

# DAWN

**monthly journal of  
umkhonto we sizwe**



**Walter Sisulu – ANC leader serving live sentence on Robben Island**

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monthly journal of umkhonto we sizwe

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**LONG LIVE**

**THE YEAR OF THE YOUTH**





## Editorial Comment

# JUNE 16 - THE FIFTH ANNIVERSARY

The e v e n t s of June 16 1976 that rocked our country, reinforced the people's consciousness of the fact that their united refusal to be ruled by a minority was a crucial condition towards mustering a reliable offensive against oppression. The youth, who this time were in the van of the upsurge demonstrated to our country and the world that Apartheid was not a monolith that could not be moved. In this way June 16 became a milepost in our difficult path towards liberation.

The f i v e years that have since elapsed have not only affirmed the political significance of this great upheaval, but also served to further expose the emptiness of Nationalist Party professions against its rule of uninterrupted terror and genocide. On the other hand this period brought about new challenges and lessons which when met, promoted our struggle to greater heights.

We are now drawing nearer to June 16 1981, which marks the 5th Anniversary of the day. The blood of the thousands of young martyrs butchered in cold blood in the streets of Soweto, Mamelodi, Langa, etc., is still calling. We remember young Hector Petersen, Steve Biko and thousands of our fallen militants and we say: "Your blood has watered the seed and you

shall be avenged."

The spirit of June 16 lives on and its generation is marching at the head of the column waving the banner of our fighting youth. We refuse to be cowed down by the fascists; we refuse to submit to the oppressor. We are inspired by the uncompromising stand of the young hero, Solomon Mahlangu, the great feat of the Silverton Trio, the courage of the young lion in Chiawelo - Gordon Dikebu. We are the thousands out to avenge the Matola Twelve. Those who cannot be moved by our united determination to correct the situation of fascist oppression, hunger and unabated bloodshed meted against the millions of our people, let them be moved by fear that our people have long reached the end of their tether and that a massive upsurge culminating in a popular overthrowal of the obnoxious apartheid system and the destruction of all its tentacles is the only logical course of our fight.

### F R E E D O M   D A Y

During the month of June again, our Freedom Day will once more be upon us. This is the day when we pause to re-examine the thorny path we have traversed so far - a path marred by Bulhoek, Sharpevilles, Sowetos, etc. On this day we are reminded of the gross injustice and humiliation we have suffered as a people in the hands of the fascist monster. On this day we should therefore pledge to fight uncompromisingly in pursuit of the freedom demands laid down in the Freedom Charter. We invite our friends and allies, the whole of peace-loving mankind to observe South African Freedom Day by extending gestures of solidarity and pledging to impose effective sanctions against the Pretoria fascists. In this way they will be contributing immensely to the victory of peace and progress in our country and the world at large.

As for us, June 16 and June 26 are occasions during which we demonstrate actively our opposition to apartheid rule in all its manifestations. Let us therefore organise and unite in the call to boycott the festivities of the fascist republic and advance with determination towards the translation into reality of the ideal of a free, non racial and democratic republic based on the Freedom Charter.

**REMEMBER OUR MARTYRS!**

**LONG LIVE THE SPIRIT OF JUNE 16!**

**FORWARD TO FREEDOM!**



# Africa Today

- MASHOHARA CHODOLO

"THE IMPERIALIST COLOURS OF THE POLITICAL MAP OF AFRICA ARE RADICALLY FADING AWAY; AND SOON THE ARTIFICIAL BOUNDRIES WHICH DIVIDE AFRICA WILL BE COMPLETELY OBLITERATED.

"IN THIS MELTING POT OF CHANGE ONLY ONE SUB-LIME RESULT WILL EMANATE FROM THE POLITICAL FORGE: THE EFFECTIVE POLITICAL UNION OF AFRICAN STATES."

- PRESIDENT KWAME NKRUMAH -

It was in July 1961 when the late great Ghanaian statesman, Dr Kwame Nkrumah, uttered these words. Little did he realise that almost 20 years later some African states would still be under colonial domination, that is Namibia and South Africa. However, this does not mean that Africa has not made any progress during these past 18 years. So, in observing the 18th Anniversary of Africa Freedom Day we take stock of our progress and problems and highlight our urgent tasks.

## O R I G I N

In 1958, Africa Freedom Day was observed for the first time; this was the time of Africa's awakening, when Morocco, Sudan, Ghana and Guinea won independence. The original date was the 15th of April. As an expression of its commitment to the liberation of the African continent, the vanguard of our oppressed but fighting people, the African National Congress, marked this day at the Alexander township stadium and the attendance by the masses of our people was tremendous. The birth of the decade of the 60s saw more African states gaining their independence. In 1960 alone 17 states appeared on the political map of Africa. Then on the 25th May, 1963, African statesmen met at Addis Ababa to form the Organisation of African Unity for the purpose of championing the noble cause of the total liberation of the African continent from colonialism. Since then May 25 has been marked by all progressive mankind as Africa Freedom Day.



The 18th Anniversary of Africa Freedom Day comes at a time when our continent has taken yet another giant step towards the achievement of our main goal. The decade of the 70s witnessed the rise to freedom of many African peoples. In 1974 the Ethiopian people under the leadership of patriots like Mengistu Haile Mariam toppled the corrupt feudalist regime of Haile Selassie. The armed liberation struggle by the peoples in the former Portuguese colonies have been crowned with great victories: in West Africa, Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde Islands led by PAIGC, in Southern Africa, Angola and Mozambique led by the MPLA and FRELIMO respectively.

What is most significant in this new round of independence is the vigour with which these nations, almost without exception, are tackling their problems of living. In spite of the burdensome legacy of colonialism, they are taking measures to ensure that the masses share their countries' wealth; decisive industrial enterprises are being progressively nationalised in the interests of the masses and the land has been given to those who work it, the poor p e a s a n t s. The touching



**Coffee harvesting in the People's Republic of Angola.**

words of one of the greatest leaders of Africa and the Father of the Angolan nation, the late Dr. Agostinho Neto: "What is the use of so much bloodshed if at the end of it all we do not control the wealth of our country," are finding expression in concrete action.

The creation of mass organisations, trade unions, women, youth and pioneers' organisations-together with popular organs of power such as the People's Assembly in Angola, make it possible for the masses to run the affairs of their country. The



progress made by these countries in the spheres of health, the combating of illiteracy and education in general, culture, etc., is remarkable. The development, with its anti-imperialist content, in countries like Algeria, Benin, Congo, Libya, Madagascar, etc., is encouraging.

### **NEO-COLONIALISM**

While the progress made by Africa brings hope to all of us, we should never turn a blind eye to the serious problems we are facing. Today, rich as she is, Africa is one of the continents with the highest number of diseases in the world. It is not uncommon to find children walking bare-footed with empty stomachs and the cause of these problems is not our 'laziness' or 'absence of a spirit of enterprise' as the imperialists would like the world to believe. The cause is the imperialists with their so-called aid, which rather than improve our situation, ensures that the bulk of the wealth of our countries fill the coffers of the Western capitals. That is why Africa must clearly differentiate friend from foe. Experience has proved that it is only those countries which have close friendly ties with the true friends of Africa - the socialist community headed by the USSR - that have been able to solve the problems of their people.

### **IMPERIALIST REACTION**

The advances made by the people of Africa are viewed with hostility by the rulers of the imperialist world, the monopolists of Washington, London, Bonn, Paris and the rest. To them the poverty, hunger, disease and ignorance of our peoples are their source of profit. That is why the imperialists are always hatching plots to sabotage the African Revolution. Africa will never forget the bloody assassination of Patrice Lumumba and other beastly deeds of the imperialists in Congo.

Today the African countries, especially where the wealth is transferred to the people, have become objects of imperialist dirty manoeuvres ranging from the subtler methods like ideological subversion to direct open aggression. In the Horn of Africa bands of separatists, enemies of the people, are recruited, trained and armed by Washington, other Western countries and Peking. They are then sent from Somali, Sudan and other reactionary countries to hamper progress in Ethiopia. In Southern Africa the Pretoria fascists, employed and backed by NATO are daily committing acts of aggression against the People's Republics of Angola and Mozambique. The UNITA and FNLA



bandits employed against Angola and the so-called Mozambican Resistance Movement in Mozambique have proved inadequate. The imperialists have not abandoned their aims of toppling the peoples' governments in these countries and replace them with puppet regimes.

## **THE PENTAGON**

To make things worse, the Pentagon has been given the green-light to build military bases in Egypt, Somali and Kenya by the puppet authorities in these countries. Washington has made Diego Garcia Island their bridgehead in the Indian Ocean. This island was annexed from Mauritius by the British and they leased it to the US in 1966. This brings to more than 30 bases in which the Pentagon is operating in the Indian Ocean. The US 'Rapid Intervention Force' has been created for the sole purpose of suppressing liberation movements or any popular uprisings that might occur wherever the Western monopolies' neo-colonial regimes are threatened in Africa. The subversive activities of the CIA & NIS (formerly BOSS) and other Western intelligence agencies are also a cause for concern. The CIA & NIS network recently uncovered in Mozambique is one example.

Thanks to the determination of the peoples of Ethiopia, Angola and Mozambique, the firmness of their vanguard Parties and the unfailing brotherly support from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, these nations continue to defend their revolutionary gains and develop their countries along the path they have chosen in spite of the continuing imperialist sabotage.



## **SOUTHERN AFRICA**

After a long, bloody and bitter armed liberation struggle, the Zimbabwean people have won their political independence. The victory of the Zimbabwean people is shared by our entire continent and especially our fighting people in Namibia and South Africa for whom this victory has further strengthened the possibility of achieving freedom in our own countries. The monopolists of the US, Britain and other Western countries are still occupying dominant positions in the economy of Zimbabwe, bent on getting richer at the expense of the Zimbabwean people. This makes it urgent for the Zimbab-



wean masses to resolutely struggle to control and benefit from the wealth of their country. This is an even more difficult stage in the revolution. This in turn requires maximum unity of the entire people against their common enemy, the imperialists and the fascist Pretoria racists, as well as determination to defend their revolutionary gains.

At the southern tip of Africa, the peoples of South Africa, led by our vanguard movement - the African National Congress - and of Namibia, led by SWAPO, are combating the fascist Pretoria nazis and their NATO allies. Today, it is because of the 'Western Contact Group' that a solution cannot be reached in Namibia. The solution that these countries want is the one that would suit them best, that of neo-colonialism in Namibia. The uranium and other strategic minerals of Namibia that are being exported to the West and US are the main things that make the imperialists to keep on manoeuvring instead of economically and militarily sanctioning the racists and bring about a genuine solution to the Namibia people's struggle.

Recently at the UN's Security Council meeting on the Namibian issue, most of the African states staged a walk-out in solidarity with SWAPO. This came about when NATO countries either abstained from or vetoed the UN's call to sanction South Africa both economically and militarily as this was the only decision reached upon.

