

DAWN



VOLUME 6

No. 8 & 9 AUGUST/SEPT. 1982

Monthly Journal of Umkhonto we Sizwe



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DAWN



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COVER: *Comrade Ruth First, killed by a parcel bomb in Maputo
- Work of desperate fascists.*



Editorial Comment

FRESH HORIZONS

If the racist rulers of our country failed to read the writing on the wall on that memorable August 9th 1956 when 20 000 women converged upon the Union Buildings protesting against the extension of the degrading and abominable pass laws to them, then it is easier today as the writing is bold: APARTHEID RULE IS ON THE WAY.

Today South Africa is reeling under heavy blows delivered by our people under the leadership of their time-tested vanguard, the ANC, and its military arm, Umkhonto We Sizwe. In all these battles that are convincingly determining and shaping the future of our country: the ceaseless and ever-expanding strike movement among our heroic working class, the unforgettable and pace-setting Anti-Republic and Anti-SAIC campaigns, the Soweto march to the Community Councils in protest against rent increases, the selfless campaigns waged by the Detainees Parents Support Committee (DPSC) and many other battles, too many to enumerate, the women of our country are always at the forefront, displaying insatiable determination.

To contain this growing mass upsurge the Pretoria racists have stepped up with added determination the campaign to eliminate physically all its opponents wherever they can be found,

with satanic emphasis on the leadership of the national liberation movement, the ANC and its allies. In fact a study of the history of the ruling Nationalist Party since its ascendancy to power in 1948 - three years after the rout and defeat of fascism and its trial and condemnation by mankind at Nuremberg - would leave one under a vivid impression that the South African racists have vowed to relive the lives of Hitler, Goebbels, Goering and their cronies with utmost competence, making up for whatever they failed to achieve. They seem to be locked up in a bitter competition with their Zionist allies, with each putting his best foot forward in spreading death and carnage.

BOOBY TRAP

Winnie Mandela escaped death by inches when a booby-trap in her car was discovered a few minutes before it went off; added to serving 17 years of banning orders, arbitrary detentions have become a permanent factor of Albertina Sisulu's life; Jabu Nyaose and her husband, Nzima, were callously and in a cowardly manner murdered when a heavy explosion ripped their car in Swaziland; and yesterday a parcel bomb put to an abrupt and untimely end the noble and heroic life of Ruth First at the Eduardo Mondlane University in Maputo, Mozambique. That the US administration subscribes to these vile apartheid murders elicits no shock and would be a gross understatement. There's evidence in abundance that the Reagan administration knew of South Africa's plans to eliminate ANC leaders well before the repugnant murder of Joe Gqabi. We are steadily being led to believe that they not only know but are the master-minds. The parcel bomb that killed Ruth First was mailed from the American embassy!

FEDSAW

However there's one truth the Pretoria fascists play not to be reckoning with. No amount of oppressive legislation, police terror, deaths in detention and murder can quell to submission an oppressed people bent on putting an immediate end to fascist oppression. In the face of all these torrents of repression, our people, in all their formations are stubbornly refusing to be cowed. The Federation of South African Women (FEDSAW) has emerged invincible from the deadly blows

of the 60's and is fast assuming its position in our battle formation. And to harness the ever-rising anger of our heroic women numerous other women's organisations through the length and breadth of our country and drawing all sections of our population are sprouting. The formation of the NUSAS Women's League and the AZASO Women's league are developments that augur well for the future.

CALL

All these developments mean that the women of our country are glued to the call of the 70th Anniversary statement of the ANC's National Executive Committee:

We call upon our womenfolk to raise the cry for vengeance against those who are murdering, maiming and torturing our sons and daughters for their participation in our struggle".

This is the legacy of heroism the heroes of August 9th 1956, a day that went down in the annals as South Africa's Women's Day, bequeth us. New and fresh horizons along our epic journey to a South Africa of the Freedom Charter have been illumined, charging us to summon all our strength and speed up to reach them.

Engage the Enemy in Continuous Battle

The African National Congress Youth Conference taking place in Morogoro, Tanzania from the 17th to 23rd August, 1982, will go down in the annals as an historic milepost in the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa.

The Conference was significant in many ways. It was the first of its kind since the banning of the ANC in 1960 and its highly representative nature, covering as it did all sections of ANC Youth including members of Umkhonto, the conference was attended by delegations from about 20 countries of Africa, Asia, Europe and the Americas.

Present here were also members of ANC leadership. Comrade Alfred Nzo, the Secretary General of the ANC delivered the opening address which set the highly businesslike mood and tempo for conference deliberations. Highly inspiring and edifying speeches acknowledging the dynamic contribution of the South African youth in the advancement of our struggle and outlining the crucial role they still have to accomplish, were heard from Comrade Andrew Masondo, the National Commissar of the ANC, Comrade Moses Mabhida, General Secretary of the SACP, Comrade Eric Mtshali, Administrative Secretary of SACTU, Comrade Mavis Nhlapo on behalf of the ANC Women's Section.

with the view of giving insight into the present thinking and declaration of our fighting youth. Alongside these will be published in future issues a full coverage of the conference. In this issue we begin with the opening address of the Secretary General of the ANC and another presented by the MK delegation to the conference.

Dear Comrades,

On behalf of the National Executive Committee, all our members, our gallant combatants in Umkhonto We Sizwe and indeed on behalf of our entire fighting people, we bring you all warm and revolutionary greetings. Allow us to especially extend our sincerest greetings and gratitude to the CCM and the brotherly people of Tanzania for permitting us to hold our conference in their hospitable country. This gesture on the part of the leadership of Tanzania further strengthens friendship and solidarity between the ANC and the CCM and between our peoples.

It is appropriate that this Conference of our Youth is taking place here at our Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College, because it is the devotion, bravery and commitment of heroes like Solomon Mahlangu that towers always as a shining example of the potential and calibre of our youth. Likewise, allow us on your behalf to commend the administration, staff and students here in SOMAFSCO for the excellent preparations they have made for this conference.

Comrades, this historic Youth Conference takes place in the course of the 70th Anniversary of the African National Congress, during which we had vowed to strengthen each detachment and each section of our movement, so that by the end of the year we can say we have a strong vanguard, ready to face up to all the challenges of our struggle. The decision to hold this conference in this Year of Unity in Action was taken at an NEC meeting in December of 1981 at the close of the Year of the Youth. This was due partly to the realisation that, the convening of the conference, which was one of our main objectives for declaring 1981 as the Year of the Youth, needed maximum preparations to involve all sectors of our youth, both at home and abroad in order to achieve the goal of the strengthening of the revolutionary Youth Section of our movement. Much still needs to be done to this end. The holding of the Conference and the decisions you will reach should therefore be regarded as the necessary first step in response to the call of the NEC at the beginning of the year contained in the 70th Anniversary statement. We reiterate that call: "We call upon our youth and students to heighten their spirit of resistance. You have already demonstrated that you are a detachment of greatest courage and heroism. Now, more than ever before, our struggle demands that you act with supreme dedication and vigour under the banner of our fighting movement." We are confident that this call will echo during your deliberations as this is an expression of our expectations from you.

BACKGROUND

Given this background, therefore, the 70th Anniversary of our move-

ment finds all of us better placed than we have been before to carry out the historic mission to destroy the apartheid monster and realise the demands of our people enshrined in the Freedom Charter. We are saying this boldly and confidently, for our forces of national liberation have never been better poised for the final onslaught to eradicate the evil system of colonial and racial oppression and exploitation.

The situation in our country today is characterised by a massive upsurge of our people in all their formations against all instruments of oppression and exploitation. The black workers, the leading force in our revolutionary struggle are in the forefront of the evergrowing upsurge of mass struggles in our country. Many years of struggle and experience have taught them the importance of Unity in Action in the struggle against the oppressive and exploitative apartheid system. The whole country and practically all industries, including the mining industry, are engulfed by crippling and widening waves of strikes. These frequent and wellorganised industrial actions aimed at improving working conditions and living standards of the workers often assume a political character. The political strike called in protest of Dr Neil Aggett's murder by the fascist police is the most recent and striking example. The ability to link up various forms of struggle i.e. economic and political, constitutes an effective weapon in the hands of our working people. All attempts by the fascist regime to split their ranks have been met with tenacious resistance and a heightened spirit of defiance. We are confident that the Unity talks now taking place amongst the various trade union centres will bear fruit, thus further enhancing their capacity to deliver even more deadlier blows.

EDUCATION

The education crisis is again assuming alarming proportions. There is a continuing and escalating resistance by students against inferior education and apartheid in all its forms. This includes the resistance by students at the Fort Hare University against the incorporation of this historic institution within the hated and rejected so-called Ciskei Bantustan. The solidarity actions by other students, including white students, is further testimony to the understanding by our students of the need for Unity in Action in the struggle against apartheid. All manner of solutions to the educational system by the regime, short of the demands of the students for a unified, democratic system of education for all racial groups, have met with dismal failure. Thanks to the consistent resistance by our students and people.

Ministers of religion, church leaders and other religious circles, including ministers of the Dutch Reformed Church, are increasingly identifying

themselves with the just cause of the oppressed majority and are challenging the fascist regime and its machinery of terror.

CULTURAL WORKERS

The cultural workers of our country, those at home and abroad, have laid a firm basis for opening a new front. In a recent conference and festival held in Gaborone, under the theme "Culture and Resistance", artists, poets, musicians, actors, writers, etc. from all parts of our country representing all generations and races met to consider their role in the struggle. The basis for their discussion being that there is no culture or art and therefore no artist outside society.

But the most striking victory scored in this field was when a collection of soccer mercenaries descended on our fields like vultures, after blood-money. Our football teams, viz. Orlando Pirates, Kaizer Chiefs, and Moroka Swallows imposed the cultural embargo when they refused to play with the sactions-busting XI. Backed by their supporters, our teams and players dealt a heavy blow to enemy ploys of attempting to buy their way back into international soccer at the expense of our people. The bunch of mercenaries, with their heads bowed in shame left our country having failed to fulfil their treacherous mission.

This organised political confrontation has grown immeasurably over the recent years. The underground forces of our movement are now entrenched deeper and are multiplying among the people more than at any other stage since the outlawing of our organisation. The mass actions taking place in our country are reinforced by armed operations of Umkhonto We Sizwe. This has become a permanent feature of the political reality of South Africa. The military blows are wide-spread. No part of our country remains unaffected. The growing sophistication and precision of these blows, their frequency and their high level of organisation have inspired our people, reinforcing their confidence that our victory is inevitable.

UMKHONTO WE SIZWE

Umkhonto We Sizwe has spread its assaults across a variety of targets. No economic or military installation, anywhere, cannot be successfully and effectively dealt with. All this is possible because our people have now come to accept Umkhonto We Sizwe. This enables our combatants to survive in their midst. We have reached a stage where the people have opted for and are joining the armed struggle as one of the most effective ways to dislodge the racist rulers from power.

The masses of our people are today rallying in their thousands to

the call of our movement to unite in actions against the apartheid system, to resist it at every point, at every level, in every part of the country and to fight injustice wherever they confront it. This is adding to the gradual tilting of the balance of forces in our favour. As we said in our 70th Anniversary statement: "The voice of the mass democratic movement headed by the ANC and its allies is winning the hearts and minds of growing numbers from amongst all the oppressed, pushing into growing isolation the diehard racist and fascists. This movement is not only an opponent of the apartheid regime, but has actually emerged as an alternative power, enjoying the actual allegiance of the overwhelming majority of our people. Increasing numbers from the white-oppressor group are steadily joining the stream for political and social change". Alongside this



A. NZO: It is necessary to defend and strengthen the ANC.

process is one of the unbanning of the ANC by the masses of our people. The Freedom Charter is a rallying force in all the struggles waged by our people. The ANC flag is openly held at the head of all forms of protests and demonstrations. These are often in open support of the African National Congress. Our combatants who fell in battle have been given Heroes' funerals and those captured enjoy the open support and solidarity of our people when they appear in fascist courts. The enemy and its allies have been forced to admit this reality.

To score further advances, it is necessary now and in the future as in the past to defend and strengthen the revolutionary vanguard organisation of our people, the ANC. To quote once again the National Executive Committee: "Through our sacrifices, and in the face of brutal enemy repression and persecution, we have stubbornly and persistently defended our great creation, the African National

Congress, against frantic and desperate efforts by the enemy to blot it out. We have defended it because we know that without it the prospects of our capturing power would fade into the distant future. Twenty years after the oppressor regime declared it illegal, the ANC today, 70th Anniversary, is openly acclaimed as the leader of our people, thanks to the imposition by the masses of a new popular concept of legality which the enemy guns cannot shoot out of existence, and which his courts cannot imprison. By "lifting" the ban in this manner we have asserted ourselves as the alternative power of our land, the only legitimate power, because we are the people, the democratic majority, whose will must triumph in the end."

