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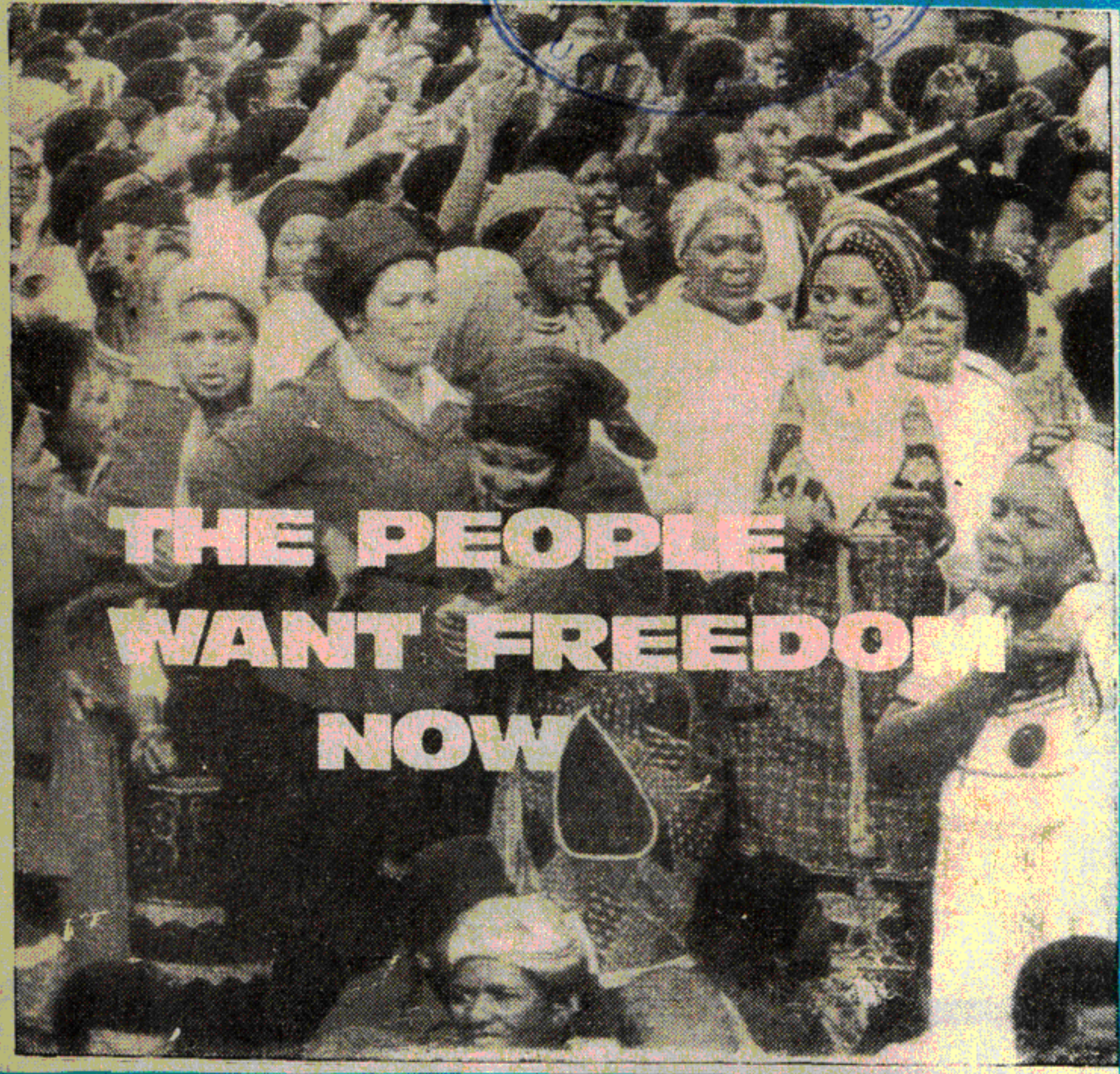
DAWN



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Journal of Umkhonto we Sizwe



**THE PEOPLE
WANT FREEDOM
NOW**

DAWN



Monthly Journal of Umkhonto we Sizwe

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1985
YEAR OF THE CADRE



Editorial Comment

Army Chief of Staff speaks:

NO VICTORY FOR THE REGIME

Joe Slovo on the release of Dennis Goldberg

What has happened to Dennis Goldberg is certainly no victory for the regime. It is a kind of blackmail practised against prisoners in South Africa.

Here is a case of a man who has served more than twenty years for a crime he allegedly committed, a man who has been isolated in the dungeons of Botha's prisons. One wonders and it will come up one day as to what happens under these conditions.

A man like that was subjected to what he himself described in a subsequent interview as "inordinate pressure" to give the regime some kind of propaganda ploy to present to the world. Dennis Goldberg says that a man from the Zionist kibbutz movement played a part in getting the South African racist regime to release him.

According to Goldberg the man "chose the most inopportune moment to apply this pressure and weave me in a family web of love which reinforced my own psychological needs". What has happened to Dennis Goldberg is something which the regime cannot be proud of. We know and the whole world knows that the real response to this kind of pressure has been impressively made by Nelson Mandela.

In this same interview Goldberg, with tears in his eyes says: "I wish I had been as strong as they are to my commitment and I hope they understand". According to the correspondent he said this dabbing tears from his cheek. Those of us who knew Goldberg, those of us who struggled with him realize that he was subjected to the most inordinate pressure.

One cannot agree with the decision that he took, i.e. signing an agreement to give up the possibility of violent struggle. I am sure he does not agree with it in any case. We cannot agree that he chose Zionist Israel as a haven, moving from one prison to another.

But at the same time we can understand and sympathise with a man who has played a very important role in the history of our struggle and we hope the wounds he has suffered will be healed and will find a place to continue struggling against this regime that blackmails him.

Focus of intense opposition

On the current treason trial of UDF leaders

If anything exposes the duplicity of the regime it is the arrest of the leaders of the UDF and their trial on a charge of high treason. Over and over again in the past period, making concerted noises directly and indirectly to the ANC, saying if only this organisation gives up violence we could talk to them and would allow them to operate. They would have every right to participate in the democratic political life of the country.

We all knew it was duplicity because the ANC was long banned before it could lift any stick of dynamite, long before it put a match to any object. At the time when the ANC was banned it was a normal legal political organisation of the same nature as the UDF. Now they say that we would participate in the political life of the country if we give up violence.

I believe that there can be no doubt that whatever steps the regime takes to prevent opposition to the crimes of

apartheid, the accumulation of resistance and organisation which has grown up will prevent the enemy from putting a stop to the kind of militancy we have witnessed. The people and their organisations which have shown their mettle up to now, will continue to spit at the enemy with the kind of defiance which we have observed growing in the recent past.

I believe the trial of these UDF leaders will become a focus throughout the country of even more intense resistance to the plans of the regime. We have the experience of the 1956 Treason Trial. Those leaders who sat on the dock in the Treason Trial accumulated more support sitting in the Drill Hall and the Pretoria synagogue than they had been able to accumulate in the previous few years before their arrest. Therefore that courtroom and the leaders who are there will, as in 1956, become a focus of even more intense opposition, militancy and expressions of anger and frustrations from the people.

A CONFERENCE OF ESCALATION



"Those who think the ANC conference will decide on a path other than intensifying armed struggle will be sadly mistaken".

Preparations are going on in virtually all the areas where members of the African National Congress are concentrated, both externally and inside the country.

Experience has shown especially from the base which organises this conference i.e. the National Preparatory Committee that the seriousness of the discussions, the approach of those that are engaged in this conference, belies the hopes of the apartheid regime which is sitting back with its allies and saying to itself

Alfred Nzo, Secretary-General of the ANC

that the results of the National Consultative Conference of the ANC may likely be the destruction of the ANC.

They say so because according to them they have discovered non-existent divisions. They seem to suggest that in the ANC today there is a difference in approach between the old and the young, and that in the ANC there are so-called nationalists and communists. Also that within the ANC there are those who think that it is necessary to work within the programme of so-called reform that has been put before the country by the apartheid regime.

ESCALATION

We are confident that those who think like that have again failed to reckon with the members of the ANC. The forthcoming National Consultative Conference of the ANC can in its aim be summed up as a conference of escalation. This conference of necessity is going to sum up the path we have just traversed and will obviously look at the pitfalls that we have had to jump over in the course of our forward march.

And of course it will discover quite naturally that in a complicated struggle that the ANC is leading it is not out of place to find that somewhere along the line there have been certain obstacles brought about sometimes by lack of appreciation of the strategic line that has been laid down at a particular period in the history of the development of the struggle.

There will be those who perhaps will have said to themselves that the pace at which we are travelling is slightly slower than they would have liked it to be, basing themselves on the fact that the enemy is becoming ever more ruthless and therefore we must match the ruthlessness of the enemy by blindly marching forward.

All these views are going to be assessed at the conference as indeed they are being assessed even now during the course of preparation. And out of all this the ANC will emerge with a strategy and, more than that, with a strategy that will ensure the solid unity of the ranks of the movement.

This is so because everybody will have been convinced that not until this vanguard is united will it be able to pilot the ship along the rough seas that are brought about by the resistance of the fascist regime to the path of democracy that the people are looking forward to it.

Those who think that the ANC conference will decide on a path other than escalating the strategic line of intensifying the armed struggle in our country will be sadly mistaken because every member of the ANC as indeed all revolutionary forces in our country have come to recognise the fact that apartheid cannot be reformed. It must be destroyed.

CONFRONTATION

Of course the ANC has said that to destroy that apartheid regime it is necessary for the people not only to escalate their mass political activity. It is absolutely essential that they pay attention to the question of raising ever to higher levels the armed confrontation with that regime. We are convinced that nothing short of meeting the reactionary violence of that regime with the revolutionary force of the people which must embrace not just a few heroic units of Umkhonto

We Sizwe but a revolutionary force which must become a property of the people as a whole.

