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S. 92/83

DAWN

VOLUME 6



15 SEP 1982

OCT/NOV/DEC 1982

Monthly Journal of Umkhonto we Sizwe

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Monthly Journal of Umkhonto we Sizwe

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COVER: Combatants of our people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe at a flag raising ceremony somewhere in the thickets of Africa.



Editorial Comment

ENCIRCLING THE "IMPREGNABLE" LAAGER

On December 16 in this Year of Unity in Action Umkhonto We Sizwe turned twenty-one. Throughout its years of existence, notwithstanding the enemy's frantic essays to nip it in the bud, MK always strove to live up to its role of being the fighting arm of the people at the frontline of their defence with unswerving commitment. As MK comes of age armed struggle has gained firm roots in our land with MK's striking power, daring, sophistication and its popularity as the spearhead of the national liberatory effort being daily on the upgrade among the oppressed of our land.

MK's contrywide assaults, hovering over racist rule like a foreboding cloud, spelling the apartheid regime's imminent overthrow in the most explicit terms have sent cold shivers down the racists' spines, sowing divisions and disunity unprecedented in the history of Afrikaner autocracy and covering as they do all organs and arms of apartheid domination; the parliament, the National Party,

the Broederbond and the church, to mention but few. The racist regime is fast losing the confidence of the white electorate as Umkhonto We Sizwe gradually encircles the so-called impregnable laager, shattering to smithereens the myth of apartheid's war machine's invincibility. Today as we celebrate our 21st birthday we have indeed a proud combat diary to revel in.

To keep the sinking apartheid boat afloat the racist rulers of our land have found a daring carsman in the Reagan administration of the USA. Since the advent of Reagan to office the US-SA relations have alarmingly transcended mere flirting as they are now wearing their hearts on their sleeves. Against the backdrop of Denton's US Senate Sub-committee hearings on terrorism at the beginning of the year, the CIA's implication on the assassination of Joe Gqabi and Ruth First, "The Star" (11/10/82) reports that William Casey, the CIA chief paid a secret visit to South Africa and held talks that centred on "curbing sabotage raids into South Africa by the ANC" through the creation of a cordon sanitaire on certain border areas of South Africa to end ANC infiltration." This is the same CIA that attributed the hardwon victory of the Iranian revolution to its miscalculation!

The defeats suffered by imperialism during the last decade and the constant shrinking of their sphere of influence have made them even more rabid. Learning from their past "mistakes" and "miscalculations" the CIA's commitment to the defence of apartheid and the keeping of the subcontinent in the orbit of international capital is not at all perfunctory but it has vowed to carry out its duty of postponing our freedom with utmost expertise. Inspired by the ever-instructive midyear American-Israeli led onslaught against the PLO that culminated in the expulsion of the PLO from Lebanon, a temporary victory they mistakenly perceived to be a lasting solution to the Middle East problem, they are now gearing all efforts to Southern Africa, their other "hotbed of tension".

We in MK know the extent to which the United States can go in attempts at stalling the tide of revolution. We

Continued on page 39

FOR OUR COUNTRY AND PEOPLE

Report on recent ANC Youth Conference

-Lovejoy Karas

"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".

- Malome Moses Kotane

The ANC Youth Conference that convened upon Morogoro, at the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College, from the 17th to the 23rd August, 1982, was a political event of immense significance. Its mood, business-like atmosphere and pitch of deliberations were in many ways reminiscent of past ANC conferences that have rightfully passed down into the annals as great mileposts in the history of our struggle. In this connection, this historic Youth Conference was part of a long unbreakable trail of courage and determination that has today penetrated deeper into the wild fortresses of boer-fascism. Viewed at within the context of 1982, the conference was a giant step in the direction of bringing to fruition the objective of Unity in Action, our rallying theme of this year's campaign.

The convening of the Youth Conference was part of the unfolding deliberate plan of heightening mass political

involvement and the betterment of our striking ability. The idea of finding time and a suitable platform whence to formally, in the context of current developments inside the country, **relaunch the ANC Youth as an organised spearhead** of the entire militant Youth formation of our country builds up logically from the aims of the Year of the Youth, 1981, and corresponds most appropriately with the overall objectives of the Year of Unity in Action, 1982. Commenting on the background of the conference, Comrade Alfred Nzo, the Secretary General of the ANC, in his opening address to conference, pointed out, "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 this conference, which was one of our main objectives in 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 .

Indeed the conference was a giant stride in the direction of implementing the directives of our leadership and realising the wishes of our embattled people as spelled out in the 70th Anniversary ANC Message to our people.

In terms of all the flanks of the broad movement for national liberation in South Africa, the attendance of conference, especially its main sessions, was highly representative: Present were Comrades Alfred Nzo, the Secretary General of the ANC, A. Masondo NEC member and National Commissar of the ANC, Joe Nhlanhla, ANC Administrative Secretary, Moses Mabhida, General Secretary of the SACP, E. Mtshali, SACTU Administrative Secretary, and **representatives of all the auxillary wings of our movement.** Special mention of the Masupatsela, the Organisation of ANC Young Pioneers, is quite imperative because their presence not only emphasised the broadness of conference's representativeness, but also brought to light the great

potential possessed by the little children and their amazing grasp of their situation and historic task.

OPENING SESSION

The opening session, which was attended also by representatives of fraternal organisations and members of the diplomatic corps representing friendly countries, did not fail to influence the mood of conference. Added to this was the many messages of solidarity and comradely greetings from Youth Organisations in different parts of the world. These helped reinforce the delegates' sense of internationalism and the spirit of brotherhood and solidarity with the peoples that hung thick in the air throughout the duration of the conference. Messages were received from amongst others; the UJC (Young Communist League of Cuba), Polisario Front Youth, Communist Youth of Denmark, AASU (All-Africa Student Union) Secretariat, Liberian Student Union, ISMUN (International Student Movement of the UN), Democratic Youth League of Japan, etc.

This session, as the initiation of the whole event was a grand manifestation of the strength and sincerity of the tremendous support rendered to us by the peace-loving and democratic forces of the world. Here they shared a platform with us and we exchanged views. They saw us gather to get down to serious work, plotting and elaborating our methods of struggle. They saw us sing and laugh during performances completely engrossed in the rich variety of our insuppressible people's culture. And they must have thought to themselves; "here is a people that deserve our support" as they settled down completely secure and at home amongst us. Comrade Moses Mabhida expressed the collective feeling of conference when, addressing himself to them, he said, "Dear friends, please go and tell your people that you saw our people meeting. They are singing, they are happy but not happy, in captivity - they are fighting back".

That the venue of conference was SOMAFCO was not only a fitting tribute to our National Youth Hero, Comrade Kalushi Mahlangu, whose name has come to symbolise the courage, daring and the spirit of no-surrender characteristic of today's young generation, but also an act of acknowledge-

ment by the Youth of the great historic significance of **this trailblazing school in whose life and milieu is** already manifest a striking outline of what education in a South Africa of the Freedom Charter will look like. Indeed with this project, the ANC and our people have emulated the youth through its naming after our hero, Comrade Solly and thus blazoning a tribute on a tablet that will stand the test of time. This must serve as a spur to a more ready discharge of energy in the name of our country and people, as the spirit of conference clearly emphasised.

Summing up the purpose of the conference Comrade Joe **Nhlanhla, chairing the Opening Session said: "The central** task of the ANC Youth Conference is the strengthening of our Youth as an organised force under the leadership of the African National Congress... The African National Congress **remains the vanguard of our struggle and our people. It** should be stronger because our youth have become strong in terms of organisation, political maturity, militancy and readiness to dare. Our youth must deepen their political grasp of the situation in our country, the region and internationally. They must understand that they are a part of a huge and invincible army of the anti-imperialist world, **dedicated to peace, freedom and social progress. ...Com-**rades this conference must consolidate the place of the African National Congress as an alternative power in our land. We must come out of this conference better placed to accomplish our historic role of liberating our country and people."

MAIN DELIBERATIONS

The main task of conference was quite titanic and its details even more challenging to the participants. Since this conference was the first of its kind abroad, and the first after many years since the 1962 Lobatsi Conference which was perhaps the last ANC Conference where the Youth as an organised formation made an unmistakeable impact that was easily discernible (these were the years of ASA - the African Students Association) the conference had the extra responsibility of reviewing this history with objective caution in such a way as would benefit our movement's

current programme of action. This transpired most expressively during the main working sessions - plenaries and commissions during which the subject of conference as was reflected in the agenda was deliberated upon exhaustively.

These main deliberations were concerned primarily with the task of discussing and finally documenting the positions of conference on a number of topics of great import: **The Role of the Youth, their Rights and Obligations; Structure and Organisation of the ANC Youth Section; Education and Culture; Programme of Action; and Resolutions on the Internal Situation, the International Situation, Southern Africa, Namibia, Lebanon.**

The conference was able to accomplish all these excellently, thanks to the seriousness and devotion of all participants and the competency of its steering committee and other auxiliary sub-committees. Nothing short of self **sacrifice itself could have better expressed the fruition** of the late Malome Moses Kotane's call to the Youth as cited above in the introduction to this report. Would he **was alive to see with his own eyes and hear with his very ears the thunder and lightning that is the Youth of South Africa of this height of our historic march to freedom.**

BASIC DOCUMENTS

Amongst the many papers and documents worked upon by participants, about four emerge as the basic documents **constituting the synthesis of conference's whole proceedings.** These documents pronounce and reflect in very unambiguous language the thinking of our Youth, their unfailing revolutionary devotion and lofty adherence to patriotic commitment. In their gist is captured actually the spirit and psychology of the week-long deliberations.

Unable to publish them in full text for want of space, it is still possible to draw a comprehensive picture of their contents through succinct description of what they entail.

a) DOCUMENT ON STRUCTURE AND ORGANISATION

In the introduction to the document conference points out that one of the central aims of the structure is to

unambiguous distribution of tasks. This emphasises conference's full appreciation of the fact that the task of leading a fighting youth, the dynamic flank of the popular struggle, is as collective as it is arduous and lofty.

Herein is summed up, furthermore, the organs of the African National Congress Youth Section per order of seniority, their functions, personnel to man them and the interrelationship between the different levels of the structure. Indeed the structure succeeds in distributing tasks unambiguously in a centralised democratic fashion therefore guaranteeing proper lines of communication and accountability at different levels. Careful perusal of this organisational structure reveals it as ideal for above-board conditions and yet adaptable to clandestine circumstances.

In terms of leadership the highest executive organ of the Youth Section in between National Youth Conferences is the National Youth Committee, whilst the National Youth Secretariat is the executive body of the National Youth Committee (NYC) in between sessions of the NYC. The National Youth Secretariat is in turn composed of Assistant Secretaries in charge of several sub-committees responsible for specific tasks spelled out in the document.

DOCUMENTS ON RIGHTS AND OBLIGATIONS

In this document a set of rights and obligations is put down to provide guidance to the youth in their effort to live up to their expected role of dynamo of the popular revolution in our country. This document, more than any other, lays bare the preparedness of the Youth to serve and to surrender themselves entirely to the demands of the struggle, the rigours involved notwithstanding. Therefore every young South African who accedes to the recommendations therein, will have, by so doing, volunteered to be in the front trenches of our fight, for our people and our country.

PROGRAMME OF ACTION

In the light of the escalating popular offensive and the

emergence of new challenges whose attendance is ever more acutely decisive, conference, realising the imperative of **the Youth responding adequately adopted a Programme of Action.** This programme seeks to respond to both the strategic and tactical demands of our unfolding war of liberation. In this regard its highly political and well-considered approach has not failed to recognise the place of our struggle in its proper historical context and the nature of the factors influencing its development. Hence the programme is not confined solely to local demands but relates to and covers also the international sphere.

This document is therefore a guide to organised action of the Youth in keeping with the long-term and short-term action programmes of the ANC. It defines tasks for all categories of our Youth; the working youth and students and recognises the need for the Youth in the army to better their skill and capacity to destroy the enemy whilst at the same time reiterates the urgency of the **swelling of the ranks of Umkhonto WeSizwe by more and more youth.**

The document deals in part with a short special programme for the remaining months of the Year of Unity in **Action.** Here the conference specifically directs the Youth at immediate tasks that remain to be attended to within the framework of this year's campaign. Amongst others the 70th Anniversary of the ANC, the 20th Anniversary of the imprisonment of **Comrade Nelson Mandela, International mobilisation for the UN-declared Year of Sanctions against South Africa, Campaign to expose racist aggression against the Frontline states, etc.**

Herein the conference summed up the position of the ANC Youth Section on almost all the key points in international politics that are running central to world relations today. This included a reaffirmation of the growing strength of the world revolutionary process which is made irreversible by the growth of the socialist community headed by the **Soviet Union, and of the other peace and revolutionary contingents;** a condemnation of the imperialist war-mongering policies as fanned up and directed by the US Admini-

stration of Ronald Reagan: acknowledgement of the successes registered by the national liberation movement in countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the imperialist satanic machinations to sabotage the OAU, etc.

Having pointed out that it was this international political climate that influenced the liberation at almost every level, the conference concluded the document by once again reiterating the readiness of our Youth to contribute towards the conquest of a better world to live in through the routing of the enemy and the winning of freedom for the people in our region.

SPECIAL RESOLUTIONS

The urgency of some aspects of the international situation, according to conference's view, warranted special attention and that we declare our attitude specifically on the issues involved. As a result the conference found time to address itself in discussion to the Southern African situation, the crisis in Lebanon, and adopted relevant resolutions explicitly stating our positions and condemning the evil hand of imperialism that is responsible for:

Preteroria's brinkmanship and its destabilising role in the sub-continent, particularly the untold crimes of the boer-fascist regime committed against the governments and peoples of the frontline states, with the People's Republic of Angola bearing the main brunt of these bestial acts; the racist armed occupation of Namibia and manoeuvres to sabotage the implementation of UN Resolution 435 through treacherous ploys, conspiracy and deceit; the barbarous invasion and occupation of Lebanon by the Zionist Israeli cutthroats which constitute an arrogant and contemptuous violation of international law and reveals a beastly disregard for human life.



Guarding the status quo outside the Turnhalle

The resolutions were forwarded to their appropriate destinations which included the PLO office, the SWAPO office and also the press. In this way the positions of the Youth of our country and their unflagging solidarity with struggling peoples especially brother people of Namibia were conveyed.

FRESH BANNER

On finishing its work the conference was in actual fact unfurling a fresh banner of rededication and commitment, that the Youth of today have hearkened to the call of the late Malome Kotane and are hastening, blazing a new trail inspired by the examples of our forebears, the heroes and martyrs of the ANC Youth League.

No doubt this historic conference will go down in the annals as an important milestone in our struggle. The way forward has been cleared by the arduous work of the conference and the leaders have been appointed to their responsibilities to steer the youth to our objective without fail. What remains now is implementation of the ideas brought forth and written into documents and resolutions. We trust that the youth will not fail our people. We are confident that the Youth will make the words of Moses Kotane flower.

Let us all youth pledge as our new Head, Comrade Andrew Mkhize pledged to do our best in the pursuit of the tasks of the revolution. Above all let us vow to live by the motto of our Youth adopted by this conference as the **official motto of the ANC Youth Section: Fight, Produce and Learn!**

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

'SAVE THE MOROKA 3'

October 11th is United Nations International Day of Solidarity with South African political prisoners. This year October 11th is being marked by world-wide acts of solidarity with South African political prisoners. It is also being marked by an intensified campaign within South Africa waged by the Detainee-Parents Support Committee and only yesterday about 1 000 Wits students in protest against torture and detention have called for the resignation of Le Grange.

The international campaign for the release of our imprisoned patriots has always been of major importance in the overall campaign to win support for our fighting people. With the intensification of our liberation struggle being met by increasing repression by the racist regime, the need for this campaign to be strengthened has never been greater.

