian people.

However, we believe that whatever attempts Reagan tries to make to undermine the successes of attempts of democratic forces in the Caribbean and Latin America are doomed to failure. The world balance of forces has changed in favour of independence and people are in favour of progress and peace. In addition, these countries, Cuba, Nicaragua and Grenada are ready to defend themselves and expose the hypocritical role of Reagan and his associates who profess to uphold human rights, who are still prepared to attack small peoples. The US foreign policy is based on seeking solutions to the profound crisis of its own economy and that of world capitalism as a whole. In old times they could engage in world wars, today that is impossible because of the presence of the Soviet Union, the Socialist countries and international peace forces. War as it has always been known is not possible. No matter what threats are made, no matter how many nuclear weapons are brandished, any action on the part of the imperialists will meet with serious rebuffs for which they will pay very heavily. Nevertheless the US continues to try with what it calls exporting counter-revolution to those countries which are daily exposing the violence, cynicism and hypocrisy of the US administration, and who are revealing the reactionary policies of the US which continues to support reactionary and counter-revolutionary movements everywhere.

Reports reveal the US government supports the fascist juntas of Central America, El Salvador, etc., in Guatemala and Paraguay and other places. Support for the military junta-governments is inevitably reflected in other parts of the world as in Africa; the support for UNITA for instance in Angola in order to strengthen counter-revolutionary movements to try and replace the revolutionary government by counter-revolutionaries led by Mr Savimbi. In addition of course, it is also reflected by the Reagan administration's outright support for the apartheid and racists of South Africa which Reagan has openly described as a faithful ally of the US...

The US still hopes to act as a gendarme - a policeman who controls all countries of the world who try to move out of the grip of the reactionary role and out of the grip of imperialism. But this in terms of the part of the reactionary on the pay of imperialism only brings the democratic forces together in a solid united front in the face of world-wide attempts of imperialist forces. For this reason we see a growing solidarity between the people of the Carribean and the people of South Africa even though the Atlantic Separates us geographically - on the level of our struggle we are together.

70TH ANNIVERSARY

Recently with the commencement of the ANC's 70th Anniversary year, the Cuban mission of the ANC received many messages from organisations and movements in that area, e.g. Antigua, Tobago, Guyana, Barbados, Jamaica. In addition from Latin America, from the Chilean anti-fascism movement, from Uruguay, from the Sandinista Front of Nicaragua, from Socialist Party of Puerto Rico, etc. - all these view our struggle as part of the world-wide struggle against imperialism and against national oppression and independence, freedom and peace. And for these reasons they pledged their solidarity with the people of South Africa struggling against the fascist apartheid regime. This underlines our call for unity in action and we are sure that thousands, millions of reliable allies of the ANC and the oppressed of South Africa, people in the Carribean area and in Latin America, I believe also that the solidarity which we are experiencing can do a lot for the mobilisation of sanctions against the racist regime of South Africa as have been called for by the United Nations. We know that governments and enterprises in that area have relations with South Africa and the work that our friends in that area are doing in development of the liberation struggle is a demonstration of their solidarity

and their successes are sure to bring about the end of the connection between Central America, Caribbean and Latin America as a whole with racist South Africa.

And for this reason, obviously we of the ANC pledge to do what we can on the one hand to overthrow the regime inside our country, are confident, that the people of Latin America, Central America and the Caribbean are with us. For example with relation to the mobilisation of sanctions against the racist regime on the week-end of March 8 which was the International Womens Day, the democratic women of Jamaica for instance called conference and mass rally around the theme of sanctions against the South African regime so that these activities continue in that area in spite of the fact that we are geographically divided. But we believe that our South African people, people of Namibia, the people of Angola will in the end see victory, progress, stability and independence with the aid the brothers and sisters in the Caribbean, Central and Southern America.