With the intensification of armed liberation struggle in our country, we see the racists continuing with their cross-border attacks and bombing all the Front-line States, claiming falsely that they are "harbouring ANC terrorists." The People's Republics of Angola and Mozambique are the ones bearing the main brunt of these attacks. All progressive mankind should support the peaceful peoples of the Front-line States against the Pretoria fascists.

## **MK AND PLAN**

Thanks to the material and moral support given to us by the socialist countries, we the peoples of South Africa and Namibia are able to intensify our armed liberation activities inside our territories. Our peoples' armies, Umkhonto we Sizwe and PLAN pledge to intensify these operations until our continent is free from colonial and imperialist domination of foreign monopolies. We of the ANC and its allies, urge the international community to intensify their solidarity with the struggling peoples of South Africa and Namibia against this internationally hated crime against humanity, Apartheid, for Africa



shall never be free as long as this monster of Pretoria is still in power. As Comrade President Oliver Tambo stated:

"Mozambique will never grow. Zimbabwe will never. For as long as there is oppression and racist domination in South Africa, we shall not know independence..."

These are the achievements and problems that our continent is facing on the 18th Anniversary of her Freedom Day. It goes without doubt that one day the sun will rise when the exploiters of African wealth together with their fascist boer watchmen shall be routed and destroyed by the people and the "effective political Union of African States" shall be formed as Dr. Kwame Nkrumah once said.

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# **BANTUSTANS - Past and Present**

**- STEVE DLIWAYO**

It is now almost three decades since the Pretoria fascist rulers have been forcing our resisting people to accept the genocidal bantustan scheme. Each successive Nationalist Party government has consistently maintained this policy. Under the pressure of the mounting struggle by our people led by the African National Congress against the entire apartheid system, the fascists have had to change their terminology. During the "fighting fifties" the apartheid regime moved from Bantu Authorities to 'Self-government', in the 70s they moved to 'independence'. What is common to all these labels is that they are all misplaced, and intentionally so. Furthermore all Nationalist Party governments have consistently maintained the fascist colonial stand of "keeping the kaffir in his place". This is clearly demonstrated by the grim reality of the bantustans.

## **THE INDEPENDENCE FRAUD**

No matter from which angle one views the bantustan scheme, it remains a big fraud which cannot be camouflaged by any



means. Under the Bantu Authorities scheme which preceded the bantustans, the chiefs were appointed by and took orders from the fascist Pretoria government. The Commissioner-General, a Nationalist Party government official, was the supreme chief with powers to appoint or dismiss African chiefs. Under the present system the criterion for election (a farcical affair) to the so-called homeland government is loyalty to the racist policies of the Pretoria government, the machinery for giving orders being the Department of Bantu Administration and a string of 'advisors' from Pretoria.

The recent affair in which the Matanzima puppets made noise about their objection to granting of 'independence' to Ciskei on the grounds that the people of Ciskei, like those in Transkei, are Xhosa-speaking, is one piece of evidence which shows clearly that even within the narrow confines of the bantustan politics the policies of Pretoria are a miscreation.

In another squabble between the racist masters and their puppets, the racists refused to hand over Kingwilliamstown to Ciskei as part of the 'independence' plan telling their stooges that if that would happen the people of Ciskei would be denied the job opportunities which the presence of white farmers and businessmen in the areas create.

The basic truth of the South African society defies all constitutional manipulation, sloganeering and manoeuvring. South Africa is one country, with a common economy and for this reason the basic demands of its oppressed black majority - political and economic independence - can only be met in a united South Africa. The formation of the African National Congress to unite our people and the growing unity of our people, including those in the bantustans, in fighting to destroy the entire apartheid system and build a democratic united South Africa in which all its people, black and white will live as "equals, countrymen and brothers" leave no room for fraudulent schemes like the bantustans.

## **A C C O M P L I C E S**

The puppets who run the show in the bantustans are accomplices in perpetuating the internationally condemned crime of apartheid. They are getting rich at the expense of our people. They are the ones who own big tracts of land and hotels. In payment for their grisly job of keeping our people in these death-camps, the Pretoria regime is giving its bantustans stooges fat salaries, the source of which is the blood and sweat of our people. In addition these 'leaders' are imposing heavy taxes on our already impoverished people. These petty-



bureaucrats, like their racist masters have so degenerated in their treachery that bribery and other similar scandalous activities have become their norms. It is not surprising that honest patriots like Chief Dalindyebo Sabata, who has been forced into exile, are victimised for refusing to be used against their own people by the fascist oppressors. The bantustan nincompoops are employing the same repressive policies as the racist regime as could be seen in the persecution of the N d e b e l e people by Mangope, the harassment of opponents of the bantustan system through repressive measures like Proclamation R400 of Transkei.

## THE CITIZENSHIP QUESTION

The land of our people was grabbed by the greedy British and Boer colonialists leaving our people with no means of subsistence except working for a pittance as contract labourers in the industrial centres. For all practical purposes the basis for our people's attachment to the bantustan areas has become so minimal that to a great extent it is the reluctance of the Nationalist Government and the bosses to build them houses where they work, to live with their families that forces them back to the bantustans on the expiry of their contracts. To



make matters worse, the racists are forcefully removing thousands of our people from the industrial areas where they have worked and lived with their families for generations to the bantustans. All this is done to satisfy their arrogant fascist



wish which the architect of this genocidal 'homeland' system Verwoerd expressed: "... South Africa is a white man's country and he must remain master here".

This arch-fascist Verwoerd, outlining his designs even went further to say: "The Bantu in the cities are not distinct from the B a n t u in the Native Reserves... t h e urban Bantu are visitors in white areas..."

It is this extremely racist trash which the Botha-Malan fascist regime is following with such fanatic fervour. They have even rejected as "unscientific" the findings of their own Human Science Research Council because it disclosed, on the basis of a secret survey, that the overwhelming majority of Africans have no real links with the bantustans.

It is clear that the Nationalist Party government want to strip our people of all citizenship rights. All demands by our people will be ignored with "Go back to the bantustans!" But our people are not begging anything from the racists and are fighting for what is rightfully theirs. Tricks will not save apartheid.

## **ECONOMIC VIABILITY**

Only recently a government appointed commission on Ciskei, the Quail Commission, reported: "We consider independence as at present understood to be an unattractive option at this time." (This is nothing new!) Some of the reasons given for this conclusion were:

- In terms of size and economic viability the Ciskei would rank among the world's least endowed states. (Ciskei or any other bantustans are not and could never be states - Ed).
- ...South Africa is changing: this is not the time to risk cutting itself off from the prospect of gaining its rightful share of political and economic benefits within South Africa.

George Quail even said: "Had this debate taken place earlier, the independence of Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda would not have been proceeded with."

In fact this and many previous commissions on bantustans or any issue that concerns the plight of our people under apartheid, are a luxury which the racists can afford at the expense of our exploited people. It requires no commission to



know that the so-called homelands are economically unviable. Our people in the bantustans are virtually landless and unemployed. This was the position right from the onset and it is deteriorating with every passing year. Over 70% of the 'homelands' income is received from the racist regime as part of the racist republic's budget as well as from the starvation wages of the migrant workers through heavy taxation. With this type of situation our people are forced to be a supply of cheap labour for the mining, manufacturing and farming industries in 'white' South Africa.

The fascist rulers, in spite of their loud-mouthed sermons of leading the bantustans to 'independence', are in fact opposed even to anything that would minimally influence the economic situation of the bantustans; e.g. the incorporation of Richardsbay, Kingwilliamstown to Kwa-Zulu and Ciskei respectively. We can see that 'independence' is merely a slogan used to conceal the real intentions of the racists - genocide. There is just no way of making a living in the bantustans. They are death-camps! The death of more than 50,000 children from hunger is one clear indicator of the economic situation in the bantustans and the intentions of the racist oppressors.

## **PUPPET BATTALIONS**

One of the main aims of the Pretoria nazis in creating these bantustans is the creation of human shock-absorbers. This is increasingly becoming clear as the struggle of our people led by their vanguard movement, the African National Congress, escalates inside the country and as the Pretoria militarists step up their suppression of the Namibian people's struggle for independence and their aggression against the neighbouring African states in a bid to install puppet governments in some and force others to support the apartheid policies. In 1975 the 'Transkeian Defence Force' was formed, in 1977 the 'Bophuthatswana National Guard' came into operation. This was followed by the formation of more puppet armies in the remaining bantustans.

These puppet armies, created under the guise of independence as expressed by Piet "Wapen" Botha (then Defence Minister) in 1970 when he said: "If the Bantu wanted to build up a defence force, he should do so in his own eventually independent homeland," are an integral component of the SADF strategic deployment. Between 1974 and 1979 a total of approximately 12,000 black troops were trained and deployed by SADF, most



of them on a permanent basis. Two thousand of these were from Transkei and Bophuthatswana. The most indicative development in this direction is that the 'Bophuthatswana National Guard' has been established under the wing of the SADF's North-western Command. In fact all the bantustan armies' activities are directed from Pretoria.

The tactic employed by the Pretoria fascists - using a section of the oppressed as parapets for its soldiers - will not yield the desired results. The defeat of the Smith regime and the escalation of the armed liberation struggle in Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO and its military-wing, PLAN are fine examples.

## **C O N C L U S I O N**

The bantustan scheme and the entire apartheid system is becoming more repugnant. In the same proportion our people's resistance led by the ANC against this genocide is mounting. That is why even the imperialists who have openly stated their intentions of investing in the poverty of the bantustans, as can be seen in the frequent visits paid to the Western countries by the bantustan puppets, cannot openly recognise the bantustans. What remains is for our people to make it impossible for the stooges to run these 'homelands', to forge unity right across the confines of the individual bantustans and combine their struggle with the actions of the working class and the entire urban population. This way we will be able to weld our forces into a giant steel-hammer capable of crushing once and for all our common enemy, the fascist boer regime of Botha and Malan.

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"TO US BANTUSTAN MEANS THE HOME OF DISEASE AND MISERABLE POVERTY, THE PLACE WHERE WE SHALL BE SWEEPED INTO HEAPS IN ORDER TO ROT, THE DUMPING GROUND OF 'UNDESIRABLE ELEMENTS', DELINQUENTS, CRIMINALS CREATED ESPECIALLY IN TOWNS AND CITIES BY THE SYSTEM. AND THE PLACE WHERE OLD PEOPLE AND SICK PEOPLE ARE SENT WHEN THE CITIES HAVE TAKEN WHAT THEY HAD TO GIVE BY WAY OF STRENGTH, YOUTH AND LABOUR. AND STILL TO THE DAY OF DEATH, WHETHER IN CITIES OR RESERVES, WE ARE TENANTS ON 'THE WHITE MAN'S LAND.'"

**- CHIEF ALBERT LUTHULI -**



# HEROES OF OUR REVOLUTION (Johannes Nkosi 1905-30)

- ELLIOT MDUNI

From the glorious days of our ancestors our people's struggle against colonial domination, for freedom and independence has produced countless heroes and heroines, men and women who defied even death in defence of our people's noble aspirations. The taking of positions in the front ranks of this mighty revolutionary movement by the working class has moulded a fighter with a new calibre. In addition to the dauntless courage, determination and heroism inherited from our ancestors, this new fighter is armed with the iron-discipline, advanced combat ability, organisation and scientific clarity of the essence and future of our liberation struggle, qualities of the class that holds the bright future of mankind in its labour-hardened hands. One such fighter was Comrade Johannes Nkosi.