That is what the conference will of

The People Want

Excerpts from an address by Thabo Mbeki, Director of the Department of Information and Publicity of the ANC

Once more the enemy has exacted its blood price as it did 25 years ago. Once more its army and police are on the prowl as they were a quarter of a century back. The apartheid regime acted then the way it did to save itself from destruction, and yet there the similarity ends.

There will not be another 25 years of repression, oppression and exploitation. For we have ourselves defined this as the decade of liberation. Our enemy is on the defensive. It is in a state of confusion. Its policy is in tatters. It does not know which way to turn except towards its arsenal of weapons. Botha thinks of nothing else but how to survive.

After 25 years of trying to destroy the ANC, Botha himself speaks of negotiating with the same ANC. That is an admission of defeat. A realisation forced on the regime by the situation, a realisation that the ANC lives, that the ANC fights on, that the ANC is with us as we march closer to victory.

Two and a half decades of trying to silence the masses of the people have done nothing but bring millions more people into struggle. The leaders of the racist white minority have been forced to admit that even the smallest towns of our country are up in arms. The people want freedom now.

necessity pay attention to and resolve to be the only path that will let our people march with confidence to the apex of their endeavour, the seizure of power from the racist regime.

Freedom Now

25 years ago the people did not have their own army. Today they have. Umkhonto We Sizwe lives. It fights on. It is with us as we march closer to victory. All the armed might of the apartheid

regime has failed to crush it. Scared out of its wits by the growth of the armed struggle, the enemy is offering us a sugar coated pill. It says it is prepared to release our leaders if they renounce violence.

Botha says he is prepared to talk to the ANC if it gives up armed struggle. These offers reflect the enemy's desperation, born out of the fact that it no longer has a monopoly of arms. Born of the knowledge that it faces a future of a spreading and victorious people's war. Therefore the enemy wants to disarm us, to leave us defenceless and at its mercy, and deprive us of the cutting edge of our offensive in the struggle for the seizure of power. The enemy will fail.



Umkhonto We Sizwe is with us as we march closer to victory

Burning questions of our times

The fight against the enemy is in full swing. Hardly a day goes by without some form of confrontation between the enemy and our people taking place. Our people have reached a level of political consciousness where they react against all manifestations of oppression and brutality.

We have witnessed and are still seeing the ongoing struggle against high rents, high transport fares, slave education, military occupation of the townships, the sacking of the Sasol workers, shootings of UDF leaders, etc. The prisons and police cells are crammed with thousands of patriots detained for no other reason than the participation in the massive democratic struggle.

The enemy has declared war on the people. Thousands of its troops are deployed in the townships in a massive show of force. Sjamboks, birdshot, rubber bullets and live bullets have become gruesome methods the enemy is using in its futile attempts to crush opposition.

SPECIAL POLICE

A special black police force is being organised for deployment in the townships to provide protection to the already discredited blackguards and cut-throats of the Community Councils. It is thus clear that the reaction of the enemy to our struggle for democracy and social justice is war, pure and simple. All our people are feeling more directly the scourge of this undeclared warfare.

This military and police offensive by the enemy is taking place against the background of a severe drought and an acute economic crisis. All these developments have resulted in serious impoverishment of the oppressed throughout the country. Literally millions of workers and the rural masses are victims of hunger, malnutrition and diseases.

The past few months have exposed the colossal fraud of the talks of reforms, changes and "talk about talks" with the ANC. I am saying this because the outstanding features of the tactics and stratagems of the Botha, Malan and Heunis clique are violence, persecution, detentions, callous and sadistic tortures and countless murders.

PEOPLE'S ANGER

But despite the enemy's jackboot, the gun, the APC, tanks, etc. we see a crescendo of people's anger with its volcanic eruptions and turbulence. We witness the thunder and the storms of the revolutionary struggle in areas which we even thought were still either fallow or virgin lands like Beaufort West, Tumahole, Parys, Tsakane, Odendaalsrus, Emgwali, Mooiplaas, Driefontein, Esikhavini, etc.

The terroristic dictatorship in our country maintains the stubbornness of a mule and the idiotic logic of an ostrich which in the face of danger pushes its head into the sand. One would have thought that with the clear rejection of the Black Local Authorities Act elec-

tions, the tri-cameral ones and the current upsurge, the P.W. Botha dictatorship would not be contemplating the establishment of yet another "baboon parliament".

Yet the Radio R.S.A. broadcast of January 25, 1985 carried news of an indication of exactly such an arrangement. This is a stillborn exercise since it is quite clear that the revolutionary movement has permeated the revolution-



Chris Hani

ary classes and strata of the people and continues to grow in depth and maturity and there is quite a clear prospect of its development into a mighty and invincible force.

For us, the vanguard of national liberation, as we clearly hear the "peals of really revolutionary thunder coming from the people", we urgently need to strengthen ourselves in order to discharge our duty of leading the people, giving clear and unambiguous guidelines. We should work hard and neutralise the fascist regime's attempts to isolate us

in order to dilute the struggle of our people by trying to impose on the oppressed a wavering and corrupt leadership.

ANSWER

Our answer at this crucial moment in our struggle is to strengthen the structural and organised contacts between the ANC, the people's army and the people. Such an indissoluble link will come about by developing and strengthening the ANC, SACTU, and the SACP. The entire oppressed people have nothing to lose from the inevitable collapse of the existing political and social order.

Relying on the tested political line of our movement, on its theoretical and practical experience, we have to strive very hard to effect the fusion of our national liberation movement with the progressive trade union movement, with the mass organisations, the youth and student movement, and women's organisations to build an invincible force.

Alongside this, it is also our primary task to increase our military striking power to enrich the people's struggles and to hit the enemy hard at his vitals. More than ever before we face the urgent task of entrenching the people's army among the people themselves, enjoying the active participation, the shelter and assistance of the masses.

PRIORITY TASK

The training inside our country of military and para-military units has become a compelling and priority task. We have to tackle it with all the gusto and revolutionary enthusiasm tempered with all the care and conspiratorial style of work.

ANOTHER VIETNAM?

As the armed struggle for national emancipation in El Salvador scores new and greater victories, so has the threat of a U.S. invasion of this tiny Central American country grown larger. SALVADOR MONCADA, representative of the FMLN/FDR in the U.K. granted DAWN the following interview:

DAWN: What is the FMLN/FDR?

Moncada: The FMLN (Farabundo Marti Front For National Liberation) is the organisation uniting all the politico-military organisations in El Salvador. There are five. The FDR (Democratic Revolutionary Front) is a grouping of different political parties — the christian democrats, social democrats, professionals, etc. On the one hand you have politico-military organisations and on the other the political parties and other democratic structures. Three years ago both decided to have joint representatives abroad.



DAWN: What is the historical background to the formation of the FMLN/FDR?



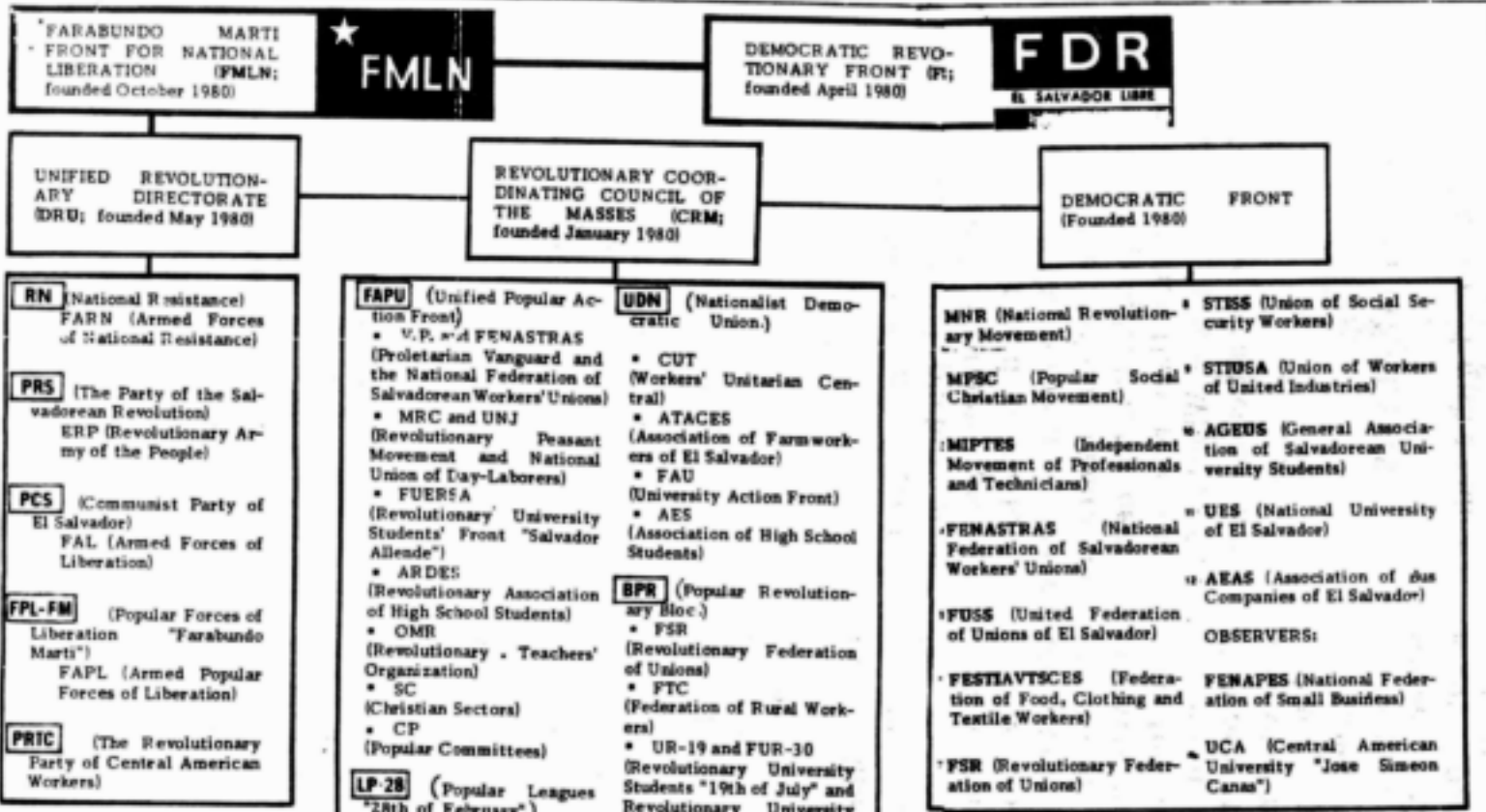
Moncada: The modern history and struggle of El Salvador can be traced from the 30's. The deep international crisis of capitalism (the great depression — ed.) had a telling effect on the country's

economy — then a major exporter of coffee. It was especially felt in the countryside by people working in the coffee plantations. A peasant revolt that followed was brutally suppressed. About 30,000 people were murdered.