In 1969 Nelson Mandela declared that the regime regards its prisons as institutions with which "to cripple us so that we should never again have the strength and courage to pursue our ideals". With this aim in mind the racists presently hold at least 550 political prisoners - about 30 of them being SWAPO leaders and militants. About 450 of those prisoners are incarcerated on the notorious Robben Island, and not less than 9 of those are children under the age of 18.

In their attempt to break the spirit and strength of political prisoners the racists attempt to isolate politi-

cal prisoners totally from the outside world - severely restricting access to news. Prisoners are graded from A to D - grades which determine their diet, clothing, visits, letters, etc. Political prisoners are automatically put into D Grade and promotion to higher grades is slow.

Divide and rule tactics apply inside apartheid's prisons as they do in the country as a whole. Different treatment is accorded to inmates depending on their racial affiliation - Coloured, Indian and African. On the Island the prisoners have fought relentlessly for the same diet and clothing to be given to all of them regardless of their colour. And the racist tactics go further: old are divided from young, leaders from militants. But the policy, as old as apartheid colonialism itself, has not succeeded in breaking unity in struggle behind prison walls. Over the years protest actions, hunger strikes, etc. have never remained isolated to one section of the prison.

In a desperate attempt to break the unity and strength of spirit of the political prisoners the racists have removed 4 of our leaders, including Mandela, to Pollsmoor prison. This is a desperate attempt to isolate the leaders from the other prisoners, and to isolate them from contact with the outside world. Before being moved from the Island Mandela had written letters which were smuggled to governments and support organisations abroad, commending them for the support they give to South African political prisoners and appealing for funds so that all political prisoners are able to study. This desperate act by the regime will not succeed in removing from the eyes of the world the fact that our leaders are imprisoned for life, nor reduce their prestige as leaders amongst the political prisoners and the oppressed people.

CAMPAIGN

In fact the international campaign for the release of Mandela and all political prisoners is intensifying. On **October 11th an international campaign is being launched by the British Anti-Apartheid Movement to coincide with Mandela's capture at a police road block near Durban twenty years ago.** Signatures are to be collected all around the

world for an international petition calling for the release of Mandela. Special activities have been organised to commemorate important dates - November 7th - the 20th Anniversary of Mandela's speech ("I will still be moved") **from the dock; December 16th - the 21st Anniversary of the launching of Umkhonto We Sizwe with Mandela as her commander-in-chief; July 18th 1983 - Mandela's 65th birthday; October 9th 1983 - 20th Anniversary of the opening of the Rivonia Trial; June 12th 1984 20th Anniversary of the sentencing of Mandela to life imprisonment.** The UN Security Council, the OAU, the Commonwealth and the European Parliament have all supported the appeal for Mandela's release. **Glasgow, a city in Scotland has bestowed freedom of the city on Mandela, and a mayor's appeal organised by the Lord Provost of Glasgow was signed by more than 2 000 mayors** throughout the world. The Free Mandela Campaign in South Africa during 1980 was testimony to the fact that the people regard Mandela as their leader and lodestar in their resolute struggle against apartheid oppression and exploitation.

FREEDOM FIGHTERS

A concerted effort is now needed by the international community to prevent the judicial murder of the six ANC freedom fighters and people's soldiers of Umkhonto We Sizwe currently in Pretoria Prison's notorious death cells. **Moise, Shabangu and Tsotsobe await the hearing of their appeal. They have now been joined by the 'Moroka 3' whose trial revealed the unrestrained fascist brutality that have become commonplace in apartheid South Africa.**

Comrades Mogoerane, Mosololi and Motaung were found guilty of 'high treason' and 20 alternative charges. State evidence at their trial focussed on the attacks on Moroka and Orlando police stations in 1979 and Wonderboom on 26th December last year. The 'Moroka 3' pleaded not guilty to all the allegations made by the apartheid court. The so-called crimes they were accused of committing were armed actions by the People's Army, Umkhonto We Sizwe, a component part of the just struggle for national liberation being waged by our people. Indeed, it became clear during the trial that their determination to fight for

freedom had been strengthened during the 1976 student uprisings. The 'Moroka 3' had seen their young sisters and brothers mowed down in the streets by the fascist police.

It was precisely actions like those in Orlando and Moroka that heralded the new phase of the armed struggle in South Africa, that signified that the army of the people had developed a greater and more effective combat capability. The reaction of the racist regime to this reality is revealed by the horrific torture to which the accused were subjected.

The counsel for Defence in their trial gave explicit evidence of the torture of Simon Mogoerane. In an attempt to force Mogoerane to disclose the location of their weapons, the security police tied a rope around his neck and one of his hands behind his back. They then pulled a plastic bag over his head and hung him from a tree, making him stand on his toes. A dog was then unleashed to savage him. He was suspended from a pole between a table and a chair while being subjected to electric shocks. A pistol was placed in his mouth while another policeman banged the table, making a sound like a shot being fired.

It seems beyond comprehension, but it is true that justice D.I. Curtenis accepted the statement made by Mogoerane as evidence after ruling that it had been made 'freely and voluntarily'. In giving his judgement Curtenis described Mogoerane as a compulsive liar.

Evidence given on the treatment of Marcus Motaung again implicated the South African Medical Profession in the crimes of the racist state. Before arrest he was shot at thrice by the security police. The only treatment given him were painkillers and immediately thereafter he was handed over to the police. The doctor did not even disinfect or dress his wounds but actually authorised Motaung's transfer from hospital since he was in a 'good enough condition'.

Throughout their ordeal in the hands of the sadistic South African police, the Moroka 3 stood firm in their commitment to the people's struggle throughout the trial. Motaung told the court of his political development as a member of the ANC and how he had been enraged by the sight

the prisoners mere objects devoid of will, the young man **now perceived that it was by no means so simple as turning** a machine gun on them. And besides... Reineboth took a few slow steps and remained standing thoughtfully before the map. The coloured pins jumped nearer to the camp every day. The youth pursed his lips worriedly. It's over and done with, Adele... A photo in a silver frame stood on the desk. With the corners of his mouth pulled down superciliously, the youth gazed at the man in the picture, the idol with **the look of hair combed down his forehead...** Suddenly Reineboth snapped his fingers against the photo's mustache-supported nose. "Adele," he said cynically.

Weisangk had reported the disappearance of the 46 to the commandant. Schwahl was incensed. He put his fists on his hips and groaned. "There we have it! That man just makes trouble for me in the camp."

Schwahl could not afford to have a lengthy search made. At the station in Weimar there was a freight train already waiting for the first transports.

After his outbreak of cholera, Schwahl had become remarkably reserved. He walked about the room plunged in thought. Suddenly he stopped before Weisangk, who was sitting in an **armchair at the conference table and watching his master** with a worried look.

"Will Bolshevism come after us?" asked Schwahl unexpectedly. Weisangk blinked and gulped as if in school.

"I mean, what uh - else could come?"

Schwahl took a few more anguished steps and whirled about, pointing his finger at a bewildered Weisangk. "One thing is certain! At the conference of Allied foreign ministers in Moscow in 1943 they agreed to pass sentence on the war criminals." Schwahl tapped himself significantly on the chest.

"That's a big mess..." Weisangk burst out in surprise.

"It's just not as simple as Kluttig would like to make out, my boy."

Schwahl groaned in his distress. "Anyone can shoot. Maybe I'll be lucky and come through. Maybe I'll grow a

As militants of MK we must pledge to spare nothing to avenge the deaths of our martyrs and to lead the people in the struggle for the seizure of power sooner rather than later.

AMANDLA!

MAATLA!

POWER!

LEST WE FORGET

Comrade Chris Tibane, a fighter and cadre of our movement passed away in his trench from which he served the people. He left us whilst on duty, contributing to the creation of a democratic South Africa of the Freedom Charter.

Our dear Comrade died in October after being hospitalised for stomach problems. "Bra Chris" as he was known in our ranks was not a healthy person even before he left the country to join the heroic ranks of our army, MK. The apartheid monster destroyed his health in its notorious prisons. He, like many of our people was



more than once a victim of South Africa's prisons whose aim is to socially, morally and all otherwise - health included - humiliate our people so that by the time one is freed, his life has been shockingly shortened.

The open terror of the apartheid system bears the responsibility for the death of this patriot. His death can never be attributed to natural causes. It is the responsibility of the regime that destabilises independent nations like the People's Republic of Angola, a regime which finances and trains bandits like UNITA, M.R.M. and reactionaries of all types and origin.

This regime which has caused so many deaths not only in our country but beyond its borders cannot be allowed to survive long. It must be destroyed for our mothers in Cunene to know the real meaning of freedom. For Southern Africa and for the whole continent to be free, the Botha-Malan regime has to be overthrown sooner than later. We cadres of MK to whom Bra Chris belonged to his last day are charged with this duty of seeing to the ultimate destruction of apartheid.

For us to be able to carry out this task we have to emulate the shining example of Bra Chris of not giving in even under extreme difficulties. Bra Chris never gave in. He performed outstandingly during his training though having serious health problems. The spirit of no surrender never left him.

We can but do more in his memory and of all our fallen fighters. Let us bring this day of freedom closer by closing ranks. Let us claim this victory that is in sight. Let us rise and face the challenge history has imposed on us. Let us meet the call of the President to be a disciplined and combat-ready army.

Our victory depends on how better we organise our striking force. We cannot but be more confident of victory.

HAMBA KAHLLA JHANE!

-Sindile Ramokoa



"He who would not give in
Has been done to death
He who was done to death
Would not give in".

When Bertolt Brecht wrote this poem it is as if he was having comrade Goodenough Bebe in mind. Goodenough is that character of a person who does not easily give in not even **when the odds are against him, he was a real revolutionary.** But death managed to rob us of this courageous fighter of our motherland.

Comrade Goodenough Bebe was born on the 28th September 1948 in the Cape Province. He is married with two young children.

SAAWU

Comrade Goodenough was a worker who was actively involved in the organisation of South African Allied Workers Union (SAAWU). But despite a great risk of police harassment, he continued to work as an organiser of SAAWU at his place of work.

He was finally arrested by the ruthless Sebe brothers who had launched vicious attacks against trade unionists. He was interrogated by the so-called Field Marshal Charles Sebe and later charged under the notorious Proclamation R252 and was later released.

Detention without trial combined with solitary confinement is aimed at intimidating the opponents of the fascist regime but with Goodenough this never achieved its fascist aims for he continued with the task assigned to him by history - to be in the vanguard of the workers' struggle. **Police harassments continued unabated and Comrade Goode**

nough who had attended a trade union meeting together with 205 trade unionists was detained by the Sebe brothers. This act by this notorious, infamous Sebe government never escaped condemnation from the progressives of our country, workers organisations and progressive lawyers demanded that **they be granted a bail which the enemy refused.** Comrade Goodenough and these trade unionists staged a hunger strike which forced the Sebe quislings to grant them a R50 bail each.

Comrade Goodenough, understanding the dual nature of oppression of the African that is, he is first oppressed as an African and then as a worker, realised that it is impossible to win the rights of the workers within the existing political system; he realised the necessity of destroying this hated government. He also understood that the only force that is capable of destroying the racist regime is Umkhonto We Sizwe which he then gladly decided to join. When asked as to why he joined MK, he answered: "I joined MK on voluntary basis because I've realised that **it is fighting for a just cause and because I wanted to be part of this fighting force of our people.**"

In MK camps Comrade Goodenough Bebe demonstrated a high level of discipline and morale. He became a mirror of a true MK soldier - a political soldier who is always ready to serve his people with pride whatever the task and conditions may be.

Comrade Goodenough, we combatants of the people's army, **Umkhonto We Sizwe, your comrades, shall not mourn your untimely death, but we pledge before your children and wife to pick up your fallen spear and charge forward, forward and only forward, backward never!**

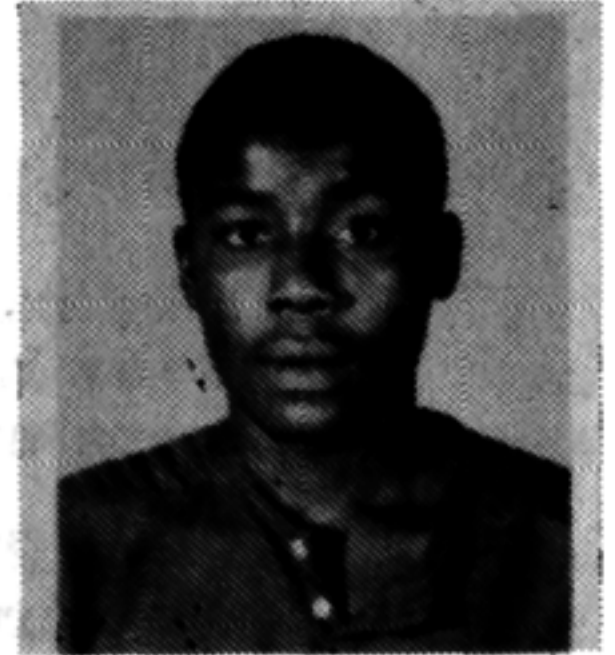
Rest in peace, Comrade, for the glory of those who have **fallen is equal to that of the living - forever!**

Eternal glory to the martyrs of our country!

-Africa Nkwe

The Youth in MK, mourns and salutes Peter Masango; born - 1960 in Springs, who met his untimely death in an accident whilst on his way to carry out an urgent task. The motorbike he was travelling in collided with a truck, resulting in him sustaining injuries in the leg. He was hospitalised, but unfortunately passed away as a result of excessive loss of blood.

As a product of the student-youth struggles of 1976 against the obnoxious racist education system and the entire racist regime, his political activities during this period led to his detention and under the fascist claws he was tested and steeled and vowed to challenge his enemies in the most befitting way, to take up arms.



Characteristic of him among his colleagues was the force of example he always strove to be and the will to criticise himself and accept criticism gladly. These qualities betrayed maturity in his young life. His desire to learn from his elders about the revolution was a steeling factor in the life of this young revolutionary. It is worth noting that his ability to respond to various duties at a time forbode a great soldier of MK in the making.

He dedicated himself to the people's cause, which young Solomon Mahlangu died for, leaving an inspiration to his young comrades to take his fallen weapon to liberate the beloved motherland - South Africa.

The death of Comrade Peter is testimony once more to the crimes of the racist enemy, for were it not for its oppressive nature, the black youth of South Africa would be creating with outstanding initiatives and competence their own future. His death is therefore a call for unity to the struggling youth of our revolutionary army - MK, to pick up his fallen spear.

LALA KAHLA SOTSHA LENGUJUKO!
MAATLA!

-Sipho Motswana

"NOW THE ENEMY IS AFRAID OF THE PEOPLE"

DAWN INTERVIEW WITH COMMANDER JULIUS MOKOENA

QUESTION: As we commemorate the 21st Anniversary of MK, what can you say have been the achievements of this 21 years of arduous struggle?

ANSWER: Well the 21st Anniversary of MK is the continuation of a long struggle the achievements of which, setbacks and prospects for forging ahead are multitude in character. Since the inception of MK we have been faced with setbacks here and there. First it was with the arrest of the leadership and what came to be known as the "Rivonia Trial". The enemy hastened to boast that it had completely destroyed the ANC and therefore maybe to the best of its capabilities South Africa would remain free for plunder by the Western powers. But they were wrong as developments proved that they failed to understand the type of struggle the ANC is leading. It is not an adventure, it is a principled and continuous struggle which involves the entire population and it will only end when victory over the enemy is won.