## PEASANT'S SON

Johannes Nkosi, farm labourer and domestic servant (contemptuously referred to as a kitchen-boy by whites in South Africa) was born of peasant parents on the 5th September 1905, in Natal. He was born during hard times. His parents, like the rest of the African community, had been impoverished by the bloody plunder and land robbery committed by the greedy colonialists. Comrade Nkosi never enjoyed the tender parental care which all young children need nor did he receive formal education. Those were the days when our people in Natal were locked in a life-and-death conflict with the British imperialists who, in order to force our people into slave labour in the mines, had imposed upon them the heavy poll tax. This is the heroic campaign which culminated in the historic Bambata Rebellion of 1906 and which marked the closing of the first chapter of our people's armed resistance against colonialism, a series of bitter but just wars waged by our people against the enemy for more than 250 years.



At a very early age in his life, Johannes Nkosi left his parents to sell his labour power in Johannesburg in order to help them and to learn to stand on his own. At this time Johannesburg was already a prospering centre of industrial activity and it was here that young Johannes was employed as a domestic servant. No doubt the painfully sharp contrast between the glitter of the 'whites only' Johannesburg city and the squalor of the African miners' slums must have struck him like a heavy blow. The humiliation of his people which he shared, the rising militancy of the toiling African masses and his irresistible desire for their freedom drove him into revolutionary action. Thus at the age of 19 he took part in the strike against pass laws led by the African National Congress. It was during this time that he joined the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (ICU) and developed into an uncompromising fighter for the interests of his class and people.

### **YOUNG COMMUNIST**

A few years after its foundation in 1921, the CPSA, alongside its drive to organise African trade unions, opened night schools for teaching African workers to read and write and for political preparation of potential and other Party members. When one of these schools was opened in the slums of Ferreiras-town in 1925, under the supervision of the veteran T.W. Thibedi, workers like Moses Kotane and Johannes Nkosi were among the first pupils. In 1926, already a seasoned trade unionist, Comrade Nkosi joined the CPSA, destined to play an outstanding role in the South African revolution.

The reinforcement of the ranks of the CPSA by young African militants: teachers like Edwin Mofutsanyana, J.B. Marks and Albert Nzula; workers like Moses Kotane and Johannes Nkosi had a tremendous impact on the Party. Their contribution was remarkable in enabling the CPSA to "indigenise Marxism so as to give it meaning for the millions of our workers and peasants" to use Moses Kotane's words. Articles published in the Party's paper in Setswana, Sesotho, Zulu and Xhosa brought to the access of the masses of our country the growing relevance of the invaluable teachings of Karl Marx to our struggle for freedom. They also took an active part in organising Party branches in the country districts or concentrated in trade union work. In this way Johannes Nkosi and his contemporaries helped much in making the CPSA a vital force in the national liberation struggle led by the ANC. It was in recognition of their outstanding ability as organisers, firmness in



fighting for the interests of the working class and the entire oppressed masses and their remarkable role in the Party's development and application of its revolutionary theory to the realities of South Africa that Johannes Nkosi, Moses Kotane, Albert Nzula and others were elected to the leadership of the Party in 1929.

## **O R G A N I S E R**

Early in 1929 the Party sent Johannes Nkosi from Johannesburg to organise a branch in Durban. There he had to work among the workers especially those organised into the ICU yaseNatal led by A.W.G. Champion, who had anti-communist inclinations.

During Sunday afternoons the ICU meetings attended by some thousands of workers at Cartwrights Flats, Johannes Nkosi would be seen carrying his usual bundle of the Party's paper, "Umsebenzi", selling it to the workers. (There were times when Champion did not allow him to sell the paper). Comrade Nkosi soon won the confidence of his fellow-workers.

Under the leadership of Johannes Nkosi, the Party grew very strong in Durban. Thus when the Party launched a nationwide anti-pass campaign which reached its climax on December 16, 1930, Durban became the hot-bed of mass political activity. While other cities drew only a few hundred demonstrators, 3000 came out in response to the call of the Durban branch.

## **EXAMPLE OF HEROISM**

December 16, 1930, the 92nd Anniversary of the Battle of Ncome (Blood river) when hundreds of our heroes laid down their lives in defence of our land and independence against the British land-grabbers and perpetrators of genocide, was the day when Johannes Nkosi was to die at the blood-dripping hands of the police. As planned, the anti-pass meeting began at 11 am on the 16th December, 1930, at Cartwrights Flats. It was a quiet and orderly meeting, the audience beaming with enthusiasm as they listened to the speakers who for four hours urged them to intensify revolutionary action. Passes were handed in and collected in bags and, as the demonstrators prepared for the march through the city, in defiance of a police command stopping them, a large force of the Durban Borough police, like a band of wild vicious beasts let loose, charged at the surprised peaceful multitude and attacked mercilessly. The police were armed with pick handles, assegais and revolvers. With unmistakable concern, Nkosi who was on the platform, was busy



controlling the people who, though unarmed, were fuming with anger. In the process the police had fulfilled the evil intention of their masters. They killed Johannes Nkosi and three other men; Ben Pani, James Mhlongo and Joseph Sofild while many others were seriously wounded.

H. Kirst, who was present at the meeting gave a first-hand account which stated in part: "I saw Nkosi struck down from the table... When the crowd was dispersed I saw them pack the wounded on a lorry. I followed in my car. There was a trail of blood dripping from the lorry. The lorry waited outside the police station for three-quarters of an hour or more. Then they were removed to the hospital. I wired to Bunting in Johannesburg. He replied: 'Save Nkosi at all costs. Spare no expense'." Several other witnesses testified to having seen police stab the dead men, yet the police were strangely 'unable' to identify the killers. Even the arrest of 26 other demonstrators, four of them being sentenced to 6 months' hard labour, could not intimidate our people who came out to give evidence. Seven African witnesses swore that they had seen the chief constable shoot at Nkosi, who was stabbed after being arrested, but the police rejected the evidence.

If the police, the court and the entire manipulators of the repressive state machinery were bent on denying responsibility for their beastly deed while gloating over it, the fighters for freedom in our country were and still are resolved to rally around Johannes Nkosi's example of heroism and continue the struggle until victory is won.

### **SYMBOL OF MILITANCY**

In a widely-circulated tribute to Johannes N k o s i , Albert Nzula wrote:

"An uncompromising fighter, he died as he lived, fearless and conscious of the great fight in which he was engaged, as his final message, short but characteristic shows. The message addressed, in Zulu: To the workers of South Africa: Never under the sun has a nation been so shackled with the chains of slavery. We are not even allowed to voice our opinion on the state of affairs in our own Motherland. Why not awake and stand on our feet? Men, women and young women, we must support the organisations that fight for our freedom.

A thousand Africans must take the place of Nkosi. Let his cowardly murderers know that the African Giant is awakening and nothing will stop his progress!"

Johannes Nkosi became a "martyr and a symbol of African militancy against state repression and class exploitation!"



During the fifties SACTU activists frequently visited Nkosi's grave as an inspiration in their struggle. It was only natural that when the CPSA faced one of the most testing moments in its life, when threatened with a banning by the fascist Nationalist Party government, that W.H. Andrews rallied his comrades around the name of Johannes Nkosi and other fighters of his calibre, saying: "Remembering the path which has been blazed by our members for over thirty years and inspired by the example of such fighters for freedom as Nkosi, and many others, who died for their opinions, let us face boldly the renewed and perhaps more ruthless attacks which are threatened."

## **T R I B U T E**

The choice of Dingane's Day, 1961, for the creation of our People's Army, is a tribute to our ancestral heroes as well as those of our times as Johannes Nkosi, and an expression of our people's unflagging determination to spare neither limb nor life to win our long-cherished goal of freedom. The example of Comrade Nkosi has been followed by many other heroes of our Motherland: Vuyisile Mini, Zinakile Mkaba and Wilson Khayinga and Solomon Mahlangu - all died with honour at the Pretoria gallows. Many more, born and yet unborn will follow this example.

## **LESSONS FOR THE YOUTH**

The life of Johannes Nkosi stands out as a shining example to all fighters for freedom in our country, especially the young ones. It was a brief but full life, a life rich with qualities which all revolutionaries should strive to develop in themselves: deep hatred for the oppressors and boundless love for his people, a high sense of responsibility, courage and determination.

Johannes Nkosi knew his goal in life and never for a moment did he deviate from the road he had chosen towards the liberation of his people. His firm grasp of the realities of the oppressive and exploitative South African society, his clarity about the aims of our people's struggle and his mastery of the weapons of victory always served as his reliable source of inspiration and unfailing guidance as he boldly marched forward on the thorny but glorious path to freedom. Certainly Comrade Nkosi had taken heed of Lenin's invaluable advice: "It takes knowledge to participate in the revolution with intelligence, purpose and success."



To imagine that such a young man, only twenty-five years old, could have made such a noble contribution towards the liberation of our people at a time when our organised revolutionary struggle was only beginning to take roots! It shounds incredible yet very true. What the life of Johannes Nkosi demonstrates is that all of us can contribute to our people's struggle to the best of our abilities no matter how young we may be, as long as we are determined and have patience to learn from our elders. There is a bit of Johannes Nkosi in each and everyone of us. And we are even fortunate in that we are living at a time when we can practically see freedom over the horizon.

Our time demands revolutionaries of Johannes Nkosi's calibre. Our long suffering people and the entire freedom-loving people in the world expect much from us - the liberation of our Motherland. This is a great challenge but one that can be achieved in our life-time. Our urgent task is to give a l l for the realisation of the lofty ideals for which Johannes Nkosi and all our heroes readily laid down their lives.

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# 'They Killed Old Manku'

- LERATO MORENA

I don't remember old Manku when I was a little boy, though she had been living hardly a stone's throw from my own home - a matchbox like all the others. Now at the age of 16, I knew her fairly well. There were many stories about the reason for her plumpness. Some said she was living on the savings of her late husband who was reputed to have been excellent at betting horses, whilst others were almost certain that she was a witch. "Don't you see how even the dogs avoid her dustbin," they would add with great agitation. This was basically township gossip and those who took it seriously were very few if any. All this did not seem to affect old Manku and she continued with her silent ways, leading an unimplorable and definitely uninteresting life.



## A KIND-HEARTED SOUL

No doubt some of the old folks knew her well. They would never go past her house without inquiring about her health and wishing her luck. Luck in what? Nobody knew and I did not bother myself about it either. One thing certain about Manku was that she was a hard worker. She really knew how to carry her weight about.

The first time I entered her house was when her two grandsons came home from boarding school on holidays and I, having been per chance not very far from where they alighted from the taxi, was assisting them with the luggage. Five minutes later I was standing right inside her kitchen greatly struck by the spotlessly clean state of this apology for a kitchen. I stood there bewildered, never able to comprehend how she managed to keep it that clean, and a matchbox house for that matter.

