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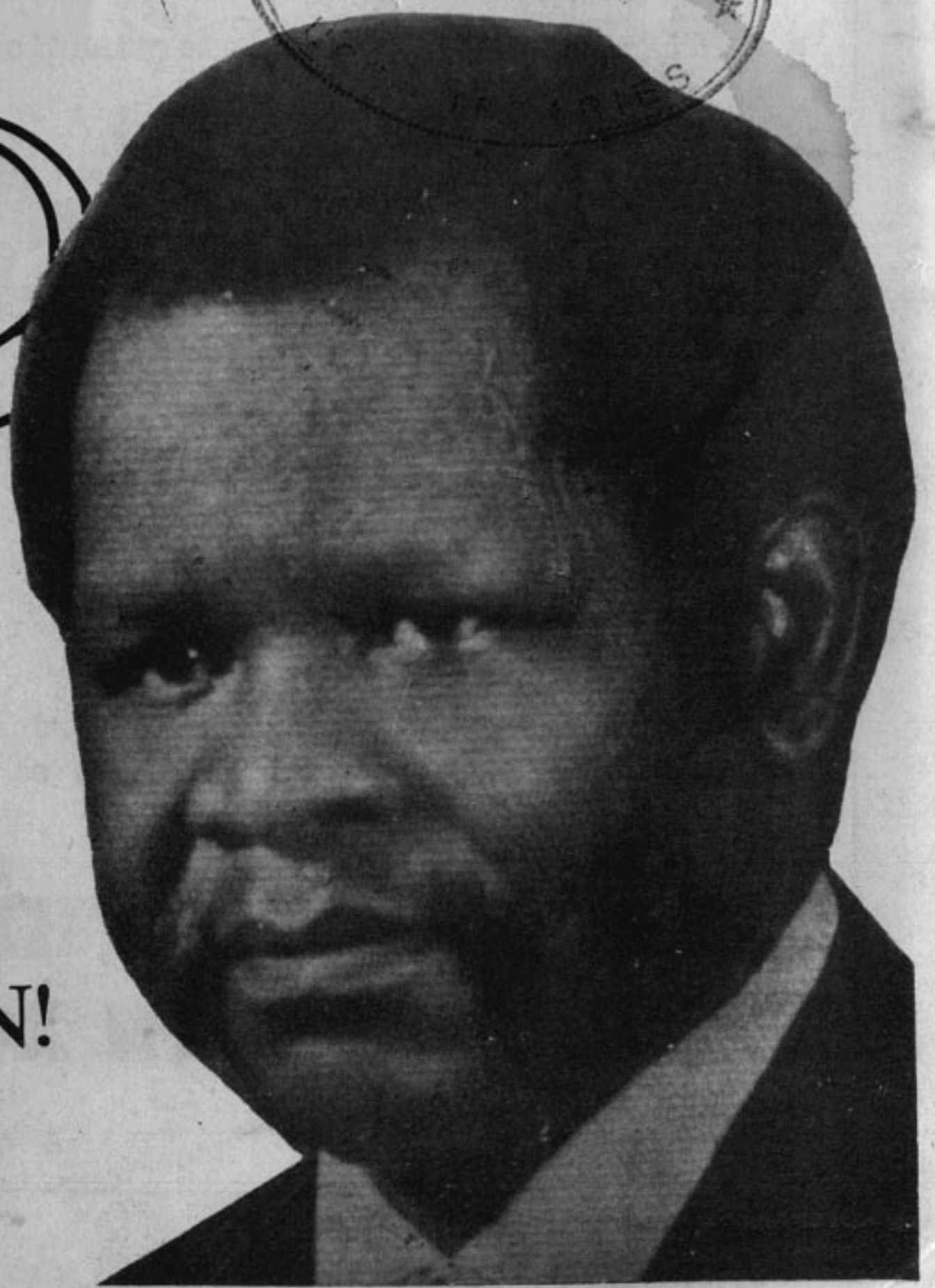
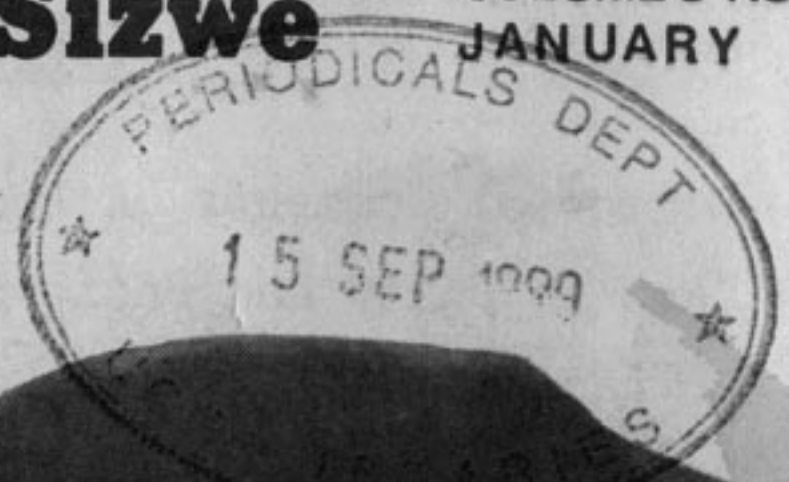
# DAWN

Monthly Journal of

Umkhonto we Sizwe



VOLUME 6 NUMBER 1  
JANUARY 1982



UNITY  
IN  
ACTION!

# Dawn

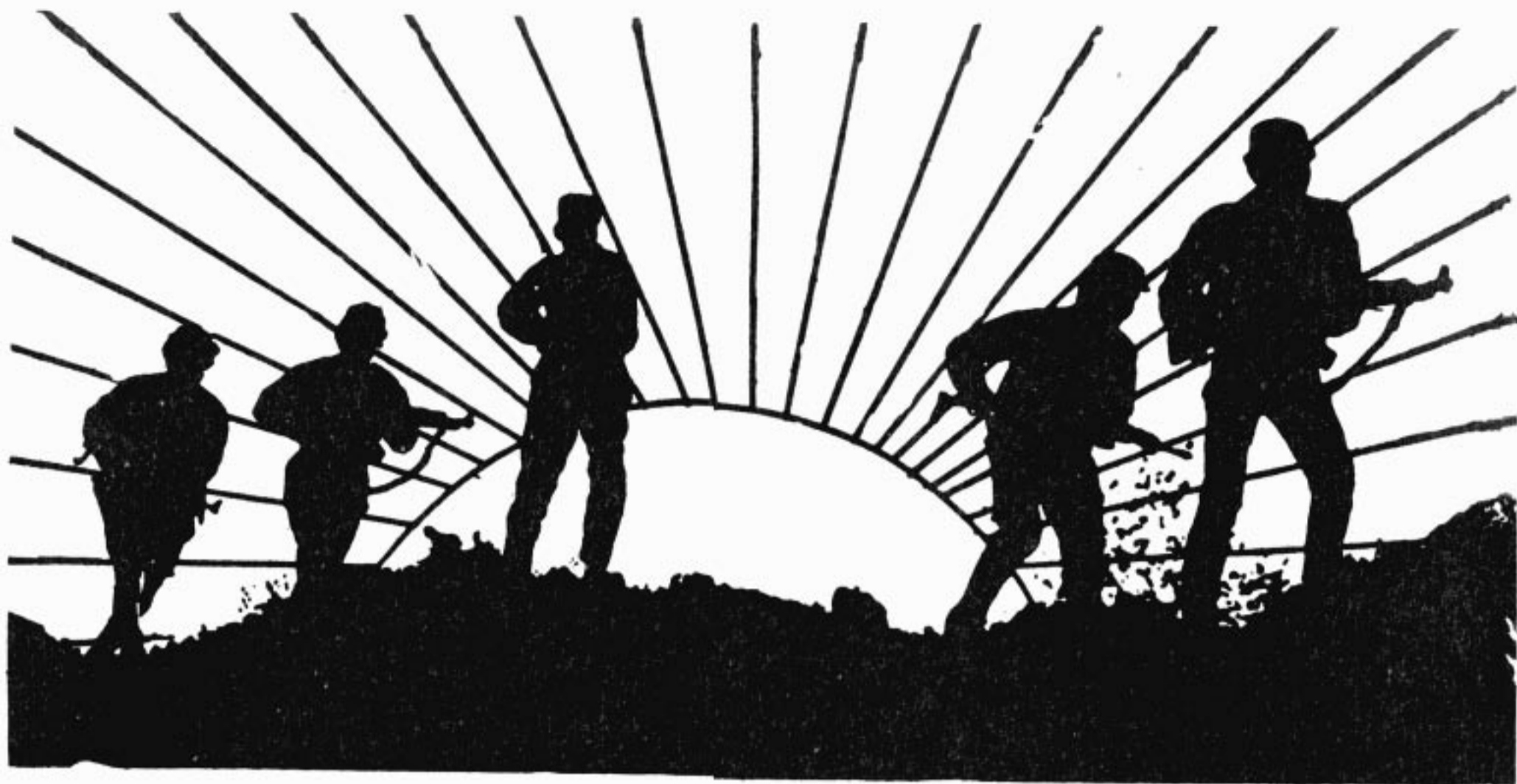
monthly journal of umkhonto we sizwe

## Contents

- Editorial Comment: A Proud Moment for All . . . . . 1
- "Act in Unity and Unite in Action" . . . . . 3
- A Trail of Courage and Determination - Part 1 . . . . . 16
- Out of the Bog - Part 1 . . . . . 21
- S t r a i g h t T a l k . . . . . 26
- DAWN Politixword No.11 - Answers . . . . . 27
- Heroes of our Revolution . . . . . 28
- P o e m . . . . . 32
- Afro-Arab Struggles for National Liberation -  
Part 1 . . . . . 33
- Naked Among Wolves . . . . . 39
- DAWN Politixword No.1 . . . . . 48

Cover: Comrade Oliver Tambo, President of the African National Congress of S.A.