HEROES OF OUR REVOLUTION

P.J. HODGSON (1910-1977)

-Juba Mfene

When the ANC marks the 70 years of revolutionary undauntedness, steeled in the heroic struggle of the oppressed but fighting people of South Africa. we take pride in the heroism that our people have displayed throughout the centuries from the ancestral past to the Wars of Resistance to the present day struggle. The count of moments of heroism is infinite: from the Gonemas of Core, the Makanas and Sekhukhunis, the Moshoeshoes and Cetshwayos to the Bram Fischers, the Basil Februaries and the Solomon Mahlangu who have blazed a trail of unsurpassed selflessness across South Africa.

We can't help being inspired and strongly motivated by the feats of heroism whose unrivalled efficacy is a source of high morale for the nation's drive towards the destruction of the apartheid order and the establishment of People's Democracy in South Africa. When the ANC calls upon the people to unite in action and act in unity, it is befitting to look through the pages of history and derive inspiration from one of our gallant fighters, Comrade Jack Hodgson.



"WHAT JACK GAVE IN SERVICE TO OUR PEOPLE, TO OUR MOVEMENT AND STRUGGLE, TO ALL SOUTH AFRICA, NEITHER DEATH NOR TIME CAN TAKE AWAY, FOR IT HAS ALREADY GONE INTO THE MAKING OF OUR HISTORY, THE DEFINITION OF OUR CURRENT ACTIVITY, AND THE SHAPING OF OUR FUTURE."

Jack Hodgson

CONDOLENCE

The above quotation is from a message of condolence sent by our President O.R. Tambo to the family of Jack on the occasion of the Memorial Service marking the death of the outstanding revolutionary produced by the cause of the struggling majority of our people. These eloquent words are a stirring explanation of the noble contribution Jack made to the cause of freedom, democracy and national liberation. Today, when we remember Comrade Jack, when the morale of the oppressed people inside South Africa - notwithstanding our leadership incarcerated in the Pretoria dungeons is ever so high, our people are asserting their will to be free with proud heroism.

In the vast majority of our people we have some white people who denounce the criminal regime of apartheid and identify themselves with the oppressed in the ranks of the revolution. Jack was one of those who could not bend to the bribe of white privileges in apartheid South Africa.

MINER

Born in August 1910 in South Africa, Jack Hodgson started work as a miner at an early age. He later worked in the copper mines of Northern Rhodesia, now Zambia.

The young Jack, as a miner, had joined the ranks of the most revolutionary class, the working class. His political consciousness was to be marked by the participation in the white miners' strike of 1938 and political evolution ushered him into the labour movement. He became a Socialist and later joined the then legal Communist Party of South Africa. His staunch, unflinching revolutionary thinking is expressed in the poem he wrote:

*I am a Communist
I say it without shame
On pride or thought of
Notoriety or fame.
Yes, I did choose this
Stormy path I have to tread,
As did the others, the
Millions who are dead
And all the Communists
Who in every clime
Rot in prisons
We are a product of time.*

Like all true revolutionaries, Jack had chosen the path of revolution with the full understanding of the fact that the step he had taken was fraught with perilous ramifications. His devotion to the communist ideals put him in the front of the anti-fascist struggle both abroad and on the home front.

After fighting as a 'Desert Rat' in North Africa, he came back from the war against Hitler's Nazism, Mussolini's fascism, and Japan's militarism to a South Africa where the disciples of Hitler were organising themselves to usurp power. With many of his comrades in the Communist Party, he was a victim of arrests, torture, bannings and house arrests for his belief in the cause of the liberation struggle.

Highly cognizant of the situation in South Africa, Jack realised that the solution to the complex political situation obtaining in South Africa was to be found in the alignment of the class question with the national liberation of the majority of black masses.

It then becomes clear, the reason for the consistent role of the communists as opponents of racism, apartheid, white domination and the exploitation of the black man. This thoroughly unique approach of being an opponent of all retrograde systems has consolidated the strength of the forces of

liberation, spearheaded by the African National Congress. It is now more formidable.

The tenacity of this persistence can be no less expressed by the struggles of the 'Roaring Fifties'; the Defiance Campaign, the Congress of the People and the historic and marathon Treason Trial. The treason trialists, a hundred-and-fifty-six in all were a conglomeration of communists and non-communists; their primary concern was the strengthening of unity between all the peoples of South Africa for the establishment of a new democratic society.