REPRESSION

The fascist regime's response to this revolutionary upsurge has been typical. The regime has sharpened its machinery of repression and has become even more desperate in its attempts to prolong its inevitable defeat. There has been a series of waves of arrests, banings, banishments, harassments, torture in police cells, deaths in detention and raids by the army and police. All these acts aimed at cowing our people to submission have not succeeded. Frustration reigns supreme within the ranks of the enemy. The failure to contain the floods of our revolutionary onslaught has resulted in a split in the ranks of the enemy. The white laager is crumbling as class interests have become priority over Afrikanerdom. The bantustans, the South African Indian Council, the Coloured Persons Representative Council and of late the Community Councils, have failed as "solutions" to the problems of our country. The President's Council is also under heavy attack and will soon give in, because it is a political stillborn baby. These have been and are still being defeated by the capacity of our people to resist and attack. The fascist beast is being cornered and pounded with heavy blows as all its schemes, including mass removals are being fiercely resisted by the people. Unity in Action has been and still remains our people's battle-cry!

TACTICS

Faced with this situation, the regime has resorted to new and dangerous tactics. It is now ceding tracts of land and populations in an effort to win new allies. Millions of our people are robbed of their citizenship and given away to a neighbouring state as in the case of Ingwavuma and KwaNgwane. This new element in the dista-

bilisation activities of the regime in pursuit of its neo-colonial "constellation of states" strategy must and will be defeated. Already such offers have been refused in certain cases where through mutual discussions, we were able to ensure that the people of Southern Africa remain active supporters of the just cause of our people. In the case of the land deal with Swaziland we hope and should ensure that this carrot and stick policy of the fascists is defeated. The illegal regime that is ruling and ruining our country has no right whatsoever to enter into any agreements involving the lives of our people. The regime's economic power and military might cannot insulate fascist rule from the revolutionary wave currently sweeping the region.

SADCC

The determination of the countries of Southern Africa to resist and dislodge racist economic domination through the formation of SADCC has enraged the fascist beast. This failure of the constellation of states strategy on the regional level has turned the fascist regime to more aggressive military action and economic sabotage as instruments of regional policy. Coupled with direct military aggression by the South African Defence Force, is the regime's recruitment, training and arming of mercenaries and traitors from these countries as an extension of the regime's aggressive military machinery. At the same time in supporting the operations of these counter-revolutionary bands have stepped up their attacks in Lesotho, Angola, and Mozambique in particular. The regime has its own forces, trained, equipped for short-term hit and run type operations in neighbouring states such as the Matola raid and other terrorist acts as in Lesotho, Swaziland, Zimbabwe and Botswana where they have assassinated and injured our people. This is done in gross violation of the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of these countries.

The enemy has also resorted to longer term aggression as in the case of its operations in Angola. Here the regime has committed its land and air striking capacity, huge bands of mercenaries and Unita puppets. The result is pillage. Yet the world still manages to ignore this gross violation of all international norms. We welcome the continued and unswerving commitment of countries like Socialist Cuba and the Soviet Union to the defence of the People's Republic of Angola. If Israeli aggression on Lebanon signals new adventures on the part of Imperialism's regional policemen, then the Israel of Southern Africa, the fascist regime, must be nipped in the bud and destroyed.

The world must stop looking on idly by, pretending to be helpless. As part of the solution, the speedy resolution of the Namibian attempts must be defeated. The linkage of the solution of the Namibian problem to the withdrawal of the friendly internationalist Cuban forces must be combated. Imperialism does not want to give way to the liberation forces in Namibia and uses irrelevant issues to buy time and complicate the situation.

NAMIBIA

We are convinced that the people of Namibia their striking arm PLAN and their authentic vanguard movement SWAPO will defeat imperialist's neo-colonial ploys. Their victory is certain. The African National Congress on behalf of our entire people hail SWAPO for the statesmanship and revolutionary vigilance they have displayed throughout the negotiation process, whilst intensifying the armed revolutionary struggle. In pledging our full solidarity with SWAPO and the people of Namibia, the African National Congress calls on all sections of the oppressed and democratic forces in our country to intensify the struggle for people's power to new heights.

The aggressive and destabilisation activities of the racist regime are an integral part of the global destabilisation policies of Imperialism. Faced with the growing strength of the socialist countries, new advances by the democratic forces in the capitalist world and the victories scored by the national liberation movements, the enemies of peace and progress have resorted to unwanton aggression. They are haunted by the advances scored by the revolutionary movement and the loss of more ground as the revolutionary process intensifies. All this, coupled with the inability to defend their decaying and dying system which is plagued by one crisis after another, the most aggressive circles in the imperialist camp have resorted to undermining world peace in an attempt to roll back the advance of history.

IMPERIALISM

This aggressive posture of imperialism has been given added impetus and assumed new qualitatively dangerous dimensions with the coming into office of the Reagan Administration. The U.S. and NATO ruling circles opted for an unprecedented military build-up aimed at achieving military superiority over the Soviet Union, and from such a position of strength they hope to "control Soviet behaviour." In essence, this policy of the war-mongers reduces itself to an all-out drive for world domination.

In pursuit of this drive, the imperialists have evolved a programme of transforming all continents into a galaxy of military bases and to creating hot-beds of tension over the world. They are working round the clock to form regional military alliances composed of the most reactionary and unpopular regimes – SATO is one such example. The intention to deploy new weapons of mass annihilation in Western Europe whilst strengthening NATO by increasing its membership and the creation of rapid deployment forces for distabilisation purposes constitutes a grave danger to peace.

It is in this context that we must understand the training, arming and recruitment of reactionaries from Grenada, Nicaragua and Cuba, the U.S. intervention in El Salvador and Guatamala whose purposes are for distabilising the revolutionary governments and robbing the liberation forces of victory in the region. The strategic alliance between the forces of imperialism and the reactionary Chinese leadership in South East Asia poses a grave danger to the revolutionary gains of the people of Vietnam, Laos, Kampuchea and Afghanistan...

LEBANON

The barbaric Zionist attack against Lebanon is yet another attempt by the forces of imperialism and reaction to strangle liberation movements and threaten world peace. The killing and maiming of hundreds of Palestinian and Lebanese people including women and children, the occupation of over half of Lebanon by the Israeli army, could not have taken place without the full support the Zionist regime enjoys from Washington. The Reagan Administration has blatantly exposed its cynical face and disregarded the fate of the Arab peoples in the region by fully standing on the side of the aggressor, by vetoing the Security Council resolution calling for the withdrawal of Israeli forces. The same atrocities are committed by the racist South Africa in Southern Africa and enjoys the same patronage from the Reagan War-Mongers.

It is against this background that we declare our unswerving solidarity with all the people locked in battles against the forces of imperialism and its regional out-posts in Latin America and the Carribean, in the Middle East, South East Asia, Europe, North America and Africa. Our solidarity goes to the people of Namibia and their authentic liberation movement SWAPO. We greet the people of the Southern African front-line states and their governments and call for their defence against the Pretoria's imperialist inspired attacks. We express our full support for the people of Palestine under the leadership of the PLO in their difficult struggle for self-determination. Our revolutionary greetings to the people of El Salvador and their vanguard the Farabundo Marti National Libe-

ration Front, the people of East Timor led by the Fretilin and the people of Western Sahara under the leadership of the Polisario Front, whose just cause is the object of imperialism's subversive activities aimed at undermining African Unity.

PLEDGE

We greet the people of the rest of independent Africa and pledge that together with them the ANC and our people and United in Action will do everything to defend African Unity and the cause of African liberation.

We greet the people of the countries of the Socialist Community, in particular the Soviet Union and affirm our steadfast support to their peace proposals aimed at reducing the threat of thermo-nuclear war and maintaining the current strategic military balance.

We greet all our friends in the solidarity movement in the capitalist countries and all friendly western governments who are supporting our just cause.

We call upon all our Youth in their various formations to respond to the tasks defined below for the advance of our struggle.

The Youth inside the country must continue being an active contingent in the Democratic Movement and to be always in the forefront in all the people's struggles. You must seek and find Umkhonto We Sizwe and swell the ranks of the People's Army.

- The Working Youth are called upon to take an active part in the building of strong trade unions and community struggles.
- The students must strengthen their organisations, step up the struggle against the fascist education system and intensify their participation in all struggles of the community and those of the working people against the bosses and for trade union rights.
- Those of our Youth, both black and white, who are in the racist army and police must join the war resistance effort by refusing to lay down their lives in defence of apartheid. We urge young combatants in the people's army — Umkhonto We Sizwe to continue the onslaught against all instruments of oppression and exploitation which constitute the power base of the fascist regime.

The ANC urges the Youth in its ranks, outside our country, to contribute selflessly and tirelessly to the strengthening of our movement by ensuring that all structures of Youth Organisation and programmes of activities to be discussed and adopted in this conference must be adhered to.

UNITY

We call for maximum political and organisational unity. We must maintain our vigilance at a high level to defend the African National Congress from infiltration by enemy agents and spies. The enemy is intensifying and broadening its onslaught on the ANC on this front and it is the duty of all of us to engage him in a continuous battle for the survival of our revolution. Understanding of ANC policy, strategy and tactics and the overall development of political consciousness is a task you must all fulfil to be worthy members of our revolutionary vanguard. Organise and participate in all cultural and sporting activities.

To the Youth working in various ANC structures:

- *Perfect the knowledge required for the fulfilment of your task in order to improve the quality of your contribution;*
- *To work in a comradely manner with every member of your department and ensure that the collective remains strong through your participation in efforts to improve the work of your collective;*
- *To display a high sense of discipline and a revolutionary attitude to work;*
- *To fulfil all tasks given you by the movement.*

To the students:

- *Study seriously and honour all your academic requirements;*
- *Must participate in all regulations governing your studies and your presence in the host country and show respect for the people and laws of that country. Study their history;*
- *Conform to all policy statements of the ANC regulating the conduct of students;*
- *Participate in Solidarity activities for the promotion of our struggle and those of other people and students bearing in mind always our strategic objective of isolating the racist regime and winning new friends and supporters;*
- *Those who complete their various courses and disciplines should be ready to assume their new organisational tasks.*

The Youth in M.K.

- *Perfect your military skills to increase qualitatively the already sophisticated attacks on various types of targets;*
- *Grasp all other non-military but related studies and programmes necessary for the task ahead;*
- *Consolidate your readiness to perform any other tasks the movement*

assigns you, with devotion and commitment;

- Be an honest and reliable soldier of the people, always ready to defend the people's cause and our movement.

Our Representatives in International Organisations:

- Must be able, exemplary and worthy representatives for our people;*
- Learn to adjust and work in comradeship and harmony with other people in the organisation you are seconded to;*
- Safeguard the interest of our struggle and movement whilst promoting the causes of other people engaged in the anti-imperialist struggle;*
- To be accountable whenever appropriate, both to the ANC and to the organisation you are representatives of.*

You are, all of you, at all times and whenever you are, ambassadors of our people. Remember that our people's cause will be judged through your conduct.

Dear Comrades,

In focussing our sights on the revolutionary tasks of this conference and confident that as you disperse to your respective areas of operations at the end of your deliberations you will interpret to life all the decisions that will be adopted here, the National Executive Committee cannot do better than remind you of the words of one of the outstanding leaders of our revolutionary movement, former member of the NEC of the ANC and former General Secretary of the South African Communist Party, the late Comrade Moses Kotane:

"I should like to issue this appeal to the Youth of South Africa: At this hour of destiny, your country and your people need you. The future of South Africa is yours and it will be what you make of it.

"Remember our heroes who are today sacrificing their lives for the freedom of persecuted, terrorised and tortured people. Our gallant and heroic fighters expect every young South African to join the struggle for the freedom of our fatherland and our people... It is only through a grim and bitter armed struggle that the system of apartheid can be overthrown by the oppressed people of South Africa. We must fight."

AMANDLA!

MAATLA!

POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

Each Citizen a Soldier

We in Umkhonto We Sizwe, do not want to pass unnoticed in history. We are committed to the armed overthrow of the fascist apartheid regime, an ideal for which we are prepared to lay down our lives. At the end of the day we want our people to revisit the battlefield, pick up our bones and say: **These are the bones of young men and women who loved their country and people.** That alone will be enough for us!

The Umkhonto delegates to the ANC Youth Conference on behalf of the entire army, commanders, commissars, combat ranks, those inside our country, the incarcerated, those who are facing the gallows and the fallen martyrs extend special revolutionary greetings to this conference. Fully acknowledging its historic significance and appreciating all efforts that have gone into its preparation, we express full readiness of the entire people's army in the implementation of the conference resolutions and decisions and orders of the leadership of the ANC at all times and to the best of our abilities.