FACILITIES

We have been not very successful in the past owing partly to the fact that we had no proper or appropriate facilities so vital for carrying out the struggle under the new conditions. Hence the only solution which the leadership arrived at was that people must leave the country, go outside, acquire the necessary military skill and go back to fight the hated enemy inside the country. This has never been easy more so consequent to the arrest of the leadership and the subsequent disbandment of internal structures which meant serious foiling of most of our plans.

The enemy welcomed as a victory on its side because they had thought that with the type of tactics they've organised to defend themselves against the tide of the revolution which resulted in what came to be known in the early sixties as the "Umbrella type" of defence which clubbed together Smith, Caetano and Vorster, Africa would remain forever unsusceptible to the winds of revolutionary change. They thought that with this type of protection the armed liberation forces will never reach South Africa, that whatever the movement thought of would only end up at being futile exercise in that it would only end up in the boundaries beyond the South African territory. But history and the activities of our movement were to prove the enemy wrong.

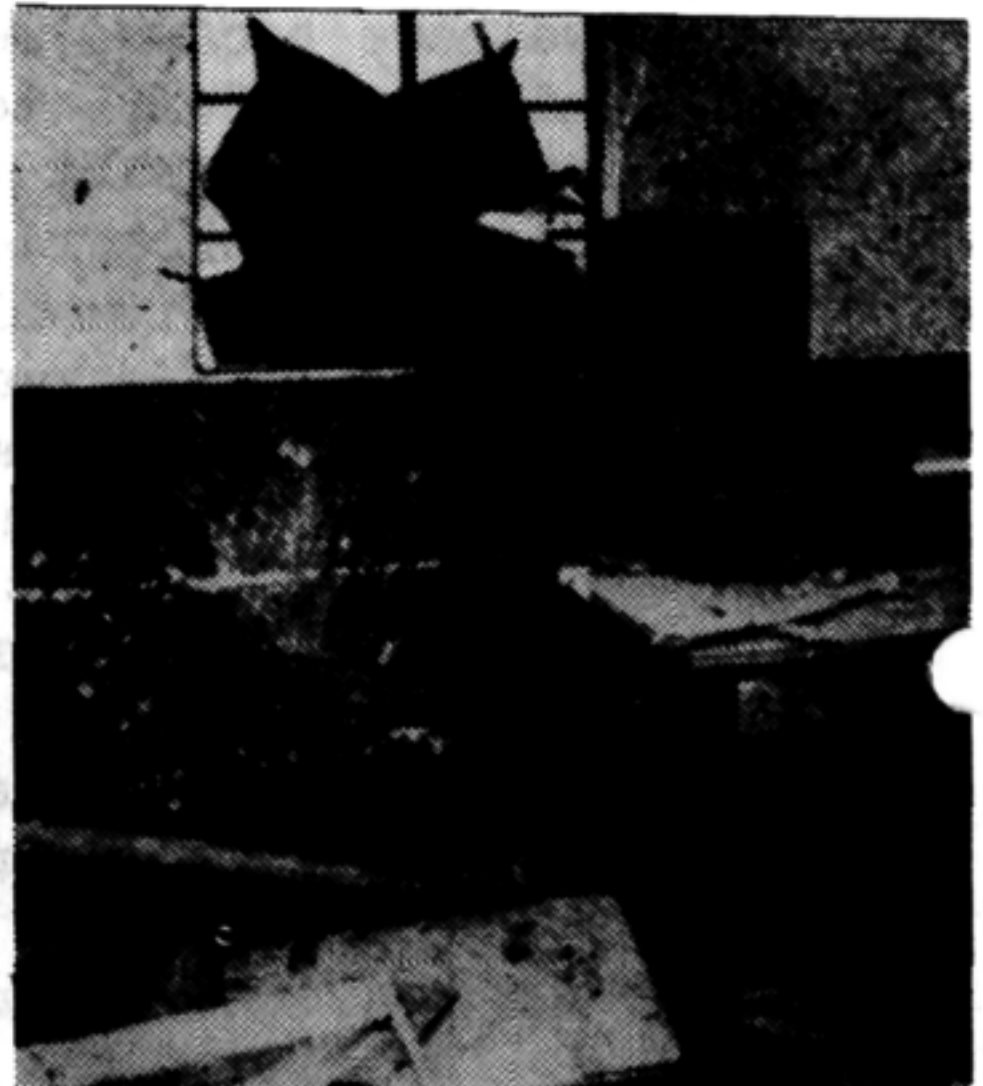
Our numbers as we came out of the country were very little, we were just like a drop of water in an ocean. But the main task was to train and go back inside the country, mobilise, recruit, and train more people right inside South Africa and do the fighting. But the situation never came out the way it has been envisaged by the movement and the leadership in general. And we did not end up there, MK strove and then we say thanks to the type of leadership we have because we have never bowed down on our knees and say farewell to arms throughout the history of MK. Zimbabwe, Rhodesia by then, bears a historic landmark of the activities carried out by our movement. South Africa was approached from all angles: through Zimbabwe, by Air using J. Smuts Airport itself as well as the sea. The enemy came to realise one fact that by arresting our leadership, persecuting them and sending some for life and other long-term imprisonment in Robben Island it has never solved the problem as the struggle continued, police terror never stopped the revolution or quelled the revolutionary spirit among our people. This has been the case all along. MK has never given up hope until such time that the developments inside the country, developments to which the movement never stayed back and folded its arms and became spectators to the situation, resulted in another test to the enemy. I say test in the sense that when the June 16 student uprising began, the enemy hastened to trumpet that it was some kind of action led by individuals among



Boyseens



SASOL



Mabopane

the students who felt disillusioned at their prospects of success, and wanted an excuse to do something disruptive so that they can easily do away with schools. The imposition of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction sparked off fire whose embers smoulder to this day. The heroic students who survived those brutal and forever agonising murders came out in search of the movement and the movement made itself available.

With the developments since 1976 the enemy had to come to one conclusion that the ANC was never destroyed and it will never be. It is the arrogant racist leaders themselves who confessed openly to their white followers that "Terrorism is here to stay in South Africa" and Whites should outgrow all the myths they have always clinged to and accept and learn to live with that situation.

DIARY

The struggle changed in quality and quantity in the sense that for the first time in our history here in exile we didn't only manage to send in material for use by MK combatants inside the country but MK acted. Today we have a combat diary which cannot be said to be ANC propaganda. Gunfire and explosions were heard by all and the South African press' objective reporting became an object of governmental censure. The press was accused of playing the role of political journals and organs of our movement and to deprive the oppressed of our land of news of their situation and internationally, the press was persecuted by the police. Many journalists were detained without trial and banned after their releases; black newspapers were banned and many oppressive laws restricting the role of the press to naught were enacted. We have also seen the racist regime amassing large troops along the borders of Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Mozambique, etc. in a bid to arrest the visibly growing guerilla war. Now there is the land deal with Swaziland whose aim is nothing less than creating little buffer zones around South Africa by making African fight Africans. Our struggle is in South Africa and MK has never fought along the borders. The enemy himself has summed up acknowledgement of this fact when he declared that the ANC wages an "Area War", as our

guerillas are spread all over our land.

So in short in its 21 years of existence MK under the wise leadership of the ANC has proved to be a force to reckon with.

QUESTION: As we have this interview news of the Maseru Massacre is still flowing in. What does the racist regime aim at achieving by this campaign of naked terror?

ANSWER: The incursions, murders and massacres in the neighbouring countries are the exportation of the apartheid policies as practiced internally by the racist regime led by P.W. Botha. The racist regime never hid its devotion of hunting down like game all its opponents wherever they can be found, especially the leadership and the entire membership of the African National Congress. They are emulating what their Zionist allies are doing in the Middle East by transforming the whole sub-continent into a Lebanon. But South Africa is not Israel and it is them and their allies who have made South Africa what it is.

Today our people are up in arms, they have said enough is enough and they want to be masters of their destiny. The South African regime would like to emerge from the quagmire it finds itself plunged into through the use of force. They have taken upon themselves the reactionary role of destabilising the neighbouring and newly independent countries by recruiting, training and infiltrating bandits like the LLA, NRM, etc, to destroy military installations, economic infrastructures, murder civilians and disrupt social order. They would like to keep these countries under perpetual South African economic domination so as to be able to determine their policies and dictate to them treacherous terms like forbidding passage to the ANC personnel, arresting, sentencing and even deporting our fellow combatants. But Africa wants to be free from all foreign domination. Africa knows that the very presence of the South African regime poses a continuous threat to their very independence.

Faced with this situation and the growing opposition inside the fascist regime has become even more vicious.

Yesterday it was Matola, and today it is Maseru where 30 South Africans and 10 Lesotho nationals have been brutally butchered by the racist cutthroats. The crime committed by the Lesotho people is not to join hands with the racists in their onslaught on the ANC because they know, as Africa and the world know what the ANC is. We are not bandits but a revolutionary movement dedicated to the overthrow of the apartheid regime and the building in its place of a new and democratic society based on the principles enshrined in the Freedom Charter.

The struggle inside the country is daily attaining new heights and we should expect the enemy to be even more rabid in response. Added to Matola and Maseru, tomorrow it will be somewhere else. But this does not and will never stop the revolution!

QUESTION: What can you say are the most urgent tasks for general revolutionary advance?

ANSWER: The struggle in South Africa should be intensified so that the enemy stops roaming around and concentrate inside South Africa. The people are ready, they have responded to the call by the movement and on top of this they've been inspired to the utmost by the activities of the movement inside the country. The people now have come to pin their hopes on the future South Africa which will be under the rule of the ANC their teacher, mouthpiece and defender.

MK in the drawing of the Manifesto, determining the place and role of MK in the overall strategy of the movement stated that in its preamble: "Umkhonto We Sizwe will be at the frontline of the people's defence, it will be the fighting arm of the people against the government and its policies of race oppression. It will be the striking force of the people for liberty, for rights and for their final liberation!" And this is exactly what is happening. This document went on further to state that in these actions we all are working to the best interests of the people of this country, black, brown and white whose future happiness and well being cannot be obtained without the overthrow of the government of the National Party and the abolition of white supremacy.

PRACTICE

The ANC has come out to put this in practice. Our people have been persecuted, oppressed, exploited, suppressed and they're not supposed to have any opinion in so far as the running of their country is concerned and their future had been decided. Instead of improving the working conditions, living standards of the people, creating more and more facilities for recreation and education, medical care, you find that South Africa concentrates on building of more police stations, jails and now of late fortifications, and more and more Africans are daily being condemned to slow but sure death in the poverty-stricken "Bantu homelands". All these futile attempts by the regime to pump fear into the hearts of the oppressed have and continue to meet with failure. Now on the contrary it is the boers who are afraid of the people, it is no more the people who are afraid of them and their weapons, their guns. In its endeavours our movement has come to defeat one thing, that is the monopoly of the gun by the enemy; the enemy has guns and we have our own guns and so we speak the same language and in the process this also encourages our people to more heroic feats of mass struggles. MK's strikes against police stations and other racist government's installations seriously undermined the racist Pretoria regime. The activities of MK make the people more free to act and has therefore inspired the people to stand on their feet as envisaged by Comrade President O.R. Tambo when he said "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!".

And the situation in South Africa doesn't fail this. People are liberated from fear because they know what the ANC is and what it stands for. Even behind the grim walls

of Robben Island our leaders have declared that their morale has never been higher and on more than one occasion they have managed to smuggle inspiring messages to our fighting people. In his message Comrade Nelson Mandela, having been imprisoned for close to two decades wrote:

"Between the anvil of united mass action and the hammer of armed struggle we shall crush white domination". This is the picture in South Africa: Mass action and MK strikes in indissoluble unity; with the two serving as a hammer and anvil the enemy is bound to be crushed.

It is in this year of Unity in Action that the enemy has become more unpopular even internationally. Inside the struggle now is joined by democratic whites. They are hailed now like our people the Africans, Coloureds and Indians and this doesn't fail what the movement has envisaged in its strategy and tactics that the struggle is the struggle of the people and as the struggle unfolds and more people starting to understand more and more all that the struggle is about they will join the organisation in large numbers. This act itself will make the enemy to find itself isolated and with this isolation it will be liable to be brought down on its knees under the wise and unfailing leadership of the ANC.

Our approach with regards to the role of the white population has always been a sober one.. We've always seen Whites as people like any other people and the enemy has been the enemy because of his actions: the system, the state machinery it has created under its control and is being directed against the people. So all in all the struggle inside South Africa is gradually bringing to the fore the finalisation of the gaining of victory and putting into practice of the Freedom Charter.

QUESTION: On this the 21st Anniversary of our glorious Army what message do you have to our heroic combat ranks outside here and all over our motherland?

ANSWER: A message to MK fellow combatants both inside and outside South Africa is one that we should mobilise ourselves into a formidable force. We should never lose sight of our obligation. The enemy is everywhere, we cannot

think only in terms of meeting the enemy on the battlefield. The enemy is among us, it lives with us, it surveils us, our activities. And it comes to our places at awkward moments, and kills our people as it was the case with Matola and Maseru now. This exhorts that we should step up our combat readiness and vigilance. We must know ourselves so that we can be in a position to spot our enemy at a first glance. And all these terroristic-activities by the enemy should not make us to lose hope or

"WE SHALL OFFER

SPEECH DELIVERED BY JAMES MAKHAYA, A COMBATANT OF MK TO A GATHERING TO CELEBRATE SOUTH AFRICA'S HEROES DAY, SOMEWHERE IN THE THICK FOREST OF THE CONTINENT.

Dear Comrades, today the 16th of December 1982 we are celebrating the 21st Anniversary of Umkhonto We Sizwe - the cutting edge of people's resistance in South Africa. In these words, "We are striking out along a new road for the liberation of the people of this country. The government policy of force, repression and violence will no longer be met with non-violent resistance only!", Umkhonto We Sizwe proclaimed its existence.

Therefore the formation of Umkhonto we sizwe was not just a choice but an absolute necessity. It was imperative that our people should demonstrate their preparedness to meet the challenges of the enemy, to demonstrate their resolve to fight with arms in hand to achieve their freedom.

lower our morale, instead our morale must be ever high and we must step up our activities more than ever before because the enemy has shown beyond any shadows of doubt that it is afraid of us. We are a force recognised, a force to be reckoned with and therefore it means we must double our efforts in so far as questions of vigilance and combat readiness are concerned. History is on our side, our struggle is gaining momentum with every passing day and our victory is certain.

MOUNT THE "INSIVE"

The formation of MK heralded a new era in South Africa. The violence of apartheid was to be met with the violence of the people. The road to freedom was to be marred by the blood of the finest sons and daughters of our country. It is thus proper that when we mark this day we have also to doff our hats and bow our heads in honour of those heroes and heroines who pioneered this long and arduous path to freedom.

TECHNIQUES

When this army was formed the majority of our people were deprived of any know-how of the techniques of war. The ruling class and its supporters were having the monopoly of this know-how. The founding fathers of MK set themselves the task of also educating our people about these techniques as well as eroding the mystification of the gun and the explosive. This of course was not without casualties. We immediately remember comrade Molefe who died in Johannesburg of a premature explosion.

Today at twenty-one Umkhonto We Sizwe has not just

mastered the techniques of war but has demonstrated that the enemy bleeds. Umkhonto under the wise political line of the ANC at twenty-one, as a fully-fledged man has proved that it is a force. In every street or home it has become the dominating subject of conversation. In the fascist parliament the fascists could not evade putting the ANC on the agenda. In the battle-field we have scored victory after victory. The sophistication and daringness of MK has become evident in the trail of operations it conducted in various parts of South Africa. MK has on a number of occasions put the racist hordes helter-skelter to the confession of the fascist rulers that the whites should learn to live with 'terrorism'. Avoiding to contest with reality Viljoen said that the ANC is poised for an 'area war'. In our understanding this is a people's war which has taken roots in the soil of South Africa.