'DESERT RAT'

Jack, the 'Desert Rat', as his comrades called him, was one of those charged with high treason, a charge that only served to enhance the bond of brotherhood and gain political respectability for the ANC and its allies. Jack was not dumbfounded by the course of the trial which lasted four gruelling years. Jack moved with the times and changed with the strategic objectives and became more determined with more vigour.

Apart from being a fighter, Jack was a poet of consummate skill as the lines from his poem - 'I AM A COMMUNIST' - attest.

*I am a Communist
The people know my face
For they have seen it often
In the market place,
And wherever embattled
Workers demonstrate,
Ever the vanguard of
The fight for liberty
Up on the barricades
And the gallows tree.
Freedom fighter yet
Struggling to undo the knot
That binds the people to
A Slave's unhappy lot
All know my face, for I
Am ever to be found
Where colonial needs for
Freedom clarion sound
The trumpets that shake
From some tyrant's head*

*A crown to bring the
Crumbling walls of
Empire trumbling down.*

Where a new turn of events favoured a new form of struggle, the objective situation was welcomed by the people. The army of the oppressed was born of the people in the struggle. Jack Hodgson, a military man, an expert in the usage of explosives and sabotage, was among the leaders of our people who laid the basis of the foundation of the People's Army, Umkhonto We Sizwe, whose acts of heroism and valour, are the roots that are giving rise to the tree of liberty.

In the words of our National Executive Committee, characterising the advance of the struggle: "We are better placed to move forward because our people are engaged in mass organized action at a level and with a tenacity unsurpassed over the last seven decades. We are better placed to break new ground in our assault on the enemy because these risen masses recognise clearly, from practical experience that the revolutionary struggle in which they are engaged, has one leader and one perspective, the ANC and the Freedom Charter respectively. We are better placed to move in on the enemy because today we have a popular army, Umkhonto We Sizwe, capable of speaking to the enemy in the language he understands best."

MK is relentlessly pursuing the war of liberation. No doubt the devastating blows of our mighty People's Army are the haunting spirits hovering over the chambers of the racist minority regime. The Treurnichts, the Bothas and the Malans are panic-stricken; they seek revenge on the poor congregation of Venda and Crossroads. They dip their burnt fingers in the poor, innocent people of the People's Republic of Angola.

Comrade Jack was a great teacher, an invaluable contributor to the nucleus around which MK units were established.

He fell, like a revolutionary, on the path of struggle in December 1977.

LONG LIVE HIS MEMORY !

NAKED AMONG WOLVES

by Bruno Apitz

Chapter 13

Outside, a prisoner messenger ran across the mustering ground into the camp. He was looking for Kramer, could not find him at once and was asking people: "Where is he?"

He had to run to the Little Camp. Stumbling over the muddy pathways with their broken stones, before he finally caught up with Kramer.

"Walter!"

Kramer sensed bad news. He took the messenger aside. "What's up?" The young man panted.

"A telegram! I happened to hear it." Fear glittered in his eyes. "Evacuation!"

Kramer flinched. "Is that true?" For a moment the sudden fright blocked everything in Kramer. His mind a blank, he stared into the terrified face of the young man.

The many dangers which had arisen from the presence of the child were now winding up into one big danger. The end was nearing.

"What now?" asked the messenger.

Kramer's face twisted nervously. "Wait and see," he answered, because he had no other answer, and he realized that he did not know what to do about it.

To wait and see was the last thing they could afford to do now. Kramer felt a mad urge to grab the signal whistle and rush through the rows of blocks shrilly whistling the whole camp into a state of rebelliousness: "Evacuation, evacuation!"

To subdue his turmoil, he asked: "Do you have any exact details?"

The young man shook his head.

"I just wanted to tell you fast, they're talking about it up there already."

Kramer snorted and stuck his hands in his coat pockets. So now it was coming true, what they had anticipated. Only in its frightening immediacy it seemed so unreal that Kramer's cool matter-of-factness whirled away in a vortex. Scarcely a

week ago he had said to Schupp: "In a fortnight we'll be free or dead..."