I did not stand long that way for Manku, like Mt Vesuvius rolling forward, was edging herself towards me from the door on my right, wearing the broadest smile. I was dumbfounded. She immediately shook my unsteady hand, inquired about my family, my school results, etc. And all the time she was saying to me "That's a good boy! I think you'll make a great patriot." She went on ignoring my request for permission to leave. "Sixteen years of age, that's great. A few more years and you'll be big enough to follow in the footsteps of the volunteers". Though I did not understand this part of her oration, one thing was clear to me now; Old Manku was a kind-hearted soul and seemed to care about everyone. This was the beginning of an acquaintance that was to be short-lived.

When schools re-opened, her grandsons having gone back to school, I frequently went on several little errands for Manku. They were very simple: "Son take this small package and drop it at Dlamini's," and I would shoot out like a bullet on my errand. There were several packages I sent to Dlamini and other people, surprisingly much younger people, in this way. "That's a good boy! A patriot you'll make" and a gentle pat on the back. I never got to decipher this seemingly idiomatic expression for a very long time. Perhaps because it was said by old Manku whom everybody knew was jobless, plump and suspicious. She was ever arrested on quite a few occasions. Once when she threatened the township superintendent with her umbrella. All these did not bother me now. I told myself it was inquisitiveness that led to my acquaintance with the old woman, but inwardly I involuntarily admitted that she was a kind-hearted soul. I would frequently repeat this



to myself in order to suppress the other thought.

### ONE SATURDAY AFTERNOON...

The incident that led to my better understanding of the old woman occurred one Saturday afternoon. It was towards month end and there was general excitement in the township. I had heard the previous day at school that there was going to be an anti-rent demonstration. At 14,30 the area around the



rent office was already fuming with agitation. The little crowd that had been gathering there since morning was growing every minute. They were singing and shouting. Few seized the opportunity to hurl angry insults at the white township superintendent whom they did notice had hurriedly ejected himself through the backdoor of the office, past the toilets to a waiting police van at the other side of the street. I drew nearer to the scene. "We are never going to pay. Where the hell do they think we get the money from? These are hardly houses, they are hovels. To pay that much for hovels? Never! We hardly have enough to eat. It is just a miracle how we survive and now they want us to pay R22,00 for these hovels. Good people on our knees never!" Manku was perfectly at ease with herself as though she had rehearsed her oration for months. Her sonorous voice held the crowd spell-bound. They interrupted her speech with applause and shouts of "Amandla!" I could not believe my ears. Was this really old Manku? "That's a good boy... A good patriot you'll make", I unexpectedly re-called the epilogue of my last visit to her house. Shouts of "Tell them" escaped through my mouth. Nobody seemed to hear or notice me for suddenly something seem-



ed to have captured the eyes of the small crowd.

Everybody saw and knew what it was. The small column of ~~cars~~ - mostly vans, pulled to a stop opposite the rent office. The police rushed out like mad bulls. For a split second they really did look like bulls and the crowd, the matadors. "On our knees never" I fancied I heard the voice of old Manku as I scurried and ducked amidst swinging truncheons that were targeting at anybody within reach. I ran away. By a miracle I emerged clear out of that bloody pandemonium. "The scum, this is the treatment they've given us for ages. The scum!" One old man who had ducked behind the abandoned bus-stop shed was cursing, hardly noticing my presence three metres away from him.

One woman came screaming down the street, "They've killed old Manku, the brats! Smashed her skull with a truncheon, these devils!" I felt a lump in my throat and suddenly my legs refused to carry me. I struggled to reach home. Mother was already home and as she opened the door for me, I paused and almost in a whisper reported to her; "They killed old Manku." She let out some kind of suppressed scream, cursed, took me into her arms and together we cried for a full minute.

That evening the streets were deserted as the people were indoors, mourning the death of Manku. Those who were still shocked by the conduct of Manku that afternoon were told that she was brought to our township from the Vaal areas where she was very active in trade unions and in the general fight against oppression. The government labelled her an 'agitator' and banned her. Only then did they begin to understand. And they even had reason to believe that all the rumours about her were hatched by the police - to keep people away from the so-called agitator. Most people agreed that Manku was a heroine. The enemy used dirty slander on her but could never dampen her spirit.

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# PERSPECTIVES OF OUR STRUGGLE

## PART 1

Below we publish excerpts from a **RADIO FREEDOM** interview with **COMRADE THABO MBEKI**, a member of the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress. "DAWN" publishes these excerpts with the view that they will provide concrete guidelines on the ever continuing discussions on the strategy and tactics of our revolutionary war for liberation.

**QUESTION:** A few days ago, you'll remember that a unit of Umkhonto we Sizwe blasted or sabotaged some electric transformers in an electric depot in Durban, bringing the whole town into darkness, and some of the factories could not be used for almost the whole day. What was the purpose of the attack?

**CDE. THABO MBEKI:** Well, as you know, the Chief Representative of the African National Congress in Dar-Es-Salaam issued a statement after that explaining this attack. And as you will remember, he said that the African National Congress as is the majority of the people of the country is opposed to the fascist republic, whose twentieth anniversary the racists are celebrating during the month of May. He said that this action is part of the whole offensive for the birth of a democratic non-racial united republic of all the people of South Africa.

The Chief Rep., in Dar-Es-Salaam also said that the action proved that the units of Umkhonto we Sizwe are not outside of South Africa, that they are not operating from Mozambique - they are in South Africa. They are based in South Africa, they are operating from within South Africa. This is obviously so because we carried out an operation in Durban, and Durban is very far from anybody's border. And therefore the Chief Representative said, this was an affirmation of a point which the ANC has been making all the time, that the armed struggle is being carried out within the country. Now I would like to add that the very fact of the action represented a defeat for the enemy. You remember that the enemy came in January to attack houses in Matola, Mozambique, claiming that these were ANC bases. They made a lot of noise about having killed a lot of leading commanding personnel of Umkho-



nto we Sizwe, trying to project the image that by carrying out that operation, they had succeeded to make it impossible for Umkhonto we Sizwe to carry out the military struggle within the country. Now I'm saying that the fact of this action shows that the enemy failed in its intentions.

We have told the enemy anyway; We have said it in public that these were residences, they were not military bases, they were not military headquarters and if the enemy really wants to get Umkhonto we Sizwe, they've got to find Umkhonto within the country. I'm saying that in addition to what the Chief Representative had said in Dar-Es-Salaam, the operation in Durban was an affirmation by the ANC, by MK, that the option of armed struggle is a permanent part of our struggle to destroy this racist republic and create a Democratic Republic of all the people of South Africa.

### METHODS OF STRUGGLE

**QUESTION:** It would seem that you are saying that violent means of overthrowing the fascist republic is the only way, the only strategy which is viable. You don't seem to be giving a chance to other strategies like the non-violent way of achieving this goal. Why do you think the violent means is the only strategy which can work there?

**CDE. THABO MBEKI:** It is not the position of the ANC that the only feasible way of struggle in South Africa is armed struggle. Now first of all, I think I should say that there is no people in the world, never anywhere, who would willfully, recklessly, irresponsibly decide that the only way to bring about change (the only way we like to bring about change) is by force of arms. The ANC least of all. The ANC was founded to liberate the oppressed people in order that the oppressed people should enjoy a better life. The ANC couldn't therefore just set out, out of that willful irresponsibility, to decide that people must die. Therefore, I'm saying the option of armed struggle for the people of South Africa and for any other people for that matter, is always forced on the people by the enemy. I don't have to talk about the whole long history of peaceful, non-violent struggle that our people under the leadership of the ANC carried out for decades. I don't have to speak about that because everybody knows about that. There were moments when the masses of the people were in fact beginning to query the wisdom of the leadership of the ANC, which said, at moments of provocation, that the time for armed struggle is not yet. There is still a little bit of a chance



that we can bring about a peaceful change in this country, and so on. And the people were beginning to say no, but that is an illusion. The enemy is refusing to move, the enemy is refusing to change! Therefore, I'm saying that the decision to adopt the option of armed struggle, is a decision that was forced on the ANC...

### CHOICE OF METHOD

**QUESTION:** But I would think if you look into strategies for revolution for instance, you find that no sane person adopts suicidal strategies. Now given the South African strength and the odds which the ANC is facing military wise, do you think it's wise now for the black oppressed in South Africa to engage in violent struggle, military overthrow of the fascist republic?

**CDE. THABO MBELE:** The first point to make is that we in fact have no choice in the matter. It is not a question of us sitting down and saying between the two strategies or two options of armed struggle, and peaceful struggle, which one shall we choose. And then we say OK let's decide on non-violent peaceful struggle and hope that is going to bring us any change. We've got a history of decades of struggle, of peaceful struggle which resulted in greater repression and a vast growth in the military expenditures of the South African regime, number of soldiers, etc.

Take an example, a recent one: Bishop Tutu tours Europe and America and talks as a man of peace and thinks that it is still possible in South Africa, a small chance exists for change to come about by peaceful means. (The ANC respects that opinion, but doesn't agree with it - it respects it). What happens? The enemy then decides to use state violence against him, they seize his passport. I'm saying that the people have no choice. That was the lesson of Soweto.

For instance in 1976, the students came out to demonstrate solely on the question of education. Initially they were not even talking about the whole apartheid system. They were talking about a specific issue of education. They were unarmed, they were walking in the streets and the enemy came and shot them down. This is happening everyday. The other day as you know with the workers' strike at Sigma, they were completely unarmed. They were in the streets in a demonstration to express their demands and some white woman took out a pistol and shot. I'm saying there is no choice... the position that the regime takes, the actual activities of the enemy oblige



the oppressed people to take up arms because not to take up arms means in fact to submit, certainly the ANC is not prepared to submit. Therefore, necessarily because of the position that the enemy is taking, the option of armed struggle becomes inevitable.

### **COMBINING FORMS OF STRUGGLE**

**QUESTION:** But in my question I stated that I wanted to know whether this strategy is the only one. As you know at home you find workers striking, there are people who push for negotiations, they go to the government like the 'homeland leaders', they go to negotiate. What is wrong with that?

**CDE. THABO MBEKI:** The African National Congress says that victory in South Africa can only come to the oppressed people if the oppressed people engage in struggle to liberate themselves. The vast masses, the millions of the people, every man and woman and child, as well as saying that everybody, must be involved in struggle because everybody who is oppressed has got a stake in liberation. We are not saying that all these millions will be involved in struggle only when and if they are carrying guns. We are saying it is necessary for this vast millions of oppressed people to be involved in struggle to engage the enemy on all fronts. To engage the enemy with whatever means and method they've got available to them, that includes the question you have mentioned - strikes...

It is necessary for the students on the issue of education not to wait for somebody to come and solve the problem of education for them... It is necessary that these hundreds of thousands of students must be engaged in the struggle to liberate themselves. Take any section of the community on any issue, whether it is a rent issue, a bus boycott question, bus fares or whatever the issue is. The masses of the people have got to be actively engaged... That is part of the struggle. Therefore, there is no issue of a choice of saying either we shoot or we have strikes. We are saying that both have got to happen.