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



## Editorial Comment

# A PROUD MOMENT FOR ALL

January 8th, 1982, falls upon us against the background of resounding victories scored by the millions of our oppressed during the recent history of our struggle. It has not been a very smooth history. It was full of many sharp turns and dangerous pitfalls. Thanks to the revolutionary perspicacity and sound leadership of the ANC, we were able to surge forth in spite of the maze of enemy counter-plans aimed at strangulating our liberatory drive, we have had to wade through.

Today, scanning in retrospect the past three years in the life of the ANC - years which have gone down in our annals as the "Year of the Spear", the "Year of the Freedom Charter and of the South African Worker" and the "Year of the Youth" - we cannot but marvel at the remarkable progression our popular struggle has registered under the guidance of our ANC. Throughout this entire period, in the spirit in many ways reminiscent of the "roaring fifties", our entire people: professionals, students, workers, the rural masses, the religious community, the young and old of our country, mounted a powerful offensive which not only elevated our struggle to new heights, but also boosted the morale of the fighting ranks, imbuing them with confidence in their own ability to defeat the oppressor.

Umkhonto We Sizwe has visibly become the striking arm of the people, giving a "cutting edge" to all their militant campaigns. The MK, as it is popularly known has become a household name in our country, thus proving itself to be of the people. During the said period it has not only wrecked several joints in the apartheid machine, but it has also successfully liberated our people from the fear of white minority administration and police terror. As a result the mass militant actions inside our country are ever on the upgrade.

These are the fruits of the 70 years resilience and determination of the ANC under its farsighted and tested leadership. As we proceed with the marking of the 70th Anniversary of the ANC and the 'Year of Unity in Action' we look back over 7 decades of a glorious record of struggle. It is this record that constitute the bedrock upon which the current offensive that is building up and intensifying has been pitched. We share the glory of these achievements with the progressive communities of the world.

On marking this great occasion we proceed to invite all our allies, friends and supporters everywhere to join us in a concerted campaign to make 1982 a year of intensifying the international political, economic and cultural isolation of the Pretoria fascists by doing all within the range of possibility to realize the wish of the UN to make 1982 the 'Year of Sanctions against the racist South Africa'.

Above all, we invite the battle-steeped multiformations of our bold masses to unleash their energies, unsparing of themselves in an unremitting offensive for the razing down of the citadel of apartheid. Our tasks this year are very clear: We are to "act in unity and unite in action". At the close of this year, the smoke eddying from our revolutionary fire should have reached and engulfed a cross section of our population and thus uniting them under the revolutionary banner of the ANC. This will mark an important milestone towards realizing this as a decade of liberation.

**FORWARD TO UNITY IN ACTION!**

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*Comrade President O.R. Tambo*

***“Act In  
Unity  
And  
Unite In  
Action”***

STATEMENT OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF  
THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS ON THE OCCASION  
OF THE 70th ANNIVERSARY OF THE FORMATION OF THE  
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS - JANUARY 8, 1982.

Compatriots;

Allies and democratic supporters of the heroic struggle of the  
people of South Africa;

Comrades;

The names of the founding fathers are in the minds of many  
of the oppressed people of our country today as we commemorate  
the 70th Anniversary of the foundation of the African National  
Congress. One of these, Pixley ka Izaka Seme, had declared in  
1906:

**“THE BRIGHTER DAY IS RISING UPON AFRICA... YES, THE  
REGENERATION OF AFRICA BELONGS TO THIS NEW A N D**

POWERFUL PERIOD. THE AFRICAN PEOPLE POSSESS A COMMON FUNDAMENTAL SENTIMENT WHICH IS EVERYWHERE MANIFEST, CRYSTALLISING ITSELF INTO ONE COMMON CONTROLLING IDEA... THE REGENERATION OF AFRICA MEANS THAT A NEW AND UNIQUE CIVILISATION IS SOON TO BE ADDED TO THE WORLD".

In 1911, in a historic clarion call which articulated a widely felt need for a united struggle against colonial domination in Africa, Pixley ka Seme invited the peoples of the sub-continent to meet in conference and, forgetting and burying all past differences and divisions, to discuss and plan together for their common future.

As an expression of the "regeneration of Africa" and in response to the call for united struggle, the most representative political gathering of Africans ever held in the sub-continent of Africa took place on January 8, 1912. Delegates and representatives came from all over South Africa and from other countries of Southern Africa. They included workers, farmers, peasants, professionals, journalists, traders, churchmen, chiefs, members of the African royalty, poets, musicians, authors.

## MOMENTOUS EVENT

The venue of this momentous event was MANGAUNG (Bloemfontein). Pixley ka I. Seme explained to the assembled delegates:

"THE WHITE PEOPLE OF THIS COUNTRY HAVE FORMED WHAT IS KNOWN AS THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA - A UNION IN WHICH WE HAVE NO VOICE IN THE MAKING OF LAWS AND NO PART IN THEIR ADMINISTRATION. WE HAVE CALLED YOU... TO THIS CONFERENCE SO THAT WE CAN TOGETHER DEVISE WAYS AND MEANS OF FORMING OUR NATIONAL UNION FOR THE PURPOSE OF CREATING NATIONAL UNITY AND DEFENDING OUR RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES".

The ensuing debate and deliberations culminated by a unanimous decision in the epoch-making formation of the African National Congress. The people of Southern Africa had thus forged a new and mighty weapon of struggle, a regional political force, a national movement which grew to become part of the people's political life, experience and history, the embodiment of their deepest belief in the certainty of victory and the expression of their identity with the progressive forces of the world in the pursuit of man's just causes.

Today, as we look back over 7 decades of uninterrupted and principled struggle by the African National Congress to

free our continent and our motherland from the shackles of colonialism, racism and fascism we rise in our millions in salute of the great patriots who gathered at Mangaung in early January 1912. Among them, were John Langalibalele Dube, Sol Plaatje, Walter Rubusana, Sam Makgato, Alfred Mangena, Meshack Pelom, Charlotte Maxeke, Thomas Mapikela, Edward Tsewu and others. There were the royal personages who had personally or whose forebears led the armies of resistance to the colonial occupation of Africa but who also came to or were represented at Bloemfontein to forge a new weapon of struggle, among them: Solomon ka Dinuzulu of the Zulu, Montsioa of the Barolong, Lewanika of the Lozi, Letsie II of the Sotho, Labotsibeni of the Swazi, Dalindyabo of the Thembu, Sekhukhuni of the Pedi and Khama of the Tswana.

## REGIONAL UNION

The desire, the attempt, to bring to the Bloemfontein conference all the peoples of Southern Africa, as a first step towards the unification of the African struggle, was defeated only by the fact that we were separately subjugated by three metropolitan powers - Great Britain, Germany and Portugal. Those who attended came from the British-colonised part of the region. Today, however, the colonial barriers that separated us in 1911 have crashed under the weight of the advancing African revolution. We have become one people with one cause and one enemy - the S.A. fascists and their imperialist allies.

The African National Congress was conceived as a regional union of anti-colonial forces and had a distinctly continental perspective. On the occasion of its 70th anniversary the masses of the people of South Africa salute their comrades-in-arms, the people of Southern Africa - the founders of the ANC.

They salute the people of Africa who, with the decolonisation of Namibia and South Africa, will have fulfilled their historic mission to achieve the total liberation of the continent, thus consolidating a firm foundation for a victorious struggle against imperialism. The oppressed masses and democrats of South Africa, through the ANC, salute all the world forces of change, who during the past 70 years, have fought triumphant struggles against colonialism, racism and fascism. Within 5 years of the formation of the ANC, the world's first socialist state came into being. Today a powerful world socialist system exists and the principles upon which it is founded win growing acceptance as man develops from his past to his future.

## BORN OF THE PEOPLE

The African National Congress, born of the people, a creation of Africa's history and experience, has moved with the people and with the times. It was born into the frontline, to spearhead the people's struggle. Thanks to the dedication of its members, the great vision of its leaders and the calibre of its allies and supporters, it has remained in the frontline and is now spearheading the final assault upon the last colonial stronghold in Africa. An integral part of a changing world, the ANC has influenced and has been influenced by the socio-economic and political transformations that have come in the course of man's struggle for a better world. It is an integral part of the world-wide forces that are in fact changing the world - eliminating its injustices, correcting its imbalances and introducing a new social, economic and political order in which friendship and peace will prevail because the causes of conflict and war will have been removed.

On this historic occasion, marking the 70th Anniversary of the founding of our vanguard liberation movement, we extend our revolutionary greetings and congratulations to all our people on the great achievements and advances that they have thus far registered along this long and arduous march to our cherished goal of national and social liberation. That goal 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.

The formation of the ANC, on January 8, 1912, was an expression of the future people's power won through protracted and bitter struggles against the combined Boer and British colonial enslavement. The ANC was, and remains to this day, the organised political representative and fighting force for the attainment of democratic and revolutionary change in our society. The message that came out of the founding conference in Bloemfontein, 70 years ago, expressed the collective resolve of the peoples of Southern Africa who correctly perceived that they were suffering under the selfsame yoke of colonial tyranny and therefore shared a common destiny. That message also coincided with the aspirations of millions of colonially-subjugated Africans throughout our mother continent.

## FORERUNNER

It is not accidental that history apportioned to our region the role of a fore-runner in this regard. For it is here that



imperialist domination and colonial occupation had achieved the most pernicious and disastrous results, and therefore made more pressing the need to challenge foreign rule and to counterpoise to it the right of the African people to self determination and independence. Stretching from that period, the peoples of Africa have made gigantic strides, with practically the whole continent having attained political independence and now engaged in national economic reconstruction to consolidate these gains. A few pockets of racial and colonial domination remain, soon to be swept off the surface of the continent.