Who is this Umkhonto We Sizwe: MK springs from the ranks of the downtrodden masses of our people. It is constituted of the best sons and daughters of our country whose heroic sacrifices have been an important factor in the elevation of our revolutionary struggle to its present heights. It is a political army engaged in a just war of national liberation. Its military line derives from the political and ideological positions of our revolutionary movement which it pursues unreservedly with all devotion.

CHAPTERS

Umkhonto We Sizwe has written glorious chapters in the history of our struggle with the blood of the best patriots of our motherland. Its inspiration is drawn from the fighting traditions of our forefathers who stood firm and unflinching in the face of the brutal colonial onslaught that was bent on pillaging and plundering the material and manpower

resources of our country. Today the MK combatant has become the inheritor and perpetuator of these lofty fighting traditions of our people.

Since the launching of armed struggle more than 20 years ago significant strides have been registered, therefore elevating the popular struggle to higher summits. From the sabotage campaign of the early sixties, through the 1967/68 Zimbabwe campaign that repeated itself during the early seventies, Umkhonto combatants wading through the most trying conditions carried the banner of our revolution high, never for a moment succumbing to the heavy odds they have had to face.

The upheavals of June 16, 1976 that have gone down in the annals as the Soweto Uprisings ushered in a new phase in our struggle. The death-defying militants of June 16 have today swelled the young combat ranks of our army and they are not only shouldering responsibilities but continue to make heroic sacrifices. To this generation belongs martyred heroes of the calibre of Solomon Kalushi Mahlangu, the Silverton Trio, the Lion of Chiawelo, the Matola 13 and many others whose names remain etched in our hearts and minds. We take this opportunity to express fullest appreciation, that this school, venue of this historic conference, has been named after Solomon Mahlangu — a young fighter who has become a symbol of courage and determination of today's youth which must continue to kindle the flames of revolution inside South Africa.

VICTORIES

The victories that have been scored by our people's army this far have been possible, thanks to its popular support as an army thrown up by the people themselves. MK has today not only become a household name inside the country but also a force feared and recognised by the adversaries of our struggle. Through its skilful exercise of military tactics, high combativeness and daring it has imbued our people with more confidence. It has emerged in recent battles as the protector and defender of the popular cause, thus successfully liberating our patriotic ranks from the fear of the enemy. The growing mass upsurge currently sweeping the country bears testimony to this fact.

As an army shouldering the revolutionary war of our entire masses, MK acts in accordance with the enormous demands of the present level of our fight. Primary therefore on our agenda is to build upon the achievements registered in the politico-military front to root the war inside our country, thereby establishing a firm solid base from which

the revolutionary offensive must grow. In this connection, the building of our army in a revolutionary way, its consolidation in terms of strength, discipline, striking capacity becomes a priority. This calls for the all-round mobilisation of all able-bodied men and women from all sections, classes and forces ranged against the boer-fascist regime.

To further make it worthy of its name and prestige our army more than ever before must go through intensive political education aimed at developing it into an army conscious of its historic mission, the seizure of political power, which no enemy no matter his strength can deny us.

CHALLENGES

These recitals would be incomplete if we fail to point out the arduous challenges that still confront us. In this regard we acknowledge the fact that our spectacular military actions this far have to a large measure satisfied the aims of armed propaganda only. This therefore emphasises the acuteness of transforming the revolutionary art of people's war into a living reality. The revolutionary war in its broad military sense must begin to rage throughout the length and breadth of South Africa. The enemy mustn't be given any respite.

Consonant with our revolutionary position as regards armed struggle as a superior striking weapon of our people, all efforts and energies of the various flanks of our entire revolutionary movement must be geared towards its unflinching escalation. It is within this light that we feel it is appropriate and quite expedient that our main blows should be directed at the annihilation of the enemy personnel. Since it is this very personnel which is not only harassing our people internally but also launching unprovoked acts of aggression against the Front-line States. As we stand on this platform the fascist hordes are spreading plunder and carnage in the south of the People's Republic of Angola. It is our noble task which we owe not only to our people, but also to the Front-line States and Africa to deny the Apartheid regime of further possibilities of such diabolic incursions.

Fully aware of the pressing acuteness of broadening of the revolutionary base of our liberation war, we wish to inform the conference with the hope that we are together in that, that the Umkhonto combatants are ever ready to carry out all orders of our leadership, their commanders and commissars at all levels in our army. We are satisfied that this army, our People's Army, the army of Nelson Mandela has amply demonstrated its capacity to sacrifice and shoulder responsibility. We are resolved not to allow its prestige to collapse.

COMMITMENT

We shall have betrayed our declaration of commitment to the cause which we made voluntarily if we do not begin to believe and lead the lives of revolutionary soldiers who have no other petty inhibitions and personal interest outside the movement, outside the people's struggle.

We owe all this to our people, our leaders incarcerated in fascist dungeons, the fallen and the maimed whose blood is a harbinger of bitter battles to come. We owe it to the six comrades presently facing the gallows. The names of Anthony Tsotsobe, David Moise, Johannes Shabangu, Thabo Motaung, Jerry Mosolodi and Simon Mogoerane are like a stirring battle-cry beckoning us to the front trenches to avenge the blood of our people.

The struggle inside the country is evidently developing a new momentum. The broad masses of the people united around local and national issues are engaging the enemy in fierce battles. It is *this solid political base* that guarantees our inevitable victory. Yet we are aware that this victory can only be ours through hard unremitting struggle, supreme sacrifice and unity in action.

The Vietnamese have a wise saying: "Each citizen a soldier and when the bandits come even the women fight!" I wish we could contextualise this slogan to apply to the present conditions of our liberation war.

'THE ENEMY IS ATTACKING – LET US RESPOND '
"VICTORY IS IN SIGHT – LET US RISE UP AND CLAIM IT!"
ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

DAWN PolitiXword No.6 Answers

- ACROSS:** 1. Battery 6. CP 8. Scout 10. Bahule 11. e.g.
 13. Retell 15. lot 17. it 18. Win 19. Oil
 22. Antenna 23. AM 25. insane 26. Levy
- DOWN:** 1. Bukelwa 2. Tsar 3. Echelon 4. rout
 5. Yule 7. Pep 9. Tel 12. Going 14. Lilian
 16. TNT 20. In 21. Lapse 24. Men

INHERITORS

Fifteen years ago on August 13th, the heroic soldiers of the Luthuli detachment were, alongside ZAPU soldiers, injected into Zimbabwe, then Rhodesia, with the purpose of forging way to South Africa, then totally surrounded by colonial lands and therefore necessarily hostile territories. For nine months at Wankie and one year on the Eastern Front fierce battles raged and the 'invincible' armies of racists Ian Smith and John Vorster were on many occasions than one set fleeing. It is said that a hospital at Wankie had to be evacuated of civilians and transformed into a military hospital so as to cope up with the injury toll, let alone the dead. And that was during the first week of the encounter.

On our side also the war took its toll. And we partly owe it to them that Zimbabwe emerged independent for it is the invaluable sacrifices of men like Delmas Sibanyoni, Paul Petersen, David Molefi and many others who spilt their blood and laid their lives which contributed to the independence of Zimbabwe in 1980. It is also those gallant combatants of the Luthuli Detachment who established the fighting tradition of our army, a tradition inherited from the great warriors of Hintsa, Ndlambe, Cetshwayo and

LEON TUME (MK - NORMAN NKOSI)

BORN: 10/04/57
HOME: 9 Phuthani Street, Galetshewe, KIMBERLEY.
EDUCATION: Std 8
FAMILY: Judith Tume (Garment factory) - Mother
Audrey and Pamela - sisters

Comrade Norman was one of the most remarkable young men from the June 16 detachment. Tall, quiet and unassuming,

OF WANKIE

Moshoeshoe, and passed on as an heirloom to the new generation of MK fighters who are today delivering deathly blows against the hated enemy in the fierce battles currently raging in our country. In battles far apart in time and space as Sipolilo and Silverton what has been displayed by our combatants and is in character with the tradition of MK, is the spirit of NO SURRENDER. "I may not live to see the black, green and gold flag hoisted, but I will die with as many from the enemy" is a vow of every soldier of MK.

Below we publish brief biographies of six heroes of our revolution who lost their lives in action inside the country. With their lives they have added glorious chapters to the history of our noble fight against racial discrimination and apartheid tyranny, for a free and democratic South Africa fashioned along the principles enshrined in the Freedom Charter. The imprint of names like Gordon Dikebu, Norman Nkosi, George Sello, the Silverton trio, to mention but a few, will forever remain indelible for they are associated with battles without which the horizon would not be this nearer.

he earned the respect of all comrades who knew and worked with him. After his specialised training abroad he became one of the most loved commanding officers at the camp where he worked. He was an asset everywhere and it was with reluctance that he was relieved of his duties at the camp for the front.



Although he knew very little of the area he was assigned to work in, his qualities overruled this consideration and he joined an urban assault unit in Johannesburg. Within his brief spell with the unit (of which Jabane was part), he had already established himself as a tireless and dedicated soldier. He earned himself the name "Likomanisi" in the unit through his zealous, unselfish and first-to-volunteer attitude towards work. Comrade Knox as he was called in MK ranks, was being groomed to take command of an urban assault unit.

One day while he and Jabane were on a reconnaissance mission around a mining area in Johannesburg, they were spotted by two white mine security guards in a van who accosted them with guns drawn. Norman was armed with a defensive hand grenade which he could not use in the given situation. Knox neutralised the first white guard immediately and in the ensuing gunbattle with the other he was hit three times before the man sped off with multiple gunwounds. Jabane helped carry staggering Knox to a house in a nearby village and asked the people to help him while he went to seek for help. By this time Knox was losing blood from the wounds sustained in the battle. He went out of his hiding place and by then the area was teeming with policemen who were alerted by the other security guard. He fought courageously, injuring scores of policemen before he was killed.

PETROS LINDA JABANE (GORDON DIKEPO)

BORN: 06/01/57

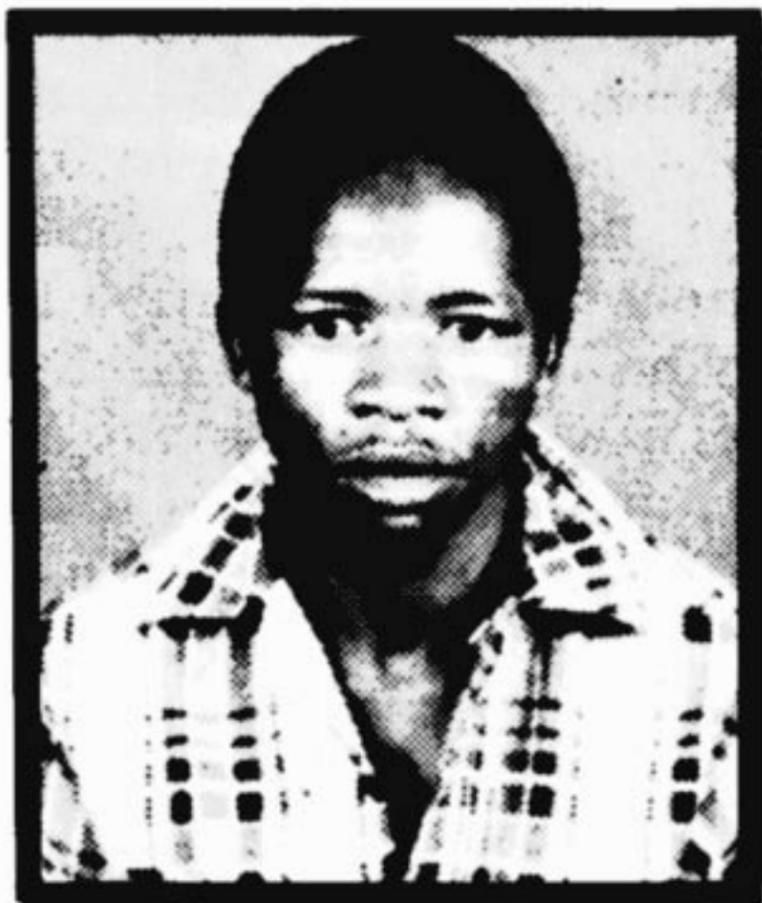
ADDRESS: 113 White City Jabavu

EDUCATION: Form 3 in 1977

FAMILY: Father - pensioner
Mother - unemployed
One younger brother was employed
Four sisters

WORK: Worked 1975 in Denver to raise funds for school.

BACKGROUND: Was active during the June 16 uprisings. Took part in the burning down of Hlubi's house. Left home 06/06/77 with others.