The armed struggle has got to continue. The mass political struggle has also got to continue at the same time. We've got to get the masses of the people involved as the struggle develops, even beyond the immediate question of rent; immediate question of wages; immediate question or the character of education, to be involved in their millions in the question or the character of education, to be involved in their millions in the question of power, in the question of struggle for the



transfer of power to the hands of the people. And strikes, demonstration, protests and so on are also very relevant in that struggle, in the struggle for the transference of power to the people. Therefore, the ANC has never said and the ANC can never say that strikes have become outdated, have become a useless option, and if you are not carrying a gun you are not part of the revolutionary mainstream. That position is wrong and the ANC has never said that. It says it is necessary to combine mass popular actions around local issues, around national issues and to combine this mass popular actions together with armed struggle. And it is a combination of those that is going to bring that liberation. I should also say that the ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe don't have a conception of armed struggle as of specialised units which are bearing arms and the masses of the people are conducting their strikes, demonstrations, boycotts and so on, but are otherwise as far as the armed struggle is concerned, spectators.

The ANC is saying that when we talk about mass popular struggle in South Africa, we also mean mass popular armed struggle. We are saying that the masses of the people have got themselves as the struggle develops, to be part and parcel of this MK, this people's army. It's got to be a People's Army because the people are in it, because the people become MK. Therefore I'm saying that the concept of how we will achieve victory becomes very important to understand. This is not a matter of specialised groups of people whether it is political struggle or military struggle. It is a struggle of the masses of the people and the masses of the people today can only engage with the only thing they've got in their hands, the strike weapon. Let them use it in spite of the process. Tomorrow those masses of the people will have guns in their hands and they will use both guns and the strike until that fascist regime is destroyed.

### **THE BANTUSTAN 'LEADERS'**

**QUESTION:** Now let's go back to this question of the homeland leaders 'negotiating' with the regime.

**CDE. THABO MBEKI:** I've been saying that what has to happen if we are going to attain victory is that the masses of the people have got to be engaged in struggle. The apartheid regime listens to its own voice. They decide for instance that what will be good for the oppressed people is if we allow them to share the same lunch or supper table with a white person in a hotel somewhere in South Africa, and therefore, let us amend the law in order to be able to allow these hotels



to serve everybody without discrimination. They are listening to their own voice. They are deciding what it is that we want, they are deciding what it is that we are complaining about. But we have never said that our struggle is about these segregation of hotels. We said that our struggle is about political power. But the enemy wouldn't listen. We then get somebody who calls himself a leader of our people, who goes to talk to that regime. And there is not a single one of them, not a single one who can truthfully say, I went and spoke to Botha, Vorster or anybody. I went to speak to them and put these demands - like abolish the pass laws - and they sat and listened and they said: If that is the view of your people we accept it...

There is not a single issue of importance to the oppressed people that the bantustan leaders have raised to Pretoria which Pretoria has conceded. I'm saying there isn't any. The reason there isn't any is because the Botha regime is not prepared to listen. So in the first instance it's a waste of time, secondly but perhaps even more dangerous, it perpetuates an illusion that you can persuade Botha to stop to be a racist, to stop to be an oppressor... It perpetuates an illusion that change can come about because of the change of heart on the part of the oppressor. That is an illusion, and it is a dangerous illusion because it attempts to persuade the masses of the people not to struggle...

In the history of South Africa I remember the statement made by the late Chief Luthuli when he received the Nobel Prize: "Who will deny that I've spent thirty years of my life knocking at a closed and barred door." That door was closed when Chief Luthuli was alive. It is even more firmly closed today. And it is a dangerous thing to try and spread an illusion among the people that that door can be opened by the knocking of the bantustan leaders. The only way to open that door is through mass action, through armed struggle.

**QUESTION:** But history also shows that there are some countries which achieved their independence through negotiations like Malawi and others. What will stop us from achieving independence in South Africa through such means?

**CDE. THABO MBEKI:** The issue cannot be, in my view, argued in that way. Let's take an example which people who use that argument, don't want to talk about. This century there has been two World Wars, the First and the Second. Both of these World Wars broke out in Europe - supposedly the most civilised countries in the world, people who had diplomatic representa-



tives in their capitals, had common economic interests and were all whites together. Very destructive wars broke out in Europe twice in this century. Now that situation of war became necessary because there was no other way.

There is a specific, particular historical situation which resulted in war in Europe as there were specific particular historical situations which resulted in for instance, Nigeria getting its independence without having to resort to armed struggle. A specific historical situation in which the British Empire was collapsing and the British government saw that there was no way in which they could hold Nigeria - that they didn't have the possibility even if they put the British troops in there... Therefore, they decided that the best thing to do, let us concede the independence of Nigeria - a specific historical circumstance.

We've got a specific historical circumstance in South Africa which we have found everywhere else in this region. No amount of talking to the Portuguese would have removed them from Mozambique or Angola, or the Ian Smith regime from Zimbabwe nor will any amount of talking remove the Botha regime from Namibia. We've got a clear example of that today - a whole conference is organised in Geneva to discuss the Namibian question and what does Pretoria do? They torpedo and sabotage that conference because they feel that the pressure on them including the armed pressure of the People's Liberation Army of Namibia is not yet strong enough to gain victory.



## DAWN PolitiXword No. 4 - Answers

**ACROSS:** 1. Hero 3. OTRAG 5. Green 6. OPEC  
9. Makana 10. Lap 11. Navy  
14. Wealth 14. Militant

**DOWN:** 1. Hegemonism 2. Opera 4. Repel  
7. Cape 8. Dance 12. Veil  
13. TT 14. Wet 15. Let 16. Hot



# STRAIGHT TALK...

## THE LENGTHS TO WHICH THEY GO

Comrade Brian Bunting once wrote: "The rigid, merciless dogmatism, the blindness and brutality of Nationalist doctrine and administration have become anathema to the overwhelming majority of the world's population..." We may add that they have become a virus that is fast tearing our society apart. They have devoured the human element amongst their own followers and transformed them into race-mad maniacs whose only concept of life is "Survival of the fiercest."

The incident that occurred during the recent black workers' strike at Sigma in Pretoria, is a more explicit demonstration of the purpose of Nationalist Party indoctrination. It is a direct fruit of the white women shooting clubs that have been in operation for years in South Africa. Here the women have been expertly trained in the use of small arms. They are not using them for Sunday afternoon pot-shots at birds, they are using them to shoot down the Black masses. They have now formed the "Kappie Kommandoes" (national Afrikaaner women's organisation alleged to be aiming at rallying Afrikaaner women to the banner of Afrikaanerdome), doubtlessly for the same purpose - precisely in the tradition of "Hitlerism".



South African white women train to shoot Black people.



## RACE MURDERESS

That the fascist woman who callously shot at and killed one of the striking black workers is a race-mad murderess is unquestionable and would therefore not warrant special elaboration. Besides, it is not necessarily a new phenomenon. This horrifying manifestation of racist bestiality and naked fascism is the flower of the seed of active Nationalist Party propaganda that seeks to fortify the laager by preaching "swart gevaar" on the pulpit of "die Herrenvolk." All age groups within the white community are methodically fed with this dangerous slander.

In the light of the accelerating liberatory drive, this bogey is being whipped up to the point of a psychosis. The incident cited herein is not the only one. This happened only a few days after two black workers were shot dead and others injured by white civilians during a strike at the Penge Asbestos Mine, near Pietersburg. Several others which are the daily tortures of the black masses are not reported upon. Blacks are tortured to death in Pretoria's dungeons; they are shot down like game during peaceful demonstrations; they are beaten to death by boer farmers; black women are raped by white servicemen who also shoot and kill little black school children "just to frighten them", they admit without feeling. This is the length to which the degenerating fascist system of white minority rule is prepared to go.

Surely such incidents will be repeated many times as our struggle conquers higher summits. But let those who have ears hear when we say, for too many years our people have lived under conditions of uninterrupted torture and humiliation - we are therefore committed to a bitter and protracted war of liberation the apex of which can only be victory over white rule. We have no alternative. The battle lines have been drawn, and as Comrade President O.R. Tambo says: "... there can be no compromise with the fascists."

**The enemy is attacking - let us reply!**





# BEHIND THE NEW MASK OF US DIPLOMACY

- KENNETH KAPR

(Some notes and remarks on the professions of United States diplomacy as against the activities of their war machines).

For a long time and under successive administrations, US diplomacy has played the role of a screen concealing the activities of the US military industrial complex in different parts of the world. It is the task of American diplomats to hide the atrocious activities of their bosses. Today it is common knowledge that, to attain imperialist goals, US diplomacy has taken it upon itself to topple governments disliked by the monopolists and install puppet dictatorships.

The major instrument used for the realisation of these obnoxious schemes has been and continues to be the US Army whose pretexts of unwarranted intervention are woven by the so-called diplomats. The language employed by Washington in its foreign policy has been to portray the US as the peacemaker on international platforms. No doubt the Pentagon hoped to pull the wool on the eyes of the world community. But the wool has not stuck.

1981 has seen the ascendancy of the Reagan Administration. Suddenly official Washington has ceased to hide behind the traditional policy of shedding crocodile tears with the oppressed. Reagan has altered the rhetoric of US diplomacy! All of a sudden he is revealing that fascist South Africa is a "war time ally" and that his Administration is going to step up support for the UNITA bandits. There is even talk of fighting what he terms "international terrorism." This is not surprising. The Reagan line is hardly a deviation from the old policy, but rather a new, even bold wave of Washington's arrogance. They feel that their boat is sinking and that outright brinkmanship can save it. The world needs to be rallied against this new looming threat of plunging people into conflagrations.

Surely, we have not forgotten Vietnam. Once again the Pentagon is rattling its sabres and oiling its war machine. The US Army is being prepared for another round of aggressive actions.