Our struggle, as part and parcel of the revolutionary process that is sweeping across the continent, draws inspiration and support from the victories already scored by Africa. Our victory over what was at the beginning and remains entrenched imperialist domination and white minority rule, will constitute the apex of Africa's advance to genuine political and economic emancipation. It is equally true that the revolutionary transformations that we have witnessed on the continent of Africa are also a component part of the broader global struggle waged by progressive mankind against the dark forces of imperialist domination over the world and of the exploitation of man by man. At the time of the founding of the A.N.C, a handful of imperialist powers dominated the rest of the world politically and economically. Africa had been carved up among the grabbing imperialist forces in pursuit of strategic raw materials, profit, and spheres of influence. Millions upon millions of people in the colonial and semi-colonial world had been reduced to objects of unbridled exploitation and producers of fat profits for foreign masters

Today that picture has changed. It has changed radically and irreversibly. The sphere of imperialist domination has shrunk tremendously and contigues to do so as the forces of liberation and social progress grow in size and combativeness. As a consequence, the balance of forces, both continentally and internationally, has decisively shifted in favour of the forces of independence, democracy and peace. The mainstay of this world revolutionary process are the socialist countries, fully committed to the cause of national liberation, the democratic forces in the capitalist camp, and the national liberation movement. We too, therefore, are part and parcel of this revolutionary stream that is changing our planet for a better and happier world to live in.

## HISTORIC OBLIGATION

Given this background, therefore, the 70th anniversary of

the African National Congress finds all of us better placed than we have been before to carry our historic mission to destroy the apartheid monster and realise the goal of total liberation of the African continent. It is our historic obligation, as it is that of Africa, united under the Organisation of African Unity, to fight to achieve this goal, and in doing so, to contribute to the efforts towards ensuring that the continent as a whole enjoys peace and attends to the urgent task of winning economic liberation and raising the living standards of its people. We are better placed to move forward because our people are engaged in mass organised action at a level and with a tenacity unsurpassed over the last seven decades. We are better placed to break new ground in our assault on the enemy because these risen masses recognise clearly, from practical experience, that the revolutionary struggle in which they are engaged has one leader and one perspective - the African National Congress and the Freedom Charter respectively. We are better placed to move in on the enemy because today we have a popular army, Umkhonto We Sizwe, capable of speaking to the enemy in the language he understands best.

The early decades following the 1912 founding conference were times of probing by our Movement to meet the changing context of the struggle in which new economic and political forces for change were still in their infancy. Our people had been finally robbed of their land and all political rights. In growing numbers they were pushed into the mines and plantations to produce wealth for South Africa's ruling class. This marked the emergence of the working class movement in our country. It was from this black labouring section of our population that the new forces of resistance came up. The past 70 years have witnessed unending efforts by the working people to combine and use their collective strength to defeat the oppressor. In the process confrontations, skirmishes, economic strikes, boycotts, anti-pass campaigns, defiance campaigns and other forms of struggle took place all over the country. All these served as a practical school for drilling and training our revolutionary forces. Gradually they have grown in strength and experience and they now pose a real threat to the system of apartheid. They form the backbone of our striking power.

Already by the late 1940's our young militants, thrown up by the growing and intensifying struggle, began to chart new and more effective methods of struggle for the new stage. This prepared the ground for the massive confrontations of the 1950's, the campaign for the defiance of unjust laws, general

political strikes, more anti-pass campaigns and the Congress of the People that adopted our historic document - the Freedom Charter. By that period the African National Congress had become a mass movement involving all sections of the oppressed in active struggle. Faced with and frightened by the rising revolutionary tide, the enemy declared our movement illegal and detained many of our leaders and activists. For us it was a time for reassessment, for the drawing up of a new strategy and new tactics to meet the changing conditions.



Natal Indian women's delegation to the Congress of the People, 1955.

The administrative terror which the enemy unleashed against the popular upsurge: the bannings, banishments, beatings, torture in police cells, hangings and shootings - none of these have succeeded in neutralising the people's militancy. Instead they have reinforced our determination to pursue the cause of liberation. Under the leadership of the ANC and its allies as well as other patriotic revolutionary forces inside the country, organised political confrontation has grown immeasurably over the recent past. The underground forces of our movement are entrenched deeper and are multiplying among the people more than at any stage since the outlawing of our organisation. The enemy is engulfed in a crisis of deep proportions and is frantically looking for new ways out of this

political quagmire.

## CURRENT PERIOD

In the current period, our people have begun to reply to the enemy violence with revolutionary violence. Today our armed cadres are dealing blow after blow at the enemy in widespread areas throughout South Africa. The growing sophistication of these blows, their frequency and their high level of organisation have inspired our people and fortified their conviction that our cause shall triumph. The racist regime itself can no longer deny that they face a future in which growing mass political upsurge will be more and more complemented by increasing armed action by the people. We have reached a stage where the people have opted for and are joining the armed struggle as one of the most effective ways to dislodge the racist rulers from power. Inside our own borders the balance of forces is gradually tilting in our favour. The voice of the mass democratic movement, headed by the ANC and its allies is winning the hearts and minds of growing numbers from amongst all the oppressed, pushing into growing isolation the diehard racists and fascists. This movement is not only an opponent of the apartheid regime, but has actually emerged as an alternative power, enjoying the actual and active allegiance of the overwhelming majority of our people. Increasing numbers from the white-oppressor group are steadily joining the stream for political and social change.

Through our sacrifices, and in the face of brutal enemy repression and persecution, we have stubbornly and persistently defended our great creation, the African National Congress, against frantic and desperate efforts by the enemy to blot it out. We have defended it because we knew that without it our collective strength would cease to exist, without it the prospects of our capturing power would fade into the distant future. Twenty years after the oppressor regime declared it illegal, the ANC today on its 70th Anniversary, is openly acclaimed as the leader of



*Funeral of Silverton martyr*

our people, thanks to the imposition by the masses of a new popular concept of legality which the enemy guns cannot shoot out of existence, and which his courts cannot imprison. By 'lifting' the ban in this manner we have asserted ourselves as the alternative power of our land, the only legitimate power, because we are the people, the democratic majority whose will must triumph in the end.

In sharp contrast to the racists who have sought to divide our country and people into racial and ethnic compartments, we have upheld the ideal of one country, one people and one democratic and non-racial destiny for all who live in it, black and white. The people's determination not to deviate from these ideals remains steadfast and finds expression in the universal commitment we have made to remain loyal to the perspectives contained in the Freedom Charter. As there can be no compromise between democratic rule and racist tyranny, so must it be that the Freedom Charter, the alternative political, economic and constitutional platform of popular power in our country, will emerge triumphant.

## **"UNITY IN ACTION"**

After 70 years of unrelenting struggle and building on the historic and irreversible gains recorded during these decades, we have reached a stage when the process of consolidating bases of popular power among the people has begun. To promote this process, we have decided to mobilise our people for the oncoming period under the watchwords "Unity in Action". Our strength lies in unity, and our future advances, in Action. Without unity we are weak, and without action we remain oppressed. To move forward we must attack, **ACT IN UNITY AND UNITE IN ACTION**. The gains recorded during 70 years of struggle have, thanks to the great contribution made by the successive generations of our people, given us the possibility to achieve such unity in practice.

The motto of unity was inscribed on our battle standards on the very day of the creation of the African National Congress. As Seme had declared while organising the first congress, "We are one people". For their part the delegates resolved to bring together the oppressed into common action as one political people. We have therefore striven for seven decades to build one common nationhood with one destiny. Our shared experience of collective sacrifices in the struggle for a common goal have knit us together as one solid block of liberation. The comradeship that we have formed in the trenches of freedom transcending the barriers that the enemy sought

to create, is a guarantee and a precondition for our victory. But we need still to build on this achievement. All of us - workers, peasants, students, priests, chiefs, traders, teachers, civil servants, poets, writers, men, women and youth, black and white - must take our common destiny in our own hands.

On this, our 70th anniversary, we call upon our people and on our allies and supporters to make 1982 a Year of Unity in Action with the intensification of our assault on all fronts. We call upon our working people, the backbone of our liberation movement to mobilise as never before at the point of production to build a powerful democratic trade union movement for the advancement of the interests of the workers and for their activation into the struggle for the victory of the national democratic revolution. We call upon our people in the bantustans to mobilise and to isolate and destroy the Pretoria puppets. Let us all fight for a democratic and unified South Africa. We call upon our youth and students to maintain and heighten their spirit of resistance. You have already demonstrated that you are a detachment of greatest courage and heroism. Now, more than ever before, our struggle demands that you act with supreme dedication and vigour under the banner of our fighting movement.

We call upon our womenfolk to raise the cry for vengeance against those who are murdering, maiming and torturing our sons and daughters for their participation in our struggle. We call upon the millions of the oppressed to stand shoulder to shoulder at this crucial hour in our history. The enemy manoeuvres to sow division in our ranks must be defeated. Our destiny is one. We call upon those amongst our people who have been clad in police and army uniforms to rethink their role. You have it within your grasp to choose between dying in defence of apartheid or joining the noble cause of national liberation. We call upon those in the white community who stand ready to live a life of real equality and non-racialism to make common cause with our struggle for genuine liberation.

## OAU

On the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the foundation of the African National Congress, itself a product of the trials and tribulations of Africa's children, we salute the OAU and the brother peoples of our continent. To all of them we say the need for us to continue acting in unity in the struggle to destroy the apartheid regime, the enemy of all

Africa, increases with the intensification of the struggle. It is the hope of the millions of your brothers and sisters held prisoner by the Pretoria regime that this year you will, together with them, take new initiatives further to advance our united action.