The Communist Party was born at that time. Without going into details about the ensuing 30 years, let me mention that for all those years the Communist Party was the most important section of the left, although it did not grow much.

Prior to armed struggle peaceful methods, including contesting elections were employed. Several centre-left coalitions participated in the elections. Not even once were the elections fair. They were always rigged, resulting in a number of people becoming disillusioned.

Inspired by the Cuban revolution, it started dawning that the only way is armed struggle. Politico-military organisations sprouted in early 70's. The first was the FPL-FM (Popular Forces of Liberation "Farabundo Marti"), founded in 1970; to be followed by the PRS (The Party of the Salvadorean Revolution). In 1975 the PRS split into two. Another new organisation, the RN (National Resistance) was formed. These three organisations (FPL-FM, PRS, RN) and the PCS (Communist Party of El Salvador) came together under the DRU (Unified Revolutionary Directorate) in 1980 which later gave birth to the FMLN.



NOTES

RN: The name of the party is the National Resistance (RN), and its military arm is the Armed Forces of National Resistance (FARN). As a tendency the RN has existed since the early 70s, and in 1975 it began to act as an independent organization. Its mass organization is the Unified Popular Action Front (FAPU), founded in 1974.

PRS: The Revolutionary Army of the People (ERP) was formed in 1971 as an organization of a federative character, with the participation of several revolutionary tendencies. Since 1975 it has encouraged the formation of the Party of the Salvadorean Revolution (PRS), which held its first congress in 1977. Its mass organization is the Popular Leagues "28th of February" (LP-28), founded in 1977.

PCS: The Salvadorean Communist Party (PCS) was founded in 1930. Its first Secretary General was Ismael Diaz. Its most famous leader, and Secretary General during the insurrection of 1932, was Agustin Farabundo Marti. In 1979, the PCS began to encourage the armed struggle through its military arm, the Armed Forces of Liberation (FAL). The mass organization that it leads is the Nationalist Democratic Union (UDN), founded in 1969.

FPL: The Popular Forces of Liberation (FPL) has acted with this name since 1972. Since 1979 it has called its military arm the Armed Popular Forces of Liberation (FAPL). The mass organization that it leads is the Popular Revolutionary Bloc (BPR), founded in 1975.

PRTC: The Revolutionary Party of Central American Workers (PRTC) began its activities in 1976. Its mass organization is the Movement of Popular Liberation (MLP), founded in 1979.



At the same time displaced elements from the junta who had some democratic inclination like the social and christian democrats; and independent technicians, scientists and teachers formed another organisation, the FDR. In October 1980 the FMLN was founded. It united all the politico-military organisations: FPL-FM, PRS, RN, PCS and the PRTC (The Revolutionary Party of Central American Workers).



DAWN: What were the essential differences among the organisations that subsequently formed the FMLN?



Moncada: The FPL-FM had a strategy they called "guerra del pueblo, guerra popular prolongada" (Protracted people's war). They were interested in developing the social base for the revolution. Their main tenet was that nobody makes the revolution for the people. It is the people themselves who make their revolution. So everybody must fight — Whether 5 or 95 years old — one can participate in one way or another.

DIFFERENT ANALYSIS

The FPL-FM appeared with a radically different analysis of the Salvadorean society than the Communist Party, and for that matter all communist parties in Latin America. They all had an analysis which said there is a national bourgeoisie and therefore a possibility of creating a democratic front with it. The aim should be a democratic bourgeois revolution and the left should push for that.

The FPL-FM's analysis came to the conclusion that there was no national bourgeoisie, and therefore no possibility of a national bourgeois democratic revolution. The bourgeois oligarchy sides with the United States, clearly. So the only possibility was to create a social base which would have as an axis the workers and peasants, towards which dialectically, the petty bourgeoisie would gravitate. And if you have to do all that work, create that base, inevitably you are going to confront the United States. Then the people's struggle will be long and protracted.

In the beginning the PRS was influenced by the Guevara foci experience. However, they had a very clear military line. They developed a very well organised and sophisticated military structure with a very narrow political base, while the FPL-FM had an enormous base with a small military apparatus. The split (RN) occurred mainly as a result of this difference in approach: whether to lay emphasis on the political or military.

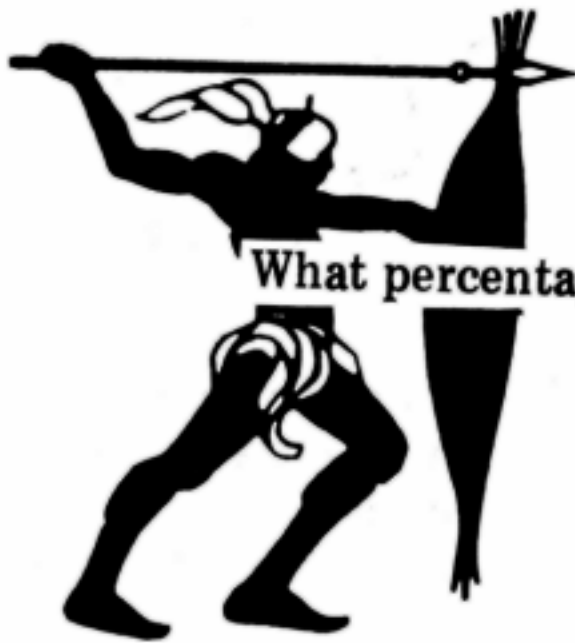
The Communist Party had a base in the working class but lacked experience of armed struggle. They were strong believers in the creation of an alliance with the democratic bourgeoisie. Seeing the disillusionment of the people with elections, they too started to develop their own military organisation.

Lastly, you have the PRTC which is identified with a very grand idea of creating a proletarian party for the whole of Central America. It is a small group though. But their idea is not crazy in Central America where there is a very strong tradition of unity of democratic forces. So they might not be so wrong in the long term.

DAWN: With the formation of the FMLN and the emergence of the FMLN/FDR alliance has there been a merging of the political and the military structures?



Moncada: There has been increased coordination of forces of supply lines, of effort. There was an attempt — something which always happens in the beginning — to make a unified structure in an unrealistic way. The “From-tommorrow-we will be all together” kind of approach. That did not work and so for the last two years we have had to work in the slow process of increasing understanding and coordination to a point where for the first time, in October 1982, we managed to have a coordinated plan for the offensive launched at the time. The coordination is without doubt becoming increasingly better. The controlled territories are very firm now.



DAWN:

What percentage is controlled?

Moncada: About 15 — 20% of the country. Permanently. The main objective in the controlled territories is to develop political bases. In general, we clearly see in El Salvador that the only way to achieve this is through intensifying the political education of the population.

PODER POPULAR

Two years ago popular structures have been created. Called “Porder Popular”, they are practically taking over the government in the zones under our control. Health and education are underway. That is the only insurance for long-term security in terms of the revolutionary struggle. We know that as the tension increases in Central America, it is highly

likely that we are going to confront directly the U.S. military forces. Moreover now that Reagan has been re-elected. So we have to be prepared for that.



DAWN: What led to the radicalisation of the church?

Moncada: El Salvador is a deeply catholic country and the peasants are very religious. They used to believe that they suffer because God ordained. Theirs was to prepare for the new life, in the new world where things will be better. Then suddenly the church comes and says that it is not like that at all, things can be improved here.

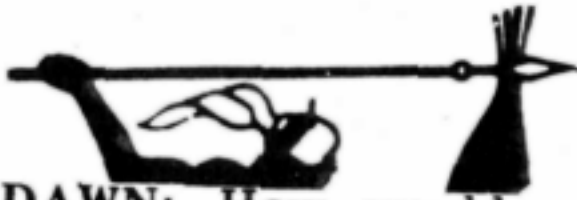
What was behind this radicalisation of the church was the 1968 Medellin Conference of Bishops, an event of great importance in Latin America politics. The conference developed what later came to be known as the theology of liberation, which comes from the second Vatican Council.

The priests who subscribed to the theology of liberation were those who were living with the people and confronted injustice everyday in villages and small towns in the countryside. They became conscious of the evils of the system and the need to awaken the people to the possibility of a better life.

They started organising the people for survival, through the establishment of peasant co-operatives. The successes they scored incensed the enemy and it unleashed its wrath against them. The national oligarchy felt threatened when the peasants achieved this little form of organisation which was not even political.

We have numerous cases of priests who were killed when the regime let loose its terror.

At the same time the politico-military organisations were growing. The most developed priests joined them and became political cadres. And, very often, the biographies of peasant leaders show that they emerged from christian communities.



DAWN: How would you describe the role of the youth?



Moncada: The Salvadorean revolution is a movement of young people. The majority of the leadership of the struggle is below 40 years. And they are people who have been fighting for ten years. So they were below thirty when they joined the revolution.

The participation of students is also very glaring. Enemy repression has concentrated on them quite a lot. The intermediate rank in the leadership consists mainly of former university students. Also, the most radical part of the petty bourgeoisie in the cities are young people.



DAWN: What are the particular characteristics of the enemy you face, and how is it linked to the United States of America?