The enemy, fearing the impact these operations have on the people, decided to clamp down on the press and all other opposition to its tyrannic rule. The generals have decided that the press should wholly depend on them for reports about the activities of MK. The reason for this is not difficult to find as it is to do away with the inspirational effect of the operations, hoping to dampen the morale of our people. To its dismay the opposite has been achieved - "our morale has never been higher!" The CIA has come out to confess that although boers have clamped down on the press and on any information concerning our operations, the information continues to filter out and this is indicative of the intensity of the struggle.

These heroic feats of valour have sent panic in the racist spines and have cleaved Afrikanerdom. The enemy is caught between the two horns of a dilemma - it is in a quagmire sinking to its inevitable doom. Power is visibly changing hands and on this the 21st birthday of our heroic army everyone must stand up and demand it.

BRUTALITY

Behaving like a cornered beast the enemy has reacted with vociferous brutality to this people's rising. It has intensified mass removals, more deaths in detention are

recorded. A galaxy of sung and unsung heroes is being left. Our captured comrades have been bestially and sadistically tortured. A number of them have been sentenced to death. As I stand here before you six of our comrades are waiting for the day when the hangman's noose will take away their dearest possession, life.

These are but signs that the enemy can no longer rule our people. Realising this, it has relied more and more on the generals and the army. It is bent on physically liquidating our movement and our leaders. We cannot but on this momentous day comrades, think of Comrades Joe Gqabi, Petros and Jabu Nyaose, Ruth First and so it goes, and so it will go until the fascist beast has been physically liquidated on our sacred soil. Any attempt to eliminate the armed struggle in our country cannot succeed because the attempts are in themselves to prevent change - and change is a phenomenon that cannot be halted.

Comrades, we in the combat ranks of MK know that when the enemy intensifies its repression and violence, we have to intensify our sophistication and violence - organised violence. We have to intensify our mobilisation of the oppressed majority - the bedrock of our struggle. We have to make every Black South African a fighter in the struggle for national salvation.

The beginning of the end of Apartheid rule in our country was recorded on the 16th of December 1961, today the 16th of December 1982, the vow is that the rattling and the staccato of gunfire and the thundering of artillery will be halted by our victory, nothing short of that. Victory whether dark or blue must come. We are saying this with all the sureness and determination for as the NEC statement on the occasion of the 70th Anniversary of the ANC declared, "...Our cherished goal of national and social liberation... is already in sight! 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."

Our organisation has emerged as an alternative power and being so it means that MK must not only ready itself

for the present phase of our struggle but also for the future phase of reconstruction and defending of the gains of our revolution. As Lenin once said that to fight for the revolution is difficult but more difficult is to defend it. As we are therefore poised for the armed seizure of power we have to be also poised for the future. As our president said during the 1st Congress of MPLA, "In building up our own popular army we aim therefore not only at the overthrow of the fascist regime, we aim also at building up a politically conscious and revolutionary army, conscious of its popular origin, unwavering in its democratic functions and guided by our revolutionary orientation."

Dear comrades, Umkhonto We Sizwe at twenty-one is displaying its readiness for the two phases of our revolution. Presently the length and breadth of our country must be the theatre of war and war to the finish. We in the combat ranks of MK are prepared to pay the maximum sacrifice for our cherished goal. We know that our victory will not be quick or easy but will be long drawn and difficult and we are sustained in that by the justness of our cause and by the fact that a people determined to be free cannot be under the jackboot of fascism forever.

We in the combat ranks of MK in our stubborn conviction say to Botha and his cronies **WE SHALL MOUNT THE OFFENSIVE**, out of it lies our happiness and prosperity.

We, proud and undaunted members of the army of Nelson Mandela, responding to the beckoning of our people to do away with alien rule in our beloved motherland demand and are fighting for **FREEDOM IN OUR LIFETIME!**

FORWARD TO PEOPLE'S POWER!

LONG LIVE THE 21st ANNIVERSARY OF OUR PEOPLE'S ARMY -

UMKHONTO WE SIZWE!

AMANDLA! ALL POWER!

OPERATION MAYIBUYE

-Zet

It is of paramount importance for any revolutionary movement at each step of growth to review critically and objectively its achievements and setbacks. Umkhonto We Sizwe the military wing of the ANC has now come of age. In view of the fact that on December 16th this year (1982) it turns twenty-one. The blueprint structural and operational basis of MK as drawn by the High Command is a document of interest to study and analyse in consideration of the totality of factors at that time in particular. It must be borne in mind that the formation of Mk in 1961 was as a result of the failure of non-violent means of struggle which reached their zenith in 1960 through the Sharpeville Massacre, the banning of the ANC and PAC, the declaration of the state of emergency and promulgation of draconian laws like the 90 days detention without trial and other manifestations of fascism in the early 1960's. The socio-economic and political situation was indeed precarious and foresightedness and unflinching commitment was needed within the leadership. Consequently leading members of the ANC and SACP and above all the people realized that the time to answer reactionary violence with revolutionary violence had come. Umkhonto We Sizwe was formed and its guidelines were in the document Operation Mayibuye, whose opening remarks analysed the situation in the following manner:

1. A disillusionment with constitutional or semi-constitutional forms of struggle and a conviction that the road to victory is through force;
2. A militancy and readiness to respond to a lead which holds out a real possibility of successful struggle.

For a thorough understanding of Operation Mayibuye we

have to look into another important document that influenced the leaders of the national liberation movement when they adopted armed struggle as a political tactic. This is the M-PLAN. When the Nationalist Party assumed power in 1948 one of the first laws they promulgated was the Suppression of Communism Act in 1950, which ultimately led to the banning of the CPSA. But the amorphous and unscientific definition of a communist disturbed the leaders of the revolutionary movements. Their fears were endorsed by laws that were passed after the 1952 Defiance Campaign. These developments were an indication of worse things to come especially laws against the ANC itself and as expected leaders must of necessity be able to foresee the future and to take appropriate steps in favour of the forces of progress, hence the M-PLAN was adopted by the ANC as a guarantor for the functioning of the organisation under conditions of illegality. It was put into operation in the 1950's and was quite successful in the Eastern Cape. The emphasis of the plan was an efficient and effective organisation requiring detailed and duplicated membership cards, financial records and records of activities, as well as weekly meetings of all cells - stewards, who were in charge of a street, Chief Stewards, who were in charge of a zone of about 7 streets with a political lecturer. There was also a prime-steward who was placed in charge of a ward of about four zones with a branch secretary. Coming back to Operation Mayibuye we find the large concentration of personnel within individual structures very vivid and conspicuous as in the M-PLAN.

The High Command wanted an initial force of 7 000 men in the four main areas ready to join the guerilla army in the initial offensive. These areas were:

1. Port Elizabeth - Mzimkulu - 2 000 men.
2. Port Shepstone - Swaziland - 2 000 men.
3. North Western Transvaal bordering Botswana and Limpopo River - 2 000 men.
4. North Western Cape - South West - 1 000 men.

There was to be a simultaneous landing of four groups of

30 trained cadres coming by land, sea and air, armed and equipped in such a way as to be self-sufficient in every respect for at least a month. They were to be further split into platoons of 10 each. This group was the one which had to train the new recruits and to arm the local population. There were also serious efforts directed at mobilizing the international community against the apartheid regime; already O.R. Tambo who was then the deputy president of the ANC had left the country to lead the external mission. But there was also a serious underestimation of the strong class relationship between South Africa and the rest of the imperialist world. For instance Operation Mayibuye states that "...the state is isolated practically from the rest of the world, and if effective work is done, it will have to rely in the main on its own resources". Facts proved otherwise.

INVESTMENTS

We shall remember that after the sabotage actions by MK on December 16, 1961 indeed several companies suspended or withdrew their investments in South Africa, but it was the USA through mining magnates like Charles Engelhard that revived the economy and military strength of the apartheid regime. There was also a tendency to overestimate the support we could possibly receive from the independent African states, including a failure to assess the problems we could encounter in the neighbouring states like Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland which by then were still British Protectorates. Zimbabwe was also a British colony and the Portuguese Empire under Salazar still strong. Tanzania was the only independent African state near South Africa and it is thousands of kilometers away. All these problems became very serious obstacles towards the development of our struggle.

Concerning the internal situation it is a fact of history that conditions for armed struggle had matured in 1961, as evidenced by the Sekhukhuni revolts, Pondoland Uprising, the Sharpeville massacre and other manifestations, but could we say with precision and accuracy that those Congressites of non-violence could be transformed and convinced overnight that the time had come to take up

arms? Is the decision to join a liberation army not a highly personal one that requires the individual to see the necessity to die? In other words was it possible to mobilise a force of 7 000 within the prescribed period? Concerning the military feasibility of the utilization of large units of 10 men, present experience inside the country has proved beyond any reasonable doubt that small units of 3-4 men are the most effective for the preparatory stage and the first stage where the guerillas, numerically and in arms, are still inferior and therefore engaging the enemy in positional warfare may be suicidal. It is through such small scale operations spread throughout the country that the enemy is dispersed, fatigued and gradually wiped out. Coupled with the necessary political work this is how we can also win the support of the entire population. This requires that we should organise several small but sophisticated operations which will inspire the masses to see how simple it is to kill a racist soldier, how possible it is for him to destroy a police station or enemy camp and the following day he goes to work as if nothing has happened. This form of tactic and strategy will in retrospect facilitate for the transforming of our guerilla warfare into a real people's war, both in town and countryside.

One has to express his appreciation for the gallantry and profound leadership of leading members of the ANC like Nelson Mandela the first Commander-in-Chief of MK and other members of the High Command like Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Ahmed Kathrada, Dennis Goldberg whose quality of leadership has been tested and steeled by time. Their unflinching conviction has not only won them the respect and admiration of the South African people but also of the international community. Their arrest and subsequent life imprisonment has deprived us of some of the finest sons our embattled motherland has ever had.

OBSTACLES

In conclusion, when acknowledging the failure to fully appreciate the obstacles to the implementation of "Operation Mayibuye" it is also imperative for us to understand

that none of the black leadership of the High Command had and training in military science and art except only whites like Dennis Goldberg and Jack Hodgson. It is therefore logical that mistakes ought to be met, for he who never made a mistake never made a discovery.

Continued from page 2

remember Vietnam and El Salvador as if it were only yesterday. The imperative and urgency of building our army into a strong and ever-combat ready force, ready to respond fittingly to any change for the sour in the situation is beyond question. We impel the adventurous Americans never to forget Vietnam, however short their memories seem. Putting their oars in the South African conflict will land them in a quagmire maybe deeper than the Vietnamese. We are committed to the destruction of apartheid and the establishment in its place of a democratic society fashioned along the principles enshrined in the Freedom Charter where all shall abound in peace and friendship for all. Along this path not even the entire Pentagon's and the CIA's machineries will quell us.

DAWN Politixword No.7 Answers

ACROSS: 1. Luthuli 5. O.R. 7. Elf 9. Boost
 10. Uganda 13. Pioneer 16. Earshot
 17. Nudge 19. A.A.C. 21. Doe
 22. Oliver 24. T.N.T. 25. Yea

DOWN: 1. Lieutenant 2. Heunis 3. Lebanon
 4. ILO 6. Ruth 8. Fore 11. Apricot
 12. Doh 14. Etude 15. Rage 18. Dory
 20. Air 23. Ma

BREZHNEV - A GREAT REVOLUTIONARY AND FIGHTER FOR PEACE

The 10th of November 1982 was a long heavy day for the revolutionary and peace-loving forces of the world. On this day the sad news of the passing away of Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and of the Council of Ministers was announced to the world. Comrade Brezhnev had for a long time suffered a stubborn heart condition which finally claimed his life at the age of 75.

The loss of this Titan, a principled revolutionary and fighter for peace, a dedicated continuator of the lofty course of Lenin and perpetuator of the gallant traditions of the International Communist Movement has deeply grieved the communists and non-communists alike the world over.

LIFE

The life of Leonid Ilyich is highly instructive: Born on the 19th December 1906, his entire life was spent in the van of the struggle for the victory of Socialism in Russia and the former prisoner countries of Tzarist Russia. He was of working class background and himself has been a worker at a very early age. He has also been a land surveyor, and a qualified engineer in metallurgy. Like many young revolution-



aries in his country he was from the age of 15 a militant member and activist of the Komsomol (Young Communist League) and finally became a full Communist Party member in 1931. His comrades and indeed the entire Soviet people will not forget his invaluable participation during the Great Patriotic War against the Nazi hordes.

After the Second World War Comrade Brezhnev served his country and people with edifying devotion first as second Secretary and later First Secretary of the Party in Kazakhstan. It was in 1960 that he was elected Chairman of the Supreme Soviet and four years later in

1964 he became First Secretary of the CPSU. His courage, determination and firm devotion to all assignments was so phenomenal that it makes it difficult to chronicle without understating his life and work.

As for us the struggling people of the world, we of the ANC included, especially feel the pain of loss at the passing away of this great friend and Comrade of the oppressed masses of the world. This is particularly so since this Soviet leader and great statesman and revolutionary of the world renown departs at a time when the adversaries of peace, freedom and progress have gone far beyond mere sabre-rattling and have for some time mounted and sustained an unprecedented aggressive campaign against the Socialist Community, countries of the Non-Aligned, the oppressed and in our region stand full square behind Pretoria and can be seen to be actively abetting and bolstering the regime in all respects. The passing away of such a giant of a fighter could have never been more untimely.

Yet we shall not dement ourselves with mourning. We shall mobilise all our strength with even more zeal and walk proudly into the thick of battle beyond which lies our cherished dream of freedom, the conquest and firm

defence of which shall constitute a worthy tribute to the memory of a man who deserves it: L.I. Brezhnev.

As we compose this solemn tribute we are aware of a terrible mud-slinging backgrounded by glee. The forces of reaction cannot conceal their excitement and their satisfied grunts through their world-wide effective propaganda media is more than evidence of their loathsome attitude - their masks of pretentious shock especially worn for effect notwithstanding. But the tears of the oppressed and exploited of the world have long filled oceans and each time we dip ourselves in there to wash off the smudges of their mud-cakes our anger and determination to fight to the ultimate multiplies a hundredfold.

LONG LIVE THE MEMORY OF L.I. BREZHNEV!

LONG LIVE THE SOCIALIST COMMUNITY!

LONG LIVE THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE AND DISARMAMENT!

FORWARD TO FREEDOM!

OUR SONG

Yesterday

Our song was a cry of sorrow

Yesterday

Our song floated with the moon

We hung to its echo

And beheld the firmament swallow its strains

We despaired each noon

And we gainsaid the devil.

Today

Our song teems with life

Today

Our song shines with the sun

We flood light incandescent
Across the land our voice ignites furnaces
Burns the beasts and spares none
And we celebrate each advance.

Tomorrow

Our song will titillate harmonious

Tomorrow

Our song will invite every chime
We'll unfurl flags and tapestries
To celebrate and to shroud our martyred
To efface the stigma of crime
We'll sow seeds of justice and right.

Tomorrow

Our song will mirror the future

Tomorrow

Our song will smooth ploughshares
We'll till the bloodsoaked earth
And mend the war-maimed machines
Then bread for posterity, the heirs
Will multiply for long and ever.

Our song

Then will be full and complete

Our song

Then will ascend higher and beyond
We'll hear its likes far and near
And man, earth and sky
Will sing our rebirth aloud.

Lovejoy Karas

A Trail Of Courage and Determination

PART 4

- Edwin Mabitse

(IN THIS INSTALMENT THE AUTHOR EXAMINES THE COMPLEX AND DIVERSIFIED IDEOLOGICAL INFLUENCES THAT WENT INTO THE ANC'S PROCESS OF DEFINING A CLEAR AND CONSISTENT IDEOLOGICAL COMMITMENT).