We salute in particular the brother people of Namibia, their leader, SWAPO and the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN). It is to us a matter of proud record that as early as 1919, and again in 1946, the ANC sent delegations to Versailles and the United Nations respectively, to fight against the territory of Namibia being mandated to racist South Africa.

Today the heroic struggle in which the Namibian people are engaged is itself a mighty contribution to our own liberation, an expression of a united offensive in which we who suffer under the common enemy are engaged. We pledge to our fellow combatants of Namibia that we shall intensify the offensive on our front so that both our people can secure their emancipation. We salute the people of Angola who have resolutely sacrificed to sustain and advance the struggle of the Namibian people, in the process, suffering aggression upon aggression by the fascist regime of South Africa.

We salute also other comrades-in-arms engaged in struggles to liberate themselves, including those of Western Sahara led by the Polisario Front, of Palestine led by PLO, of El Salvador led by the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front, of East Timor led by Fretelin, of Puerto Rico, Guatamala and elsewhere. All these struggles together with our own belong to one democratic and anti-imperialist mainstream. Any advances they make contribute to the furtherance of our own struggle, any advances we make strengthen the hand of these sister movements which like us, confront the forces of imperialism headed by the United States of America. These forces of reaction can see that the risen peoples are determined to bring to an end the epoch of imperialist domination. They have therefore decided to go on the offensive against the people. The most backward elements in world politics, therefore, be they apartheid South Africa, Zionist Israel or the reactionary Junta of El Salvador, find encouragement to hang on to their ill-gotten power at all costs.

B u t in 70 years the world has changed radically. The peoples of Africa, of Southern Africa and of South Africa are not alone. We too have our allies and loyal friends - countries and peoples who share the same vision as we do, who are prepared to carry the burden of struggle together with us, who recognise that all humanity is diminished and world peace and security threatened by the continued existence of the apartheid

regime. We greet these allies and friends on the occasion of our 70th birthday. We greet the governments and peoples of the socialist community of nations, the governments and peoples of the countries organised in the non-aligned movement, the Scandinavian peoples and governments, and the anti-racist governments and peoples of the rest of Western Europe and North America in the firm belief that we are together committed to act in unity against those who are committing a crime against humanity, the apartheid regime.

## SANCTIONS

The year of the 70th anniversary of the ANC has been proclaimed by that august body, the General Assembly of the United Nations, as the year of mobilisation for the implementation of sanctions against apartheid. We urge that all those who truly wish to see an end to the inhuman system of apartheid should, acting in unity, seize this opportunity to ensure that the Pretoria regime is isolated as never before. Failure to do this will condemn our people and those of Southern Africa in particular and, in the end, the rest of the world, to a terrible blood-letting that will forever remain a blot on the conscience of the entire humanity.

Today we commemorate with deserved pride the 70th anniversary of our national union. This is a historic occasion which has been made possible by the sacrifices which our people have made throughout these years and the support of the world democratic movement. From Port Elizabeth and Bulhoek to Sharpeville and Soweto and many other widely dispersed points in time and space between, our people have laid down their lives in the struggle for our liberty and in pursuit of the goals for which the ANC was founded. On Robben Island, in Kroonstad and Pretoria are locked away leaders of our people, both young and old, men and women, black and white, heroes and heroines to whom the liberation of the people is worth more than their own lives. On this historic occasion we raise our banners in salute of all these martyrs and patriots and pledge to remain true to their example and steadfast in the execution of their command that we seize power from our oppressors.

In their name and that of the National Executive Committee, we greet the entire membership of the ANC and Umkhonto We Sizwe and charge that they carry the tasks facing all of us with such honesty, courage, dedication and discipline as befit all true revolutionaries. In their name and on behalf of the National Executive Committee we command all these revolutionaries and



urge all other patriots to unite in action, to act for unity and, as one, to lead the people in united action.

In the name of the founding fathers, in the name of the martyred heroes of our people, and in the name of the leadership of the African National Congress, we call upon our people to observe 1982, the 70th Anniversary of the formation of our national union, as the Year of Unity in Action.

Let this be the year of the most powerful offensive that our country has ever seen. Let this be the year of our greatest unity in action. Let this be the year of a great leap forward to the threshold of victory.

LONG LIVE THE YEAR OF UNITY IN ACTION!

LONG LIVE OUR GLORIOUS PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT, THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS!

MAATLA KE A RONA!

AMANDLA NGAWETHU!

KE NAKO, MAYIHLOME!

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!



# A Trail Of Courage and Determination

## PART 1

- Edwin Mabitse

In this issue of 'DAWN' we publish the first of a series of articles on the theme mentioned above. It is hoped that this will serve as a fitting contribution to the campaign to ensure the marking of the all-important 70th Anniversary of the ANC in a big way. The central purpose of this occasion is to be the education of the masses of our people to their role, to rally them to the banner of their authentic representative, the ANC, in ever growing numbers. In this connection, to make them better able to translate into reality the declared objective of our national liberation movement of making 1982 the YEAR OF UNITY IN ACTION.

In this first instalment, the author examines the roots of African Political and National Consciousness.

The National Liberation drive in South Africa is gradually reaching out for majestic heights. This historic progression has been possible thanks to the indispensable presence in the van of the popular struggle of the steadfast leadership of the ANC. It has been a spiralling history with many an exciting turns which at all times served to emphasise the imperative of unswerving commitment to the overthrow of White minority colonial rule. The ANC has since its inception pursued the goal of the liberation of the nationally oppressed majority uncompromisingly for decade after decade. Today the organisation continues to be the visible vanguard of a mighty liberatory process that is currently threatening the very pillars of the white minority power establishment.

In order to be better able to appreciate the political significance of the unfolding liberation war in South Africa and the dialectical growth of the ANC into the force of national and international renown that it is today, the imperative

is to take a retrospective review of the history of the black man's struggle against white supremacy and apartheid. It will then come to light that the ANC ranks as the oldest and perhaps amongst the most resilient of liberatory national movements the continent has ever known. It has behind it a proud record of struggle which is indelibly inscribed in the hearts and minds of the oppressed millions in South Africa and the conscious communities of the continent at large.

Today, as the ANC begins a year-long campaign in celebration of its 70th birthday, it has grown into a political giant that towers high and beyond the horizons of our embattled motherland. Both friend and foe recognise it as a significant constituent factor in the unmistakable processes that are shaping the future of Africa and of the world.

The ANC sticks out as a symbol of African commitment to freedom, peace and social progress. Therefore, no moment can be more opportune to comb the complex yet so inspiring a maze of historical paths through which the ANC has had to surge, piloting as it does, an irresistible national movement in its quest for liberation, independence and an inclusive nationhood.

## BACKGROUND

From the time the white colonial intruders set foot on our country during April of 1652, the stage was set to transform the South of Africa into a theatre of longdrawn life and death conflicts, between the aborigines and the foreign aggressors. What had at first seemed to the Africans to be people from far away lands flung to our shores by fate, want and distress and therefore meriting assistance and hospitality, soon proved themselves to be unscrupulous criminals and brigands. The people were then compelled to change their attitude and take to arms in defence of their birthright to land and livestock. Thus was begun a period of fierce conflict and war which dominated the relations between black and white during the early days of contact.

The socio-economic advantages of the colonialists which reflected themselves primarily in material disparity in arms and munitions rendered our people vulnerable in the face of a determined colonial offensive. In spite of the uneven odds, our people never gave up - they were determined to defend their land and to keep the white invader at bay.

In this spirit the Khoi-Khoi, the San, the Xhosa, the Zulu, Basotho and practically all the other African chiefdoms offered fierce resistance to the colonialists. The covetous plunder and expropriation of their land and stock provoked in the hearts

of the people a strong anti-colonialist feeling. The very wars of resistance that raged on for more than two-and-a-half centuries were a manifestation of a patriotic effort directed at thwarting further encroachment into their territories and to defeat the diabolic designs of the colonialists.

The ultimate s u b j u g a t i o n of our people coincided with the period of industrialisation. The discovery of gold and diamonds created new and urgent demands for a readily available labour army for the realisation of the profit objectives of the capitalist mining magnates. These developments hastened the foreigners' strategy of turning the colonised into a pool of cheap labour. A whole variety of tactics and means were used to oblige our people to go to the mines and railways seeking for employment. Amongst these, tax-enforcing laws (e.g. the Glen Grey Act) were used as if the very forcible expropriation of the land was not enough to turn the people into an optionless proletariat.

Though there was resistance in varied forms, the process took shape, and our people emerging from a traditional communal way of life were forcibly being introduced into an industrial mode of life. Therefore the destruction of the traditional social fibre made way for the birth of the African proletariat. The significance of this process was the bringing together in the industrial centres of Africans from all tribal groups in the country, where under the grinding wheel of capitalist and colour-defined master-servant relations they began to identify objectively as one people with a common destiny. This rudimentary form of national identity was to further gain impetus as industrialisation expanded.

## RISE OF AFRICAN NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS

The development of national consciousness and awareness of the historical imperative of unity across tribal barriers and fettering prejudice amongst the blacks in South Africa, is a result of long complex historical processes. Several factors influenced the manner and direction of its unfolding. Although it can be said to have been largely a bi-product of the reactive process to racism-infested white colonialism, it is not incongruent to suggest as one of the factors, the traditional sense of belonging which has always been characteristic of our people.

### I) ROLE OF THE ETHIOPIAN MOVEMENT:

(N.B. refers to the African Churches as united under the Ethiopianism of Rev. M. Mokone).