Comrade Gordon was a hardworking, disciplined and intelligent young man. Gordon was a small man - almost inconspicuous. He was consequently chosen for tasks which needed such a man. But he fought against this. He insisted he wanted to join an urban assault unit. He acquitted himself well in several operations and rose to Commissar of the unit inside the country.

He died in Chiawelo from his own hand grenade when he would not surrender to the battalion of policemen who surrounded his hide-out. He had run out of ammunition after having successfully kept the fascist hordes at bay for a reasonable length of time.

GEORGE SELLO

REAL NAME: Robert Mokwena
DATE OF BIRTH: 04/04/52
PLACE OF BIRTH: White City Jabavu
EDUCATION: Form IV at Mohlakaneng (Pietersburg)
 Trained and worked as a mechanic until September 1976.

During training the comrade displayed remarkable leadership qualities. Because of his outstanding qualities as a gallant combatant, popular and respected leader in his group he was made a unit commander. On several occasions he led his unit into action, displaying the determination and calm of a seasoned fighter in outmanoeuvring the



enemy. After a daring mission in the district of Acorn Hoek in the Eastern Transvaal the comrade was spotted by a policeman who called for reinforcements to capture him alive. Left with only a hand grenade after heavy fighting comrade George decided he would rather die than offer himself to the butchers. Patiently and calmly he allowed the police to come nearer to him. When they were within range he undid his hand grenade which killed him and a policeman and injured several others. Indeed only a soldier of the calibre of George Sello could do that. For us comrade George will be remembered fondly for his undying spirit of NO SURRENDER. He died on the 10/05/81.

ZINDILE RAMOKOA

REAL NAME: Steven Mafoko
BORN: 27/04/57
HOME: 3650 Zone 3, DIEPKLOOF
EDUCATION: FORM IV - 1977 - Orlando West High School.

He learnt of the ANC from a friend and used to frequently listen to Radio Freedom broadcasts whilst he was still inside the country. In 1977 he had his first encounter with the police when he was arrested for allegedly inciting people to 'riot', ultimately to be released without charge. Soon after his release Zindile left the country to join Umkhonto We Sizwe with four other comrades, most of whom have rendered invaluable service to the movement.



Basically a quiet man, he used to say he was forced to take up arms by the wanton killing of unarmed school-children in Soweto and elsewhere during and after the historic Soweto Student uprisings. He received a heroes' funeral in Soweto after dying so gallantly following the Silverton bank siege.

HUMPHREY THAMSANQA MAKHUBU

BORN: 11/10/54

HOME: 560 Zone 1, DIEPKLOOF

EDUCATION: Form III, Orlando West High School - 1975
 Diepkloof Junior Secondary School 1972 - 74
 Vulamazibuko Higher Primary School
 Dumezweni Lower Primary School
(Note school attendance same as Madela. The two were inseparable friends).

FAMILY: Father - Isiah, Businessman, owns laundry and tents for hire.
 Mother Assistant in the business.

Humphrey was part of the Madela group recruited by an MK man inside. They underwent the same training and were sent to the front together.

He was highly disciplined and hardworking. Mateu, as he was called in our ranks will be remembered fondly for his unfledging morale. He had a wonderful voice and loved to sing. There was never a moment for brooding when he was around.



WILFRED NZAMELA MADELA

BORN: 13/05/54

HOME ADDRESS: 940 Zone I, DIEPKLOOF

EDUCATION: Form V, 1974, Orlando High School.
 Diepkloof Secondary School, form I - III
 Vulamazibuko Higher Primary School
 Dumezweni Lower Primary School

FAMILY: Mother - Miriam, teacher, Seepateng Higher Primary School.
 3 Brothers - Siphwe, a clerk (Baragwanath) Fana and Themba who are still at School.



Worked as clerk for Barclays Bank 1975. In 1977 he worked as clerk at Baragwanath until he left the country and joined the ANC.

The comrade was recruited by an MK cadre who was assigned tasks including recruiting. He entrusted them with arms when he left in the wake of a manhunt for him. Madela was leader of this group of four. When the MK man failed

to return to them at the appointed time, they crossed into Swaziland where they were arrested with arms and sentenced to two years imprisonment. Madela was accused No.1. They served only part of the sentence and proceeded for training. During training Madela was exemplary and very well disciplined, his morale was always high and was a very humorous person. He was chosen for special tasks which needed men of his calibre and discipline immediately after completing his course. His conduct record was remarkable.

He was commander of the crew of four which was to operate in the Pretoria area until circumstances forced them into the memorable Silverton Siege where they died like heroes.

Pick Up Their Spears!

"We in the African National Congress do not imagine that the defeat of imperialism in Southern Africa will be quick or easy. We realise it will be long-drawn and bloody. But we are confident of the final outcome. As our forces drive deeper into the South, we have no doubt that they will be joined not by some, but by the whole African nation; by the oppressed minorities, the Indian and Coloured people; and by an increasing number of White democrats. Towards this victory we will fight to the bitter end".

STRAIGHT TALK...

The Spectre of Ethiopianism?

Ethiopianism is definitely not a dead letter. We have repeatedly made this point in this journal and proceeded to explain why it could not roll back into the limbo of the past. It is precisely because the Ethiopian Movement, as the militant series of breakaways of black converts from the white colonial church during the last eighties of the last century came to be known, was an expression of Black resentment of white chauvinism, racism and colonialism, an expression of a resolve to surge forth along the path of consistent christianity and humanitarianism, that it was indeed a political awakening of the black church that contributed to the mainstream of the militant struggles that have gone into the writing of glorious pages in the history of our struggle.

During the years of the Ethiopian Church the Black converts attacked the artificial distortions of Christian dogmas all aimed at the defence and justification of colonial plunder, racialism and discrimination - and the white clergy and parishers alike defended the theological corruption with incredible zest. The black strugglers - and they fought with complete faith in Christ and his teaching, in the name of their brethren and for justice and bread - were labelled rebels, pariahs, sinful and ungodly. Today, about a hundred years later, the seed of Ethiopianism is being sought for. Not one calls it Ethiopianism of course, but those who know and respect their history cannot help but make this important comparison. Ethiopianism was never a spectre as it were, yet a spectre it was called by all the evil hearts it haunted.

The hysteric cries of some high priests of apartheid that are beginning to resound in some Dutch Reformed Church synods, meetings and through the medium of the publication seem to suggest that a spectre of the "Ethiopian fold" is

again haunting the defenders of the evil apartheid system.

There is wrangling. There is strife. Thorough going fissures are yawning with a definitiveness perhaps unparalleled in the last 30 years of Nationalist Party/N. G. Kerk history. And a point has been reached in these struggles where a polarisation of attitudes is evidently assuming shape. They are not the usual theological competitions so characteristic of N.G. Kerk particularly at moments of whipping excitement for N.P. elections, nay they are political winds that are shaking the edifice of the NGK, the pillar of apartheid.

DEVELOPMENTS

A keen perusal of developments in South Africa cannot miss the fact that such developments are not identical though very much of the same dialectical process as the Ethiopian Movement. Once again, the church has become a front for significant battles in the politico-ideological field.

What is important is for us to see the dominating trends for what they are. To examine each trace of new qualities if any in the hope that our success in this direction will greatly facilitate our forward march.

Last month 123 ministers of the NG Kerk drafted an open letter pleading for non-racial church unity. The examples has been followed by a further 13 according to the 'Star' of 21st July 1982. Alongside this development, a similar happening of no less significance has registered: The United Congregational Church of South Africa has passed a resolution (13/07/82) to stop all dialogue with the white Dutch Reformed Churches until they had denounced apartheid as a heresy, writes the 'Star' of 14th July 1982. These are evidently serious developments that warrant our immediate attention and methodical examination.

Let us remind ourselves that (i) the NGK has been the primary defender, justifier and godlifier of the theory and practice of apartheid, (ii) racial discrimination in church and state is written into the statute of the South African state, (iii) these 'new' opponents of discrimination are saying nothing new and (iv) the ANC, its allies and our entire people have spent more than 70 years fighting for an

inclusive non-racial society, founded on peace, equality and justice.

In welcoming this new reinforcing voice to the patriotic effort, we urge every one to consider the fact that it is not aspects of the system that warrant examination or mere condemnation, but the system as a whole - its theory and practice - calls for immediate attack and uprooting. The rallying slogan of the ANC, "Let us unite in action and act in unity" should serve as our lodestar. We hasten to stress further that failure to respond fittingly will reduce this representation of positive identification within the white church to an attractive but worthless mirage. This will be another battle front and advance will not be gratis. The enemy's ideological castle is being tempered with with new determination and he is likely to react with double rage.

It is interesting to note that already the hardest violators of religious consistency, or shall we say theological honesty are regrouping with haste. They feel they are being assailed by enemies, they think that the roofs of their heavens are being forced to collapse on top of them. That is why they are prolling out, and re-purifying and re-reforming themselves. At the time of going to press a new right-wing church has been formed. Accordingly it is to provide a religious home for Afrikaners discontented with emerging attitudes within the mother church (NGK). The Afrikaanse Reformatoriese Kerk (Afrikaans Reformatie Church) as it is called was established by Jan Jooste, chairman of the HNP since the party's inception.

Why these developments interest us and we think of them as an acute urgency is because these new contradictions are a manifestation that the system in all its aspects is not a monolith that cannot be moved. The divisions and signs of positive awakening within the much revered NGK whose purity has all along been defended by the "Grondwet" are evidence of the effect of our own blows, a vindication of the policies and ideals our movement and people have cherished throughout the years from the pioneer days of the Ethiopian Church, the 1912 Mangaung Conference through the Congress of the People and the 'Treason Trial' to the present height of Unity in Action.

These developments are of acute significance since

they do not only occur at a crucial moment in the history of the oppressed people's principled challenge to the status quo, but on the other hand are a reflection of the ferocity of the struggle between the forces of real change against those of empty reforms and conservation. They reflect as much might in the ideas of peace, freedom and equality as they do the emptiness and fallacy of apartheid propaganda.

Finally, as matters get to a boiling point we expect the two trends in white politics represented by the N.P. split to assume their positions behind either of the two camps in the church. This will not be the alleviation of a problem, but rather the intensification of a fierce conflict. It is for us to provide the booster charge to this imminent explosion in order to ensure that the patriotic movement of our country will benefit out of this. In this way, we shall have understood the real meaning of the year's campaign and its crucial significance to the destiny of our struggle.

FORWARD TO PEOPLE'S POWER!

A LIFE DEDICATED TO A JUST CAUSE

-Refilwe Monama

Ruth First is the descendant of the parents who sowed the seed of Marxist thought in our country as early as 1915. Her parents who were Jewish immigrants from the Baltic states, shared their rich experience of the labour movement with the workers in South Africa. This culminated in them being members of the International Socialist League which was to be the founding ground of the Communist Party of South Africa.

Comrade Ruth, born in 1925, was to continue the proud history of her parents. She joined the Communist Party of South Africa as it was then called, while she was still a student in Witwatersrand. She served as a secretary of both the Young Communist League and the Progressive Youth Council. Comrade Ruth joined the Party at a time when it was deeply involved in mass mobilisation, thus

her energy and genius of mind found fullest expression in the work of the Party for which she dedicated all her life.

DEVOTION

This devotion to the Party work saw her assuming the position of a secretary of the Johannesburg Party office in 1946 at the crucial time, when the leadership of the Party was being harassed because of the historic black miners' strike.

Afterwards Comrade Ruth became the Johannesburg editor of the Guardian and later the monthly magazine - Fighting Talk.

While Comrade Ruth could not see the end result of her struggle due to the cowardly attack on her life, she still had something to be proud of.

The racists have only eliminated her physically, but she will continue to oppose their fascist policies through her numerous works which have lived to be a lasting indictment against the Pretoria regime.

A few of such works is the book, South West Africa in which she illustrated the conditions of farm workers in Bethal in 1947, 117 Days, a book in which she gives a petrifying account of her life in fascist South African prisons.

ANC

Ruth First like all the members of the South African Communist Party threw all her weight behind the work of the ANC. She worked as a journalist with Comrade Govan Mbeki of the New Age and the Spark. Through Comrade Mbeki she came to know more about the plight of rural masses. This enabled her to do the polishing to the book: South Africa - The Peasants Revolt by Govan Mbeki.

During the Treason Trial her house was a gathering point for many members of the ANC and they assessed the political situation. Today all the world, with exception of muted states rulers and other reactionary imperialist

circles, has turned against racist South Africa, due to the unceasing efforts of the ANC to which Comrade Ruth First made a noble contribution popularising the cause of the oppressed millions of South Africa.

Comrade Ruth was to be among those people who fell victim of the 90 day detention law and was held in solitary confinement. In 1964 she joined the rest of our leadership in exile and has since then continued to devotedly

We Are
Sure Of



Final Victory

Interview with Hodipo Hamutenya, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of SWAPO and Secretary for Information and Publicity.