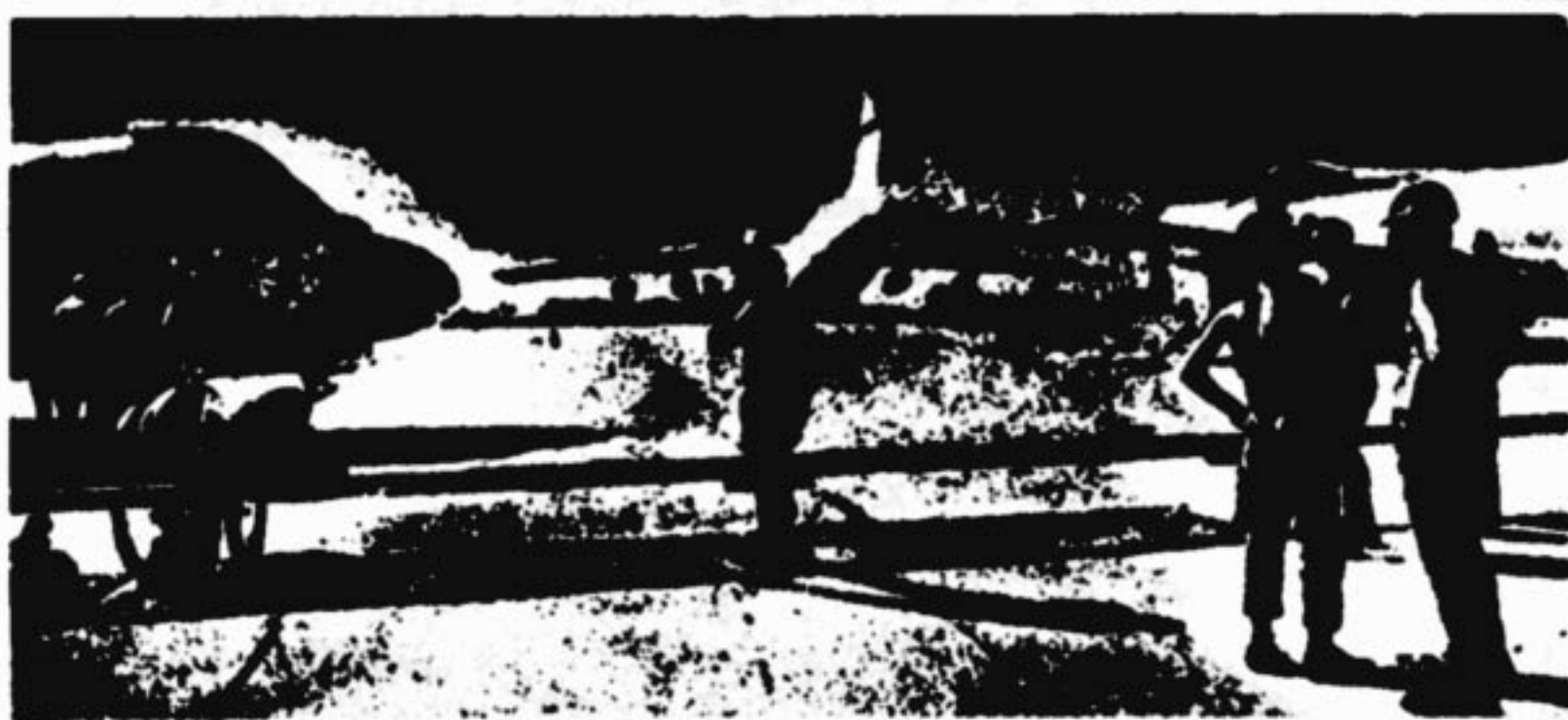


## AN INGLORIOUS PATH

The history of the US Army reveals to us the likely mess that Washington wants the world to be once again entangled in.

For over a long period of years, the US Army has blazed an inglorious path. Since its formation it has launched mass annihilation of indigenes of the present USA. It left a trail of murder and genocide in its wake. The US Army was used to crush slave revolts, to grab Mexican lands and to invade the Caribbean Islands. In pursuit of an aggressive foreign policy, the US set up military naval bases in Puerto Rico, Panama, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras and other countries.

After the Second World War, the Pentagon further increased the number of its bases. Using its economic advantage as bait, it built several hundreds of bases in different parts of the world to ensure the fulfilment of its self-imposed role of world gendarme. In some islands, whole populations were evicted from their lands (as is the case with Diego Garcia) to give space to air and naval bases. In some countries the construction of such bases has brought about the complete destruction of agricultural and fishing industries.



The U.S. base on Diego Garcia, says Time magazine, has "softball fields, volleyball, handball and tennis courts, and a 25-metre swimming pool for those who are afraid of the sharks."

## THE MARINES

The US Army was very occupied during the days when "We shall send the marines" was the war-cry of official Washington. The marines were sent to Korea, Lebanon, Guatemala, Santo Domingo and Cuba. In these countries they slaughtered thousands of civilians in order to overthrow progressive governments and prop up puppets.



# C O R R U P T I O N

Where US soldiers are based (they are based in more than 40 countries) black marketeering, drug-trafficking and crime rise. As a result of the high rate of prostitution which they encouraged, about a quarter of a million illegitimate children were left in Saigon (now Ho Chi Minh City) by the fleeing Yankees.

In Saigon, the US top brass urged their bosses to go on with the war. Their reasons were not too far to fathom:

- (a) Apart from fat salaries they were reaping super profits from their blackmarkets;
- (b) they never ventured outside Saigon into the heat of the war, and above all,
- (c) they were guaranteed quick evacuation should the going get tough.

The going did get tough and the Americans were ejected out of Vietnam.

On the other hand, drug taking is very rife among the US soldiers. The US Federal Narcotics Commission revealed that 85% of the US servicemen in the FRG take drugs. The commission further revealed that 90% of servicemen who went to Vietnam smoked or had at some time smoked marijuana. Most of the drugs were shipped from the USA in naval vessels which on return voyages shipped back marijuana. The drugs were sold to the troops by agents of the "khakhi Mafia" (underworld of US military big brass in Vietnam). When the troops were 'high', they were let loose on Vietnamese villages.

It is important to note that those who swell the ranks of the US Army are sons of the poor working masses. They are fed with slanderous propaganda coupled with cocaine and heroine. As half-crazed zombies they do not ask the reason why they do and die - they are real pawns in the imperialist game.

## 'RAPID DEPLOYMENT FORCE'

After the routing of the marines in Vietnam, the military hawks decided to revive the tarnished image of the US Army. The traditional "We shall send the marines" was no longer scarring anybody. The US militarists had to look for another answer. This appears to be the reason behind the breeding of the 'Rapid Deployment Force' (RDF). This involves the transferring of large numbers of troops (up to 20,000 men) and large quantities of sophisticated weapons from the US bases at home or abroad, to operational areas anywhere in the world in the



shortest possible space of time. This force appears to be taking over from the marines as the "blue-eyed boy" of the American world.

The 'RDF' has been staging mock exercises in different parts of the world. Incidentally, Charlie's Angels, as the cut-throats who took part in Iran were ironically named, are part of this very force. It remains doubtful whether the future of the 'RDF' is worth anything to write home about.

## WAR RESISTANCE

The US Army is fast becoming unpopular in the United States. Several anti-war and anti-draft organisations sprang up after the Pentagon adventure in Indo-China. Thousands of GIs decided to break away. Many of them are in exile in Scandinavian and some in West European countries. Jimmy Carter pardoned 3,000 during his inauguration, but most are still at large. They refuse to wear the US Army uniform because they have come to understand that it represents crime.

The US masses are also tired of investing their sons in the deadly imperialist war business from which they reap nothing but sorrow. Recently 200 women demonstrators invaded the Pentagon to condemn the draft law extended to them. This was followed by nation-wide anti draft campaigns.

## REAL TERRORISTS

We are justified in asking the question sharply: "Who are the real terrorists?" The nature and role of the US Army as discussed above tempts one to honestly and sincerely suggest that it is indeed today's biggest terror machine. The strategies and activities of the Pentagon, its links with and assistance of such racist and criminal groupings as the Ku Klux Klan, John Birch, the American Legion - murderous bands to which it leases base facilities for military training, its links with terrorist organisations such as the Red Brigades, is enough evidence of the real content of Reagan's so-called fight against "international terrorism."

Since the end of the Second World War no other country but the US has launched countless plays, machinations and outright aggression in several parts of the world. These ominous activities have brought about the maiming and killing of thousands, nay millions, of harmless civilians. We need to be told whether this is what Washington terms the defence of human



rights, whether this is what they term anti-terrorism. Torrents of hypocritical professions will never erase the long record of the untold suffering and destruction brought about by the Pentagon's activities and above all, its interference in the internal affairs of Asian, African and Latin American countries. The world can never forget the criminal plots the US hatched in bringing about:

- (a) the overthrow of Prime Minister Mossadech in Iran (1953);
- (b) the overthrow of the government headed by Jacobo Arbenz in Guatemala (1954);
- (c) the setting up of the puppet regime of Dinh Diem in South Vietnam (1955);
- (d) the establishment of the dictatorship of Sarit Thanarat in Thailand (1957) and
- (e) the toppling of a government headed by Patrice Lumumba in Congo (1960).

The list is long and can be extended to include US interference in Cuba, Egypt, Chile, Indonesia and several other countries. It therefore becomes very clear that the 'new mask' of Ronald Reagan is in fact, the continuation of an old policy. Where their interests are 'threatened' they react like wounded buffaloes. That is why suddenly they are bold to confess that South Africa is a "war-time ally," that is why they are obstructing the path to Namibian independence. The same reason is behind their active endeavour to destabilise Angola through the propping of the UNITA bandits - the little terrorists mentored by the Pentagon. But as Comrade President Oliver Tambo stated:

"... Do the Western powers really think that their interests in South Africa would be saved by setting Southern Africa aflame? It remains doubtful whether the Western interests would survive the flames."



# DAWNLIGHT . . . THE PEOPLE REJECT FASCIST REPUBLIC





# NAKED AMONG WOLVES

by

**BRUNO APITZ**

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## Chapter 3

### **THE FASCISTS ARE FEAR-STRICKEN**

Standartenfuhrer (high ranking SS officer on the level of colonel) Alois Schwahl, the camp commandant, was still in his office that evening with the two camp fuhrers, Weisangk and Kluttig.

In anticipation of approaching events once the Rhine was crossed, Schwahl had conceived a plan for medical aid: A squad to be made up of prisoners, would assist the SS during the continuous air-raids and in case of attack on the camp. The formation of this squad had been the cause of the argument, which was growing increasingly sharper.

### **Q U A R R E L**

At first the quarrel concerned the composition of the medical squad. Kluttig had revolted against Schwahl's intention of using only long-term political prisoners. As commandant, Schwahl could afford to read the former shopkeeper a patronizing sermon.

"What you don't have, my dear man, is a knowledge of people, and far-sightedness. We have to take advantage of the Communist's discipline. None of them will escape us. They stick together like burrs."

Kluttig had begun to simmer. His replies grew increasingly sharp and his voice took on that ugly cutting tone that Schwahl secretly feared, for it reminded him so much of the voice of his old penitentiary director.

"I must call your attention to the fact that the utilisation of Communists in this situation is dangerous. Use other prisoners for that purpose."

Schwahl puffed himself out: "Bababaa ah," he said, stopped in front of Kluttig, drew up his shoulders and stuck his belly out: "Other prisoners? Professional criminals? Hoodlums?"



"There's a secret Communist organisation here in the camp!"

"What could they possibly do?" Schwahl was walking around the desk again.

"There's a s e c r e t radio transmitter in the camp!" Unexpectedly Kluttig stepped up to the desk, thereby stopping Schwahl's promenade.

The commandant was sublime at playing the condescending superior. He fingered a button on Kluttig's uniform: "You know I had a direction finder used on that supposed transmitter. R e s u l t ? Nil! Don't lose your nerve, Herr Hauptsturmfuhrer!"

"I admire your nerve, Herr Commandant!"