Ethiopianism was perhaps the most significant black mass movement prior to the formation of the ANC. It was "an attempt on the part of Africans to set up their own churches independent of the white ones" - Roux, *Time Longer Than Rope*, p.77. Therefore, the launching of the Ethiopian Church was the apex of the revolt of the African converts against the racialism of the missionary churches. By this time many Africans were already thoroughly acquainted with the Bible and the interpretation of theological dogmas. They had felt the need to have their own organised religious communities and a church that "would provide a field where they could develop their own ideas and express their own personalities without having to suffer the constant interference of white missionaries who claimed superior knowledge and understanding. At the back of it all, moreover, was the growing feeling of national consciousness and revolt against the whites, not only in religious matters, but in everything." - Roux, *Time Longer Than Rope*, p.78.

Thus, reacting to the practices of the white clergy who sought to maintain colonial relations by extending racialism and inequality into the church (which is after all contrary to Christian ethics), African clergymen started a series of breakaways from white churches attracting and taking with them large followings:

- Nehemia Tile founded the Tembu National Church in 1884. He had the support of the Tembu chief and of the entire tribe.
- An independent African church was set up amongst the Bapedi of Sekhukhuniland in 1889 after breaking away from the Lutheran Berlin mission.
- An African minister, Kenyane, broke away from the Anglican Church and organised an independent religious community.
- Rev. Mangena Mokone, together with twenty others, founded the Ethiopian Church after breaking away from the Wesleyan in 1892. The church soon spread beyond Pretoria where it was formed, establishing contact with other African churches inside South Africa including the AME (African Methodist Episcopal Church), a black church of the United States. In this way the Ethiopian Church was to become the umbrella of most of the independent African churches of the day, and perhaps the most important of them all.

The expression of resentment of malpractices within the missionary churches by Africans, initiated a movement of mass dimensions. The movement appealed to the Christian Africans' sense of identification in an atmosphere of racial hostility. In this way it was a political movement whose contributory role

towards the rise of African Nationalism and its future mellowing deserves special appreciation

## II) THE ROLE OF THE INTELLIGENTSIA:

As it is well known, the common practice of colonial policy everywhere in the world has been to open education opportunities for a few members of the colonised nations. This has no genuine philanthropic motivation except for some rare cases. In some instances individuals have sought to enlighten the colonised sometimes as enticement for a more ready acceptance of the coloniser's religion. But history has shown that from amongst the ranks of the enlightened always spring up great men who are committed to the patriotic aspirations of their people. We also share such an experience.

From amongst the few Africans who had the fortune of receiving education in missionary centres or in colleges abroad, emerged men of the likes of J.T. Jabavu, W. Rubusana, John L. Dube, Pixley ka Seme, Selby Msimang and several others who were to play important roles at varying levels in the moulding of African political and national consciousness. They took their inspiration from patriotic identification and humanitarian concepts which in some cases were inspired by religious (Christian) sentiments. Albeit honest representatives of popular interests, some had the misfortune of falling victims of liberalistic gestures and compromises by some of the white politicians. But still they were committed to reforming the political system in a manner that would benefit the oppressed. Those who remained strong and level-headed played significant roles in the political organisations that were formed throughout the country before 1912. And no less an important role was played by the newspapers they launched in exposing the obnoxious conditions under which the coloniser was forcing our people to acquiesce, e.g. 'Isigidimi saMaXhosa', launched by Rev. Elijah Makiwane in 1876; 'Imvo Zabantsundu', which came under the editorship of J.T. Jabavu in 1881, and others.

NB. The early forms of political organisations amongst the Africans and their significance will be discussed in better detail in the next issue.



# Out Of the Bog!

- Sindisiwe Mawetu

A YOUNG COMRADE WHOSE PATRIOTIC MOTIVATION WAS BETRAYED BY THE PAC FOLLOWING THE 1976 URSURGES, LATER FOUND HER WAY INTO THE REVOLUTIONARY RANKS OF OUR PEOPLE'S ARMY, UMKHONTO WE SIZWE. HER EXPERIENCES ARE HORRID, HEARTBREAKING AND AT THE SAME TIME A DANGER-SIGNAL TO THE LENGTHS TO WHICH SOME PEOPLE GO IN AN ATTEMPT TO DRIVE WEDGES BETWEEN THE RANKS OF THE GENUINE PATRIOTIC FORCES OF OUR MOTHERLAND.

WE HASTEN TO STRESS THAT WHEREAS IT IS NOT OUR INTENTION TO LABOUR ON THE PAC'S UNPLEASANT BACKGROUND - THE PEOPLE KNOW IT QUITE WELL - WE SHALL NOT SIT BACK WHEN THE CONSCIOUS AND PATRIOTIC ENDEAVOURS OF OUR YOUNG PEOPLE ARE MOLESTED AND FRUSTRATED BY TRICKSTERS WHO MASQUERADE AS SO-CALLED LEADERS OF THE OPPRESSED.

THE TRUTH WILL OUT, BUT NOT OF ITS OWN ACCORD! SO, LET COMRADE SINDISIWE TELL HER STORY TO ALL OF US; FRIENDS, RELATIVES, LOVED ONES, COMPATRIOTS AND THE CONSCIOUS WORLD, AS A DUTY TO HER MOTHERLAND AND FOR THE EDIFICATION OF OUR YOUNG MILITANTS.

Like every African child in South Africa, I had a very miserable childhood as a result of the disabilities generated by the inhuman system of Apartheid. The injustices perpetrated by the racists against our people aroused in me an implacable hatred for the system and a strong desire to put an end to continued enslavement and strangulation of the Black masses - though at first I never had a clear idea as to how best could this be achieved.

The 1976 June 16 massacres when trigger-happy fascist police and soldiers mowed down unarmed students convinced me more than anything that armed struggle was the only option left to the oppressed in the quest for freedom and an end to apartheid rule. Moved by this realisation, I joined other students

who had also made up their minds to leave the country for military training. We immediately set out to find a person who could assist us in this regard.

We thought ourselves lucky when we met a certain Thami who claimed to be assisting people who intended leaving the country. After making the necessary arrangements, he ultimately left with us clandestinely for Swaziland.

Upon arrival in Swaziland, excited and full of expectation, we asked him to take us to the ANC. To our dismay, he refused saying that the ANC was not the correct organisation for any of us. As we were young, uninformed on most fundamental questions of our struggle, and above all, thirsty for guidance, we had no other alternative but to listen to Thami. This seemed to have been just the moment he had been waiting for: he rained a torrent of anti-ANC propaganda on us. He told us of how the ANC was dominated by Whites and Communists like Joe Slovo; how they (ANC) were selling people to Russians, Cubans, East Germans, and that Soviet support for the ANC had colonialist designs which were to be implemented after we have won our independence. According to him the only genuine Socialist countries in the world were China, Albania and Pol Pot's Kampuchea - the Soviet Union and all the others were revisionists. The novel rhetoric and the issues left us spell-bound and we swallowed Thami's story as he presented it.

## LIES AND SLANDER

He went on to tell us of the fierce power struggle and rabid factionalism in the ANC. He told us of how one faction was loyal to Whites and Communists, one to O.R. Tambo and the other to Nelson Mandela. Unknown to us was the fact that we were undergoing a mind-conditioning course aimed at reducing us to so many vessels ever ready to be filled up with lies and slander.

Thami later took us to a certain Mkhwanazi who is one of the PAC leaders. Mkhwanazi is the one who subsequently sent us to Tanzania, where we expected to undergo military training.

At Dar-es-Salaam airport we were met by a group of armed PAC men. They whisked us aside and demanded to know the group to which we belonged - Potlako Leballo's or Ntantala's. I could not understand the meaning of all this as we were only just arriving and hardly informed about such division within the PAC. This was before we were taken to a residence in Dar-es-Salaam where I met my younger brother. My brother advised me not to join Ntantala's faction since it was dominated by tribalists. He further told me that the Ntantala group was accusing



Leballo of selling out and working for the CIA. Heeding to a brotherly advice, I chose to join Leballo's faction.

Potlako Leballo, promised to send us to a country here in Africa, for military training. We were then divided into two groups - one accompanied by 'ugly' girls and the other by 'beautiful' girls. (The lamentable criteria of 'beautiful' and 'ugly' was Leballo's ludicrous method of categorising women) Whilst our group (the one of ugly girls) was to be sent to X, the other was to be sent to Uganda to impress upon Idi Amin that South Africa has beautiful women, we were told.

Ultimately we left for X. On arrival there we were surprised to find ourselves being sent to a Health Institute instead of a military establishment. At the institute we met a number of women from the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU-PF). When we told them of our PAC membership they responded with comradely explanation though disapproving of our affiliation. They told us that the only Liberation Movement of South Africa, genuinely representing popular aspirations was the ANC. This provoked more discussion and debate through which we were able to gather a lot of valuable information on the history and policies of the ANC. We also learnt of the historic ZAPU-ANC Alliance of 1967 and the gallantry and valour of our brothers who fought in Wankie and Sipolilo during the 1967-68 campaigns.

Here in X the going was a bit tough for us. Most of our needs were inadequately met. Throughout the entire eight months duration of our course we never had a single visit by any of the PAC leaders. At some stage we confronted one Victor Mayekiso, the then PAC Chief Representative to X. Mayekiso told us that he had little time for visits since he was too busy infiltrating weapons and personnel into the country (SA).

On completion of our course we were stranded and had nowhere to go. We felt like derelicts forsaken by our PAC. We spent two months idling and wondering what to do next. Destitute and want became so sharp that some of us ended up being adopted by some of the kind-hearted families of X. At this stage Mayekiso was nowhere to be found. We demanded to be sent back to Tanzania but the government authorities felt that this had to be done with the consent of the PAC chief representative. Eventually they saw reason in our demands because, among other things, we were becoming a burden to them.