Q: In the past few weeks, the Western mass-media has been making a lot of noise about the possibilities of the settlement of the Namibian independence question, what do you think are the reasons behind this great optimism as a member of the delegation that had gone to New York?

labour for the raising of our people's struggle inside our country. In her death we reaffirm our resolve to liberate the people of South Africa from all forms of oppression and exploitation, a supreme goal which she cherished until her untimely death.

We, the combatants of Umkhonto We Sizwe take it upon ourselves to avenge all those who have been robbed of their lives by the blood-thirsty apartheid butchers.

A: The line of the Western 5 to create what I call a false sense of momentum has to do with the fact that the 5 Western powers would like to be allowed to continue to serve as the mediators in the Namibian conflict and when they realise that they are getting us nowhere, that after 5 years of negotiations Namibia is not yet independent, the United Nations plan is not implemented, I think they feel that the world is beginning to question their role, their motive and whether at all they can actually facilitate progress towards the liberation of Namibia.

Under the pressure to convince a rather doubting world public opinion as to where their efforts are leading us, they found it necessary to deliberately go out of their way and manufacture doses of optimism which has no foundation, in fact there are no concrete and tangible evidence of progress in the negotiations; it is essentially a cover-up of their own inability to compel their racist clients in Pretoria to relinquish their colonial hold on Namibia, i.e. a smokescreen intended to cover-up the fact that South Africa is refusing to end its illegal and oppressive occupation of Namibia.

Q: SWAPO has consistently emphasised that they will only agree to a negotiated settlement which conforms to Resolution 435, so far what are the obstacles towards the implementation of the U.N. Security Council Resolution?

A: The obstacle is racist South Africa. It is racist South Africa which has been preventing the implementation of that resolution. You remember that that resolution was passed in 1978 and since then South Africa has been prevaricating and applying delaying tactics. First South Africa raised a hue and cry about what it called unjustifiably large numbers of UNTAAG personnel proposed by the former Secretary General of the United Nations to go to Namibia which consisted of 7 500 UN troops, 1 500 civilians and 360 police officers, South Africa then said that was

too large and loudly protested and made that an issue of make and break.

No sooner had they abandoned that when they jumped up on another issue which they called lack of impartiality, and they have been making a lot of noise about UN lack of impartiality for the past 3 years. Apart from that they have been making a lot of noise about what they called "inescapable SWAPO's violation of cease-fire" and therefore they wanted somebody to come and throw a cordon on the Angolan and Namibian border to ensure that SWAPO does not infiltrate so-called terrorists to intimidate the population during the proposed transitional period in Namibia. That was yet another smokescreen, another delaying tactic intended to afford South Africa an opportunity to continue propping up its stooges and puppets in Namibia and to attempt to consolidate its neo-colonial institutions which it has created in Namibia, namely, the so-called South West Africa Ministers Council, National Assembly, South West Africa police force and the South West Africa Territory Force. South Africa felt that with time these puppet neo-colonial institutions will gain some semblance of acceptability by the Namibian people, and therefore they were playing for time.

Q: What do you think are the real reasons behind the consistent and insistence of the United States of America and South Africa over the withdrawal of Cuban internationalists from the People's Republic of Angola as it is very clear that there is no connection whatsoever between the presence of Cuban troops in Angola and the independence of Namibia?

A: Well, I think you would understand that the Reagan administration is in difficulties. The Reagan Administration has found itself in an awkward position, Reagan has sided with Margaret Thatcher on a far-gone issue and that has gone a long way to eliminate a lot of traditionally pro-American regimes in America. At the same time the Americans supported Zionist state in the Middle-East, Israel, which is a bridgehead of American imperialism in this part of the world has recently caused massive destruction of Lebanon and that destruction is going on, and that has enraged a lot of Governments and people in the Middle-East. So, again we know that in Western Europe the American foreign policy is floundering. The Americans are trying to dictate to their Western European allies not to import gas from the Soviet Union and that has thrown the Washington foreign policy into a crisis, *vis-a-vis* on the foreign policy arena. He feels that his administration can use the Namibian issue as a trump-card to arm-twist Angola and Cuba and force Angola to get the Cuban internationalist forces out of Angola. That is an imperialist design and it shows that

Washington has no concern about the suffering, the agony and the atrocities through which the Namibian people are going at the hands of the South African fascist troops and police in Namibia. So, they would prolong as long as it serves their imperialist interest in the region the agony and suffering of our people. They are trying therefore to use the Namibian negotiations over Namibia as a bargaining card for them to get Angola to agree to their own imperialist design in the region. That is the obvious reasoning behind this policy of South Africa and Washington. The presence of the Cuban internationalists in Angola is an agreement between two sovereign states, viz. Angola and Cuba, it has nothing to do with the mandate of the 5 Western powers which they have asked the United Nations to give them to negotiate the future of Namibia. This is again an abuse of the responsibility given to the 5 Western powers to serve as intermediaries between SWAPO and their racist allies in Pretoria.

Q: Recently the South African racist regime has passed a law making Walvis Bay an integral part of South Africa. How does SWAPO view this question as Walvis Bay is part of Namibia?

A: The crux of the matter is that the racists are unable to reconcile themselves to the inevitable, that is the inescapable reality of Namibia's steady forward movement towards National independence. South Africa has got thousands and thousands of its troops, its police, its administrators, its security agents, etc., all over Namibia. These instruments of intimidation, instruments of oppression and exploitation know fully well that the Namibian people are solidly behind their vanguard liberation movement SWAPO and they know that the future belongs to the workers and peasants of Namibia, led by SWAPO and that the next government in Windhoek is definitely a SWAPO government. Aware of this inescapable reality, Pretoria is busy trying to create circumstances whereby she might be able to arm-twist the future SWAPO government in Windhoek, and they are now trying to claim ownership over the harbour of Walvis Bay as a leverage around which they think they will be able to arm-twist SWAPO to do things which South Africa would prefer to see the government of Namibia doing. They know that the SWAPO government will be committed to a policy of anti-apartheid and therefore they are trying to afford themselves certain styles of trump cards in advance of independence. That is the sole and only rationale behind South Africa's claim over Walvis Bay. SWAPO does not and will never accept South Africa's illegal claim over Walvis Bay, it is as much illegal as the occupation of Namibia.

In any case we are sure that the people of South Africa will have no interest in claiming the ownership of Walvis Bay. We know that the present regime is on its way and the ruling class is destined to be overthrown by the oppressed people of South Africa. When South Africa is liberated under the leadership of the ANC, we know that the ANC government will have no interest in claiming Walvis Bay. So Walvis Bay is bound and destined to remain an integral part of Namibia. That much we are sure of.

Q: Could we say that it is a foregone conclusion that SWAPO will not go to the elections without the release of all political prisoners by the racist regime?

A: SWAPO will not go to any elections not based on Resolution 435. Resolution 435 has got a number of provisions and steps, steps which will have to be followed. First there has to be a ceasefire, a ceasefire agreement which must be signed between the two contending forces, the military forces in our country namely SWAPO and racist South Africa, that is number one. Secondly, there will be 3 months of demobilisation, restriction and confinement and withdrawal of the South African troops from Namibia. In that period of 3 months all political prisoners will have to be released. After all political prisoners have been released, South African troops restricted and confined, then and only then will the electoral campaign start and the return of SWAPO's leadership, cadres and followers back to Namibia and the elections 4 months later. So there is no question of implementing Resolution 435 in parts, it has to be implemented as a complete package and therefore there can be no question of going to elections without the release of all political prisoners or without the withdrawal of South African troops from Namibia, which is the first thing that must be done. There can be no elections at gunpoint or under the bayonets of the South African racist troops in our country.

Q: Has there been any tangible agreement that has been reached in relation to the electoral system and the composition of the Constituent Assembly, since there has been a lot of discrepancies on this aspect?

A: You know that following the arrival of the Reagan Administration in Washington the Reagan Administration started to try to re-negotiate various provisions and clauses of Resolution 435, and one of the attempts to change and modify Resolution 435 was to introduce an electoral system based on something called one man 2 votes and you know that SWAPO rejected categorically this double-headed monster of mixed electoral systems. Now after that SWAPO supported by the frontline states

said that elections in Namibia must be held in strict observance of the tried, tested and time-honoured principle of one man one vote. And we said that it has to be based on either single member constituency system or on the basis of proportional representation that we can have elections. We have made it very clear that anything that deviates from these two electoral procedures and are based on the principle of one man two votes will not be accepted by SWAPO. When the 5 Western groups brought up this question, they were saying that the decision of the electoral system will have to be made at a political level by the 2 major parties to the conflict, namely SWAPO and the government of racist South Africa. Now SWAPO has decided on its part that it will be either single member constituency system or proportional representation, the onus are now on South Africa to choose one of these two and South Africa has been avoiding to decide and this is why we have not proceeded to the stage of an agreement on the ceasefire, therefore South Africa is refusing to pronounce its decision on this matter.

Q: During this week several mass-media have been quoting Comrade Sam Nujoma as saying that SWAPO is ready to sign a ceasefire agreement, if the racists are also prepared. Has there been any agreement on the composition of the UN peacekeeping force, the demilitarised zone, and are there any guarantees that have been given to SWAPO in relation to this question?

A: There has been no agreement on the composition of UNTAAG (United Nations Transitional Assistance Group) or rather the military component of UNTAAG. We have been in New York for the whole of July waiting for the South African delegation to arrive, so that the outstanding issues, namely, the decision on the electoral system, agreement on the composition of the countries that will make up the UNTAAG military, police and civilian components; deployment of UNTAAG forces in Namibia; monitoring, confinement and withdrawal of the South African forces. We could not reach an agreement because the South African delegation failed to turn up for the whole month. It was not until the first week of August that a delegation of the racist regime arrived in New York. But in New York, the delegation of racist South Africa which is dominated by military generals went there simply to engage in a public relations exercise. They evaded, dodged and avoided answering the fundamental questions as to which electoral system South Africa would prefer in Namibia or would agree to, or which country should go to Namibia.

They want neo-colonial states like Morocco and Indonesia to go and

supervise elections in Namibia, countries themselves which are carrying out colonial policies. All this goes to show that the generals who went to New York did not go there to give a constructive position of South Africa but they went there simply to give a false impression that they are co-operating with the 5 Western powers and with the United Nations. You know that immediately after their return from New York the same military junta who are now dominating the racist regime of Pretoria planned and launched a military campaign in Namibia, throughout the operational area and across the borders into Angola. So for the last four days the battle has been fiercely raging inside Namibia, and as of now we have received news from the battlefield that the battle has been so intense, that our forces have shot down 7 South African helicopters and 6 Mirages since the 9th of this month (August). Everywhere in the operational area our forces are engaged in bitter confrontation with the enemy who is trying to recover the lost initiatives in the last few months. This is the situation that does not indicate progress towards signing a ceasefire. It is a situation leading to a more intense confrontation.

Q: Would you then say that the main thrust, the main solution to the Namibian Independence question lies solely on the intensification of the armed struggle by the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN) ?

A: That is the choice with which we are confronted and it is a choice which have no alternative but to accept. The enemy is bent on military victory and we are determined to deny him that victory. We will provide and are providing appropriate response to his arrogance to his aggressive posture and the confrontation is going on and we are sure of the final victory. We are going and we are making the price of occupation and military aggression very high for Pretoria.

We want to make it clear that to us the Namibian struggle is not an object of solidarity but it is part of our own struggle. We are not supporters of the Namibian struggle but participants. That is why we are always involved in the mobilisation of international and continental support for the Namibian cause with the vanguard movement of the Namibian people, SWAPO.

Andrew Masondo
June 26, 1982

DPSKEMPI

Part 2

-Thabo Mziwakhe

Economically, the uninitiated observer of the South African scene would declare that "darkies never had it so good". Wages are raised in a factory, WRAB or ERAB immediately raise the rent and business goes on as usual. Furniture companies still believe in Higher Purchase and blacks still flock to buy radios, hi-fi sets, TV sets and other household paraphernalia that have fallen into obsolescence even before they've been carted away from the furniture store showroom. Judy Seidman in *Facelift Apartheid* noted that "another projected change in township life is an improvement in retail business facilities". She talks about severe restrictions under which black businessmen operated; that they were unable to own more than one type of business; they couldn't employ people of a different race and so on. The operative act here is the Group Areas Act which restricted black businessmen to operating within black areas only. Recently such restrictions have been largely removed. In Soweto NAFCOC has built a supermarket costing R1,5 million with a larger one planned for Jabulani, a Soweto township.