Moncada: The enemy has been changing as the struggle develops. In the beginning we were confronting the national oli-

garchy. As the popular movement challenged it effectively and efficiently, the United States intervened. At the moment, we are confronting the United States government directly almost. The only thing missing are troops. But the direction of the war, the whole programme of counter-insurgency, the training of the military, the propaganda machine, and so on, is directed by the U.S.

CONTRADICTIONS

There are contradictions of course, which are very important sometimes. For example, contradictions between the modern counter-insurgency line of the U.S. — in which they know how to combine psuedo-reforms, psychological warfare, social warfare, military warfare — and the national oligarchy which is primitive and does not understand one of the main tenets of counter-insurgency: that something has to change in order not to change anything. So those contradictions flare up from time to time. I am sure that does happen in South Africa.

Some months ago the U.S. ambassador to El Salvador was accusing the right of nurturing and maintaining the death-squads. He was complaining that nobody in the junta wanted to do anything about them, although it (junta) knows who they are.



DAWN: Can you tell us more about these death-squads which, in the context of our struggle, take the form of vigilantes?



Salvadorean patriots march confidently to victory.

Moncada: The death squads are mainly formed by people from the army. The right wing in El Salvador is responsible for them.

DAWN: What is the imperialist strategy for El Salvador and the region as a whole?

Moncada: The U.S. strategy is clearly to dominate the whole region. They cannot stomach the revolutionary government in Nicaragua, and they want a military victory there. They are also devoting all energies to arrest the revolutionary process in El Salvador. Puppets like Honduran, Salvadorean, and Guatemalan armies are handy weapons in the hands of the U.S. to gain hegemony.

But as they continue suffering defeat, I think in the next year or so we will see U.S. troops fighting in Central America. Shortly before the total col-

lapse of the Salvadorean army they will be "invited" by the Salvadorean junta to intervene as a "peace keeping force". The morale in the Salvadorean army is very low already.

DAWN: Recognising that fact, what preparations are being made to defend the gains of the struggle so far?

Moncada: The only thing that can defeat the United States is the war of people. Everybody in El Salvador doesn't want them there. If every knife, fork, pair of scissors — anything they have — becomes an arm to fight, then the U.S. has lost.

The only hope we have is ourselves. That is why the work in the controlled territories is so important. The people are having a taste of real democracy, proper health care and education. They have something to defend. **Venceremos!**

NEW AGE

The questions which have always been here

Jump at us like impatient lovers
Of nights which cannot be numbed
Not even by spirits departed from
bottle or land

When fogs of despair jump up thick
in our heads

When struggle becomes the next bottle
Or the warmth between a willing
woman's thighs

Sucking into her our hasty greed
Remember O comrade commander of
the ready smile

This is pain and decay of purpose

Remember in baton boot and bullet
ritual

The bloodhounds of Monster Vorster
wrote

SOWETO over the belly of my land
With the indelible blood of infants
So the young are no longer young
Not that they demand a hasty death

The past is also turbulent
Ask any traveller with memory
To tame it today is our mission
With liberty hammered to steel in
our eye

Remember O Poet
When some of your colleagues meet
They do not talk the glories of the

past

Or turn their tongues blackwards
In platitudes or idealistic
delirium

About change through chance or beauty
Or the perversion you call love
Which be nothing nothing
But the Western pairing of parasites

The young whose eyes carry neither
youth nor cowardice
The workers whose song of peace
Now digs graves for the goldfanged
fascist monsters
With artistic precision and purpose
Now know the past is turbulent
We must tame it now
Ask any eye fuelled with liberty

Tell those with ears to hear
tell them
Tell them my people are a garden
Rising out of the rancid rituals
of rape and ruin
Tell them tell them in the dry season
Leaves with dry and fall to fertilize
the land
Whose new flowers black green
and gold
Are a worker's song of fidelity
To the land that mothered you

Keorapetse Kgositsile

It was not Erroll Flynn who won the war

— ANC Khumalo

Who won the second world war? Who was responsible for the defeat of Hitler? Those questions are still hotly debated today. And not simply by children in school, but by historians and ideologues.

The ruling point of view in South Africa, Britain, America and other western countries is that America and Britain played the decisive role. The way some people argue, and certainly the way the Hollywood films put it across, you would think that Errol Flynn, John Wayne and other gum-chewing yanky hemen did it all single-handed.

In South Africa schools, and wherever imperialist propaganda is pumped out, they tell us that the Germans were defeated not by the Soviet people but by Generals Hunger and Cold. I remember seeing a western war documentary when I was at school. It showed the fascist invaders becoming bogged down on their advance to Moscow and then later being forced to retreat.

Apparently it was not the fighting qualities and capability of the Soviet soldiers that were responsible for the about-turn. According to the commentator of this propaganda piece it was "Snow...Snow...and more Snow". General Zhukov was nowhere to be seen. Only General Snow. As though the Soviet forces did not have to fight under the same weather conditions as the Nazis? As though they only beat them during the winter months?



The nazis laying down arms.

FORTIETH ANNIVERSARY

This year sees the fortieth anniversary of the end of the war. There will be numerous commemorations throughout the world. In the west renewed attempts are being made to play down the Soviet Union's role in the war. At the same time the western mass media seeks to exaggerate Britain and America's role. Emphasis is being placed on battles on the

Western Front and the claim that the western allies were the main adversaries of the Germans.

The American edition of John Pimlott's "Battle of the Bulge" claims just that in the blurb. And Robert Leckie's "Wars of America" juggles the facts by claiming that Hitler weakened his 1 500 mile Eastern Front with the Soviet forces "to the extreme" to provide troops for his Ardennes offensive in Belgium in

December 1944 (which came to be called the Battle of the Bulge).

This is typical western falsification. At that stage Hitler had 250 divisions on the Soviet front and 24 divisions facing one million allied troops in the west. Hardly a case of weakening the Eastern front "to the extreme". The Americans in fact made such a poor showing in the Ardennes battle that Churchill had to appeal to Stalin to put forward the date of the Soviet offensive in the East in order to take pressure off the Americans.

In his book "The Second World War", Churchill praised Stalin for advancing the date of the Soviet offensive. "It was a fine deed of the Russinas and their chief to hasten their vast offensive, no doubt at a heavy cost of life", is what Churchill wrote. As a result of the Soviet offensive, in January 1945 Hitler was forced to redeploy 12 divisions from the western front to the east. The Battle of the Bulge was the biggest battle on the western front. But it was minor compared with those on the Soviet-German front.

THE SOVIET-GERMAN FRONT

All the main events of the Second World War, or the Great Patriotic War as it is called in the Soviet Union, took place on this front. Hitler's main aim was to overthrow the Soviet Union and crush communism. This would enable

It was not Erroll Flynn who won the war

— ANC Khumalo

Who won the second world war? Who was responsible for the defeat of Hitler? Those questions are still hotly debated today. And not simply by children in school, but by historians and ideologues.

The ruling point of view in South Africa, Britain, America and other western countries is that America and Britain played the decisive role. The way some people argue, and certainly the way the Hollywood films put it across, you would think that Errol Flynn, John Wayne and other gum-chewing yanky hemen did it all single-handed.

In South Africa schools, and wherever imperialist propaganda is pumped out, they tell us that the Germans were defeated not by the Soviet people but by Generals Hunger and Cold. I remember seeing a western war documentary when I was at school. It showed the fascist invaders becoming bogged down on their advance to Moscow and then later being forced to retreat.

Apparently it was not the fighting qualities and capability of the Soviet soldiers that were responsible for the about-turn. According to the commentator of this propaganda piece it was "Snow...Snow...and more Snow". General Zhukov was nowhere to be seen. Only General Snow. As though the Soviet forces did not have to fight under the same weather conditions as the Nazis? As though they only beat them during the winter months?



The nazis laying down arms.

FORTIETH ANNIVERSARY

This year sees the fortieth anniversary of the end of the war. There will be numerous commemorations throughout the world. In the west renewed attempts are being made to play down the Soviet Union's role in the war. At the same time the western mass media seeks to exaggerate Britain and America's role. Emphasis is being placed on battles on the

Western Front and the claim that the western allies were the main adversaries of the Germans.

The American edition of John Pimlott's "Battle of the Bulge" claims just that in the blurb. And Robert Leckie's "Wars of America" juggles the facts by claiming that Hitler weakened his 1 500 mile Eastern Front with the Soviet forces "to the extreme" to provide troops for his Ardennes offensive in Belgium in

December 1944 (which came to be called the Battle of the Bulge).

This is typical western falsification. At that stage Hitler had 250 divisions on the Soviet front and 24 divisions facing one million allied troops in the west. Hardly a case of weakening the Eastern front "to the extreme". The Americans in fact made such a poor showing in the Ardennes battle that Churchill had to appeal to Stalin to put forward the date of the Soviet offensive in the East in order to take pressure off the Americans.

In his book "The Second World War", Churchill praised Stalin for advancing the date of the Soviet offensive. "It was a fine deed of the Russinas and their chief to hasten their vast offensive, no doubt at a heavy cost of life", is what Churchill wrote. As a result of the Soviet offensive, in January 1945 Hitler was forced to redeploy 12 divisions from the western front to the east. The Battle of the Bulge was the biggest battle on the western front. But it was minor compared with those on the Soviet-German front.

THE SOVIET-GERMAN FRONT

All the main events of the Second World War, or the Great Patriotic War as it is called in the Soviet Union, took place on this front. Hitler's main aim was to overthrow the Soviet Union and crush communism. This would enable

him to achieve his dream of world domination. He therefore concentrated his main forces and means of war on this front. This is where the decisive events and turning points of the war occurred.

It was on this front that through four grim years of war the Soviet Union, fighting for most of that time on its own, stopped the gigantic war machine of the fascists, bled it white, forced it into retreat and finally destroyed it. Millions of fascist troops and ten million Soviet soldiers died in this fighting. Another ten million Soviet civilians perished at the hands of the invaders. By comparison 340 000 American soldiers died in the war and not a bomb was dropped on the USA. We do not denigrate the deaths of these Americans or anyone who fought fascism but are concerned to show who carried the major burden of the war.