### **"BAD ELEMENTS"**

In Tanzania the situation was no better - our PAC was unable to provide us with sufficient food. After staying a

few days in Dar-es-Salaam we were taken to a place called Mbea. Later we were to learn that people being sent to Mbea were 'bad elements'. We had acquired this label probably because of the many questions we began to ask after our nightmarish adventure in X.

Life in Mbea was too difficult to bear. We met two males here who were amongst several disillusioned with the PAC's brigand tendencies. Together we decided to leave Mbea and head for another PAC place nearby. This was during the time when the power struggle and factionalism in the PAC had reached its highest ebb. Potlako Leballo had been expelled and in his stead David Sibeko elected Chairman. Sibeko was quite a character - he used to claim operations like the assault on the Moroka police station to be the work of the PAC and would even ingeniously cook up names of people who had taken part in the operation. Besides the Sibeko group there was a faction loyal to Ntantala whilst another third faction which termed itself 'neutral' was also in existence. After Sibeko's death, it transpired that this faction was in fact another Leballo Front. Arriving in this situation at such a critical moment, it was demanded of us to declare our loyalties, but we pretended to want to go steady.

### CONFUSING SET-UP

Trapped in this confusing set-up, I felt more disillusioned with the PAC than ever before - the only strong urge that continued burning lively in me was the wish to find the best way of throwing my lot with those genuinely committed to the struggle for the liberation of our people. I therefore asked to be sent to school, hoping that if they (PAC) conceded and sent me to Dar-es-Salaam it would then be possible for me to leave the PAC ranks once and for all time. Fortunately things went my way and I was taken to Dar. Though my intention was to join the ANC, I was hesitant for a while due to the slanderous anti-ANC harangues we were fed with in the PAC. We had been told that people who deserted the PAC for the ANC are taken to Angola to be killed and if not, they would be maltreated and will always feel ostracised because of the bad attitude ANC people have towards the PAC.

But when I finally made my dash for the ANC a pleasant surprise was lying in store for me. The first ANC comrades I met patiently explained and acquainted me with the traditions, attitudes and norms of the ANC. Through such discussions I got to know of many young people who deserted the P A C - some of whom I had known from home - who were now responsible

and very determined cadres of the ANC. Some of them - I soon learnt - were already inside the country, locked in uncompromising battles against the enemy of our people. This was just enough to convince me of the correctness of my decision. Sometimes I pause to wonder whether it was fate that led me to waste two valuable years of my life-time in the PAC, for those two years I was tossing on the ocean and hardly ever got to understand the PAC's programme and policy - everything fluctuated and changed with the passing day.

## THE ANC

Here in the ANC I find life exceedingly different: There seems to be more purposefulness and an abounding methodical spirit in everything that concerns the struggle for the realisation of the aspirations of our people. For the first time during my stay in exile I could attend political discussions, conferences and seminars. Now I am exposed to real political education aimed at shaping a progressive world outlook and a firm base upon which unflinching determination and devotion to the course that will definitely flourish. This is directly opposite to what I experienced in the PAC - their so-called political work is, in a nutshell, Anti-ANC and Anti-Communism pitched-talk and harangue. In the ANC nobody waste their time in attacking the PAC for every minute is dedicated to the people's cause and the necessary details of our revolutionary struggle.

At last I am politically fully matured. My dream of becoming a people's soldier has come true. I am a well-trained soldier of the South African revolution serving in the MK, ready to go into action at any point and time. No words can sufficiently express my joy at belonging to Umkhonto, but still my heart aches when I think of the many sons and daughters of our country who have, like me, been misled and fell into wrong hands. It is my hope and belief that one day they will see the light as the struggle steadily unfolds, so as to be able also to come out of the bog and join the genuine mainstream of revolution as led by the ANC. In conclusion, I can do no better than to reiterate the words of Comrade President O.R. Tambo, that: "A people, a country, a movement that does not value its youth does not deserve its future".

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# STRAIGHT TALK...

## NO TURNING BACK

When a nation has been robbed of what is dearest to it - freedom and independence it must reach a point in its life when it sees no other reason to live except to fight resolutely to regain what is rightfully theirs. When that time has come people readily give out all, including life itself, as a necessary contribution towards the achievement of the common goal - liberation. Mothers whose eldest sons and daughters have already fallen during fierce confrontations with the much-hated enemy courageously bid the younger ones farewell, urging them to battle for the sake of victory. This is exactly the crucial moment on whose threshold the millions of our oppressed and exploited people now stand. There is no turning back!

In a world in which the boundaries of the domain of freedom, peace and progress are irreversibly widening, our glorious traditions of 250 years of relentless wars of resistance against colonial plunder and murder, five decades of organised non-violent but militant struggles which culminated in the forging of unbreakable bonds of national unity under the banner of the ANC, and the twenty years of irresistibly growing people's war could not have produced any other result. No doubt it was the magnetising effect of this spirit of 'victory or death' which prompted our mother Martha Mahlangu to sound the clarion call on the occasion of marking our Heroe's Day, December 16. "Let us stand up and follow our children because it is getting late."

The views expressed by our mothers on this historic occasion are unmistakably coming from the depths of the heart of the growing number of our mothers and fathers. What is more, this is a sincere expression of the great confidence our people have in us young fighters, we who are the hope and future of our country. What does this mean to the youth of our country? That as long as our people are not free we must have no peace with our consciences.

Those of us who have already advanced in mastering the line of march of our people's war whose mainstay is the total mobilization of all our people and other democratic forces in various forms of action and clearly understand the goals of our liberation struggle as outlined in our Freedom Charter - education acquired in the actual field of battle - have a great a n d

challenging responsibility on their shoulders. They must spare no effort in imparting this revolutionary knowledge to their colleagues who still remain in the dark and encourage those who are still hesitant. This calls for tireless organisers who will not only spread our message of freedom in schools and places of recreation, factories, mines and farms, buses and trains - everywhere - but who will also be in the front ranks of every campaign, painstakingly working for the broadest unity of all our forces, organised and unorganised in every corner of our land and rally them around our unshakeable pillar of unity, the ANC.

All this demands supreme sacrifice but that will never prevent us from fulfilling our task successfully. We are a product and an inseparable part of a people whose capacity for sacrifice is immeasurably great. The shining example of Solomon Mahlangu, our six colleagues, brothers and comrades who have chosen death rather than surrender, Naphtali Manana, David Moise, Anthony Tsotsobe, Petros Mashigo, Johnson Lubisi and Johannes Shabangu and all the young gallant sons and daughters of our soil in the ranks of the ANC and Umkhonto We Sizwe are no accident. They are characteristic of our generation.

Let us in this historic Year of Unity in Action rise with the greatest resolve to hasten the downfall of the apartheid regime and the dawn of a new day in our country when our entire people shall be masters of their destiny once and for all. Our battlecry is: UNITY IN ACTION IS OUR KEY TO VICTORY.

## DAWN politiXword No.11Answers

ACROSS: 1. Umkhonto 6. Lethal 8. USSR  
10. Oath 11. Ghetto 14. Strategy  
16. Dawn 17. CIA

DOWN: 1. Upsurge 2. Kiss 3. Oil 4. TNI  
5. Rolihlahla 7. Heat 9. Rat 12. Tito  
13. Ago 15. Row