What is happening has got nothing to do with a sudden change of heart on the part of our rulers. The schemes like Blackchain and monies funnelled by NAFCOC have absolutely nothing to do with the bettering of the everyday lives of the major section of black people. A very small section of black people benefit from this. The African entrepreneurs are tools of the capitalist "Free Trade" system: these do nothing to help their uninformed brethren except swell the ranks of the black middle class whose dubious role of a phantom has been described above.

THE SADF UNLEASHED

The military in South Africa is one institution that can boast that they have it good. The growth of military spending is one of the clearest indications of the growth of South Africa into a military state. The defence budget increased from R44 million in 1960 to a staggering R1 972.4 million in 1979. All this was before the people's army, MK, launched successful and telling blows at both SASOL and Voortrekker-shoogte; before SWAPO's military offensive got bolder and more to the economic jugular. It was even before SADF's hapless adventures into Angola. It stands to reason, now in 1982, the defence budget is not only huge but astronomical.

That the SADF has done more than its share in attempting to cow down the oppressed masses cannot be overstated. Soldiers and police in camouflage let loose their wrath on the black, defenceless people of South Africa in that infinitely saddening - and angering - desperate performance in June 1976. Since then it seems, soldiers and the police have been told that it is open season. In their fight against "terrorism" and "swartgevaar" (black danger) the SADF and Malan have even got more rabid.

After Malan had declared that there didn't seem to be any military solution to the South African debacle, there was a need for the SADF to quickly change strategies. It concentrates more on psychological warfare. It appears that the SADF has pinpointed three major areas of psychological action: "the mounting of a potent, patriotic attitude amongst the white population; the maintenance of the loyalty of all troops, black and white; and the winning of the "hearts and minds" of the black population in rural areas. The mounting of war psychosis amongst the whites has been adequately dealt with elsewhere. Officially approved black figures and Bantustan leaders are regularly taken to operational areas or local military bases. Young national servicemen are used in a growing number of bantustan areas in both Namibia and South Africa as school teachers, technical instructors, advisors and even directors of tourism. Areas around the countries neighbouring South Africa have been cleared. This is supposed to make difficult the

guerilla route to the heart of South Africa. People in these areas are given material benefits - which can be withdrawn if the inhabitants prove too "unco-operative-to report guerilla movement". This has been done in other areas of conflict before, but the revolutionary tide has made the local people spit on these benefits. In South Africa the white racist soldiers don't seem to realise that their so-called civil action can never fool the people for any length of time. The SADF would be hated, presumably even if the soldiers spent the entire day giving lollipops to schoolchildren.

THE USA CONNECTION

Reactionary politicians have repeatedly tried to give the impression that South Africa needs to be saved. Unfortunately for the racist government, there are few if any manoeuvres they can come up with which won't be detected by the progressive section of mankind. South Africa has been called by names which stick: racist, fascist. It has been called the skunk among nations; apartheid has been declared in the United Nations a crime against humanity. We see the destabilizing effect and rapacity of South Africa in Angola: as of this writing South Africa still refuses to hand over the mercenaries who attacked Mahe Airport in Seychelles to depose the rightfully-chosen Seychelloise Prime Minister Albert Rene. South Africa thumbs its nose to people and countries that are pushing for embargoes and sanctions against it. Why is South Africa insensitive to world outcry? Why is it holding onto Namibia - wrecking peace talks - even after an International Court had ruled that it should stop? Why the wanton killing of schoolchildren and striking miners? The answer lies in the help and diplomatic support South Africa enjoys from the whole western countries; especially the USA under Reagan.

Reagan, known racist, is remembered for having been a B-grade movie actor; as Governor of California in the 1970's he sanctioned the murder of Black Panthers, and he came uncomfortably close to depriving Angela Davis of her life. He is now the President of the USA. It is significant that someone took a pot-shot at him soon after he began his term of office for he leads the most reactionary section of the USA money-mongers; he is their eloquent mouthpiece. His at-

itude to South Africa has really caused the racists to fall over themselves in undisguised jubilation. He has vowed to ease restrictions on South Africa - "a wartime ally" - and strains against his own Congress to aid UNITA bandits.

It would, perhaps, pay South Africa to look back in history and see the ignoble ends of most of America's allies. Nazi Germany, although not a *de jure* ally of the USA, was a *de facto* ally. It was hoped that the nazis would so devastate the Soviet Union and thus bring a halt to Communism - and the USA would be there to pick up the pieces. But history does not always work that way.

As of this writing Reagan has instituted a house Committee - along the same lines of the much-unlamented, Alcoholic Joe McCarthy's Huac - to investigate Communist aid to ANC and SWAPO. Reagan's messianic zeal in saving the so-called Free World from the "Communist onslaught" is well-known, hence South Africa and the USA being such strange bedfellows; and this should be a cause for concern of all intelligent mankind.

SPY VS SPY

The black and captive population of South Africa has never been under the illusion that the Intelligence services of this country serve them; instead they know that they are the reason for the creation of such thoroughly oppressive, multi-tentacled structures. The Information Scandal has come and gone and took in its wake Dr Connie Mulder; for many observers it did nothing but confirm van der Berg's unassailability and the tensions that exist between BOSS and the Military Intelligence. And, like a demon, that refuses to be exercised, it has come to the fore and raises its head amidst Nationalist Party conventions.

The Bureau of State Security, popularly known throughout the world as BOSS, has been changed to the Department of National Security (DONS) and then to the Department of National Intelligence (DONI). However the military has its own intelligence network which, under the tutelage and god-fatherhood of Botha and Malan, is a formidable force indeed.

Much has been said about the precarious situation South Africa finds itself in, and many lies are still to be unearthed. The big lie that is committed through omission

is the blanket ban on what goes on in the operational areas, how many white children die so far from home defending an obscenity. We still haven't heard from the horse's mouth how many soldiers died at Voortrekkershoogte. But we know that the number of servicemen who get buried with *full military honours* is increasing. The intelligence services, when they take time off from hounding the regime's critics, are involved in the cover up; things have become so bad - as has transpired - ambassadors, consuls and envoys - are paid agents of the South African intelligence network. These monitor movements of bodies like the Amnesty International, the International Defence and Aid Fund (IDAF), and the Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM). The recent bombing of the ANC office in London could not have come as a surprise to many since London is the traditional capital of imperialist intelligence intrigue. But all these manoeuvres have significantly failed to stop the advance of the revolutionary struggle: there has been a marked ascendancy to power and prominence, let alone effectiveness, of the ANC and its fighting wing, MK. DONS, BOSS will, like SAVAK of Iran, soon be something like a memory of a toothache in the future as South Africa finally belongs to its rightful owners.

CONCLUSION

Magnus Malan's DPSKEMPI schemes will probably find their strength in the whole structure of South Africa as a Military Industrial Complex. In a freer and saner society these schemes would have been regarded as inspired jabberwocky of a happy schizophrenic, some ravings of a lunatic: they would quickly be consigned to the nearest trash can or incinerator. But South Africa being South Africa or - better still - fascism being fascism, this country seems to want to try anything once. Even if this country were to deny it, even if its apologists were to shout to the contrary from the tops of Mount Rushmore, all evidence points to the fact that this country, the boer fascist regime, is in deep trouble. It is hurtling at a slow but constant speed into a quagmire - and it would like to drag as many people as possible down with it.

The rumblings within the Afrikaner's Citadel of Power, Pretoria, is not an insignificant factor. The breakaway of arch-conservative Treurnicht and his cabinet ministers to

found a new party, the fact that the Broederbond won't expel renegades from the Nationalist Party means that the Nats no longer have the sole monopoly of the all-powerful kingmakers.

There are pointers every year that liberation is coming closer. What was taken a half decade ago is taken for granted! now, the revolution is on. After the brutal slaying of our compatriots at Matola, or the ushering in of the Year of the Youth South Africa staggered under such heavy and unprecedented - and indeed, daring! - blows delivered by MK fighters. This is the Year of Unity in Action and there's a deafening and ominous silence that bespeaks a terrible storm brewing. Moreover the racists started the

NAKED AM

Chapter 16

Kramer had waited restlessly for the end of the alert. The siren only sounded two hours later, and he immediately hurried down the infirmary road to meet Bochow.

"What do you say?" he asked, as he reached him. They walked up the road together, talking in low tones, in such a way as not to attract attention.

"All 46 have to disappear by this evening. Not one of them is to report at Sign 2."

Kramer had not expected any other decision.

He merely asked, "Where do we put them?"

"Any place that offers safe concealment," replied Bochow. "In the coal celler of the bath, in the potato cellar of the kitchen, in a crate or in a bin! Coal on top, potatoes on top! We'll hide them in the foundation pits under the blocks. They must crawl into the drainage canals. They can

year on a bad footing by murdering Neil Aggett in detention, causing such a diverse composition of people to come together where ANC's supremacy was unchallenged. What does all this mean?

It means that the people are not unaware of the might of South Africa as represented by the Botha-Malan clique, DPSKEMPI notwithstanding. It means the oppressed people's ears are glued to the words of our leaders, of Comrade President O.R. Tambo when he said, "The enemy is attacking. Let us reply." People know it is true what our imprisoned leader Nelson Mandela exhorted: "Between the anvil of united mass action and the hammer of armed struggle we shall crush apartheid and white minority racist rule."

NG WOLVES

by Bruno Apitz

vanish into the stables of the Little Camp and we'll give them fake numbers. They'll have to put on the same raggedy junk the other inmates wear."

Bochow made a large, circular gesture. "Everywhere, you understand? Everything has to be arranged after the evening roll call, when it's dark. If any of the 46 can help himself, let him do it."

Kramer had listened silently; he snorted. This was no easy matter.

"And if they find any of them?" he asked.

Bochow stopped. "Listen, Walter..." Bochow spoke still more constrainedly. Kramer received the fateful decision in deep earnest. This did not surprise him either, it only confirmed the irreversibility of the development.

When Bochow advised him that from now on he was the direct liaison between the ILK and the camp, he only nodded. They walked further.

"Did you take the child away?" asked Bochow abruptly. "Tell me, if it

was you."

The question took Kramer by surprise; he had assumed that the ILK was behind the disappearance of the child.

So he only answered, "No," and added: "I would have talked to you about it first, frankly and honestly."

Bochow had to believe him.

"How come?" Kramer objected. Only now had Bochow's question actually sunk in. "Don't you...don't you really know where the kid is?"

Bochow shook his head and smiled wearily.

AT THE DOUBLE

Early in the evening, not an hour before roll call, something unexpected happened. Reineboth's nonchalant tones rang through the loud-speakers across the camp: *Camp senior, listen here! Report at the gate with all block seniors! At the double!* A number of block seniors were gathered in Kramer's room when the announcement came over. Kramer had called them in to discuss the question of hiding the threatened men. In Bochow's block, he and Runki, who was on the list, were just loosening floor boards under the desk, in order to make a trap door into the foundation pit where Runki was to hide.

Now they looked up as they heard Reineboth's voice. Everywhere the prisoners were listening, in the blocks, in the camp workshops...

The announcement was repeated.

Hurrying out of the blocks, the men summoned assembled at the clerks' room in front of Kramer's, surrounded by curious prisoners who happened to be in the camp at the moment.

What was wrong? Why did the block seniors have to go to the gate? Evacuation? As early as today, or tomorrow?...

Kramer came out with the other block seniors. They formed a line.

"Comrades," called Kramer, "as usual — quiet, order, discipline. You understand?"

Kluttig, standing at the window in Reineboth's room, saw the troop coming up the mustering ground.

"Tomfoolery," he growled.

"Diplomacy, technique," Reineboth jeered at the camp fuhrer.

Kluttig turned harshly from the window. "Fart!" he characterised the commandant, at whose orders the block seniors were reporting.

"Smart!" Reineboth corrected, and pulled a mocking face.

"I'm not going to listen to his eyewash," snarled Kluttig, and started out of the room.

"He doesn't want you around either, you just cramp his style." Reineboth laughed in an ugly way. "To each his own. Tomorrow morning the fun is yours." He crooked his forefinger meaningly.

Furious, Kluttig slammed the door behind him.

The block seniors waited at the gate. Nobody appeared; not even Reineboth came. Kramer kept his eyes on the road opposite the wrought-iron gate. He saw Kluttig walking down the road with long strides and disappearing behind the commandant's headquarters. A block fuhrer on duty was lounging at the window.

A truck with a covered-wagon top came along the road and stopped at the gate. A few SS men got out of the car first, followed by prisoners. Kramer's eyes widened. Tensely the block seniors stared through the gate; why, that was...

Kramer's heart began to beat violently. They were the prisoners from the effects room who had been arrested, and now they were being received by the block fuhrer. Reineboth appeared and wanted to take over the arrivals. At this moment Schwahl stepped out of his headquarters, accompanied by Weisangk and the ordinance officer Wittig, and walked towards the gate. Reineboth had no more time to bother with the prisoners, he had them line up at the gate wall and went to meet the commandant.