What an empty phrase that still was then! But now he was confronted with the reality!

A cold shudder ran through Kramer. And what would become of Hofel? Of Kropinski? Of the ten men from the effects room? Pippig! The child! What would become of all of them?

WEIMAR GESTAPO

The arrested men were locked in the prison which the Weimar Gestapo had fitted up like a mews for purposes of its own.

Rochus Gay, the man from the Gestapo, had taken Kluttig into his room on the first floor of the front building. The room was disconsolately bare, its haphazard furnishings consisting of a few chairs, a table, a typewriter at the windows, and ugly roll closet. A forgotten potted plant was dragging out a miserable existence on the window sill. Lighter squares on the wall paper, which was browned with age, showed the former cheerful flower pattern.

Gay showed his teeth, between which he held the chewed cigar.

"I wish I had your worries..."

Kluttig tried to make the circumstances clear to Gay. The dangerous situation at the front forbade any delay whatever in exposing the secret Communist organisation...

Gay impatiently jerked his elbows, keeping his hands in his pockets. "At five minutes before midnight you come crapping around here with that."

Kluttig defended himself. "We've been searching a long time..."

"You Heinies..." Gay spat contemptuously - "All these years you been warming your asses and living off the fat of the land. Putting on the dog..."

Kluttig wanted to object, but Gay turned on him sharply: "Stuff it! You're the same kind of a jerk as the others!" He rolled the cigar around with his tongue. "It was a nice little game, huh? Caps off, caps on" At-te-e-en-shun! The more those hypocrites fell all over themselves in front of you, the more you thought: Nobody can touch us!"

Kluttig sat like a flogged schoolboy.

"If you'd just been stupid all this time, I wouldn't say anything," the Gestapo man continued, "But you guzzled, you

boozed, you whored...you got delusions of grandeur! And now that you've got to pack your bags you suddenly notice that the Commies..." He broke off and angrily glared at the dead cigar butt.

Kluttig, who felt the reproaches bitterly unfair, tried to justify himself.

"On my word of honour, I've done everything..."

"Give me the story on the scum you brought me!"

Kluttig gave a detailed report. Gay meanwhile walked about the room with his head bent forward, not looking greatly interested; but he was listening attentively and quickly putting two and two together.

A connection really did seem to exist between the child and the Commies; Kluttig also seemed to be right in his estimate of Pippig and Rose. As these two were described to him, one of them seemed to be a plucky fellow and the other a coward. The fever of the chase was roused in Gay. He let Kluttig talk, and considered tactics.

Rose and Pippig!

They were the ones to apply the jimmy to.

They were to be 'mixed'. Rose and Pippig, he ordered, should be put together in the vacated cell. "But not obviously, understand? It must look like an accident! They mustn't notice that they were placed together on purpose."

In this way Rose and Pippig came to be in cell number 16 together, and neither suspected that this created the pre-condition for the coming tactics of the interrogation.

Rose had gone completely to pieces. The upper part of his body slack, he sat on the only stool in the cell, kept his hands, which were rubbing against one another nervously, between his knees, and stared straight ahead. His face was chalk white, and the excitement lay on his stomach like lead.

Pippig took a look round the bare cell and then cuffed Rose encouragingly in the shoulder.

"Pull yourself together, amn!"

Rose breathed heavily and spat out between trembling lips: "You dog..."

Pippig looked in surprise at Rose, who began swaying the trunk in inner agony.

"You dog...if I end up now just when everything was nearly over, it's you who's to blame!"

Pippig saw the man's torment. "But August..."

Unexpectedly Rose leaped up and seized Pippig by the throat. Pippig tore loose from the throttling hands, but

Rose would not give up, he jumped at his adversary and they grappled with one another. Pippig overpowered the frantic man. The stool fell over with a clatter, the cell was unlocked, and the jailer came in.

"Here here here, what are you doing?"