To get an idea of the scope of the war we will divide it into the specific periods:

1st Period — Nazi Blitzkrieg

Space does not allow us to go into the causes of the war, the political manoeuvrings and contradictions between the imperialists who built up Hitler and encouraged him to attack the Soviet Union. Those contradictions led Hitler first of all to overrun the whole of Europe and to turn against France and Britain whose leaders had sought to appease him. On September 1, 1939 Poland was invaded, falling to the German troops within two weeks.

This was the new military strategy of "blitzkrieg" or lightning strike" perfected by the German generals. It entailed the use of superior forces, panzer (tank) divisions, motorised infantry, artillery and air bombardment and paratroop drops behind enemy lines. It involved surprise attack and speed of movement. A hole would be punched into the enemy's front and the tanks, followed by motorised

infantry, would speed deep into the rear to link up with the paratroopers. The opponent's front lines would be cut off from the rear and the forward posi-



G. V. Zhukov

tions surrounded in pincer movements. In this way Hitler banked on quick and dramatic results.



Blitzkrieg worked in one country after another as Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium and France fell in quick succession in the summer of 1940. The German army became highly skilled in this type of warfare and the myth of Hitler's invincibility grew. Britain and France had declared war on Germany after the invasion of Poland. No serious fighting took place between them however, and a period of lull set in, known as the "phoney" war.

It served to show that they were not serious in their opposition to Hitler until the once mighty France paid the price of its folly and was occupied in July 1940. Hitler now began to build up his forces for the assault on the Soviet Union. With most of Europe under his control he could count on a combined population of 300 million as against 190 million Soviet citizens and he had greater resources of iron, coal and steel under his command. In fact most of Europe became a labour camp for the fascist war effort. By June 1941 Hitler and his generals were ready to launch "Operation Barbarossa", the code name for the invasion of the Soviet Union. They had amassed 90 per cent more troops, 50 per cent more tanks, 20 per cent more artillery and 130 per cent more combat aircraft than the Soviet command.

2nd Period — The Soviet Union Attacked

On June 22, 1941 Hitler invaded the Soviet Union with an army of 3 million. 190 divisions took part in the initial assault on a front stretching from the Baltic to the Black Sea. Fifty divisions were supplied by Hitler's fascist allies such as Italy, Finland, Rumania, Hungary and Spain. The Hitlerite forces had the advantage of surprise and were superior in equipment and numbers, whereas the Soviet Union was not as prepared as it could have been. Moreover, the invaders had the decided advantage of being



more experienced in modern warfare.

The blitzkrieg strategy soon saw the fascists striking deep into Soviet territory. Hitler had boasted that he would be in Moscow within six weeks. But the time of easy way for the fascists was over. The small fortress of Brest on the Polish border held out for six weeks until the last defender fell. Leningrad, near the Finnish border, was besieged and by October the enemy had come within sixteen (16) kilometres of Moscow. But at tremendous cost. Every inch of Soviet territory had been fiercely defended and one third of the invasion force was either dead or in hospital by this time. After four months of fascist advance it was clear that the enemy was being halted. Not by snow, but by the fierce determination of the Soviet people and soldiers to defend their motherland.

The essence of this period of the war, fought under unfavourable conditions by the Red Army, was the struggle to halt the enemy's advance and seize the strategic initiative from him.

Under the slogan "The defeat of the enemy must begin at Moscow" the first Soviet counter-offensive was launched at the end of 1941. With the army reorganised by the Party, fresh men and resources brought up, communists leading the troops into battle and the people giving everything for the war effort, the enemy was hurled back. By April 1942 the fascists had been pushed back 400 kilometres from Moscow. The Battle of

Moscow revealed the strength of the Soviet people. This was the first massive defeat for the fascists and it shattered the myth of Hitler's invincibility.

Hitler's hopes of lightning war with a swift conclusion were wrecked. Instead he was forced into a protracted war. The invaders still held the strategic initiative, however, and launched a fresh offensive in the south. An army of 1 million troops broke through the Soviet front and drove to the Volga in the summer of 1942. In July 1942 Stalingrad was flattened in one day and the fiercest fighting of the war took place over many months for every street and house of the city. The whole world watched as the outcome of the war was being decided at this great city in the River Volga. The German forces were hoping to break through the Soviet defences and speed on to seize the



strategic oil fields at Baku and the Caspian Sea. This would have placed the Soviet Union in an extremely vulnerable position.

3rd Period — From Stalingrad to Kursk

November 19, 1942 saw the unfolding of a carefully planned and devastating counter-offensive at Stalingrad. The encirclement of the German 6th Army took place. Over 330 000 crack German troops were caught in a trap and pulverised. By February 1943, 90 000

survivors finally surrendered. The tide of war had turned on the Volga and the German army could never be the same again. At this stage there were 258 fascist divisions on the Soviet front and 50 divisions concentrated at Stalingrad. There had never been such a crushing defeat in the history of warfare yet war historians in the west seek to play down this momentous event. By contrast the fascists had a mere 14 divisions operating in North Africa. And the Battle of Alamein which is greatly magnified in the west only resulted in the destruction of four fascist divisions. Hitler had ordered his top generals to commit suicide rather than surrender at Stalingrad but in the end they decided to ignore their Fuhrer and save their skins. From this stage of the war the strategic initiative belonged to the Red Army.

The fascist beast had been tamed but not broken. The Nazi generals still aimed to regain the all important initiative. Fresh armies with the newest equipment had been mobilised. In July 1943 the fascists launched another powerful summer offensive south of Moscow near Kursk. They concentrated their forces on a very narrow sector. Fifty divisions, twenty of which were tank or motorised divisions, were formed into a "battering ram" aimed at punching a hole into the Soviet lines, and once again thrust on Moscow. The biggest battle in history unfolded on the fields near Kursk, involving thousands of tanks, planes and artillery. The Red army's defences held and at the precise moment a powerful Soviet counter-offensive was unleashed which caught the fascists by complete surprise.

This manoeuvre from defence into counter-offensive "on the move" i.e. in the course of a battle and not from a set position, required the kind of generalship, command and control, and troop discipline under fire that makes it difficult for any force then and today

to rival that of the Soviet army. The result was the most decisive victory of the war. Thousands of enemy tanks, planes and artillery pieces were captured or put out of action and hundreds of German troops killed or captured. Thirty enemy divisions were destroyed.

The Battle of Kursk is justifiably called "the decisive turning point" of the war by Soviet and other objective historians. After Kursk the German High Command could never again assume the offensive on a large scale. The Soviet Air Force gained air supremacy which it retained till the end of the war. The fascist army was near catastrophe and on the other hand Soviet prestige and morale was greatly increased. From Kursk the Red Army developed a general offensive along a large front, hurling the enemy across the Dnieper River.



Along this wide river the enemy had built heavily fortified positions, the "Eastern Wall". Overcoming this obstacle required tremendous bravery and combat skill. In the process more "Hero of the Soviet Union" awards were won in the Battle of the Dnieper than in any other battle of the war. By the end of 1943 the tide of the war was irreversibly turned in favour of the Soviet Union. The stage was now set for the expulsion of the enemy from Soviet territory. The Red Army's fighting ability, experience, mastery of directing large formations was clearly

superior to that of the German army. The Soviet Union's wartime economy was functioning better than fascist Germany's and Soviet war industry was now producing two-and-a-half (2½) times more tanks and 20 000 more aircraft than Germany and her allies.

4th Period — The Enemy Driven From Soviet Soil

The Red Army's mission for 1944 was the clearing of the fascist invader from Soviet soil and the setting of action on the enemy's own territory. Nine crushing blows on various fronts were unleashed. The siege of Leningrad was lifted, ending 900 days of suffering which left one million soldiers and civilians dead. Under the brilliant generalship of Zhukov, Rokossovsky and Konev the Soviet forces cleared Byelorussia and the Ukraine.

Partisan (guerilla) forces numbering one million had been operating behind enemy lines and in no small way contributed to the successes of the regular forces. They had literally made every inch of occupied Soviet land burn under the invaders' feet and in the "Railway War" of 1943-1944 disrupted the movement of enemy troops and equipment by blowing up thousands of kilometres of track and by attacking anything that moved. By the middle of 1944 Soviet territory was cleared of the fascists. Eight million German soldiers, Hitler's crack and elite divisions, died or were taken prisoner on Soviet soil. At this stage Nazi Germany had lost 55 000 tanks, 62 000 planes and 190 000 artillery pieces.

The Red Army now began its great campaign of liberating other European countries from Nazi bondage. It was at this stage, when the bulk of the fighting had been done and it was clear that the USSR had the capacity to crush Hitler alone, that the western allies belatedly opened up the Second Front



Citizens of all ages took part in the fighting.

with the landings on the Atlantic coast of France. We have referred to the heavy going the Americans and British made against inferior German forces in the west. Hitler hoped that the USA and Britain would want to "save" Germany from communism and that together

they could unite against the Soviet Union.

His attacks on their forces in the west were thus of a political nature. The Western Allies had a relatively easy task yet they pretend their advances were fantastic and scarcely mention Stalingrad and Kursk or the terrific resistance battles taking place on the Eastern Front in 1944-45. Against fierce resistance the Red Army drove the Germans out of Poland, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, etc. By January 1945 the final stage for the offensive on German soil was set.



5th Period – Battle of Berlin and Final Victory

With the Western Allies stuck in the forests and mud of the Ardennes the Soviet offensive in January 1945 got underway. We have seen that Stalin advanced the time in response to



Warm welcome for Soviet soldiers in Bulgaria.

Churchill's appeal for assistance. Thus commenced large scale Soviet operations on German soil. The Red Army crashed through the German defences and by April 16 had reached the outskirts of Berlin. An army of one million troops defended the capital. The Red Army had to advance against fortified positions on high ground and fighting was extremely fierce with thousands of Soviet casualties.