Schwahl stopped before the prisoners.

"What's this here?"

Reineboth reported: "At the command of Hauptsturmfuhrer Kluttig, nine prisoners and one dead man back to camp from the Gestapo in Weimar."

"Ah!" said Schwahl, interested. He looked at the prisoners, who had laid down a load wrapped in a blanket.

Kramer's heart nearly stood still. He had not discovered Pippig among the arrivals...But a dead man was lying there...

Schwahl addressed the prisoners so clearly that even the block seniors could not miss his meaning.

"Thank your lucky stars that you ran into *me*." He turned to Reineboth. "Admit these people to the camp!" Reineboth clicked his heels. The block fuhrer unlocked the gate. The prisoners ran past Kramer and

the block seniors across the mustering ground. The dead man remained at the wall.

Kramer was confused by the occurrence, but already the commandant was walking through the gate and Kramer had to perform his unpleasant duty. "Block seniors, attention! Caps off!" he commanded. Schwahl waved: "At ease!"

Reineboth remained in the background, his thumb behind the button seam, his fingers drumming.

Schwahl walked a few paces up and down, then he stood still. With his fists on his hips, he stuck his belly out and pulled in his shoulders.

"I let those people into the camp. Did you see that?" He looked at Kramer as he spoke.

"Yessir," said Kramer.

"That means nothing else will happen to them. Is that clear to you?" Kramer had to answer again.

Schwahl took up a picturesque pose before Weisangk and Wittig. "Absolutely nothing more will happen to them. I give you my word of honour as an officer that the camp will not be evacuated. I will remain until the end. If I am still living when the Allies come, I will surrender the camp in an orderly manner." He paused and let his eyes travel over the group.

"Have you all understood me?" The murmured "yessir" of the block seniors plumped dully to the ground like a sack.

Schwahl walked up and down like a lecturer.

"Foreign broadcasting stations are saying that conditions in Buchenwald have improved since I became commandant. I find it gratifying that the public has knowledge of this. We do not know what the next few days will bring. You are empowered to let your people in the blocks know what I have told you, and with confidence in my word of honour to behave with quiet discipline whatever may occur. I have received orders from the *Reichsführer SS* to send prisoners as cleanup commandos to the neighbouring localities. The prisoners will get full civilian meals, will be in bombproof dugouts during attacks, and will return to the camp when the job is completed. I expect the prisoners to do their duty." He remained standing before the group, looked over each of the block seniors, and seemed to be finished talking. "Camp senior, order them dismissed!"

Not a muscle in Kramer's face moved as he turned round to the group and gave the command.

"Caps on! Detachment, about-face! In step, march!"

He was the last to march off, behind the group. A ring of iron gripped his breast. Pippig was lying up there...

Schwahl looked after the marching men. As he was about to go, he turned to Reineboth.

"What's your opinion?"

Reineboth saluted. "Admire diplomatic shrewdness, Herr Commandant."

Schwahl thrust his chin out of his collar. Weisangk, following the commandant, nudged Reineboth in the belly as he passed. "Ain't he a wow?"

Reineboth smirked.

Zweiling sat listlessly at his desk. The Jew-brat business had gotten all crossed up. Shrewd Reineboth had swept his pieces from the board. Hofel and Kropinski were in the bunker. Pippig, whom he had meant to keep in place as an ersatz for Hofel, was gone. The rest of the commando, since the day when the ten men were taken away to Weimar, had slunk around him with faces that made it plain what they thought of him. Most repulsive of all to Zweiling was Wurach's crude familiarity. Wurach had been trying from the beginning to lick around the commando. But those buggers out there had much too subtle an instinct, they seemed to have sniffed out the foreign element among them quickly and were giving Wurach a wide berth and no openings at all.

Since Wurach had given him the list of 46 names, he had become more and more forward. Only an hour ago he had been in his office again.

"How're things, Hauptscharfuhrer, did you talk to the commandant?"

Zweiling had hissed at him: "Don't come in here so often, everyone notices. When the time comes, something will be done for you."

"But there isn't much time left, Hauptscharfuhrer. I can't stay in the camp. If it comes out about that list they'll kill me."

The man was a millstone around Zweiling's neck.

"You got to help me, Hauptscharfuhrer. I helped you. It's no soap with a discharge, I don't believe in it any more. Any day hell can break loose here. You want me to be ruined?"

To get rid of the obstructive man, Zweiling had made him the most nonsensical promises. He would get him out of the camp in time and accommodate him in the SS barracks. Wurach had listened to these assurances only half believing in them and yet, out of desperation, clinging to them. Now Zweiling had sat behind his desk for quite a while, brooding. His mouth gaped and his tongue hung on his underlip. The loophole he had wanted to keep open for himself was stopped. He was stuck with

his uniform for good. He had made his bed, he had to lie in it...die in it...

Zweiling did not feel very well...

There was noise outside. People were running about, all talking at once. Zweiling sprang up. He stepped quickly out of the room and remained flabbergasted at the door. Joyously welcomed by the inmates, the prisoners from Weimar were standing in the room in front of the long counter. They were being embraced and hugged. Wurach seemed more surprised than any of them. He clasped every hand and cried out too loudly: "Pals! It sure is great that you're back!"

Zweiling stalked closer, with an insipid expression on his face.

"Where did you blow in from?"

The prisoners fell into an embarrassed silence.

Wurach appointed himself their spokesman. "The Gestapo let them go, Hauptscharfuhrer."

Zweiling could not cope with the awkward silence, the only thing he could do in this unexpected situation was to remark vaguely: "So here you are again...Get yourselves shaved. You look filthy."

The prisoners did not answer. They did not want to share their joy with him. It would have been strange if they did.

Zweiling retired to his room. For some time he listened to the excited din, unable to imagine the circumstances that had led to this surprising discharge. Suddenly something occurred to him. He went across to the clerks' office where the prisoners were. They came to attention and quieted down as he entered. Zweiling stood before Rose, whose face as he stared at the Hauptscharfuhrer showed the same wild fear in which he had lived until then. Zweiling's eyes wandered over the silent prisoners.

"But...where is Pippig?"

They all looked at the floor and said nothing. Only Wurach's eyes moved surreptitiously. Zweiling turned to Rose. "Well, where is he?"

Rose's face twisted into an ugly, lachrymose grimace. He gulped a few times and was opening his mouth to answer when the loud-speaker crackled. Reineboth's voice: *Two corpse bearers with a stretcher to the gate!*

Rose's face changed, he stuttered: "Herr Hauptscharfuhrer...I...Pippig...he..."

Two corpse bearers with a stretcher to the gate! The order was repeated. The prisoners raised their eyes to Zweiling. No one said anything. Rose swallowed. Zweiling seemed to get the idea. He pushed out his tongue.

"How come?" he asked idiotically. And after a while, since no one

answered him: "What a thing.."

He shrugged his shoulders and withdrew to his room.

Slowly, heavily the prisoners moved again, and Rose justified himself miserably, his face all broken up: "I...I...it wasn't my fault..."

The others disregarded his impotent excuses and silently left him to his own wretchedness.

When the early darkness of evening sank over the camp, the decision of that noon in the operating room of the infirmary was carried out. The apparatus worked swiftly, and in bold strokes. The liaison men informed the leaders of the resistance groups in the blocks. It was done inconspicuously - a few words that anyone could hear, but with the directives of the ILK smuggled in between.

Stage-two alarm! No member of the resistance groups was permitted to leave the block from now on, they must all be ready for anything. They knew what it was about.

Block seniors in the stables of the Little Camp had been forewarned. New inmates were pushed into the pinched and overcrowded quarters. They came from the infirmary. Kohn and his medics had made them unrecognizable with head bandages. In their tattered rags they looked no different from the rest. Others of the 46 death candidates had hunted up their own hiding places. Proll had already been in the Little Camp in the afternoon and looked around. Now he was taking leave of Kramer. "Go ahead, boy," Kramer said, "it's sure not to take long, and we'll get you out..."

A German block clerk and two Polish room attendants from one of the stables in the Little Camp were waiting for Proll. In an open place on the grounds, to one side of the barracks, Proll had discovered a drain shaft under the broken stones. A torn straw sack soiled by excrement lay nearby; it had been thrown out of one of the stables once, and forgotten. Immediately Proll had realized what a good hiding place this was. The block clerk wanted to have nothing to do with it but Proll insisted on concealing himself there, and now his helpers were waiting for him in the darkness. They had already removed the cover from the shaft, and when Proll turned up his disappearance was effected in a few minutes. The shaft into which Proll stepped was a vertical opening five feet deep, over the sewerage pipe that led from the camp to the clarifying plant. Proll could only stand with spread legs on the edges of the waste pipe, and had to pull his head in so that the cover could be replaced. The Poles hastily threw broken stones over it, put the straw sack on top, and hastened back into their stable. Now Proll was alone and left to himself. He had a feeling of absolute safety, and experimented to find the most comfortable position. He had a heel of bread in either pocket of his coat.

The feculent waste water gurgled between his legs, and if it had not been

for the stench it would have sounded as lovely and as cheerful to Proll as a babbling brook. With a touch of gallows humour he made the acquaintance of his dungeon. It's a handy place for shitting anyway." he said to himself, and prepared for a long stay.

Kramer had planned hiding places for a few of the threatened men, and had also helped to conceal them. At his orders Bogorski had got prisoners from the shower commando to prepare a hiding place in the coal cellar that afternoon. A cave had been hollowed out in the pile of coal which could accommodate a quickly improvised cage of laths. Cleverly and skilfully, the prisoners had constructed a well camouflaged ventilator out of an old length of drain pipe. One of the threatened men crawled into this cage. Coal piled on top of it made it impossible to detect the place. It was simpler in the potato cellar of the kitchen. Here it was enough to push a large crate under the heap of potatoes. Breathable air came in through the cellar's ventilating system. When Kramer walked through the camp later on and whistled the evening curfew, the action was all over. Every one of the death candidates had vanished. With nerves and limbs sapped, Kramer then entered the commandees' Block 3, where he had his bunk. The prisoners quartered there had not yet gone to sleep. In great suspense they surrounded Kramer, who sat down heavily on the bench at the table.

"Did it go all right?" Wunderlich asked. Kramer gave no answer. He untied his shoelaces. There was a surliness about his silence. But the prisoners knew him much too well to misunderstand his behavior, which was only a reaction to his previous tension.

After a while Kramer said: "If we get through tomorrow..." The rest was lost in a heavy sigh. Kramer pushed his shoes under the bench.

Wunderlich was standing before him. "I don't know if it's true, Walter, but they're saying up there that the evacuation is to start tomorrow..."

Kramer looked questioningly at Wunderlich, who shrugged his shoulders. None of the inmates around Kramer said anything. Whatever they may have felt was expressed in their silence. And where should they have found words to say the incomprehensible? It was not the evacuation alone that silenced the people but the scarcely credible fact that the coming events were the beginning of the end. How many thousands of days and nights had had to sink into the eternity of their existence in the camp, before one single night suddenly stemmed the drift into nothingness? Since it was impossible to imagine, speech also failed.

Even Kramer found no words big enough to express the unimaginable. "It had to come some time..." was all he said as he got up and took off his jacket. Since there was nothing more to say, Kramer remarked: "Let's go

to sleep, that's the best thing we can do..."

The first faint glimmers of morning waked the fourth of April, 1945, a Wednesday. The door of Block 3 opened and Kramer came out into the damp, harsh air. It was drizzling. The early hour struggled to free itself from the blackness of night. The watchtowers stood stark. The red lamps along the wire glowed reticently, like eyes secretly watching. The mustering ground stretched wide and empty, the gate building whitening at the upper end. The trees that remained of the forest rose black and stiff in the dimness between night and morning. Shivering, Kramer turned up his coat collar and pulled the signal whistle out of his pocket.

The shrill reveille startled the silence. Kramer tramped through the camp. The prisoners from the kitchen, who had to begin the day even earlier, took the wake-up signal as their cue to get the ersatz coffee containers ready. The blocks had already come to life. Beds were being made and in the wash shed prisoners naked from the waist up crowded around the sinks. Room attendants called into the confusion: "Coffee servers, get going!" People began to move along the paths between the blocks. Wooden shoes clumped. Troops of coffee servers came from every direction towards the kitchen, crowded around the entrance, and then formed the usual line for receiving coffee. The kitchen Kapo and his assistants called out the blocks one by one. The containers clattered.