As the struggle for freedom and the National emancipation of the black oppressed escalates and reaches out for new heights a whole range of questions meriting urgent and unfailing attention present themselves. Coupled to these is the imperative of declaring our positions openly in the face of unabating smear campaigns aimed at slandering and distorting our political orientation - its policy and programme - both in content and historical origin. It is therefore expedient for us to lay bare some of the chief historical factors that influenced the manner and direction of the all-around development of the broad movement for national liberation in South Africa. It is therefore fitting and right that in looking into this process, our subject should be the ANC since the ANC is clearly the epitome of this great process. A glimpse into this aspect of ANC history in this its 70th year is a worthy effort as lofty as it is significant to the everlasting edification of the young fighting ranks of our people.

This author is of the opinion that the issue being discussed herein has been raised to varying degrees of sharpness before - but these in the majority of cases were responses to attacks and accusations levelled against the liberatory forces of our country. With this in mind, here an angle of approach which in simple terms is an explanatory argument based on the historical experience of the ANC is being attempted.

BIRTH OF THE ANC

The birth of the ANC on January 8, 1912 has gone down in the annals as an event of great historic significance in the life of our people and the continent at large. The inaugural conference was attended by leading royal personages from all corners of South Africa and the then Protectorates, by unschooled tribesmen, by members of the intelligentsia and churchmen and by representatives of a wide spectrum of local organisations. In short the conference was representative of a variety of social forces from the ranks of the oppressed, all inspired by the unity call and motivated by a vision of a free, independent and democratic nationhood. These transcending aspirations welded the people into a solid whole transporting them beyond fettering contradictions based on previous prejudice and undermined divisions normally conditioned by social status in a developing capitalist economy. Yet the band holding the people together could not at the same time act as conveyor of a uniform political perspective as regarded the method and means of attaining the objectives of the black oppressed. The overriding goal of unity of purpose was beyond debate. Yet variances in the finer details of the march towards realizing the goals of Congress as a whole manifested themselves and became a seedbed of great happenings that have gone into the dialectics of the ANC's development.

This 'struggle' was necessary and quite in line with the need for perfection of the strategy for the national liberation of the oppressed. A keen perusal of the history of the formative years of Congress reveal to us a number of influences that evidently affected the process of defining a clear ideological commitment. Let us hasten to add that such a process was historical inevitability and as such could not be decided by the resolutions of individuals in as much as it could not have matured overnight. It was to last for years as part of the glorious pages of the peoples heroic struggles.

THE CHRISTIAN FACTOR

The role of the missionary church in South Africa has been discussed in better detail in previous instalments of

this series. What comes out very clearly, notwithstanding the several negative aspects, is that the Christian doctrine introduced among oppressed people has always had an effect conditioning the formation of political attitudes characterised by an eagerness for equality, justice and harmony.

Towards the end of the 19th century the Christian teaching had spread sufficiently among broad sections of the oppressed. Many African converts who had come to be thoroughly acquainted with its theological dogmas began to query the practice of the missionary church as violation of the fundamental tenets of the christian religion. This was to result in mass breakaways of black converts from the white-controlled and colonially orientated missionary churches - this movement has passed into the annals as amongst the great political upheavals that contributed significantly to the Rise of African Political Consciousness. (see *A TRAIL OF COURAGE AND DETERMINATION - Part 1*)

CHRISTIANITY

During the years of the ANC christianity continued to exert influence. The christian vision of non-racial justice and equality persisted, acting as a durable lodestar to many who cherished its ideals and had surrendered themselves to the faith. Within successive executives of the ANC and at all other levels of leadership many were committed christians, who saw the solution to the plight of the oppressed as dependent largely on the evangelisation of Africans.

The Rev. James Calata, who was the Secretary-General of the ANC from 1936 to 1949 expressed this feeling most explicitly when he stated: "It was the spirit of Christ had led and is still leading men to the truth of the common brotherhood of man irrespective of race, colour or creed." Even many ordinary rank and file members of the ANC who were not regular churchgoers lived and thought in Christian terms,



Looking forward to national emancipation that would come through complete acceptance of the faith. As a result the ANC from its inception has always respected the christian positions of many of its members and leaders and fully acknowledged their right to full participation and contribution to the national struggle since it understood that the christian teaching has unmistakeable elements of social perspective when approached with honesty and sincerity. It was therefore not per chance that the inaugural conference of the ANC was opened with the singing of Tiyo Soga's *Lizalise Tixo Nkosi Idinga Lakho yenyano* (Fulfill thy Promise Thou Lord of Truth) and *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrica* (Lord Bless Africa) later adopted as an official anthem of the ANC and therefore of the oppressed people of South Africa.

THE JOINT COUNCILS

To carry the argument further, let us look into the practical expression of the ANC's principled commitment to non-racialism. In this connection the Joint Councils, though not necessarily a result of Congress initiative, provide a worthy basis - these councils were made possible organisationally and functionally, thanks to Congress rejection of the skin strategy.

The Joint Councils were forums of Black and White co-operation and co-ordination of political effort targetted at the defeat of the general Union policy of discrimination and indifference *vis-a-vis* the Black oppressed. These had been established after 1921 and were to play an important role for many years in the direction of drawing the attention of sincere liberal White opinion to the dangers of the granite racist policy of the Union government. This development was welcomed by many (mostly the black intelligentsia) as a healthy expression of the presence within the white minority group that was still moved by the human conscience and genuine philanthropic considerations.

The Joint Councils brought together influential Whites and several important political figures from the Black com-

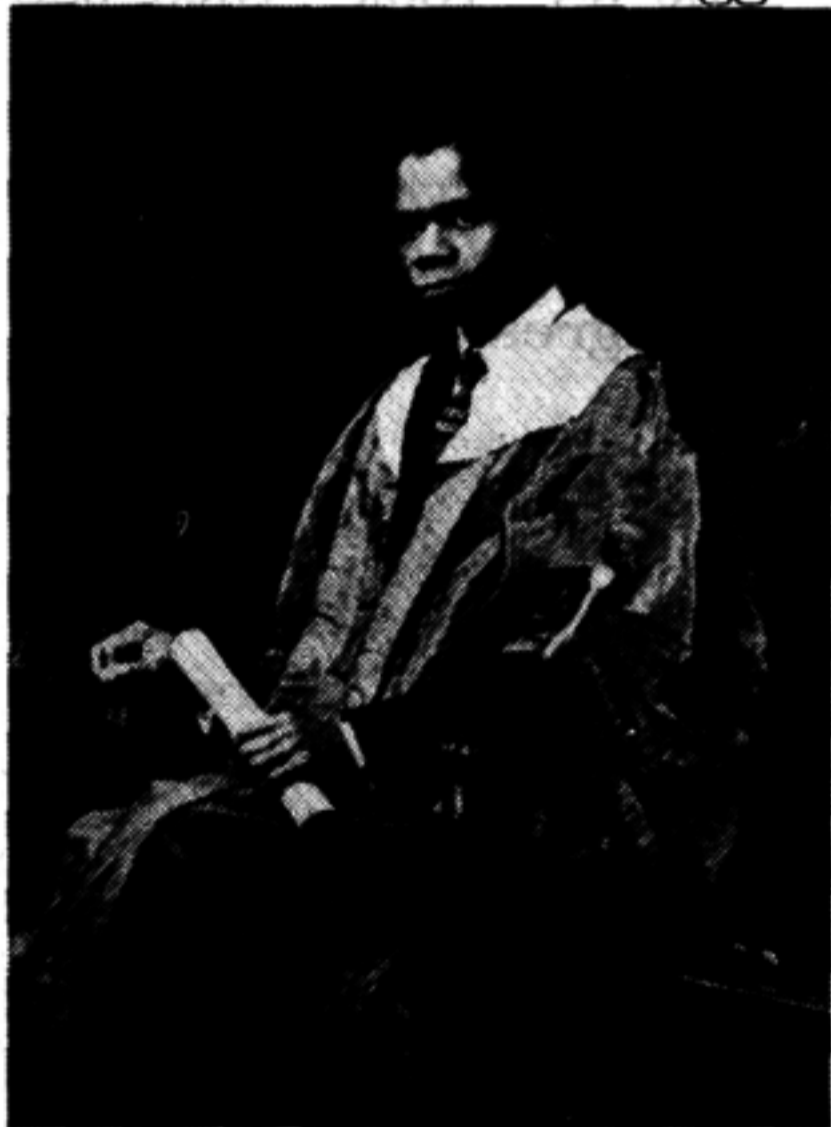
munity including leaders of the popular organisations. Persons like John Dube, D.D.T. Jabavu, Dr Xuma, Selope Thema and Selby Msimang became important members of the councils. The impact the councils had on Black opinion and the attitude during this time can be best summed up by Dr A.B. Xuma's (former President of ANC) statement that the movement represented. "...A group, and thank God, an increasing group of fair-minded, sympathetic and just people among both boer and Briton".

UNITY IN ACTION



and just people among

Of course the importance of these councils cannot be overemphasised, yet they were a part of, historically speaking, the rudiments of organised white political identification with the struggles of the black oppressed. Limited



Dr A.B. Xuma

by their own varying political visions some came and passed hardly unnoticed whilst others persisted planting as they did the seeds of genuine democratic and non-racist attitudes within the White Section. The councils did not end up as mere talking shops but waged real struggles against discriminatory legislations such as the Hertzog Bills and declared their full support to efforts of the All-African Convention.

When the Hertzog Bills became law in 1936, the Joint Councils and the South African Institute of Race Relations continued to protest but disillusion with their effectiveness soon took hold over those who pinned hopes on their methods. The passing of the bills put simply, was a serious blow against the prestige of the councils. In this connection

Peter Walshe writes: "Just as the APS (Aborigines Protection Society - EM) had been found to be ineffective in the years after Union, so now the Joint Councils had failed to stem the tide of discriminatory legislation, making it painfully clear that a European pressure group operating on the periphery of white politics could offer Africans nothing more than an amelioration of the details of repression".

But the days of the councils were not futile nor wasted. They were a historical milestone leading to the gallant future of the Congress of Democrats, the Congress of the People and the 'Treason Trial'. Nay, the councils made their mark as an important historical factor against racial prejudice, thus vindicating Congress policy.

PAN-AFRICANISM

Simply put Pan-Africanism means 'for all Africans' and/or 'for the whole of Africa'. Yet today the concept 'Pan-Africanism' has acquired an ideological meaning associated with different trends emanating from a claim to the African identity. In this way, the concept has sketched a history which when studied helps to explain the evolution of African Nationalism and its more than one variants that have come to be associated with names of individuals who were the chief protagonists in the said trends.

But it was in the context of the first meaning ("for all African and/or for the whole of Africa") that the idea was written into the first constitution of the ANC. There it is stated that Congress was to become a 'federal Pan-African Association.' This was an expression of the broadness of mind of the founding fathers of the ANC and that their vision of justice and equality extended beyond the borders of South Africa to embrace Africans everywhere in the continent who were suffering similar disabilities. The early policy statements of the ANC and its songs (e.g. Caluza's *Sikhalel'izwe Lakithi* and our National Anthem, *Nkosi Sikelel'i Afrika*) manifested our people's commitment to the unity of the Africans of the continent as one political people. This was further emphasised and enhanced by the adoption of the continental slogan, 'Mayibuye i-Afrika' during the gallant years of the Congress Youth League.

It is important that we reiterate here that this part of our history was one of unseasoned probing. As a result the

UNITY IN ACTION



movement was susceptible to several influential ideological articulations of both internal and external origin. Contact with the outside world had been secured through individual intellectuals educated abroad. Many of these contributed to the formation of the ANC and were soon to rise to positions of leadership and therefore whatever their limitations, they steered Congress

during this most trying period. Limitations they did have and these emanated from their political experience that was greatly conditioned by the milieu of their academic training. Their vision of an ideal society was through the windows of bourgeois democracy whose values contrasted sharply with the details of South African society - the fact of capitalist development in South Africa notwithstanding. Some became attracted towards methods cherished by their counterparts, notably the Black Americans, who were also caught in a race conflict engendered and aggravated by rampant western capitalism.

In this way the Black American's struggle represented to some individuals a precedent for advance in South Africa, with the policies of Booker T. Washington, Dr, W. E. B. Du Bois and later Marcus Garvey exerting influence even amongst Africans who though had not studied in the U.S. were however either well read or just well informed about developments.

These influences no doubt left some impact in the Congress as is reflected by statements of some leaders of Congress: On accepting the presidency of the ANC 1912, John L. Dube stated, "Booker Washington is to be my guiding star, would that he were nigh to give us the help of his wise counsel! . I have chosen this great man, firstly because he is perhaps the most famous and best living example of our Africa's sons, and, secondly because, like him, I, too, have my heart centred mainly in the education of my race. Therein, methinks lies the shortest and best way to their mental,

moral, material and political betterment".

Washington's ideas however had critics even in the US amongst the Black Americans who saw in his method serious shortcomings. One of these critics was Du Bois. Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois' approach found following amongst influential ANC members. Whereas there doesn't appear to have been any decisive impact of his teachings on official ANC (the concern for his political organisation for the realisation of popular aspirations had already developed amongst the Blacks in South Africa as early as at the turn of the 20th century - long before Du Bois' ideas had built an assertive following) they cannot be simply put aside since they definitely went into the political debate of the day of which the ANC was a decisive participant on the continent.

Likewise Marcus Garvey did not pass unnoticed. His ideas seem to have gripped individuals particularly amongst the young militants and were to persist for many years. But his somewhat careless emphasis of race in an attempt to evolve a viable strategy for the emancipation of the Black people contradicted with principled positions of the South African liberatory movement and as such could not be acceptable.

It is a matter of proud record for the ANC and its allies that inspite of all influences, the movement evolved its own political perspective founded upon South African experience and in keeping with local peculiarities. Of course all positive aspects of the influences were accordingly adapted to all possible degrees of relevance.

THE MARXIST FACTOR

When the ANC was formed in 1912 what was destined to become the Marxist movement in South Africa was still very fragmented and as such not effective. Things began to change and to assume urgency with the launching of the ISL (International Socialist League) the rightful forerunner to the CPSA (Communist Party of South Africa) in 1915. As early as 1916, almost within a year since the formation of the ISL, leaders and members of the league attended a meeting addressed by Saul Msane, a leader of the ANC. Here was manifest the beginnings of a historical alliance that was to grow from strength to strength with time.

UNITY IN ACTION



Much has been written and said about the glorious history of co-operation between the ANC and the Communist Party in our country. We not dwell onto the details of this history here but concern ourselves with those aspects that will best reflect the mutuality of the influence between the ANC and the Party, and the historic highlights of our mature alliance.

The ANC is a national liberatory organisation of our people for the realisation of the cherished goal of freedom. It remains a mass movement uniting all the patriotic ranks of our country ranged against apartheid fascism. It has never been a Marxist Party and cannot be one now. Yet there have been communists in the ANC who have always stood firmly and unflinchingly in the forefront of the struggle for national liberation in South Africa and defended the ANC



Moses Mabhida

and its positions as they continue to do because, as Comrade Moses Mabhida, General Secretary of the SACP stated recently that the Party is not a secret organisation and that it has participated in bitter struggles for national liberation throughout the years, likewise the ANC has and continues to defend the Party and its positions because as J.T. Gumede, former President of the ANC once said, "Of all political parties the Communist Party is the only one that honestly and sincerely fights for the oppressed."

The history of the ANC/SACP alliance is not a question of how the Party influenced the ANC. But, as comrade Gxobhizeza Kwedini wrote in the African Communist No.88 of 1982, "Concretely related to the Communist Party, we maintain

that it would be an act of dishonesty on our part if we failed to mention that the ANC helped a great deal to keep the Communist Party alive. Of course this was a mutual process. But what needs to be emphasised is the ANC's co-operation and good relations with the Communist Party; the ANC's defence of the legitimate role of the Communist Party, its right to exist independently and legally - all this is unparalleled on the African continent." And we may add that we of the ANC will apologise to no one for being allies with the SACP.