They measured one another with cold eyes. Schwahl felt as if his chest were stiffening, but at the same moment his artificially preserved self-control fell apart and he suddenly yelled: "I don't go to pieces like you! If I gave the order the whole camp would be shot down in half an hour! The whole camp, that's right, including your Communist organisation!"

But Kluttig's control had also reached its limit. All the blood left his bony face, and he shouted at Schwahl in such a way that the frightened Weisangk leaped between them and tried to force Kluttig away: "Take it easy, Kluttig, take it easy..."

Schwahl looked from one to the other, and with an access of grim humour finally said: "Well, gentlemen, the game is up."

Kluttig banged his hand on the table and shrieked hysterically: "No!" He stuck out his lower jaw.

Schwahl sensed Kluttig's inner panic. He threw away the cigarette and stood up. He savored the feeling that he had himself in hand again. A large map mounted on wood hung behind his desk. Schwahl stepped up to it and looked at it with the eye of a connoisseur. Then he tapped the coloured pins. "This is how the front looks - here and here and here." He turned around and leaned on the desk with stiff hands. "Or doesn't it?"

Weisangk and Kluttig kept quiet. Schwahl put his fists on his hips. "And how will it be in four weeks? In eight weeks, or even in three weeks?" He gave the answer by pounding on the map with his fist. On Berlin, Dresden, Weimar. The wood backing thundered. Schwahl was satisfied. He saw the effect of his words in the way Kluttig's cheekbones worked and in Weisangk's stupidly helpless dog eyes. Like a general he returned to the conference table, saying importantly:



"Is there any room for illusions, gentlemen?"

He sat down. "The Bolsheviki in the east, the Americans in the west, and we're in the middle. Or aren't we? Eh? Consider, Hauptsturmfuhrer. Nobody's whistling after us, nobody cares about our hide - except maybe for tanning."

Despite everything. Kluttig conveyed the commandant's order for medical aid to Reineboth the next morning. The office of the Hauptscharfuhrer, (SS rank above the level of Sergeant-Major) who was barely twenty-five years old, was located in a side wing of the camp's entrance building. With his carefully tended looks, Reineboth provided a sharp contrast to Kluttig.

He had received the order indolently leaning back in the chair with his knee against the edge of the table. "Medical squad? Great idea. He curled his lip cynically. "It looks like somebody's afraid of the big bad wolf, eh?"

Kluttig had not answered; he had walked over to the radio. With his legs wide apart and his hands on his hips he stood before the cabinet, from which the voice of the news announcer was issuing:

"... after severe hammering from enemy artillery, a battle for the lower Rhine broke out last night. The troops occupying Mainz were withdrawn to the right bank of the Rhine..."

Reineboth watched him for a while. He knew what was going on in Kluttig and was hiding his own fear of the approaching danger behind badly acted flippancy. "It's time you started learning English," he said, and his permanently arrogant smile froze to a hard wrinkle at the corner of the mouth.

Kluttig did not notice the irony, he growled angrily: "It's them or us!"

"Us," replied Reineboth, with elegance, threw the ruler on the table and stood up. They looked at one another, were silent, and concealed what they were thinking.

Kluttig became restive. "If we have to go..." He shook his fists and pressed the words through his teeth: "I won't leave a mouse alive here!"

He (Reineboth) grinned into Kluttig's face: "So much for your hopes of becoming a Sturmbannfuhrer and even commandant". Mockingly, Reineboth grasped the air with his hands as if climbing a ladder. "It's over and done with, Adele," he sang. "Never mind, I'm suffering with you."

Angered that Reineboth had exposed his ambitious plans so callously, Kluttig threw himself on a chair and stared into space. It really was over! All that was left was to save



themselves from that lot inside. Enraged, he swore at the absent commandant: "Goddam half-ass! He knows perfectly well that those swine in the camp are organised. Instead of taking a dozen of them and knocking them off..."

"The question is whether he gets the right ones," Reineboth remarked, "otherwise there's trouble, my boy. The first shot has to get the right ones, the leadership, the brains."

"Kramer!" said Kluttig quickly.

"That's one, and who are the others?"

Reineboth lit a cigarette and sat down on the corner of the table. Lazily he swung his right leg.

Kluttig hissed furiously: "I'll lock the bastard up and squeeze him like a lemon!"

Reineboth smiled arrogantly: "Naive, Herr Camp Fuhrer, very naive. Firstly: Kramer won't talk, you won't even get a hyphen out of him. Secondly: If you lock up Kramer you warn the others."

He went over to the loud-speaker apparatus, saying, "Take a good look at that baby, and you'll know you won't get so much as a fart out of him."

He switched on the microphone: Camp Senior Kramer to the report fuhrer immediately.

A few minutes later Kramer was standing in the room. He took in the situation at once. Kluttig, who had looked at him mistrustfully the moment he entered, was leaning against the wall; the cynical youth was in the chair behind the desk, reclining rather than sitting. "We've got something new for you, listen here." Kramer knew the indolent, conceited tone. Reineboth rose without haste, put his hands in his trouser pockets, and strolled about the room. He had made up his mind to convey the commandant's order very casually. Precisely the underlined indifference and Kluttig's glowering look, which Kramer could feel coming at him from the side, warned him that something extraordinary was afoot.

Sixteen inmates, the arrogant young man said stridently, whacking at his boots, sixteen long-term political prisoners were to be taken for the medical squad. Speaking into the air and still another degree more casual, the strolling youth explained that during an air-raid alarm the medical squad was to go beyond the outermost sentry posts... Kramer's blood seemed to stop, but he had himself under control and his face betrayed nothing of the thoughts that were already sweeping through his mind: sixteen good comrades beyond the outermost sentry posts...

Kluttig pushed himself violently away from the wall,



drew himself up before Kramer and yelled at him: "The prisoners will go without guards, get it?"

He could only conceal his agitation with difficulty, and hissed between clenched teeth: "You can spare yourself any illusions, we're watching out." He himself did not know how this watching was to be accomplished. They looked at one another in silence. Kramer received with calm eyes the cold hatred stabbing out of Kluttig. Suddenly he was overcome by triumphant certainty. Behind the hatred in those colourless, red-rimmed eyes he saw fear, naked fear. Kluttig became increasingly furious, but Kramer was not as calm as he looked. Back of his forehead he was figuring out possibilities. Reineboth seemed afraid that Kluttig would lose his head any moment, and tried to prevent this.

"Tomorrow morning you bring the sixteen punks to me."

Kramer, to whose back Reineboth had spoken, turned around to him and answered: "Yessir."

"You'll be tricked out with 'b a n d a g e k i t s', gas masks and steel helmets."

"Y e s s i r ."

The youth sauntered over to Kramer and grabbed him by the front of his jacket. "If any of those punks get away..." Smiling insinuatingly, Reineboth added with dangerous amiability: "Any losses will be made good."

Before Kramer could answer, Kluttig was standing before him. He croaked intimidatingly, "All over the camp!"

"Y e s s i r ."

## **YOU STARTED THE ORGANISATION...**

Kluttig wanted to burst out, but Kramer's composure choked everything in him, all he could utter was a caw: "Get out!" But as Kramer went to the door, Kluttig lost control and shouted: "Stop!" When Kramer turned around in surprise Kluttig went up close and asked slyly: "You used to be a functionary at one time?"

Kramer thought fast: What does he want? and answered: "Yessir."

"C o m m u n i s t ?"

"Y e s s i r ."

Kramer's frankness took Kluttig aback. "You simply tell me that as if - as if -"

A scarcely perceptible smile flitted over Kramer's mouth. "That's what I'm here for..."

"No!" Kluttig responded sharply; he had caught himself



again. "You're here to keep you from starting any gangs of conspirators, any secret organisations, like you're doing here in the camp!" Kluttig drilled his look into Kramer's eyes. Behind Kluttig the youth was standing with his thumb stuck under the button seam of his uniform jacket, and rocking on his toes.

Secret organisation? Kramer withstood the gimlet look. Did they know anything? Immediately he realised that Kluttig was only groping. So that's it, thought Kramer, you take me for the organiser! You're cockeyed! He had a feeling that he, with his broad back, was protecting Bochow from them. He answered calmly: "But you yourself, Herr Hauptsturmführer, you were the one who started the organisation."

Infinitely astounded, Kluttig could only utter a long-drawn "Wha-a-at?" and Reineboth took a step closer.

"You don't say."

Kramer recognised the advantage of his bold thrust and reinforced it. "There's nothing secret about it. The camp is under the self-government of the prisoners, and we carry out strictly all the commands of the camp leadership."

Kluttig looked appealingly at Reineboth, who was smiling scornfully. It seemed as if he were amused. This enraged Kluttig, and he scolded at Kramer: "That's right! And you, of course, have put your own people into all the jobs!"

"The command of the camp leadership was to entrust decent and conscientious prisoners with the administration."

"Communists, right?"

Kramer replied undismayed: "Every single prisoner was brought to the camp leadership and presented and okayed by it."

Kluttig was getting nowhere with Kramer, he tramped furiously through the room and yelped: "Bums, trash, criminals, all of them!"

Kramer stood without moving and silently let Kluttig's rage break over him. Kluttig stepped up to him again and gesticulated with his hands: "We know everything! Don't think we're stupid."

Reineboth stepped between Kramer and the slaverling Kluttig.

"Dismissed," he said nasally.

Kluttig rushed snarling at the door which had closed behind Kramer. "That dog, goddam him...!"

Reineboth, leaning against the table, remarked with a mocking smile: "I told you you wouldn't get a fart out of him."



## CAN THE CHILD STAY?

In the clerk's office of the effects room the prisoners from the commando were squatting around Jankowski. Pippig had put a slice of bread into his pocket. Jankowski was secretly breaking off one piece after another and surreptitiously putting it into his mouth; he was ashamed of his hunger.

"Just chew it up, old boy," Pippig encouraged him. "We've got dumplings with horseradish sauce today." With that he shoved another cup of ersatz coffee at Jankowski. Kropinski had to interpret for the Pole. Then the two Poles talked to one another, and Kropinski translated.

"He saying he ain't fadder of child. Fadder dead and mudder also in Auschwitz and gassed. He saying was child tree mont' old when it come wit fadder and mudder from Varshava ghetto to Auschwitz camp. He saying SS kill all children. Little child always hidden."

Jankowski interrupted the translation and talked eagerly at Kropinski. Kropinski continued interpreting his incredible story:

"He saying little child don't know what is human being. It only know what is SS and what is prisoner. He saying, but little child know very good when SS coming and hide itself and always be very quiet."

Kropinski fell silent. The others were silent too, and bowed their heads. Hofel wordlessly laid his hand on that of the Pole, who smiled gently; he had been understood.

"Marian," Hofel asked Kropinski, "find out what the boy's name is."

Kropinski got the answer, and translated:

"Little child name Stephan Cyliak and fadder of little child was lawyer in Varshava."

Hofel's eyes rested in deep sympathy on the frail little man, who was certainly well over fifty.