By April 25 the German troops had been surrounded and routed and on April 30 Soviet soldiers, fighting from floor to floor, hoisted the red banner of victory on the roof of the Reichstag — the German parliament. In order to escape justice Hitler swallowed poison in his bunker. In this way the dream of world domination ended. After Germany's unconditional surrender, May 9 was declared "Victory Day" in the Soviet Union. In August the war against militarist Japan was concluded.

But the final act of barbarity was carried out by America. On August 8 the Soviet Union declared war on Japan as a result of a commitment given to the West at the Yalta Conference the year before. Soviet forces soon routed the 1 300 000 strong Japanese army in Manchuria giving Mao Tse Tung their arms. On August 6 and 9 the USA dropped



atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. There was no military necessity for this act since Japan was already finished. The purpose was to warn the Soviet Union.

CONCLUSION

We have attempted to show that the Soviet Union carried the main burden of the war and was the key force in the defeat of Hitler's Germany. We have shown that by the time the Western Allies landed in France, June 6, 1944, the Soviet Union had to its credit brilliant victories at Moscow, Stalingrad, Kursk, on the Dnieper and elsewhere. These marked a radical turning point in the entire course of the war. Between November 1942 and the end of 1943, 213 divisions of the German army were routed on the Soviet front. These were Hitler's best divisions which had hitherto known no defeat. By June 1944 the war had already entered its concluding stage. By then as many as 370 divisions had been wiped out on the German-Soviet front. Nazi Germany could no longer compensate these losses and its death agony set in. Germany lost two million of its best officers and men at Stalingrad and Kursk alone.

The elite divisions which had overrun France in the Summer of 1940 lay buried on the Volga and the fields near Kursk. When Eisenhower landed at



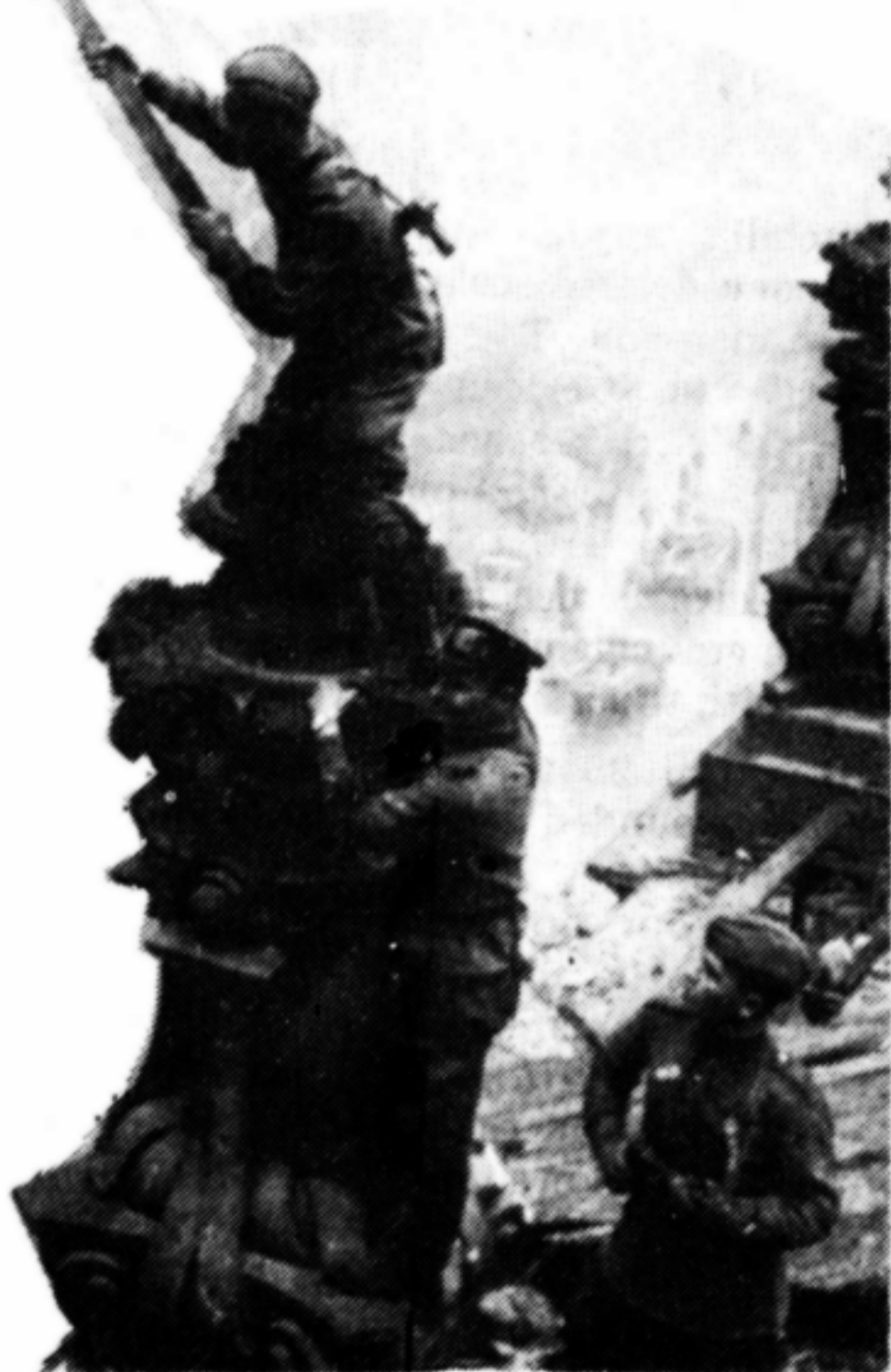
Normandy the Germans had only 160 combat aircraft on that front. The Western advance was guided not so much with routing Hitler but with meeting up with the "Russians" as far to the east as possible. All in all a total of 607 enemy divisions were destroyed on the Soviet-German front. Nazi Germany lost 10 million men in killed, wounded and captured on the Soviet front. The Anglo-American troops operating in North Africa, Italy and Western Europe accounted for 176 divisions. Most of them in the concluding period of the war when Nazi Germany was on the brink of surrender.

The Soviet Union lost 20 million people in the war. 1 740 towns and 70 000 villages were destroyed. The Soviet people made tremendous sacrifices which explains why they hold so dear to peace today. The source of the Soviet Union's victory over fascism is its people, organised, inspired and led by their communist party. Because they were fighting a just war in defence of their socialist motherland they were united, determined, disciplined and ready to make any sacrifice. By comparison their enemy was fighting an unjust war

for false promises which were unattainable.

So it was not Errol Flynn who won the war. Neither was it General Snow. It was the Soviet people and their Red Army.

Let us conclude with these words from Marshall Grechko: "The Soviet



Union had won a war which in its scope, intensity and impact on post-war world developments exceeded past wars in every respect. History knows few examples when such traumatic setbacks early in a war were so dramatically reversed and where the aggressor having scored fairly impressive success in the opening stages, eventually suffered complete defeat".

LEARN with DAWN

You too Countryman, can be a Freedom Fighter

HOW TO CAUSE INDUSTRIAL STOPPAGES

The South African economy depends on electrical energy for service. To disrupt the supply of electrical energy does not require explosives in all cases. Little knowledge of electricity is all that is necessary.

- (i) For thorough basics of electricity consult trustworthy students of electricity for assistance.

This knowledge must be passed on to all patriots of our motherland who are prepared to confront the enemy that deprives us jobs, murders and oppresses the majority of our people.

- (ii) Each and every machine or system that is part of the economy that maintains the apartheid regime is manned by a worker drawn by wages from the oppressed. We are the people who operate and maintain the exploiters' property. This puts us in a better position to sabotage his material without having to wait passively for the sons and daughters of our motherland in the liberation army, Umkhonto We Sizwe.

Then we shall be able to support our massive economic and political struggles with economic sabotage.

Let us organise ourselves into small groups of three in each and every industry, factory, site or building.

ELECTRICAL ENERGY SABOTAGE

Targets: Work places like

- (i) Factories
 - (ii) Administrative buildings
 - (iii) supermarkets
- (i) To destroy factory electrical appliances.
 - (ii) To set the building on fire (poorly built buildings).

Requirements

- (i) Fuses or thick metal objects like nails. These are to ensure that the flow of electricity is not cut by the original fuses which are meant to burn out when there is a higher inflow of electricity which may cause a short circuit.

NOTE: The fuse you replace must be able to take a larger amount than those originally fitted by the enemy.

- (ii) If the new system of protection switches (automatic switches) is used, you also need some extra straps of cables. You will need these cables to join the cables that lead into the automatic switch.

Cut the leading wires where they lead into the switch. Join them such that they by-pass the automatic switch.

— Alternatively if you can hold the lever that operates the automatic switch, hold it with a strong strap

WHAT YOU NEED TO DO FOR THIS SIMPLE SABOTAGE

- 1) Switch off the main switch. It is found in every switchboard. The switchboard is the main supplier of electricity to the distribution board of any installation.
- 2) Put out of action all automatic safety switches. These are found of thread such that it does not switch off to cut the circuit.

in the: (a) Switchboard

(b) Distribution board (one for each sector to be supplied).

(c) Sometimes in each and every sector of the plant or floor of high buildings.

These automatic safety switches were fitted by the enemy as a response to a number of accidents that occurred and also the wave of terrorist activities in Western Europe.

To put the automatic switch out of action just cut the wires leading into it and those leaving the switch. Then to prepare for the electric flow, close the gaps created by joining these wires directly outside the automatic safety switch.

NOTE WELL. With these switches out of action only the fuses are left which can cut the circuit before the whole system is damaged.

- 3) Connect every electric appliance in plant or building. Then turn **ON** all plugs for electricity to flow. (**NOTE:** No electricity will flow because the main switch is still or remains **OFF**.)
- 4) Now will be the time for you freedom fighter to replace the fuses in the switchboard with the nails. This applies in the old system used by the racists, i.e. that of a fuse board precisely resembling the one of a motorcar. If the new system found in block form is used, you

must buy the fuses (you must have a good reason of course) or steal the same type but with a higher resistance and intake of current.