THE MOROGORO CONFERENCE

The Morogoro consultative conference that convened from 5th May to the 1st June 1969 in Tanzania was doubtless the high point of the ANC's politico-ideological development in its quest for a sound revolutionary perspective capable of meeting the all-round challenges of the national liberation drive in the peculiar conditions of South Africa. The conference itself was a product, as the article seeks to assert, of a long principled historical process that escalated the popular struggle from one summit to higher summits as it did.

As a matter of record, the years of the ANCYL (ANC Youth League) provided a catalyst that was both timely and momentous in the direction of elevating the Congress to higher levels of political organisation and greater emphasis on the perspective of mass action as the principal motive force for advance. This great turning point made possible the historic events of the fifties such as the Defiance Campaign, the Congress of the People, the 'Treason Trial' and in the sixties, the Pietermaritzburg Conference, the Lobatsi Conference of the ANC, etc., which events are significant precedents of the Morogoro Conference and as such have gone into the crucial chemistry of its background history, and therefore were important mileposts in the path to the maturing of our broad nationalism and the definition of our politico-ideological commitments as profoundly elaborated in the documents containing decisions and propositions of the Morogoro Conference - of these documents, 'Forward to freedom' - The Strategy and Tactics of the ANC, is perhaps the most decisive and lucid in the charting of the way forward.

The pressing need for a consultative conference of that nature and magnitude was necessitated by lessons drawn from past experiences - especially since the establishment of the ANC external mission had presented new political and organisational problems. In this connection, Gxobhiyeza Kwedini in the same issue of the A.C. cited above, points out: "The task before the Morogoro Conference was not only the question of bringing about organisational changes, but to chart the way to victory. It was both organisational and politico-ideological."

It therefore becomes clear why the conference was so broad in its deliberations - virtually combing all issues relevant to our struggle. The international context of the struggle was elaborated upon, further stressing the principled internationalism of the ANC. And erroneous concepts and destructive postulates about nationalism and the national liberation movement were correctly refuted and rejected without detracting from the basic context of our struggle nor confusing the forces to drive it. In this regard 'Forward to Freedom' states: "The national character of the struggle must therefore dominate our approach. But it is a national struggle which is taking place in a different era and in a different context from those which characterised the early struggles against colonialism. It is happening in a new kind of world - a world which is no longer monopolised by the imperialist system; a world in which the existence of the powerful Socialist system and a significant sector of newly liberated areas has altered the balance of forces... It is also happening in a new kind of South Africa; a South Africa in which there is a large and developed working class whose class consciousness and in which the independent expressions of the working people - their political organs and trade unions - are very much part of the liberation front. Thus our nationalism must not be confused with chauvinism of a previous epoch. It must not be confused with the classical drive by an elitist group among the oppressed to gain ascendancy so that they can replace the oppressor in the exploitation of the mass."

LODESTAR

Today the politico-ideological positions summed up above

have become an indispensable lodestar lighting our path to freedom. These are fruits yielded after a painstaking history of struggle and sacrifice to which all our people, from all sections, from all walks of life have contributed.

These positions constitute the basis of our consistency, determination and full conviction that in our country it is inevitable that the forces of justice and freedom will prevail over those of evil and reaction.

The enemies of our people have attacked us and sought to label us for our open firmness in declaring our beliefs and choosing our course. Our forebears did not waver and we the youth of South Africa, at this very promising hour, cannot bow down to the ravings of our cornered enemy and the harangues of his allies. Ours is a just cause and triumph it **Must!**

SOURCES

1. Moses Kotane, South African Revolutionary, Inkululeko Publications 1975.
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CHIEF A.J. LUTULI

“The length of the term of slavery depends largely on the oppressed themselves and not on the oppressor . . .

WE HAVE THE KEY TO FREEDOM, not the oppressor.

It all depends on how much we sacrifice ourselves for freedom.

WE DETERMINE THE PACE NOT THE OPPRESSOR.”

STRAIGHT TALK...

VINDICTIVE WE ARE

"If the qualification to make a house a camp is that people living in it can use the gun - every man, woman and child in South Africa who is not black can use the gun. The white population in South Africa is per capita the most heavily armed in the world. There are weapons in each and every household. Are those houses bases or camps? We need to know in a hurry".

-PRESIDENT O.R. TAMBO

When we laid to eternal rest 13 of our fellow combatants who were brutally slain in that forever enraging fascist commando-mercenary raid in Matola, Mozambique, in January 1981, we asked and expressed the urgency of the question of the definition of a base in no cryptic terms. If our residences, and our neighbours! are susceptible to military raids on the mere assumption that they house personnel trained in the use of weapons, what then would be the reason for the South African whites' residences insusceptibility to MK's firepower when it has never been secret that there is a weapon in every white South African household, weapons that this far have never been used for "defence" but for shooting down innocent and unarmed Africans, including striking workers? Perhaps we patiently awaited the answer too long and the racist enemy has now decided to provide one in the field of battle.

A little after midnight on the 9th of December 1982, the racist South African cutthroats committed yet another obscene crime to the people of the subcontinent, an impunity unprecedented in the history of the Kingdom of Lesotho. Animated by the devilish desire to blot the ANC out of

existence and their complete disregard for African independence, the South African death squads, armed to the tooth and supported by 4 helicopters raided 12 houses that rendered sanctuary to South African patriots. In the ensuing massacre which left the whole world enraged, 30 South African freedom-lovers and 10 Lesotho nationals, 7 women and 3 children, were bestially murdered; as of this writing more than 10 are still beyond identification.

Inspired by Zionist Israel's modus operandi in the Middle East, the South African racist regime's intentions of transforming the whole subcontinent into a theatre of war were summed up most vividly by the South African representative before an incensed world during the United Nations Security Council's debate on the South African invasion when he arrogantly declared that the act was calculated to serve as a stern warning to all countries of Southern African who share their sympathy with the ANC, while RSA propagandists' malicious voices were singing the same old tune, esteeming the Maseru Massacre to be a pre-emptive strike as the victims are supposed to have been preparing to enter the fascist Republic and engage in terrorist activities during the festive season.

Mentored and godfathered by Reagan's USA the racist regime has publicly displayed its immunity to international condemnation alone and their appalling determination not to move an inch from their abominable policies of apartheid. Instead they have expressed and everyday flaunt unrestrained devotion to export apartheid to countries even far beyond our borders. Their inevitable doom grows more and more undoubted with every passing hour and they seem to have vowed to drag as many people within their reach down the abyss of their own making.

Now is the time not for lamentation but action. The world's resolve to rid humanity of the scourge of apartheid should find better expression in the intensification of sanctions against the apartheid regime and increased all-round solidarity and support for our fighting people led by the ANC. To our brotherly people in the subcontinent this is the time not to lose heart but to add all your weight behind the ANC's victorious march to a liberated

South Africa governed along the principles enshrined in the Freedom Charter, when Southern Africa, the continent at large and all its peoples will forever live and labour under conditions of true stability and lasting peace. Towards that goal the ANC, its allies and Umkhonto We Sizwe shall never for a moment shirk their responsibility.

In laying the martyrs of Maseru to rest, history enjoins us to enter the battlefield immediately ahead of us like infuriated lions. We value the life of each of our fellow combatants more than a lion regards its cub and therefore shall not mourn but carry out with dutiful devotion befitting irate revolutionaries our bounden duty of avenging mercilessly our comrades. Vindictive we are and we shall from now henceforth make every inch of ground burn under the racists' feet. South Africa shall cease to be a paradise where all abounds in clover for whites as Umkhonto We sizwe solemnly vows to spread its assaults throughout the length and breadth of our motherland, hitting not only at apartheid's economic and administrative installations but puncturing the hearts of the racist hordes pitilessly.

At the end of the day when the flag of black, green and gold is hoisted over our land, included in the list of all those who with their blood and lives brought the day nearer will be those innocent victims of Lesotho whose only crime perhaps is having not expelled or killed our people themselves in their hour of need. The sacrifice they have had to make is no less than ours.

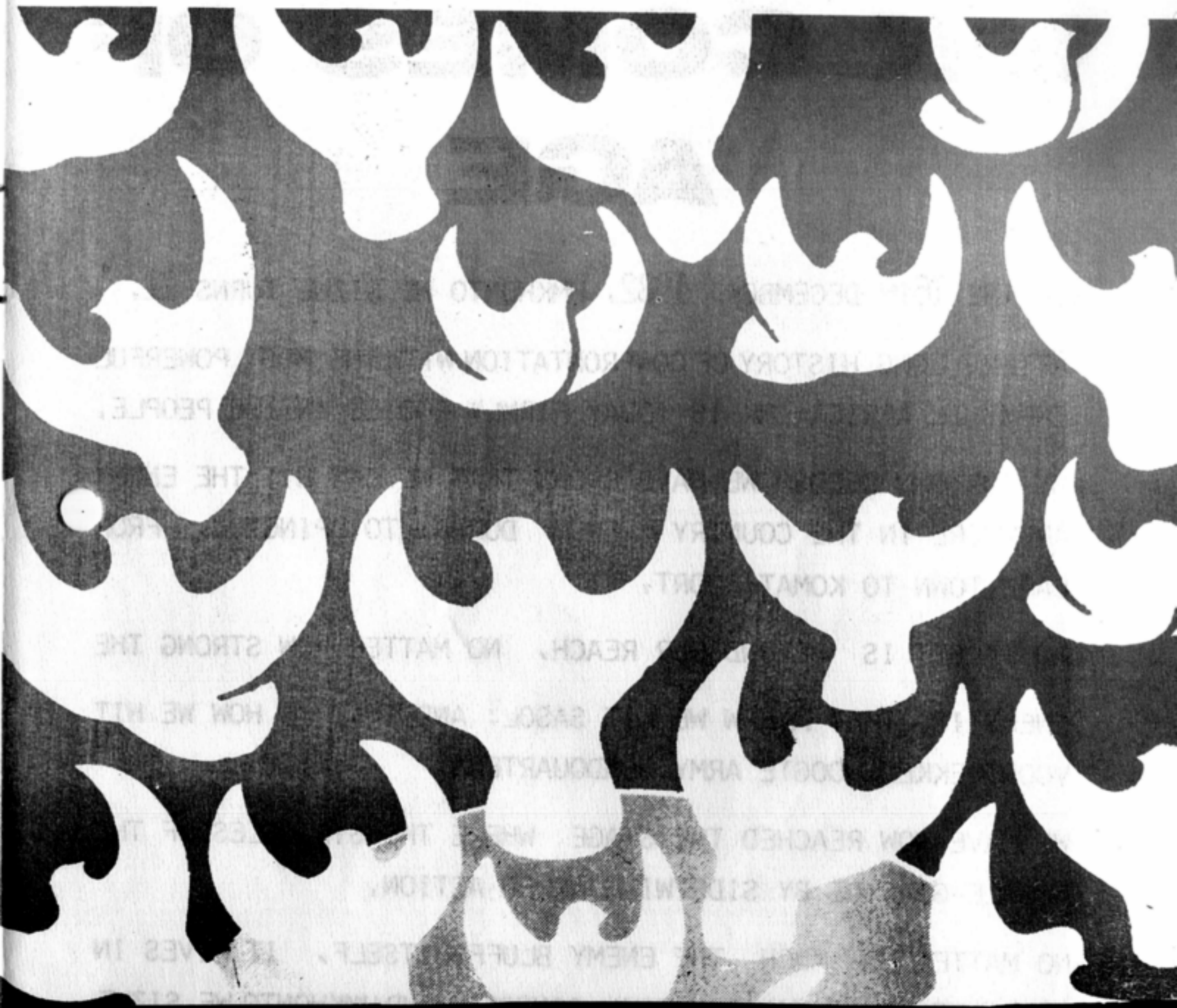
THE ENEMY IS ATTACKING, LET US REPLY!



Forward to a

People's Government

AMANDLA! MAATLA!



ink ~ 21

MK COMES OF AGE

- *ON THE 16TH DECEMBER, 1982, UMKHONTO WE SIZWE TURNS 21.
- *AFTER A LONG HISTORY OF CONFRONTATION WITH THE MOST POWERFUL ENEMY IN AFRICA, MK IS TODAY FIRMLY ROOTED IN THE PEOPLE.
- *BY OUR OWN DEEDS WE HAVE SHOWN THAT WE CAN HIT THE ENEMY ANYWHERE IN THE COUNTRY - FROM DURBAN TO UPINGTON, FROM CAPE TOWN TO KOMATIPOORT.
- *NO TARGET IS BEYOND OUR REACH, NO MATTER HOW STRONG THE ENEMY IS, THAT IS HOW WE HIT SASOL; AND THAT IS HOW WE HIT VOORTREKKERSHOOGTE ARMY HEADQUARTERS.
- *WE HAVE NOW REACHED THE STAGE WHERE THE STRUGGLES OF THE PEOPLE GO SIDE BY SIDE WITH ARMED ACTION.
- *NO MATTER HOW MUCH THE ENEMY BLUFFS ITSELF, IT LIVES IN FEAR OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS AND UMKHONTO WE SIZWE. IT KNOWS THAT THESE TWO ARMS ARE THE INSTRUMENTS OF CHANGE IN THE COUNTRY.
- *EVEN THE CIA, THE MURDEROUS ARM OF AMERICAN IMPERIALISM ADMITS THIS FACT. IN A LENGTHY ANALYSIS MARKED "SECRET" AND DATED APRIL 1982, THE CIA SAYS THAT ALTHOUGH THE RACIST MINORITY SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT HAS TAKEN STEPS TO REDUCE PUBLICITY AND PLAY DOWN ITS IMPACT, GUERRILLA WARFARE IS A GROWING REALITY IN THE LAND OF APARTHEID. IT NOTES THAT

RAIDS AND ACTS OF SABOTAGE CARRIED OUT BY THE ANC ARE GROWING IN NUMBER, EFFICIENCY AND CO-ORDINATION.

*EVEN THE CIA, THE MURDERERS OF LUMUMBA, ALLENDE AGREE THAT THEIR ALLY, THE SOUTH AFRICAN RACISTS, ARE "DELIBERATELY SUPPRESSING RELIABLE REPORTS OF SUCCESSFUL GUERRILLA ATTACKS TO PROTECT WHITE MORALE."

THE WAY FORWARD TO GREATER VICTORIES

STRENGTHEN UMKHONTO WE SIZWE - THE FIGHTING ARM OF OUR REVOLUTION!

*STRENGTHEN THE ANC UNDERGROUND ACTIVITY, THE GUARANTEE OF A PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT!

*STAND UP AND FIGHT THE ENEMY IN UNITED MASS ACTION!

*THE PEOPLE'S UNITY AND ACTION ARE ONE OF THE KEY BATTLEFRONTS!

*LET MK ACTIONS, ANC UNDERGROUND ACTIVITY AND MASS ACTIONS FORM ONE MIGHTY TIDE OF REVOLT.

*UMKHONTO WE SIZWE IS THE PEOPLE'S FIGHTING ARM, YOU ARE THE PEOPLE'S ARMY; JOIN MK WHEREVER YOU ARE; MAKE YOURSELVES THE FIGHTERS OF THE FUTURE.

AMANDLA NGAWETHU!

MAATLA KE A RONA!