Full of trust, Jankowski looked about him at the circle of prisoners who were so friendly to him, and his modest smile expressed confidence that after so many dangers the child was safe at last. Hofel's heart grew heavy. The Pole had no idea why he had been summoned; no doubt he was glad to have found such good comrades. Hofel thought how the "good comrades" would tell the Pole: Take you kid away, we can't use it here. And the quiet man would take up his burden without a murmur and drag it on and on, anxiously trying to protect the little spark of life from being stamped out by an SS boot.



Jankowski probably felt that the German was looking at him in a special way: he smiled at Hofel. But Hofel sank ever deeper into his own thoughts. Here a helpless man drags a crumb of life about with him which he has swindled out of the clutches of death in Auschwitz, only to bring it into new, unknown perils. What folly! Somewhere death would take the suitcase out of his hand, with a grin: Oh look, do look, what someone's brought me! ... Everything in Hofel rebelled. If this senselessness were to be stopped, then it had to happen here and now. Only here and nowhere else in the world was there a chance to save the child. Hofel looked about him. There was silence. None of the prisoners knew what to say. Hofel's eyes clung to Pippig. They looked dumbly at one another. The heavy burden of a decision between two duties pressed against Hofel's heart, and he recognised painfully how alone he was at this moment. Pippig's silent look pulled at him, and Hofel was tempted to nod at Pippig in quiet agreement. But all he could manage was a heavy sigh that came deep from within him, and he stood up.

"Stay here," he said to the prisoners. "Watch out in case Zweiling suddenly turns up."

With Jankowski, Kropinski and Pippig he went to the corner in the back. When the child saw Jankowski, he permitted himself to be lifted and held like a confiding little puppy.

Jankowski pressed the child to him silently and wept without sound or tears. There was an oppressive stillness among the men which Pippig could not stand for long.

"All right, don't make a funeral out of it," he said roughly, although he could hardly swallow. Jankowski asked Hofel something, forgetting that the German could not understand him. Kropinski helped out:

"He asking, can little child stay here?"

Now was the moment for Hofel to tell the Pole that he was going with the transport in the morning, and taking the child ... but he could not utter a word and was relieved when Pippig gave the answer. He patted Jankowski soothingly on the back; the kid was staying here, sure he was - and he looked at Hofel challengingly. But Hofel was silent, he did not have the strength to contradict Pippig. All at once fear overcame him. Through his silence he had taken the first step towards circumventing Bochow's assignment. True, he consoled himself with the thought that there would still be time tomorrow to give the child back to the Pole, yet he felt that his grip on his obligation was slipping more and more.



## **AN UNDERGROUND MANIA**

After Proll had gone to the Little Camp, Kramer sent for Bochow through a prisoner from the clerks' room.

"Did you make out all right with Hofel?" was Bochow's first question.

"I'll get around to it," Kramer replied crossly. "Listen to me, something's up."

He told Bochow in a few words what had happened with Klutig and Reineboth, and informed him of the commandant's order.

"They're on to something, that's clear, but they don't know anything definite. As long as they suspect me as the central figure you people are safe," Kramer concluded his report. Bochow had listened attentively.

"So they're looking for us," he expressed his thoughts.

"All right. As long as we don't make any mistakes they won't find us. But I don't like the idea of you being the shock absorber."

"Don't you worry, with the size of my back I'll be shielding the lot of you."

Bochow looked searchingly at Kramer; he had detected the faint irony in his words. Slightly irritated he therefore said: "Yes, yes, Walter, I know. I have confidence in you; I mean we have confidence in you. Is that enough for you?"

Kramer turned abruptly from Bochow and sat down at his table. "No!"

Bochow pricked up his ears. "What does that mean?"

Kramer let it out: "Why should I put a little kid in the transport? It's safest with us! Can't you understand? What is it about the kid?"

Bochow pounded his fist into his hand. "Don't make it so hard for me, Walter! There's absolutely nothing about the kid!"

"So much the worse!" Kramer rose and walked up and down. Visibly he fought down the agitation in himself, stood still and gazed grimly before him.

"It has to do with Hofel, hasn't it?"

Bochow evaded him. "You make trouble for yourself with such questions."

"You call that confidence in me?" Kramer jeered. "I shit on it!"

"W a l t e r !"

"Oh, go on! Stupidity! Nonsense! Your damned mysteries! You've got an underground mania!"

"Walter, for Christ's sake! For your own security you should never know more about things than is necessary for your,



don't you understand that? Your own proection is the issue!"

"The child's protection is the issue!" Kramer tried cajoling. "Couldn't we do something else with the kid? I'll hide it! How's that? Huh? Depend on it, it'll be safe with me."

For a moment it looked as if Bochow would give in, but then he refused all the more vehemently:

"Out of the question! The child must get out of the camp immediately! It may be hard, what I'm demanding of you, I admit it. But the conditions are hard. Of course it has to do with Hofel, why should I keep it from you, you know it anyway. I'll tell you something more. You ought to know that I don't suffer from an underground mania. Hofel's job is at a very sensitive point. Listen Walter! At a very sensitive one! If the chain snaps there, the whole works can break down."

Bochow kept quiet for a moment. His words had silenced Kramer, who was staring blankly. To make the impossibility of Kramer's desire clear to him, Bochow took up his thought.

"You take the kid away from Hofel and hide it somewhere. Good. Can you also hide the fact that the kid came from Hofel? An accident happens and the k i d is found..."

Kramer raised his hands. Bochow refused to be interrupted.

"Just an accident, Walter; we've had experience! A thing can be so sure, and then some trifle - you see, the kid is a little trifle like that. You can't just bury it like a dead cat. Somebody will have to be around the k i d. The somebody ends up in the bunker... and betrays you and..."

Now Kramer could no longer restrain himself, he laughed out heartily. "They'd beat me to death before I'd..."

Emphatically, urgently, Bochow continued:

"They don't get anything out of you, you're dead. But you know their methods. Who says they won't drag the kid to Weimar. There it will be sat on the lap of some N a z i nanny who's in on their game: You come from Buchenwald camp, you poor little thing. What's the name of the good uncle who hid you from the bad SS?"

"And the good nanny asks the kid so long, in German, in R u s s i a n, in Polish, whatever the kid understands, that it... And then, Walter, there's no one there any more whose broad back can shield Hofel..." Bochow had said enough. He put his hands into his pockets and both men were silent until Kramer finally said, after a difficult decision:

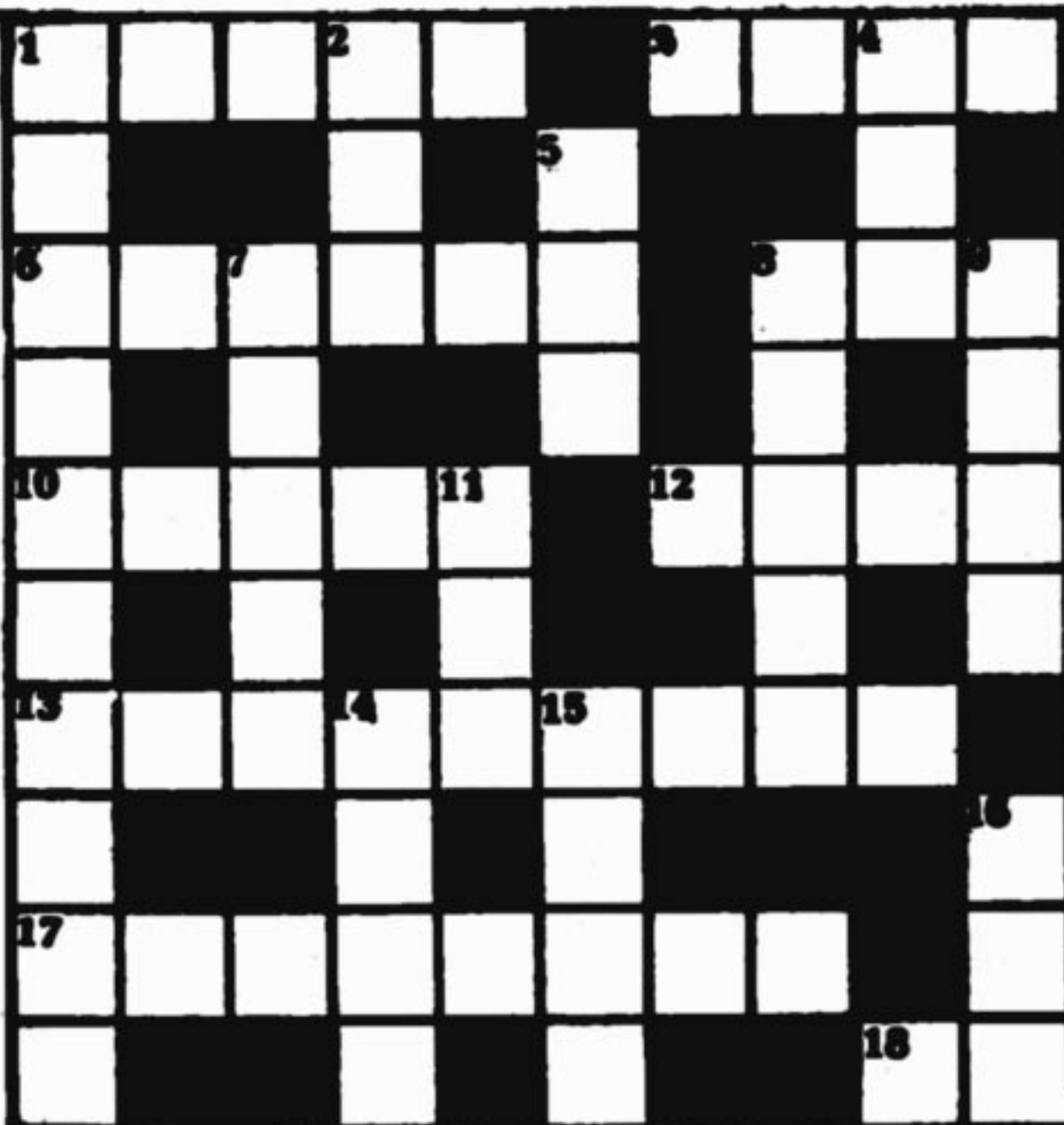
"I'll ... I'll go to Hofel afterwards..."



# DAWN

## PolitiXword

No. 5



### CLUES

#### Across

1. Firing of artillery simultaneously.
3. ... people operate a tank.
6. Cde. Moses Mabhida's predecessor.
8. Not good.
10. Dangerous revolutionaries.

12. North Atlantic Treaty Organisation.
13. Kind of an ambush.
17. All ... Groups shall have Equal Rights.
18. Dr. Xuma's initials.

#### Down

1. Led our people in rebellions against Boers in the Tvl.
2. By way of.
4. Monster of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.
5. A MiG's engine.
7. A private teacher.
8. Mass of soft greyish matter in the skull.

9. A grim fate.
11. A lazy animal.
14. Former Ugandan dictator.
15. Musical composition for singing.
16. Soviet intelligence agency.

See Answers in DAWN Vol. 5 No. 5



# **DISCIPLINE IS THE MOTHER OF VICTORY**

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medium wave 27.6 m band, 7.30  
pm daily.*

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Saturday.*

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MURDER  
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