He broke the clinch. "You want to kill each other now? It's enough that you're here. Try and hit it off together and be glad you've got a cell to yourselves. In some of them there are fifteen together."

The old jailer recognized immediately which of the two had lost his nerve, so he forced Rose down on the stool. "Now take it easy."

He turned to Pippig, who was buttoning his jacket; it was torn from the scuffle. "You're just making it worse for yourselves this way."

Pippig detected the human sympathy in his words and nodded gratefully to the old man, who left them alone again and locked the cell.

Rose remained sitting just as he had been placed by the jailer. Helplessly and in panic fear, he whimpered to himself: "I've got nothing to do with this. It's none of my business. I did my work and that's all. I want to go home. I don't want to get killed just at the end."

Pippig sympathized. "It's true, you have nothing to do with the child, August."

Rose cried out, his hands fluttering: "I don't know anything about the child! I know nothing, nothing at all!"

"Well, so much the better," replied Pippig dryly, in sudden irritation with Rose's mortal funk. He leaned against the wall and looked at the man's bent back and sunken head. His bald pate stood out like a tonsure from the perfect circle of shorn hair around it.

At the same time, however, Pippig shot off the suspicion that had come with this realization: Rose was not a bad guy, basically. He only was afraid. Sure - he was afraid, that was all.

Pippig pushed himself away from the wall and went over to Rose. "You're not a wrong guy, August, you're not."

Rose did not answer. He kept brooding. Pippig hesitated for a moment, then he sat down with determination on the floor beside the stool.

"Listen, August! About the kid - don't be scared. You simply don't know about it."

Rose barked out: "But I do!"

"No!" Pippig told him sharply. "You know nothing! *Nothing whatever!* And if you don't know anything, you can't tell anything either!" Rose felt the pressure on him, and remained obstinately silent. Pippig poked him in the knee. "Do you hear? I don't know anything either, and no one knows anything about the others. And if *none of us* knows anything... well, August..." Rose did not reply. Passionately Pippig importuned the silent man.

"August! Would you go and be the only one...? Look, you're our pal! Don't think of the kid now! Think of all of us! Maybe Zweiling got us brought here. Maybe it was that stool pigeon, Wurach? Listen, August! You're no stool!"

Rose gasped with torment. His sealed face opened abruptly in pain, his Adam's apple trembled.

"I don't want to die just at the end... I don't want to die..."

Pippig jumped to his feet and cursed: "Goddam it!" He shot Rose violently by the shoulder.

"August, man alive! Think for a minute! Do you believe they'd wipe us out five minutes before closing time? They're not that stupid. They wouldn't dream of it! This is our big chance! We've only got to stick together!"

Rose jeered. "Stick together! They'll break every bone in our bodies!"

Pippig let go of him. He put his hands in his pockets and walked with firm steps about the cell.

"We have to figure on taking a couple of cracks in the jaw..."

The cell was unlocked. The jailer held the door open. "Pippig for interrogation!"

Pippig whirled about in dismay and looked at the old official who, resigned to his unpleasant duty, was waiting at the door.

Pippig shrugged his shoulders indifferently and went. At the door he turned around to Rose again and laughed: "Well, August, who's pipping here, you or me? I'm pipping!"

Rose stood motionless with terror at the door which had closed behind Pippig.

HOLD HIM

Pippig had been gone for more than an hour already, and Rose was still sitting on the stool. How long before it was his turn? A wild fear came over him. Rose already saw himself facing the Gestapo man,

The rattle of the key in the cell door startled him. The jailer shouldered his way in, dragging a bundle with him - the bundle was Pippig!

"Hold him," growled the jailer at Rose, who stood in the cell as if he wanted to flee into its farthest corner. But Rose obeyed. He held Pippig from the back, under the arms, while the jailer let down the folding bed. They laid the bundle on it. The jailer left the cell with an empty water crock, brought it back filled and threw Rose a scrap of cloth. "You see for yourself what to do." He left the two alone.

Pippig lay with his eyes closed. One of them was swollen. From the left ear a brown dried line of blood ran down to his neck. His nose and his gaping mouth were encrusted with blood. Jacket and shirt were torn open, the shirt in tatters.