FORWARD TO A PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT



**Anatomy
of
APARTHEID**

NAKED AMONG WOLVES

by Bruno Apitz

Chapter 17

The block fuhrer walked past the front rank, gazed over the bared heads, and counted off the rows of ten. The eyes of the prisoners followed him surreptitiously. Why didn't anything happen? Was there some great, still unknown danger in the silence with which the various block fuhrers accepted **the reports? Everyone looked up the hill in suspense.** Block fuhrer after block fuhrer gave his report to Reineboth. He noted it down as if nothing had happened.

Kramer could observe the report fuhrer closely. Now he was adding up the reports, comparing them with the total number of prisoners, adding once again; a fine, cynical line around the mouth altered his face. He had finished the count. Instead of going to the microphone as usual, he **walked over to Weisangk. Kramer could not hear what they talked about but he read in their expressions and gestures that the conversation must concern the 46. Weisangk gestulated nervously, jerkily as he talked. He was giving Reineboth instructions. The latter shrugged his shoulders and turned out his hands as if to say: Very well, if that's what you want... He went up to the microphone. Ready! Attention! Caps off!**

Those were fearful and dangerous minutes that they all had to struggle through, they and the whole camp. Kramer, Bochow, Bogorski, Pribula, Kodiczek Riomand and van Dalen waited for the storm... Wasn't there an uproar at roll call every time just one person was missing who had crept off somewhere out of fear of the coming day? And today 46 were missing! And the big shots weren't even going to comment on it?

As usual Reineboth gave his report to the camp fuhrer and then, as usual, went back to the microphone. Caps on!

Revise! Done!

Reineboth stepped away from the microphone and Weisangk took his place there. As he held onto the microphone stand, his Bavarian accent unaltered through the loud-speaker: Listen here, you-all! Today everybody stays in the camp. Today no labour commando goes out! Everybody stays in the blocks and nobody runs around outside today. He shifted from one foot to the other, he seemed to want to say something else, but then left it to the more glib-tongued **Reineboth** to go on with the announcement.

With a double-edged smile the latter placed himself behind the microphone again. The prisoners who were told to report were the 46!

While the mass of prisoners moved off towards the camp and the block fuhrers vanished through the gate, **Reineboth murmured to Weisangk: "Not one of those bastards will come, they're all laying low."**

"That's a hell of a thing, that is!"

Two trucks with covered-wagon tops halted at the barrier at the end of the long road approaching the camp. An SS detachment armed with carbines and commanded by a Hauptsturmfuhrer stood beside the vehicles. The sentry at the barrier walked up and down. Kluttig was sitting in the little brick building that served as a shelter, and waiting. **"D-d-d-dent"**

In his office **Reineboth** picked up the telephone, then put it back on the hook. Hands off, he thought to himself, let Kluttig work it out with the commandant himself. The situation was too delicate, and it seemed wiser to **Reineboth** to keep out of it. The disappearance of the 46 was equivalent to a declaration of war, inconceivable to **Reineboth**; he shook his head. The position was becoming complicated.

Since the discussion at the commandant's headquarters which had been so illuminating to **Reineboth**, the youth had grown more cautious. Today's incident was an indication of secret forces which he, in his overbearing vanity, had never thought of taking seriously. Accustomed to seeing in

of children shot and choked by teargas in 1976. All three described how they had joined the People's Army to come and fight for the liberation of the black people. Motaung explained how he had discovered that the ANC had been formed with a purpose of fighting for the rights of black people. He referred to the long history of peaceful struggle and defended the ANC's political programme, the Freedom Charter, which he said "puts into perspective the fundamental principles of interest to democratic South Africans".

It is going to require a new level of international mobilisation to save the lives of the 'Moroka 3'. There is no doubt that the racists see them as a symbol of everything they fear and are fighting against. For the South African people, indeed the international democratic community as a whole, they and their comrades Moise, Shabangu and Tsotsobe represent the heroism and determination of an oppressed people fighting to be free. A relentless campaign to save their lives must be waged for it is not them who committed treason but it is apartheid and its policies that are treasonable not only to South Africa and her people but to mankind at large.

OUTCRY

In spite of the international outcry over the maltreatment of detainees, torture and deaths in detention remains the order of the day. In the past couple of months there have been two deaths reported in detention, that of 21 year-old Ernest Dipale and Lindi Dlodlo. Some of those detained just disappear. Their names never reach the press.

The increasing brutality of the regime is only testimony to the increasing resistance of the people and their support for the ANC and the people's army Umkhonto WeSizwe. This fascist brutality is typical of the response of a regime whose days are numbered. The writing on the wall is clear for all to see. Nothing can stop the determination of an oppressed people fighting to be free.

WE DEMAND:

- The unconditional release of all political prisoners.
- That captured ANC freedom fighters be given POW status.
- and that fascist torture of detainees is halted.

beard. Maybe I'll become a woodsman somewhere in Bavaria.."

"That's good," Weisangk contributed eagerly.

"But if they catch me... If they catch me... I'll always be the commandant of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp for them. And if they find a pile of corpses here...?" Schwahl shook his fingers. "No, no, my boy..."

Weisangk attempted to continue Schwahl's gloomy thought **process to a logical conclusion, but he failed.** "You're a smart man. What should we do?"

Schwahl cut the air nervously with his hand.

"Do away with the 46! That way we cut off the heads of the resistance in the camp. But everybody else marches. If anybody drops dead on the way it's no business of mine. I as an official know best what an alibi is. In any case there mustn't be any corpses in the camp."

"Just what I say."

Schwahl thoughtfully pinched his underlip between thumb and forefinger.

"We've got to get a head start on Kluttig, he mustn't make any mischief for us. You go to the gate right away, get the camp senior and the camp patrol and have a search made for the 46."

"You think the camp patrol would do us a favour and hand over a single..."

Schwahl flew off the handle, shouting: "I don't give a damn! You've got my orders! I'm not letting Kluttig turn the camp upside down!"

Weisangk sprang up in a fright: "D-d-don't get excited."

FRIENDS

On their return to the camp the block seniors had come to Kramer and were crowding around him in the cramped room.

Something flickered in their faces, and their eyes shone feverishly from the emotional strain. What's going to happen now, what are we to do? Nervousness and agitation seethed.

"Friends," Bochow called out, "we mustn't let ourselves become confused. Kluttig wants to murder the 46. He's wrong if he thinks he can get at our resistance that way."

Bochow had shouted this vehemently into the tumult, surprised after so many years to hear his voice again, not whispering and secret but loud and powerful as if it had suddenly come back to him. The feeling of being alive, turned down to a low in all these years, flamed up and gave his soul such an unprecedented impetus that he felt he must open his arms wide. Friends! Comrades! Brothers!

As if this urgent impulse leaped from him into Kramer, **the camp senior took up where he left off.** "Comrades! In all these years we've stuck together. Now it remains to be seen whether our discipline is worth anything. No blunders, Comrades! We mustn't tolerate any provocations in our ranks but we mustn't fall into the traps of any provocateurs from up there. Keep that in mind! Otherwise we may have to pay with the lives of thousands. Show that lot up there that we aren't a wild mob but an association of disciplined people! Comrades, listen to what I tell you now! All orders that we get from now on will be carried out in the way we tell you." Kramer looked searchingly into the tense faces. The block seniors had understood. "We!" repeated Kramer and pressed his fist to his chest. "Go to your comrades in the blocks. Don't let anything intimidate you. Hard days are coming. We have to defend the lives of all of us now! We'll defend our lives with the weapons we possess: courage and iron discipline!"

Kramer's words had filled the block seniors with hope. A warm feeling for Kramer flooded Bochow. He remained behind when the block seniors left the room.

The two men looked into one another's eyes, and Kramer said in some embarrassment, to bridge the emotion that was also welling up in his breast: "I guess I had to say that now..."

Bochow did not reply.

Suddenly they embraced, succumbing to the urge that their rough shame could no longer cope with and dumbly let the warm beating of their hearts do the talking. Rare.

and therefore all the more precious, were the moments in the hard lives of these two men when feeling, usually stunted and suppressed, obliterated all else with its blossoms. Bristly as always when he felt himself going soft inside, Kramer said: "It's starting, Terbert." Bochow was glad to be able to be himself again.

"Everything's going to be at sixes and sevens here soon, that's sure. That gives us more freedom. Where can the ILK meet in the future? What do you suggest?"

Kramer considered. "I think in 17, the quarantine block. **The SS hate to go there just as much as to Block 61. 17 is** near the clerks' room, we can always keep in touch with each other. The block senior of 17 is a good guy and can find a safe place for you."

"Good," Bochow decided. "You talk with him. I'll tell **the comrades.**" **They clasped hands, there was firm determination** in the handshake.

It looked as if there were going to be another collision. In a poisonous mood because the prisoners had dared to defy them, Kluttig was snarling at Schwahl.

"This is where your diplomacy got you. Now these bastards are dancing a jig on our noses!"

"The camp patrol has already instituted a search," Schwahl said, puffing himself up.

"The camp patrol? Have you lost your wits completely, **man? This needs an SS company! Every straw sack has to be** turned inside out!"

Driven into a corner, Schwahl lifted his arms. "We can't go on any longer like this! You mess everything up for me and tramp about like a bull in a china shop!"

"Standartenfuhrer!" trumpeted Kluttig, insulted.

Schwahl also felt like shouting, but all he brought out was a groan, pushing away with his hands the rage that had shot up in him.

"Call me Schwahl, or 'pen bull' for all I care, the way you used to when we were still chummy."

He took a bottle of cognac and two glasses from the desk and set them on the conference table. He rapidly downed two glasses and dropped, beaten, into one of the overstuffed chairs.

of the overstuffed chairs.

"If you would only be reasonable," he groaned. "We've got to get out of here, our heads are at stake."

His little eyes were seeing spots, his hands were trembling. "Sit down," he said nervously, and when Kluttig did not immediately respond to the demand he shouted: "Did you hear, you pleat expert, you're to sit down!"

In a bilious fury, Kluttig realized that Schwahl was going to pieces inside. Although he too, under his uniform, felt the pressure of circumstances, he hissed through his teeth: "Herr Standartenfuhrer is getting scared..."

"Oh, drop that goddam Standartenfuhrer, will you, I can't listen to it any more!" He broke off abruptly, stared immovably straight ahead of him, and then looked at Kluttig with an expression so altered that his face seemed to have caved in.

The catastrophe was not without its effect on Kluttig. Feeling a need for air he poked his Adam's apple above his collar, sat down at the table without a word and emptied the other glass. Schwahl watched him at this and noticed that his hand was trembling. Schwahl shook with a soundless bleating. "That's what we look like now, that's what we look like..."

Tormented, Kluttig slammed the table with the flat of his hand: "Stop!"

"Yes, we'll stop," said Schwahl, with plaintive cynicism. "From today on we don't exist any more! Or what do you think, Herr Camp Fuhrer? How long will you feel like keeping that title?"

Schwahl got up, threw back his shoulders, stuck out his belly and put his fists on his hips.

"Fundamentally we're both pulling at the same rope, but each at the opposite end. That has to stop. You're a brave

old fighter, loyal and devoted. Respect where respect is due, obert!"

Kluttig bit his lip in silence. The revelation of the inner Schwahl, which had become so terrifyingly visible to him, had also exposed his own hidden desolation. Kluttig knew that his craving for destruction was only his rage in face of the approaching downfall. The fact was, there was nothing to do but load up the car and get away from the **Americans before it was too late. Suddenly the buxom Hortense** came to Kluttig's mind; he meant to take her along.

Schwahl poked Kluttig in the shoulder. "Are you listening to what I'm saying to you?"

Kluttig tensed. "Yes, naturally, yes, I'm listening."

"In one week the camp has to be deserted, we've got no more time. A section of the troops goes with every transport. This afternoon I'm going to start clearing them out."

"And what about the 46?"

Kluttig's persistence provoked another nervous outburst from Schwahl. "I can't stage a bedlam here on account of forty-six men!"

"You're the head..."

"A-ah, head or tail! Everybody's getting out."

"And if they resist?"

In desperation, Schwahl clasped his head in his hands. "Then we'll drive them out with dogs."

Kluttig laughed raggedly: "That means dead, and you don't want that."

Schwahl lost all control of himself. "And if every transport consists of corpses, not one dead body will be left here," he yelled.

Kluttig obstinately insisted: "If they don't hand over the 46, I'll have them trailed by night scouts."

"All right, all right," Schwahl whimpered in a small, weak voice, "Go ahead and search, I'll even have a police dog detail sent to the camp for you, I don't care. But don't mess up the evacuation for me."

Utterly fagged out, he sank back in the armchair.

It had scarcely turned eleven a.m. when the siren started howling: Air raid! It had never begun that early. This time there was no flocking of prisoners, no labour commando returning. Only the sixteen men from the medical squad ran up the mustering ground. The camp lay rigid in the early sunshine of April 4th. Nor did any silvery-shining birds move across the sky. The alert was occasioned by American fighter planes that had swooped down from a **great height on the columns of trucks moving hurriedly** downhill towards Weimar. On the SS grounds the alert had put a stop to the hasty preparations. A number of half-loaded trucks stood abandoned in front of the munitions bunkers. The SS had disappeared, they were squatting in their dugouts. The sharpshooters of the three-echelon chain **of sentries dived into trenches. From far down in the valley** the muffled barking and coughing of artillery made itself heard all the way up the hill.

But the alert had lasted only a brief hour, and a half-hour after the all clear Kramer had already been informed by Kohn about everything the sixteen had seen outside. They had observed the munitions transports. At the outermost guard zone they had stumbled across the three-echelon chain of sentries; machine guns were stationed between the **posts... On the towers they had discovered the extra look-**outs and the heavy armament. All observations indicated that feverish activity was going on out there, which had only been interrupted by the alert.

Bochow had to be informed quickly. Kramer hurried to his block. Bochow followed the camp senior up the outside brick stairway which led to the upper wings. Here they were undisturbed. Kramer made a brief report. Bochow listened. As he did so his eyes glided across the part of the camp which was visible from where they stood. The blocks lay hushed and still. Nowhere was a prisoner to be seen.

"They're hatching something," muttered Bochow. But this was no time for idle speculation. At any moment the stillness might explode and the furies be unleashed among the **people. The situation compelled a discussion with the ILK** comrades. But how could they reach Block 17 unnoticed?

Kramer helped. The kitchen smell - strangely enough - gave him the right idea for a camouflage.

"Listen," he said, "The ILK comrades should go to the kitchen instead of the room attendants from Block 17, and **bring the food to the block, I'll fix that up. They won't** be noticed in the crowd. But how are you going to get your flock together in time?"

Bochow understood Kramer's question. After all the camp **senior was the only one who could move about in the camp** despite Weisangk's ban, and only through Kramer could the ILK comrades be informed. Bochow's caution, so strictly observed until then, was no longer practicable. He therefore told Kramer the names and the blocks of the various comrades who had to be informed immediately. Bochow laid his hand on Kramer's shoulder.

"You'll have it very hard from now on, Walter. Everything's centred around you."

Kramer said nothing to this. His hands grasped the rusty pipe of the banister tightly. Only after a while did Bochow continue: "Your life will be threatened from moment to moment. Let's not have any illusions. If they can't find any of the 46, then you... A danger exists that they... They see you as the brain behind it all."

"I know."

"Wouldn't it be better for you to disappear in time... Whether 46 or 47 disappear, that makes no difference any more."

Kramer looked at Bochow. Thoughts played over their faces. Kramer was thinking of Kluttig's threat, which he had kept from Bochow.