- 5) Having done all the above, switch **ON** the main switch.

RESULTS

- 1) With all the appliances and machinery open to receive energy, when the main switch closes a sudden high demand of electricity will cause a short circuit which will disrupt the exploitative plans of the bosses and the illegitimate rulers of our country.
- 2) Because you have fitted stronger elements for fuses the effect of the short circuit will only reflect at the weakest point, the weakest link in the connection. The weakest link in this case will certainly be the cables. These cables can in turn set on fire the sensitive materials in a building (like ceilings). This is caused by the heavy spark released when a short circuit occurs.

In an industrial plant the machines with wiring leading into them will be destroyed.

NOTE: No fuse or automatic safety switch must be left in good order because it will immediately cut the circuit in an event of a fault and the resultant short circuit.

PRECAUTIONARY MEASURES

- 1) Do not embark on this operation without a thorough study of the required elements of electric sabotage. Study precisely the system (electric) of the enemy. A lot of information is available on this.
- 2) The return of an electric short circuit is dangerous to people, and the source itself.
- 3) Put on rubber shoes when carrying out this mission.



THE NEW VILLAGES

- A SHORT STORY -

Reprinted from MEDU art ensemble NEWSLETTER, Festival edition

—Mongane Serote

New places are always different from old ones. Temba is. The old place, Walmanstadt, was surrounded by hills, was naturally green, had lots of water and all the time, a cool breeze blew to the East. The summers were not very hot. The winters were cold. Walmanstadt, it seemed, was in a valley. Watched from the hills, this village in the valley, dappled many colours, spread itself, like a carpet, spread-out houses, leaving space and space in-between them, long patches of green fields and brown fields which seemed to dance to a rhythm of an unheard music.

All kinds of people lived in Walmanstadt. There were the old people, who still ploughed and had cattle, sheep, goats, pigs and chickens; they grew vegetables and fruits. Everything about them, their eyes, faces, their clothes, their hands said they were part of the land. Each of the many houses, had someone old; they

still sang the old songs, told tales about the old days, and never hesitated to state their bewilderment at the new ways of the young. Most of the old, were women, their men had been taken by the war, which claimed them either through the grave or the mental asylum; some men had never come back from the mines.

There were the young ones, who were in constant motion. They came to the village towards weekend and vanished by the end of the weekend. Most went to the nearby suburbs of Pretoria or Pretoria itself, some to Johannesburg. Some of the young had gone and never came back to the village. Some came back from the mines, never to go back; now they found the old, the peasants, either as cripples, or ill; coughing and coughing forever. Some of the young women, who had been to the city, came back having left the village hardly able

to wipe their noses. They came back, with bundles on their backs or huge stomachs, and sad stories about their love lives or lifelessness or death, which cities are so able to hatch.

Walmanstadt and its people, spread itself, with space, with green, with brown, with mud-houses, or brick houses or corrugated iron houses, with trees it spread itself, wide — on the one side — towards the horizon; on the other side the hills seemed to touch the sky. Everyday of the week, unless one got close to the houses, whether it be a Monday or a Saturday, the village spread and sprawled a quiteness, a silence, which embraced the trees, hills and the sky.

When getting closer to the houses, one heard laughter, whispers, mbaqanga, hymns or stokfel songs. Everything, the song, the humour, even the footpaths, houses, schools and churches told one that, they were of the people, made by them. No wonder that everyone knew everyone here.

Once people left Walmanstadt, they knew nothing about it anymore. There was no way of going back to it. The new place, Temba, asked about and demanded the lives of the new people. There were other people in Temba, who had been there longer, but who still felt new to it, lost, as if they had never lived before. The new-comers from Walmanstadt, had never heard of the places these other people came from, nor did they understand their language. The conflict, for in practical life, this is what is pain, almost cost the new-comers their lives.

The only memory the people of Walmanstadt now had of their village, was that they had fought, they fought with everything they had and knew, and had lost. The battle had been long, but the victory of those they were fighting against, it seemed, had been swift and also final.

One day the trucks came, and with their roar and what seemed to be their

natural haste; the way they came and left, the trucks pulled the life of Walmanstadt out with ease. From the time Ma-marie was on the truck to the time when she was left in her new house, she had tried hard, to remember what the reason was for their having been moved to Temba, but her memory failed her. She knew that whatever the reason, the word which described the ordeal started with an R. She remembered this because when Rebecca explained this to her, during the battle, to remind herself, she told herself that Rabeccas's name starts with an R and the word starts with an R. She did also remember the word from some of the literacy classes conducted by Rebecca. Ma-maria and Rebecca knew each other from a long time ago. The first time they met was when Ma-maria needed help, after her husband, Churchill, had died suddenly. Rebecca was the pride of Walmanstadt. Walmanstadt had given birth to her, and educated her, and she had become a social worker. She became everything to the village. She talked about the laws and rules of the white people with the village. She taught the children, the adults and even those young ones from the cities, how to read, write, knit and sew, and also, about new methods of caring for the village's fields.

She brought contraceptives from her offices, tablets for flu, penicillin for VD to the young from the cities, and to some in the village. At times some people in the village watched her with suspicion, again with admiration, at times with anger; but all these were also because, the village claimed and loved her, and expected her to know better. There were those families who did not want to see her near their doors, but there were also those who asked her to come again for tea, or porridge or to talk; and Ma-maria was one of those who asked her to come back.

For six months that Ma-maria strug-



gled through Temba, often talking to herself, for there was no one to talk to since her only daughter, Maria, had become a vegetable after a hit-and-run accident, she longed and thought a great deal about Rebecca. Ma-maria knew though that Rebecca would come to see her one day, she had said so, and so she would. She wanted her to come soon though, there were many things they would talk about while drinking tea, she would ask her questions, and Rebecca, patient, and explicit, would answer her, and maybe, these many things which now plagued her would become clear.

Temba is, to use the crazy South African parlance, a township. South Africa has a way of exploding extremes in people. This is because it is one of the most backward, and thus, one of the most notorious countries in the world. Because of that, and also because it is always ready to defend itself by any means necessary, and often does, it has no way of hiding its crudeness. Anywhere else in the world, the word township is neat and clean, but not in South Africa. Here it means that the Black people are living there, and inherent in that, is that easily that word has in it ingredients for a holocaust. Too much madness is created, is maintained and lives on in a South African township. Temba is a huge township. It is a huge township, with scattered cement slabs topped with grey asbestors. The slabs, most of which have two rooms, stand on thin white sand.

The short, sparsely spread thorn trees, the effect of the blinding monotonous sand gives the feeling of a disastrous impending end. The new people here, like new inmates in prison, eye each other, listen, look at each other, but hardly talk to each other. Everything about them, their gait, their eyes, even the way some usually stand in the middle of nowhere, staring, seems to say

that the people, these people, think that there is no bottom further than the distance they have made.

face a rock? Who should die first, Maria or herself? No, if Maria remains and she goes, that would be bad.

Each person watches and listens without a word, as if waiting for an answer, as if wanting to know if it is true. If it is true, what can defeat it then? That is the most curious question. If it is not true, what beats it then? That was the most dangerous question. It is dangerous because then, distances are relative, and if depths are also, the one travelling them has the final say.

Both questions seem to question the essence of everyone, and, everyone knowing this, dared not be haphazard, or reckless with their conclusion. Once a victim, you know a lot about the powerful one, even about their fears. The day the people of Temba talk to each other, it will not be about having a party.

At seventy, Ma-maria, a farmer, a builder, and a good villager, suddenly found out that her strength and her will had gone. Besides the journey from Walmanstadt to Temba, what seemed to usurp her strength, daily, slowly, was a huge protruding rock, which was hard as steel, showing every sign of being embedded deep into the ground. The rock peeped from beneath the ground, into Ma-maria's front door.

Every morning, Ma-maria walked out of the door to do the only thing her strength allowed her to do, which was to gather twigs, make fire, make tea; breathing heavily, and sitting on the wooden chair, which Churchill had made and loved, she always noticed the rock looking at her. She sat there all day, noticing the rock, thinking, at times talking to herself. Like the rock, the word starting with an R also occupied most part of the day, as she sat there, whether it be cold or hot, and at times, it took her long to find out that it was drizzling.