Rose's hand, holding the cloth rag, twitched. He bent over Pippig with the curiosity of dread. Pippig's eyelids trembled. The distorted face twisted into a grimace that was meant to be a smile. Rose saw it with horror. Unexpectedly Pippig began to talk, softly, but in a terrifyingly clear voice: "Wipe off my mug..." Rose's hands shook as he wet the cloth and wiped off the face.

Pippig moved his arms with difficulty and carefully raised the shirt from his skin. Only now did Rose see the large round spots of burned flesh on the chest. Holes burnt into it! Through his eyelids Pippig felt Rose's fixed stare at his chest.

"With a cigar," he said, and after a few paralyzed seconds: "Put the rag on it, good and wet." Pippig moaned as he felt the cooling. He took a deep breath and ejaculated with vehemence: "Something to drink, quick."

Rose looked about the cell and discovered an aluminium cup in the wall cabinet, which he filled. He supported Pippig with an arm under his head, and Pippig greedily emptied the cup. At last he seemed to have got past the worst of it. With a groan of relief, he laid back his head, and his face relaxed. Pippig could only half open the uninjured eye.

After a while he said quite clearly: "Don't you worry, he won't do this to you. I know what's up now."

Pippig forced himself to smile. "I'm not getting excited..." He fell silent and felt the coolness soothing his wounds. "That feels good," he sighed. He had to lie down again on his back. He lay that way for a while and said nothing.

Rose hesitantly put a question. "Why - why won't he - do

that - to me? Did he say so?"

Pippig made no reply. Pitiful question! But at last he said: "You dunce..."

Rose was ashamed and sat with lowered eyes.

"Then what should I do?" Rose pleaded.

"Keep your trap shut, that's all."

Rose swallowed.

"You simply don't know anything, and you have to stick to that, even if he gives you a few in the jaw. Goddam it, you can stand that much!"

The pains were becoming intolerable. Pippig groaned and tossed his head restlessly from side to side. He was so horribly horribly alone in his distress.

"Give me some more to drink," he groaned, raised himself on his elbows as Rose tremulously held the cup to his lips, and sank back again exhausted.

Rose saw in the tortured man's face the exertion it cost him to get the better of his pains. Suddenly he was overpowered by shame. He said softly, and more to himself: "All right, Rudi, all right, I don't know anything..."

Pippig revived.