"Maybe we won't have any more time or opportunity to **talk to each other, Herbert,**" he said, dry-lipped. "So I'd like to tell you one thing. Keep it to yourself. I want to live and not die just before the end. Don't misunderstand me. Let the end be what it may. Maybe I only want to live because... I mean after all a person is curious to see what's going to come next." The jest did not

come out as Kramer intended it. He looked up at the sky. "Last week I rounded off my eleventh year of imprisonment. Eleven years! Goddam! A man would like to know whether it was worth it." Kramer fell silent and bit his lips together. Bochow respected his silence. Annoyed with his own sentimentality, Kramer scolded himself. "Ridiculous! Kill me? Suppose they do. Then they imagine they've cut off the head, and that's a good thing after all - for the ILK, I mean - right?" How thoughtless to expect Bochow to answer the question. So Kramer laughed in embarrassment: "We stand around here and I drivel on and on..."

Kramer's idea had been a good one. A few words with the block senior of 17, a few words from him to the room attendants. "Listen. When you call for the food you bring a few fellows back with you. They want to be undisturbed for a while, so don't go blabbing about it." Without asking any questions two of the room attendants went to the kitchen and casually piloted the fellows back to the block. The latter immediately withdrew to the empty dormitory. The international miscellany of the quarantine block, dulled and miserable creatures like the inhabitants of the Little Camp, took no notice. The discussion had to be conducted quickly. After the food was handed out, the comrades had to bring the empty containers back to the kitchen in order to be able to leave the block and vanish into their own quarters as inconspicuously as they had come.

Bochow reported on the observations of the medical squad, the three-echelon cordons around the barbed wire, the grim machine guns on the towers, the readied hand grenades and bazookas... Like a bird of prey the danger was circling ever lower over the camp. What to do when the evacuation began? Again and again only one answer was found to the question that had been put so often. When the bird swooped down, as many people as possible had to be snatched from its claws by passive resistance and delaying actions.

But the weapons, the resistance groups - had these, and the careful preparations for the last few hours, lost their meaning now? All the members of the ILK were arguing again

against the impetuous Pribula, who refused to hear of delaying actions and was demanding an armed revolt. He even seemed to be right.

"I cannot understand," he said, "We should not making revolt when many, many being driven to death? And we should making violence if only one of 46 is found? I cannot understand."

"And yet it must be so," Bochow answered the fiery youth. "Let's hope we'll be spared this desperate measure. Life is the last thing we have to give away. But as long as we've got life in us we'll defend it. I am for revolt when its hour comes. It hasn't come as yet."

Bogorski agreed with Bochow. **The inequality of military forces would only permit armed revolt when the front was so near that communications could be established with it. But things had not yet reached this point. Now the people herded together in the blocks had to be given a goal;** uncertainty and insecurity had to be vanquished.

Bochow proposed that the comrades in the groups, the block seniors and all other reliable people spread throughout the camp the key slogan: **Delay the evacuation! Every day and every hour are a gain!**

"Maybe by tomorrow," he added, "the situation can be completely changed, and we may have to make quite different decisions. Maybe by tomorrow the front will be so near that we can prevent any further evacuation by active resistance." His words were directed at Pribula.

The danger of the moment so filled the foreground that the worries and stresses that the vanished child had caused **lay far away. At this moment no one was thinking of the child, no one was thinking of Hofel or Kropinski. Even the rescue action for the 46 death candidates, which had only just been carried through so courageously, seemed forgotten. These things were secondary to the question of the fate of all.**

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46 death candidates, which had only just been carried through so courageously, seemed forgotten. These things were secondary to the question of the fate of all.

At the same time as the comrades of the ILK were holding their discussion, the council returned to Schwahl's office after having been broken up by the alert and made nervous by the Americans' surprise attack. The brief hour of the alert was sufficient to shatter the appearance of self-control which had been preserved hitherto. Even Schwahl, who usually made an effort to act superior to any situation, could no longer hold up. He capitulated to the general excitement and nervousness. Everyone was talking and gesticulating at once. No semblance of order remained. "There you are, gentlemen," Schwahl shouted above the din, "now we've got the Americans on our necks! I've received a message - American tank spearheads are supposed to have reached the area around Gotha."

Kluttig bawled excitedly: "And we still stand around here and make speeches! I'd like to know what you had heavy guns mounted on the towers for?" he yelled at Schwahl, and strode wildly among the assemblage. "Shoot down the whole pack and let's get out of here!"

It was uncertain whether the uproar that his shouting unleashed signified agreement or opposition. Utter confusion prevailed. Schwahl leaped nimbly behind the desk and **whipped a pistol out of the drawer. "Gentlemen!" Everyone** whirled about to Schwahl; they saw the weapon in his hand. Kluttig stared at the commandant with a distorted face.

"I'm ready to put a bullet through my head! Then if you like you can obey Kluttig's commands! As long as I live, my command is in force!"

Schwahl saw the effect of his demonstration in all the faces. He tossed the pistol back into the drawer and shoved it closed.

"No panic, gentlemen! Our troops are still holding their positions. In a few days the camp will be empty, and we will have the opportunity to get away. My command is in force. It is the command of the Reichfuhrer SS!"

ALLUSIONS

Zweiling had not yet shown up in the effects building. None of the prisoners in the commando had any intention of working. They hung about in the clerks' office and the clothing room doing nothing. The fate of the commando lay heavily on each of them. Pippig's death placed a silence on them.

Rose sat in his place. None of the prisoners spoke with him, and he dared not look at any of them although he was longing to protest against his isolation. But their quiet contempt was so crushing to him that all he could do was to sit at the table, sour and dogged, the only one who was senselessly trying to be industrious. But the taciturn watchfulness of the prisoners was turned on the stool pigeon, Wurach. He sensed the secret agreement against him and tried frantically to show what a jolly good fellow he was. He was the only one who talked without a letup; when the inmates spoke at all, their conversation concerned the approaching evacuation.

"As far as I'm concerned, the sooner the better. Rather a terrible end than terror without an end."

Wurach's saw was received in silence at first, until one of the prisoners who was in the clerks' office with Wurach could no longer restrain himself and said: "Even in that case there are some who know how to squeeze out of anything..."

Immediately someone else put in: "Provided he hasn't been squeezed too tight before that..."

The allusion was obvious. Wurach felt surrounded, and tried to snicker away the implied threat. The prisoners fell silent again. But the thing nagged at them all. If they could only get hold of the stool, if they could say to his face: You dog, you stooled on us! You've got Pippig on your conscience! But they dared not. It was still too dangerous to grab him by the throat.

In the afternoon Zweiling came. His appearance was the result of an argument he had had with Hortense. Zweiling had decided not to show his face in the camp at all any

more. "You never know..." was the philosophical justification for his plan. But Hortense had driven him out.

"All of your people are at their posts now, and you want to hang back?"

"Everybody's number one to himself..."

"Number one?" Hortense had screeched. "You'll be number one to be laid out cold by his own people!"

"Why me?" was Zweiling's stupid question.

"Well, listen to His Honor, the Hauptscharfuhrer! First he plays ball with a Jew brat, then he plays ball with the Commies..."

Hortense had put her fists aggressively on her hips.

"If I was Kluttig I'd say: 'Here we have the proof! Now he's sneaking out the back way, the yellow dog! Just now is when you have to straighten your backbone! Because in the end you'll have to leave with your own people. Or are you still kidding yourself you can find a cozy nook with the Commies?' Hortense had laughed in an ugly way. "Where is your Jew brat? That bunch certainly pulled the wool over your eyes that time."

Zweiling had poked his tongue forward and blinked thoughtfully. The previously foggy outlook had meanwhile cleared up sufficiently to indicate that evacuation was certain before the first Americans came. Into the unknown.. Hortense had been right again. Zweiling would have to march along with the rest.

The commando noticed Zweiling's altered mood. He did not bother about anyone, took no interest in the work, immediately retreated to his office and stayed there. To Wurach, Zweiling's behavior was a signal. From this man he could expect nothing, but he had everything to fear from the prisoners. He was wedged in a crevice that was closing up... But Wurach did not show how intensely he was pondering a way out.

THE EVACUATION WAS BEGINNING!

Although long expected, the command that echoed over the deserted mustering ground and into the blocks late in the

afternoon nevertheless had the effect of a crippling shock.

All Jews line up immediately on the mustering ground! Reineboth's voice silenced the hum and murmur in the blocks, but only for as long it took to catch one's breath; then the clamour broke out in earnest. "It's breath; then starting! The Jews have to go first!"

The die was cast!

The evacuation was beginning!

True, the Jews were the first, but every man believed he and his block would be the next. Many were already prepared, had rolled up a blanket and packed their few belongings.

Some had hatched adventurous plans to escape the evacuation. They would dig a hole in the ground out in the open somewhere, they would creep under the barracks... But these were fantasies. The inexorable command fascinated and held them all together in hope and fatalism.

Among the 6 000 Jewish inmates of the camp the command caused upheaval of fear and desperation. At first they cried out in horror. They would not leave the shelter of the blocks. They shouted and wept and did not know what to do. The dreadful command had sprung at them like a ferocious wolf, had sunk its teeth into them, and they could no longer shake it off. Disregarding Weisangk's order not to leave the blocks, many of the Jewish inmates rushed out, frantic and in the utmost distress. They ran into other blocks, into the epidemic barracks of the Little Camp, into the infirmary.

"Help us! Hide us!"

"How can we hide you? We have to go too!"

The blocks took them in just the same. The badges identifying them as Jews were ripped off and other identification given them. Kohn put the petitioners into sickbeds and also gave them new identifications and numbers. Some of the hunted men found their own hiding place, creeping into the cellar morgue of the infirmary. Others burst into the stables of the Little Camp, disappearing into the mass of the people, although this refuge was the most senseless of all, for here were congregated the Jewish

citizens of other nations. But who considered, who thought clearly when the wolf was at his heels...

Those who remained behind in the Jewish prisoners' blocks finally succumbed to the paralysis of the deadly command. Their distracted eyes were fixed on their approaching fate. The block seniors, themselves Jewish prisoners, did not have the heart to initiate the march to the gate. Death was lurking out there! Couldn't they wait for it where they were?

Where are the Jews? Camp Senior! Have them march up at once!

The cruel loud-speaker precipitated the shouting people into still greater confusion. In front of one of the blocks something like a marching column was achieved, but it only lasted until the next block; here it flew apart again and the prisoners ran into the block or fled back to the protection of their own, crying, shouting, sobbing, cursing, praying. They fell on one another's necks, kissed one another, said farewell. The block senior warned them once again to line up. They took refuge in the dormitories, crawled under the beds or hid in the latrine, and it was all senseless, because there was no hiding. The wolf had its fangs in their flesh and was worrying and was no longer to be shaken off.

Again the horror of the loud - speaker: Camp senior! Have them line up immediately!

Kramer made his way through the mass of prisoners who, like a swarm of bees, were congesting the entrance to the block, and sank down at the desk of the young block senior. Akim saw his torment.

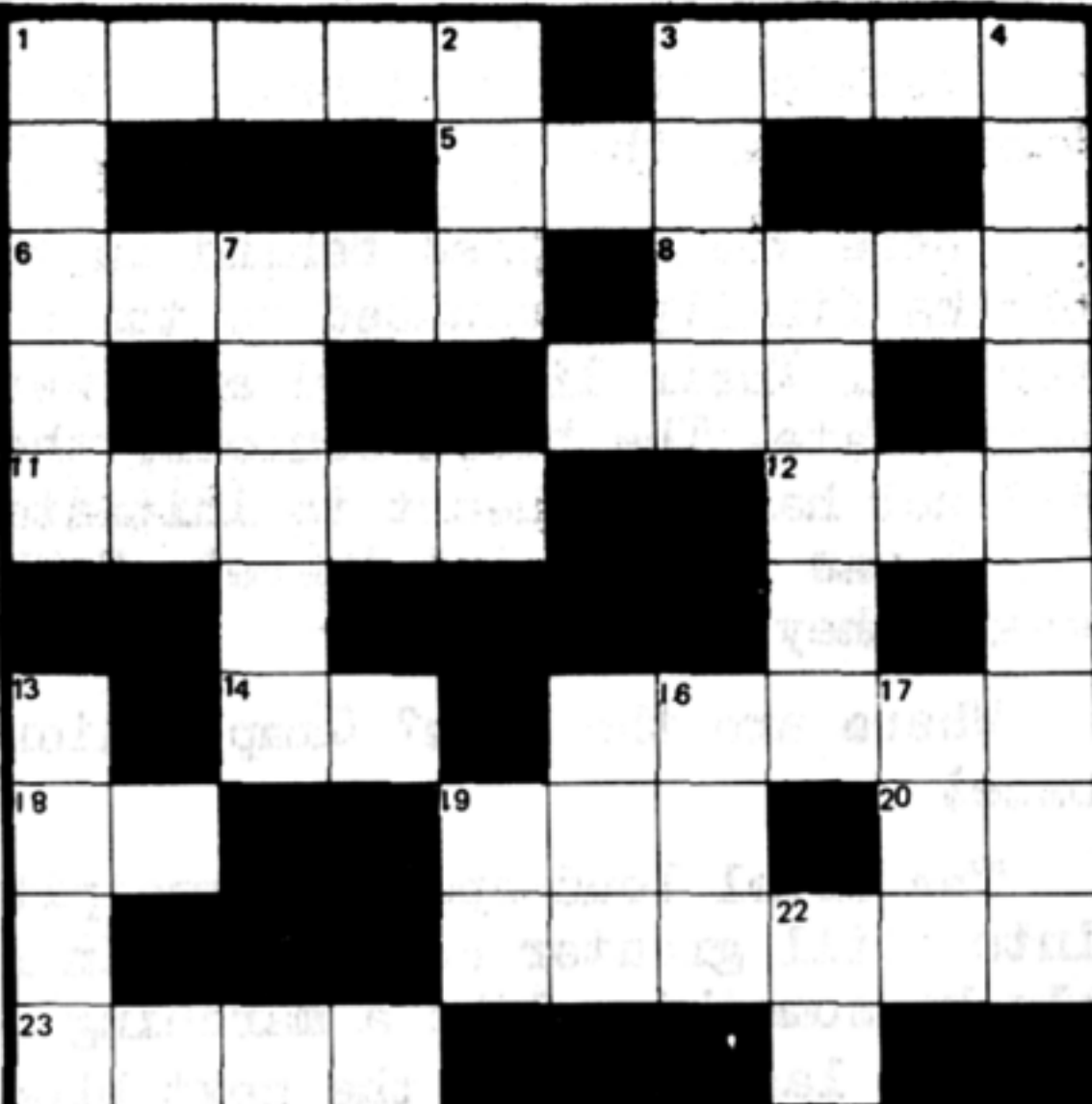
"Let's go on up," he said, "there's no help for it now..."

Schwahl had already goaded the report fuhrer several times to get the Jewish transport going. The troop of block fuhrers lurked at the windows of their room in the gate house like a pack of confined hounds. Another half-hour passed and the mustering ground remained deserted.

To be continued in the next issue.

PolitiXword

No. 8



Clues

ACROSS

1. South African appointed Administrator General of Namibia.
3. ... Palme is the Prime Minister of Sweden
5. Organization of Mozambican Women
6. Prof. ... Cilie is the leader of FAK
8. Weapons
10. The smallest whole number
11. Under a 3-year banning order
12. Afrikaans for SAA
14. To perform
15. Monthly Newsletter of MWASA
18. Bachelor of Arts
19. Short for Beatrice
20. Officer-on-Duty
21. Kwasa's Editor
23. To make damp

DOWN

1. Serves 10 years imprisonment
2. Used for scraping up weeds
3. Country in Arabia.
4. Simultaneous firing of guns
7. Auxiliary verb
9. Once ANC's Representative in Algeria
13. In the same book
15. Unity in Action is the ... to victory
16. It is not a game
17. A male child
19. Baronet
22. A preposition
15. Violent Anger
18. An edible sea-fish
20. An impression given
23. Mother

SEE ANSWERS IN DAWN VOL. 7 NO. 1

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!



tsotsobe



shabangu



mosolodi



moise



motaung



mogoerane

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