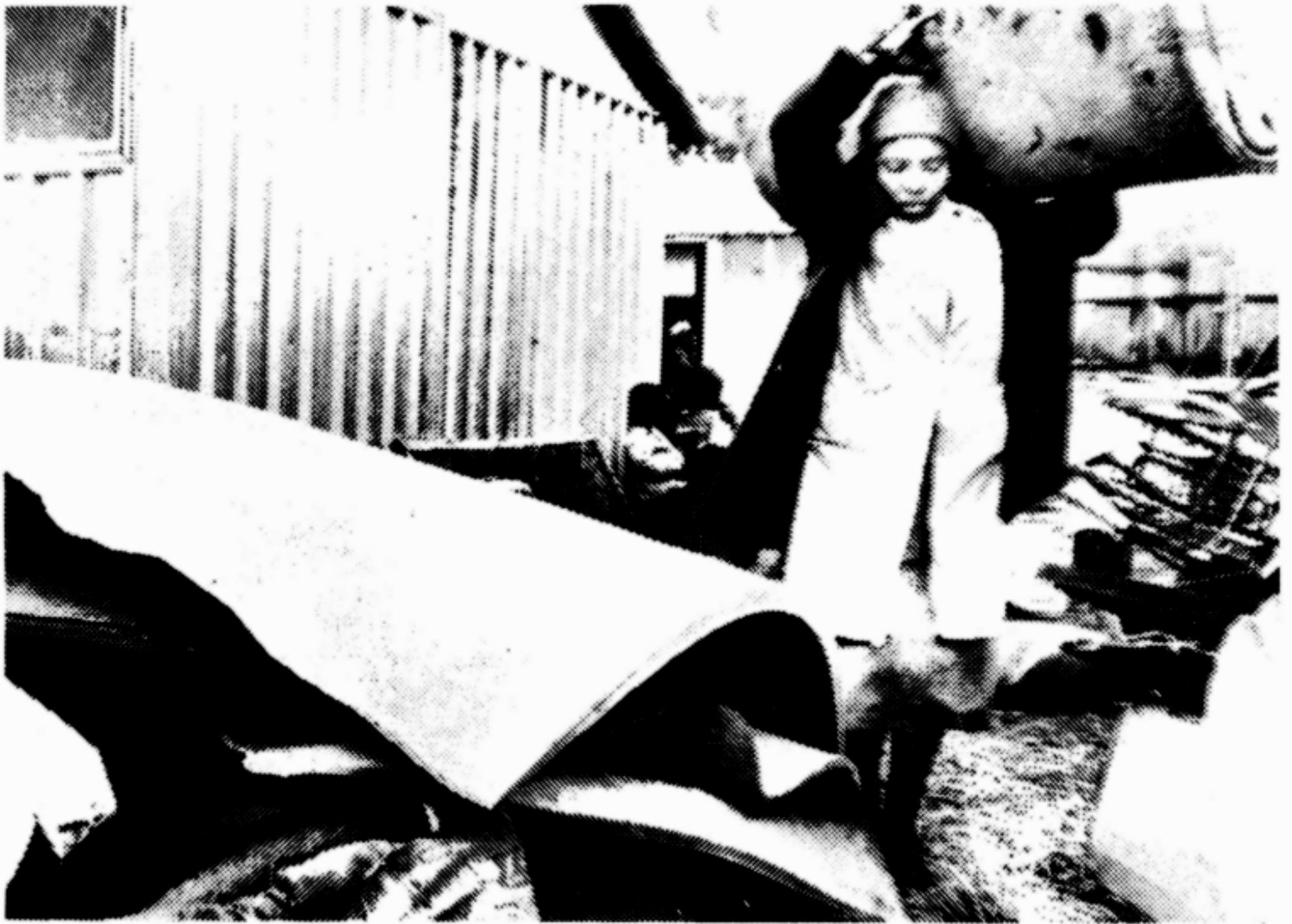
What is the word which starts with an R? How can anyone in their right mind build a house, and have its door

If Maria goes first, she would bury her, but if she remains, in her semi-death, she would still be embraced by the things of life, who would feed her, who would give her water, who would put her to bed? No, she must wait, Maria must go first.

These thoughts, like the curls of smoke from the twigs, came and went and came and went, while Ma-maria sat by the fire, in the heat of the sun. She was sweating, sometimes tears came from her eyes, from the thin, light blue smoke.

Now and then she wiped her eyes. Now and then she sipped her tea. She was a folded, small bundle on Churchill's chair, wearing a blue dress inside out, a black doek and brown shoes. Now and then she bent to the dying fire, to blow it, and the flames leapt, eating into the twigs. Now and then she wiped her forehead and sat back to watch the flames. She was about to lift up her mug, to sip tea, when she saw shadows. For some time she looked at them, then she knew they were shadows of people. But where were the people?

She looked up, in the wrong direction. She saw no one. She looked up again at the shadows; seeing the shadows elongated, she knew that the two people were very near to her. She looked up, but this time she began to weep; "Jo, Jo, how can death come now, how can it, I cannot leave Maria behind, how can I die now!"



She struggled to stand up, and felt a hand hold her. Weary, voiceless, shaking, she tried to fight back by hitting at the hand that held her. "I cannot die now, leave me alone, I cannot die now", she kept saying. "Mama, it's me" Rebecca said, "It's me Rebecca", she said, holding her so as not to fall. Rebecca saw it, she had seen it before on other faces, the face of insanity. It is like death. The sun

was hot.

In her madness, in the heat of the sun and the fire, once she saw and recognised Rebecca's face, Ma-maria remembered the word that starts with an R.

"Resettlement, Resettlement", she kept saying, as Rebecca and her friend, Tshidi, held her, leading her to the house, to Maria, who was staring into space, lying on her back.

DAWN POLITIXWORD NO. 1 – ANSWERS

Across.

1. Glycerine 6. LLA 7. Rear 9. Dose 12. Narcosis
 14. Reecho 15. MC 17. Go 18. AAM 20. Era
 21. Sentry.

Down.

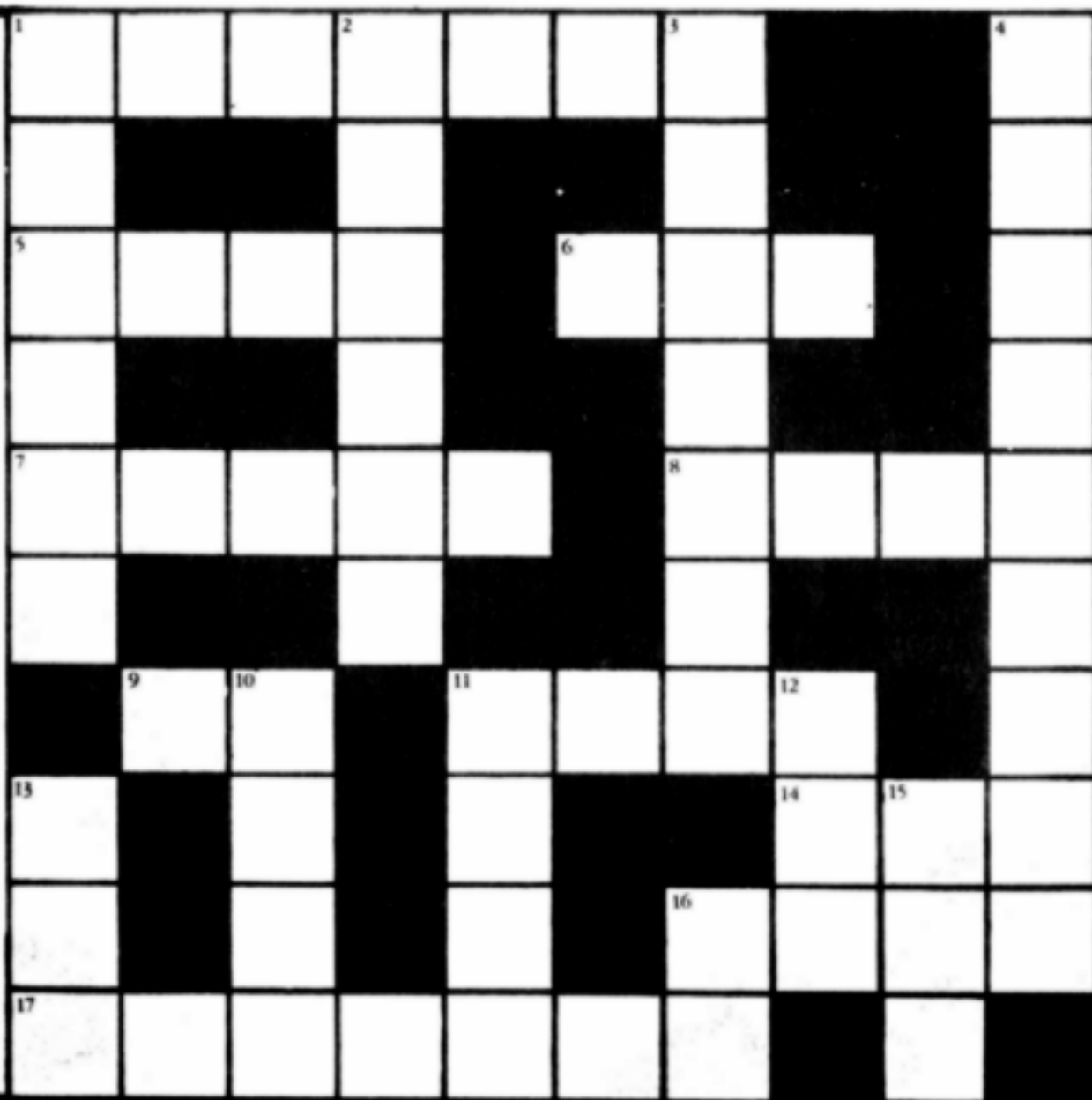
1. Geldenhuys 2. Year 3. Ecuador 4. ILO 5. Ustinov
 8. Rose 10. Siege 11. Escort 13. Roman 16. cat
 19. MR

DAWN



politiXword

No. 2



Clues

CLUES

ACROSS

1. A law officer
5. Part of the body
6. Length of time a person has lived
7. To connect an electrical circuit to earth
8. A report spread by gossip
9. In the same degree
11. A tropical plant with seedpod that are used as vegetable
14. To poison by gas
16. Very smart
17. Group of islands in the West Indies

DOWN

1. A flag
2. U.D.F.'s Publicity Secretary
3. Fast military aircraft designed for attacking other aircraft
4. South Africa's vice president
10. Frame holding the glass panes of a window and sliding down in grooves.
11. Singular of ova
12. In the past
13. Piece of work
15. A small poisonous snake
16. Post script

See Answers in DAWN Vol. 9 No. 3

DISCIPLINE IS THE MOTHER OF VICTORY

Radio Lusaka

Shortwave 31mb, 9505 KHz

7.00 p.m. Daily
10.15-10.45 p.m. Wednesday
9.30-10.00 p.m. Thursday
10.15-10.45 p.m. Friday

Shortwave 25mb, 11880 KHz

8.00-8.45 a.m. Sunday

Radio Luanda

Shortwave 31mb, 9535 KHz
and 25mb

7.30 p.m. Monday-Saturday
8.30 p.m. Sunday

Radio Madagascar

Shortwave 49mb, 6135 KHz

7.00-9.00 p.m. Monday-Saturday
7.00-8.00 Sunday

Radio Ethiopia

Shortwave 31mb, 9595 KHz

9.30-10.00 p.m. Daily

Radio Tanzania

Shortwave 31mb, 9750 KHz

8.15 p.m. Monday, Wednesday, Friday
6.15 a.m. Tuesday, Thursday, Saturday

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

FORWARD TO THE