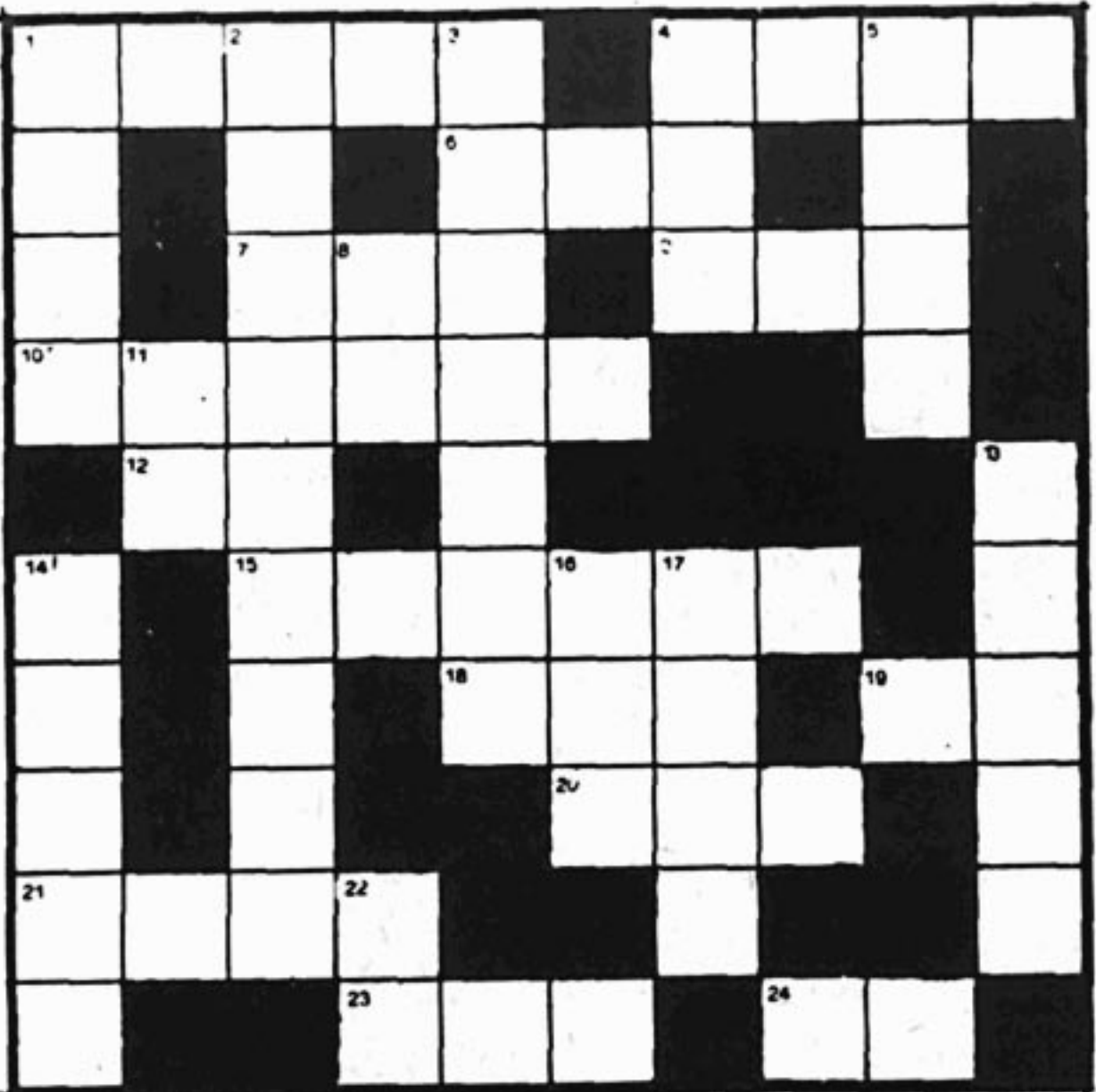
"You see, you see," he exulted. "And that's what you have to stick to. Don't blab, August, you hear? If the cop notices that you know anything he'll make mincemeat out of you, understand? But if you stick to your guns - you understand...? I already got the idea across to him that you know nothing about the business."

"Did you take the whole blame?"

"Say, are you nuts?" said Pippig suddenly as if he were perfectly well. "I told him that if none of us knows anything, then you certainly don't because you're a.... dunce..." Pippig's strength was used up. He stretched out, and it was as if his muscles were softened from pain. Disconcerted, Rose gazed straight ahead. So that was the opinion about him. Pippig had not importuned him, had not charged him to be brave and valiant. "...because you're a dunce..."

Rose hid from himself with a hanging head, he felt so ashamed.

TO BE CONTINUED IN THE NEXT ISSUE



Clues

ACROSS

1. First Vice-President of the ANC.
4. Food and Canning Workers Union.
6. Single thing.
7. Declare illegal.
9. To urge a person to do something.
10. Comrade Nkobi's first name.
12. Also known as
15. To stir up
18. An implement
19. Similarly
20. To scold
21. Soviet News Agency
23. To imitate
24. To move away

DOWN

1. Bertolt Brecht was one.
2. Hard working
3. King or emperor
4. Charges for instruction at a school.
5. Salary
8. Before noon
11. Uncle ----- Chi Minh
13. She became Vice-President of SACTU in 1960.
14. Our tested Trade Union vanguard.
16. An electrically charged particle.
17. Set of people working together.
22. South Africa.

See Answers in DAWN Vol.6 No.5

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 MgHz,
8-30-9am daily.*

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

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

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

ACT NOW!

STOP THE RACIST MURDER OF COMRADES



MANANA



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MOISE

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