Bustle, life, movement, rehearsed and disciplined for years, and no different from other days. But today the hubbub of morning was superimposed on a special tension. They all spoke to one another in low tones. Quite a few block seniors had disappeared overnight. As if it were a matter of course, the block clerk or one of the room attendants took over the functions of the missing man. Everyone knew what had happened in the night, and as if by secret arrangement they pretended there was nothing unusual about it. Now and again and as if it were casually, a remark was thrown out: "Wonder how today is going to end..." Among the members of the resistance groups in the various blocks — each group had only five members, including the leader — the feeling of solidarity was bedded in a silence even deeper than usual. Stage-two alarm!

Next to military training, the most important obligation of the men in the illegal apparatus was to work constantly on developing consciousness and a spirit of comradeship in their fellow inmates. It had not always been easy. In that hodgepodge of humanity there were quite a few people who were no good; some were cowardly or even deceitful and only concerned with their own advantage. Such people "didn't want to have to do" with anything, and either isolated themselves or were isolated by the others. But on this particular morning the effect of the educational work

was apparent as was the power of human nature in situations where it was important to hang together. They all felt linked with one another. Especially in the blocks where one or more of the vanished death candidates were hiding, a quiet understanding prevailed among the block inmates: All for one and one for all! They concealed the slight nervousness that afflicted them all, but felt almost physically that this day would bring decisions that would not affect the 46 alone. The approaching end fused everyone's consciousness into one. Much as they differed from one another in personal courage, hope, confidence or fear, this morning welded them all together in a fateful singleness. And as the light of dawn quivered outside and the time for roll call had come, the lines formed and the marching step of the columns, platoon after platoon, block after block moving up the hill, today was different. The step of thousands was sombre, firm and determined.

The mustering ground filled and the giant square formed up man next to man, silent and expectant. Thousands of eyes were directed towards the gate, where Reineboth was setting up the microphone stand, and Weisangk, the camp fuhrer, could be seen with the detested block fuhrers, coarse and cynical bullies.

Kramer gave Reineboth the camp's attendance list. The troop of block fuhrers dispersed to the various block squares to make their count. What would happen now? 46 were missing at roll call! That had never occurred in the camp yet! Would a tempest break loose? The prisoners held their breath. They listened to their own silence, listened on all sides. The tension was as rigid as steel cable just before it breaks. Why didn't any of the block fuhrers burst into yells?

With his back to the lined-up blocks, Kramer stood in his usual position apart from the others. He had a feeling of immense emptiness behind him, as if he were standing all alone on the broad square. He tested the condition of his nerves and muscles. How was the heart? Calm. Were his arms as heavy as lead? Was there pressure in the stomach region? Nothing of the sort. His lungs inhaled evenly. Well, fine. He waited. Why wasn't Kluttig there to receive the attendance report? Here and there behind him Kramer heard the voice of a block senior: "Block 16, attention. Caps off! Block 16 with 353 prisoners reporting for roll call..."

"Block 38, attention! Block 38 with 802 prisoners reporting for roll call. One is missing."

That was Bochow's voice! For a few seconds Kramer held his breath. What was happening behind his back now? He had an irresistible urge to turn around; listening was no longer enough.

Bochow was absolutely fearless as he reported Runki's absence. "His" block fuhrer, for whom he lettered the little mottoes, only looked up briefly from the block book in which he noted the figures and asked without surprise: "Where is he?" "I don't know." Nothing further was said.

Suddenly the idea shot up in Bochow: they've received instructions!

SUCCOUR TO FREEDOM

Let me on the wings of his heart perch

...facing the East...

Let me on the flaps of his ears cling

...attuning to the political oracle...

Let me on his eye lids hand

...beholding the vision...

Let me on his eye lids hang

...gaining words of sustenance...

Let me his warmth feel

...to enwarm his modesty...

From the East will I gain the true gem of mother earth

From the political oracle will I enbrim my wanting vessels

From seeds of his eye will I be led to a lily field of freedom

From his tongue will I gain key words to jig-saws of the world

From his temperature will I survive finest deserts and repellent fogs

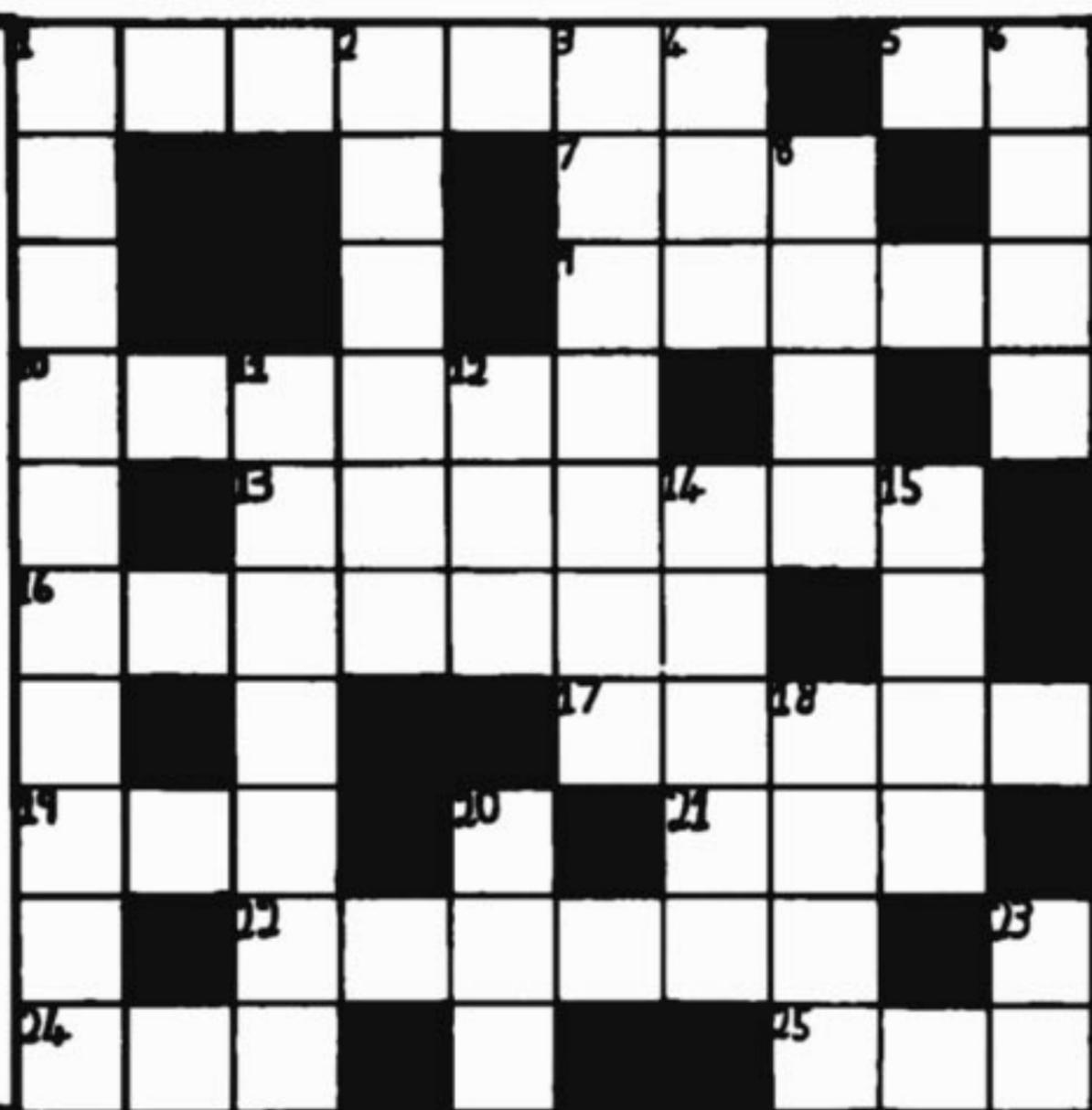
Luthuli's image and Kotane's prophecy to lead me to green pastures

—Ndabezitha Khuzwayo



Politicsword

No.7



Clues

ACROSS

1. Succeeded A.W.G. Champion as President of the Natal ANC
2. President Tambo's initials
7. An imaginary small being with magic powers
9. An upward thrust
10. Kampala is her capital
13. To lead way
16. Range of hearing
17. To poke gently with an elbow
19. Gave birth to the Non-European Unity Movement
21. President of Liberia
22. Accused No.74 in the Marathon Treason Trial
24. Normal power explosives
25. Yes

DOWN

1. A rank immediately below Captain.
2. Racist S.Africa's Minister of Constitutional Reform
3. A country constantly bombarded by Israel
4. International Labour Organisation
6. Co-author of Olive Schreiner: A Biography
8. At the front
11. A fruit
12. The note 'C'
14. A short musical composition
15. Violent Anger
18. An edible sea-fish
20. An impression given
23. Mother

See Answers in DAWN Vol.6 No.9

DISCIPLINE IS THE MOTHER OF VICTORY

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

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

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

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

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

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

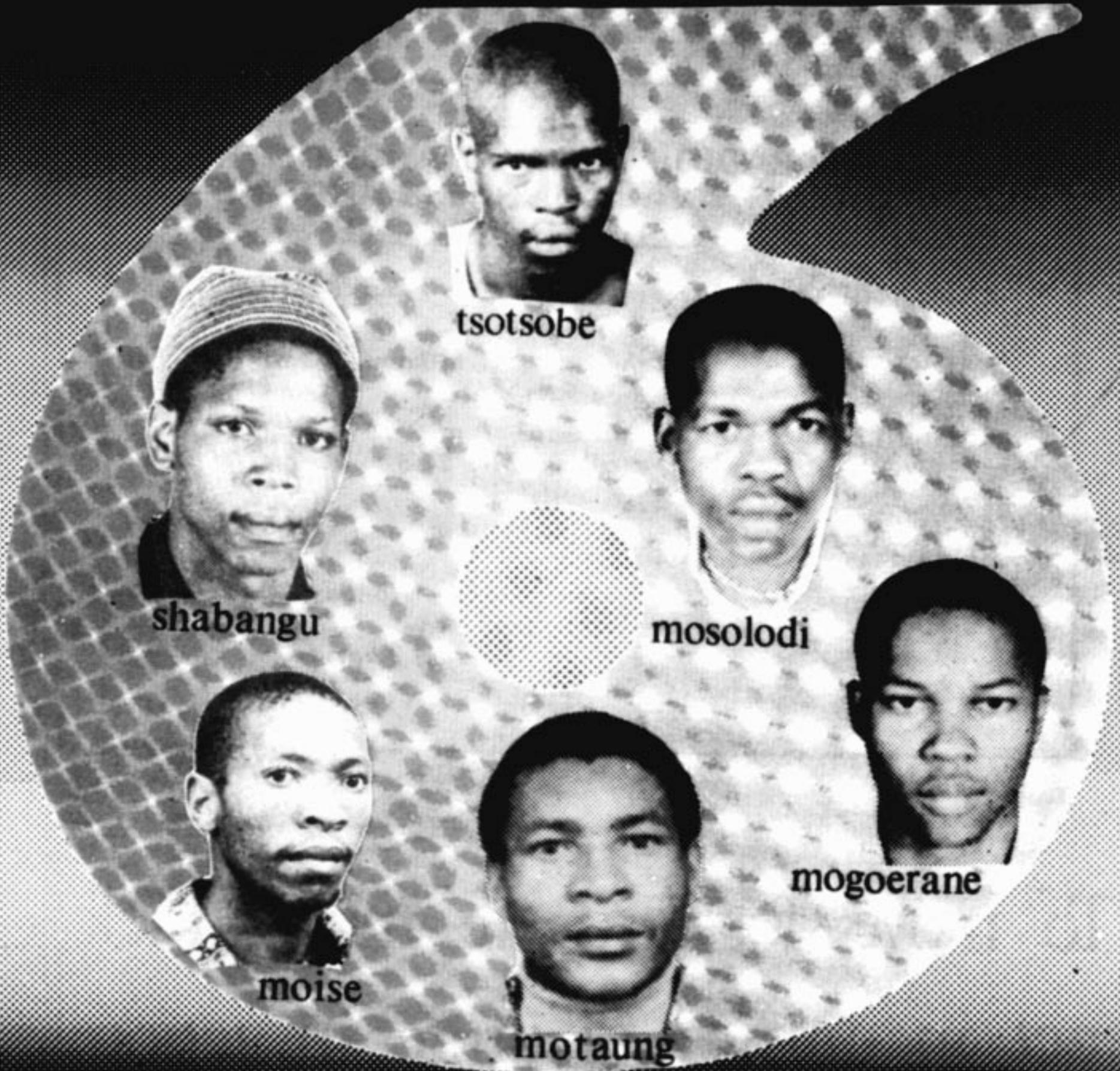
STOP

THE HAND

OF THE

APARTHEID

HANGMAN!



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