# HEROES OF OUR REVOLUTION

**Dr J.L DUBE (1871-1945)**

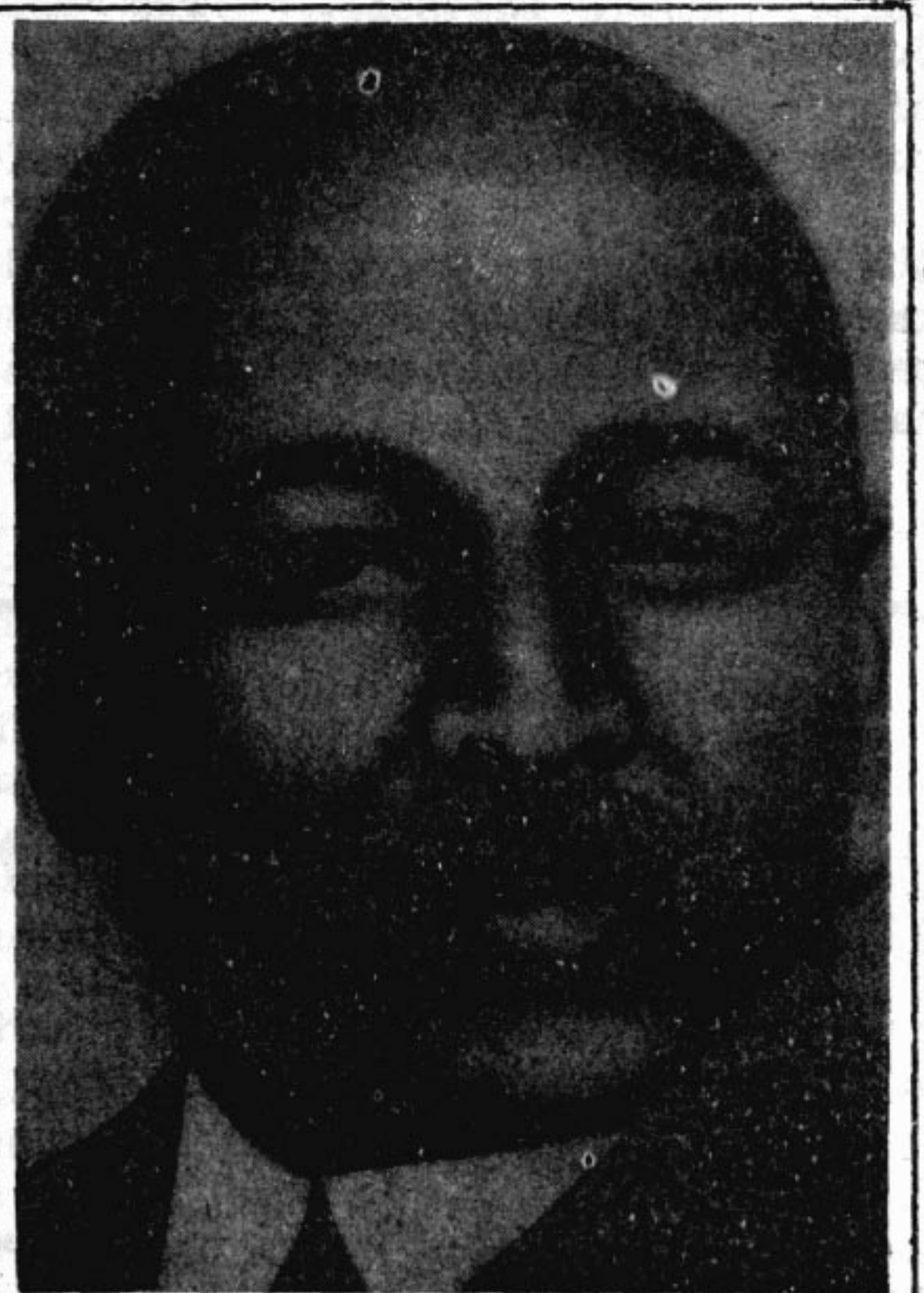
- Looksmart Makhanda

Our country has known men and women who in the course of time have risen to fame for various reasons. As history would have it some lost their fame during their living days or had it buried with their bodies; even the memory of their names has long faded from our minds. They are not mentioned even in books or talked about in tales. Theirs was a passing show.

Yet there are others whose names, ideas and actions have become part of our people's living and growing drive for liberation. These are the ones who knew what to live for; to share with their fellow countrymen their long-endured hardships and sacred hopes, and march hand in hand with them on the thorny path to a bright future. That is why we shall always remember men like John Langalibalele Dube even long after our cherished goal of a free and democratic South Africa has become an established reality.

## CHILDHOOD

John Dube was born in 1871 at Inanda, Natal.



JOHN LANGALIBALELE DUBE

He lived his early childhood days at a crucial moment in our people's bitter resistance against colonial domination. This was the time when the British imperialists were going all out to grab all our land, strip us of all manhood and turn us into wage slaves. He was 8 years old when one of our people's armies won a historic victory over the hordes of British marauders at Isandlwana and surely the joy of the old people over their achievement had a lasting impression on young Dube. Through the efforts of his parents he managed to receive elementary education and later went to study at Amanzimtoti Training Institute. In 1887 he went to the United States to further his studies and at times gave talks on the plight of his oppressed people in South Africa. In 1892 he returned to South Africa and became a teacher at Amanzimtoti. After his second visit to the United States (1897-1900) for further studies in theology he returned to his country and set about establishing the Ohlange Institute. Overcoming many obstacles, Dube succeeded in this effort so that in August 1901 the institute was formally opened. For fund-raising purposes for maintaining Ohlange Institute, Dube had to make more trips to the United States.

In a pamphlet he wrote in 1892 and headed 'A TALK UPON MY NATIVE LAND' he appealed to his people drawing their attention to the future saying in part: "Then shall Africa take her place as a nation among the nations; then shall her sons and daughters sing aloud - 'Let us Arise and Shine, for our light has come.'" In fact John Dube was one of the adherents of Ethiopianism, a religious movement which became one form of African people's opposition to racist colonial domination and one of the main currents that merged into the then emerging African Nationalism.

From his first days as a principal at Ohlange, Dube began to engage himself in journalistic work and in 1903 launched Natal's first African paper, the weekly *Ilanga laseNatal*. He remained its editor until 1914. This paper, like others established in other parts of the country, proved to be a useful weapon in the hands of the African people in expressing their opinions on the political situation in the country and attacking the policies of the racist colonial authorities. As a result Dube got arrested by the colonial rulers following a comment published by *Ilanga laseNatal* on the first battle between Bambata's warriors and the British troops in which four racist troops were killed. The paper had remarked: 'A remarkable thing...is that the four troopers who were killed were all in the firing party at the execution of the twelve men (African

patriots - ed.) at Richmond. What does this mean? Call it a remarkable coincidence if you please, but we regard it as having a deep meaning. whether we are superstitious or not."

## **BAMBATHA REBELLION**

Following the 1906 Bambata Rebellion which marked the closing of the first phase of our centuries of resistance to colonial domination the need for our people to unite and continue the struggle with new methods was assuming irresistible urgency. It was men like Dube who became the people's instrument in their response to the 1909 Act of the British imperial government, a racist law which consolidated the domination of the British and boer colonialists over our people through the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910. A meeting referred to as the South African Native Convention was convened in Bloemfontein in 1909 at which African leaders took a common stand on the racist law mentioned above. The delegates who attended came from all the corners of our country. Dube represented Natal, Walter Rubusana, the Cape and L. Makgothi the O.F.S. and one from the Transvaal. There was also a representative from Botswana (then called Bechuanaland). While the participants in this convention could not influence the decision of the British imperialists on the proposed union one thing is clear: the meeting was an important step towards the forging of unity by our people.

It was against this background that Pixley ka Izaka Seme declared in an article published in Imvo on October 24, 1911: "We are one people. These divisions, these jealousies, are the cause of all our woes and all our backwardness and ignorance today."

## **CLARION CALL**

In a matter of 2 months Seme's clarion call for the unity of the African people was to find its most fitting immediate response in one of the greatest events in our people's history. At a conference held in Bloemfontein on that memorable January 8, 1912 by decision of our people coming from the different parts of our country and beyond our borders the African National Congress was formed. It was no accident that John Dube was elected the President. Solomon Plaatjie was elected Secretary and Pixley ka Izaka Seme Treasurer. In this way Dube became a symbol of national unity against colonial domination not only for our people but also for our brother peoples in the neighbouring African states, who were represented at the founding conference of the ANC, and beyond. It was clear



from the very first day that the historic tasks of the national organisation which our people had chosen him to lead were great ones.

One of the urgent tasks of the ANC at the time was to give an expression to our people's bitter opposition to the 1913 Land Act which prohibited Africans, except in the Cape, from buying or leasing land from non-Africans outside the eight percent of the country's area which had been set aside for them by the racist government. In a petition written to the then racist Prime Minister Botha, expressing the fallacy and hypocrisy of the 'explanation' given by the colonialist authorities to justify the stripping of our people of their birthright to land, President John Dube remarked: "Whatever may be the explanation we can now speak from what we have seen of the effects even in the beginning, and which must inevitably grow worse and worse. We have seen our people driven from the places dear to them as the inheritance of generations, to become wanderers on the face of the earth. We have seen rents raised to the point of desperation. We have seen many of our people who by their frugality have laid by a little money in the hope of buying a small piece of land where they might make a home for their families and leave something for their children now told that their hopes are in vain; that no European is now permitted to sell or lease land to a native. We do not need any plainer explanation than what we have already seen." The full text of this petition was published in The Cape Argus. That was early 1914, and the same year John Dube led a deputation to England to protest against the 1913 Land Act. From then onwards he continued to discharge his duties as our president until in 1917 when he was succeeded by S.M. Makgato. In the years that followed John Dube continued to play an active role in the activities of the ANC as the Natal president. During the 1920's he attended the Pan-African conference in London. In 1935 he was elected to the executive committee of the All African Convention. Due to ill health he had to be relieved of his duties as ANC's president in the Natal branch. In 1945 John Langalibalele Dube, one of the founding fathers of the ANC, our vanguard national organisation for independence and freedom died.

As we look back to those days when our people had to forge for themselves a weapon for forging national unity for the first time in our history of resistance to colonial domination, we salute our founding fathers who spearheaded the creation of the ANC by our people. In this collective endeavour John Dube played his role in spite of the limitations of

his times. It is a matter of great historic significance that he became the first president of a revolutionary organisation that was destined to be a vital component of the forces of liberation not only in our country but also in our entire continent and the entire world.

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# WE BELIEVE

We have a belief  
We believe in the  
African National Congress  
The pillar of our struggle.

We have a trust  
We trust in the  
African National Congress  
Which guides us.

The African National Congress  
Is our train to salvation  
We, members of Umkhonto We Sizwe  
We, members of  
The Spear of the Nation.

We have no other belief but  
In the African National Congress  
We have no other trust but  
In the African National Congress  
The University  
Through which we see the world.

The African National Congress  
Did not only plant our seeds  
But it is watering everyday of our lives  
From the loss of our heroes' lives  
Taken by those who are haunting our lives.

We are proud to be what we are  
We are proud to be doing what we are doing  
We are serving the people of South Africa.

The African National Congress  
Is our University  
The African National Congress  
Is our mother  
It is our father.

The African National Congress  
Is our sky  
Which is always blue  
The African National Congress  
Is the trunk of our tree  
Which is evergreen  
The accomodator of all  
Under the sprawling wings  
Of the Freedom Charter.

We are proud to be what we are  
We are proud to be doing what we are doing  
We are serving the people of South Africa.

-James Pitse

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# AFRO-ARAB STRUGGLES FOR LIBERATION

A PAPER SUBMITTED BY THE DELEGATION OF THE ANC  
TO THE AFRO-ARAB SOLIDARITY CONFERENCE HELD IN  
LUANDA - DECEMBER 6-9th, 1981.

## Part 1

The struggle for national liberation in the Middle East and Southern Africa have so much in common that it is only natural for the peoples waging these struggles to join their hands in their efforts. The commonness of these struggles derives not only from the identity of the principles they fight to assert, but also from the similarities, in character, of the regimes they are ranged against - Zionist Israel and apartheid South Africa.

## HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Like the apartheid regime in South Africa, the origins of the Zionist state of Israel is linked to the British imperial history of colonial expansion. In the early part of the 20th century, Britain was interested in securing the two principal routes of access to its domains in the Far East. It was however impossible to do this without controlling the two strategic points along these routes: the Cape of Good Hope at the southern-most tip of the African continent and the Suez Canal and other routes in the Arab East. It was thus not a coincidence that Britain later became the ruling colonial power in these regions.

European settlement in South Africa began in 1652 when the Dutch East India Company set up a halfway station to India, at the Cape. This station soon grew into a colony incorporating land usurped from the local population. Thus in no less than seven years of their arrival at the Cape, the Dutch settlers were already involved in wars, for the possession of land, with the indigenous people.

With the decline of Holland, early in the 19th century, England took over the control of the Cape. British control later spread to Natal and after the Anglo-Boer War it covered the whole of South Africa. Settler colonialism in South Africa was finally consolidated by the South Africa Union Act of 1910 which gave control of the country to the joint British-Boer rule, leaving the colonial status of the black population unchanged.

Calls for a settlement in the Middle East began in the 19th century. It was however not until the emergence of Zionism, a bourgeois Jewish political movement, that a definite programme for a settlement in Palestine began. Zionism was, from the outset, entangled in colonial ideology; no wonder Zionist thinkers spoke the same language as the colonialists. Moses Hess, an early Zionist leader once wrote that after the work on the Suez Canal had been completed, the interests of world commerce (a euphemism for colonial pillage) will require the establishment of depots and settlements along the road to India and China. This, he asserted, can occur only under the military protection of the European powers. In this connection he described the calling of the Jews as that of "a living channel of communication to the primitive people of Asia."

Writing about the involvement of the British imperial government in the destinies of the peoples of South Africa and

Palestine, Richard Stevens had this to say: "Among the various decisions of the Western world which have affected the lives and destinies of the peoples of the so-called Third World, none have revealed more clearly the very essence of western ethnocentrism nor have demonstrated more conclusively the capacity of the western world to transform, translate and legitimise its basic power thrust under the cloak of international law and morality than two decisions reached in London in 1909 and 1917; the first known as the South African Act of Union and second, the Balfour Declaration... Palestine and South Africa - lands some 35 000 miles apart but each the concern of the same Chancery, each sacrificed in the name of western peoples and British imperial interests and the details of the sacrifice arranged by the same statesmen."

General Smuts, then a member of the British Imperial cabinet and Prime Minister of South Africa, played a significant role in the formulation of both the South Africa Union Act and the Balfour Declaration. At the United Nations Smuts argued very strongly for the partition of Palestine and the establishment of a "Jewish homeland." It was thus not surprising that South Africa was among the first countries to recognise the state of Israel in 1948.

## ISRAEL AND AFRICA

In the late 50's and throughout the 60's new independent African states were born. The leaders of these young nations having been produced by the anti-colonial struggles were very sensitive to foreign domination and particularly critical and hostile to South Africa's apartheid policies. In the United Nations, these nations states shifted the balance of forces in favour of the developing world, especially the Afro-Arab nations.

Following the denunciation of the establishment of a "Jewish homeland" and affirmation of the rights of the Palestinian people by the Bandung Conference in 1955, and the growing numerical strength of the African states in international forums, Israel embarked on a campaign to cultivate friendly relations with these states.

This effort was aimed at breaking out of the economic boycott of the Arab countries, to exploit the economic opportunities opened up in the young African states, and to drive a wedge between the Arab and African states on the question of Palestine in particular and that of struggles for national liberation in general. With this end in mind, Israel became critical of apartheid. From 1960 to 1970 this caused problems

between Israel and South Africa.

Between 1960 and the early 1970's, Israel built up strong and wide-ranging relations with the sub-Saharan countries. Trade relations between Israel and the African continent rose from almost nothing in the late 50's to \$72-million in 1971. Meanwhile Israel exports rose from \$10,5-million in 1960 to \$47,5-million in 1971. Perhaps the most successful of Israeli efforts were participation in joint African-Israeli companies and projects. Between 1957 and 1963 Israel entered into joint partnership in 42 African companies worth \$200-million. And by 1966 Israel had become involved in nearly 200 companies worth \$500-million. In Israel itself several institutions were created to fit in with this effort of developing rapport with the African states. Prominent among these was the Afro-Asian Institute for Labour Studies and Co-operation in Tel Aviv.

In furtherance of its new efforts, in 1962 Israel voted in favour of the United Nations General Assembly resolution calling for the severance of all relations with South Africa and the imposition of sanctions against the regime. This annoyed South Africa, and in retaliation the regime rescinded the special concessions in foreign currency regulations which had allowed the South African Jews free transfer of funds to Israel.

In 1966, Israel again supported the United Nations resolution in the General Assembly revoking South Africa's mandate over Namibia, causing further strains in Israeli-South African relations. However, in spite of this apparent misunderstanding and the United Nations General Assembly resolutions, in favour of which Israel voted, Israeli-South African trade and economic relations between 1960 and 1970 grew gradually.

## ISRAEL AND SOUTH AFRICA

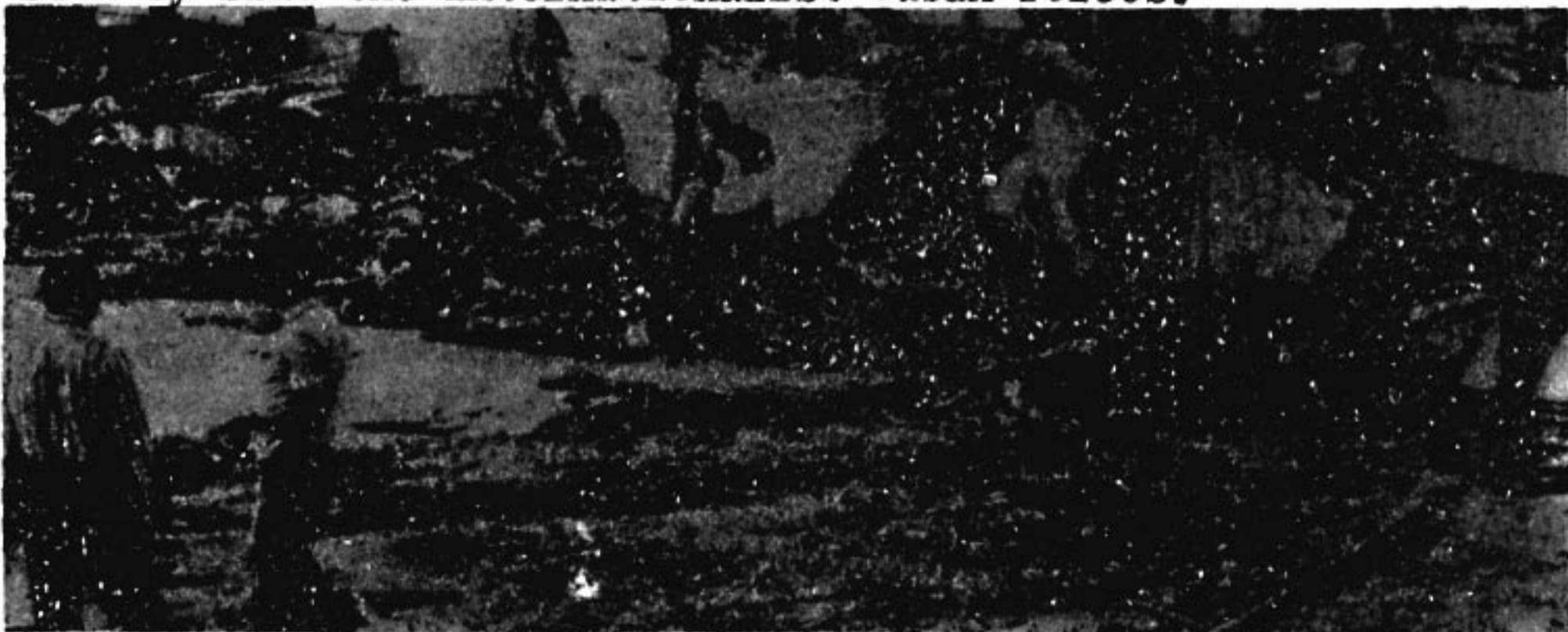
In 1969 the Africa Research Group published an article which revealed the links between the counter-revolutionary and anti-communist efforts of Israel and the United States in Africa. A similar arrangement, perhaps with slight changes, exists between the US and South Africa. South Africa and Israel by virtue of their geo-political positions, play similar roles, within their respective regions, in the world imperialist strategy. Both have been active in the military and intelligence activities against revolutionaries and progressive countries.

In fulfilment of its surrogate role, South Africa has carried out subversive activities aimed at destabilising established governments in Southern Africa. It has intervened in various ways, including military actions in the affairs of these states.

In Zimbabwe it assisted and fought on the side of the white minority regime. After independence it trained renegades and counter-revolutionaries with the aim of overthrowing the new government. In Lesotho it is training and giving military assistance to the reactionary so-called Liberation army of Ntsu Mokhehle.

Besides continuing to provide armaments and logistics to the terrorist group of Mushala, in Zambia the racist regime has been involved in a coup plot which, thanks to the vigilance of the Zambian people, was uncovered and foiled.

During the struggle for national liberation in Mozambique and Angola, the racist regime fostered dissident groups to cause confusion among the people so as to weaken support for the genuine liberation movements - MPLA and FRELIMO. Unrelenting in its efforts to fight against the forces of liberation, after the independence of these countries the Pretoria regime threw its weight behind the counter-revolutionary National Resistance Movement in Mozambique and UNITA bandits in Angola. In 1975, encouraged by the US Administration, South Africa invaded the People's Republic of Angola. This invasion was however beaten back by the heroic Angolan forces fighting side by side the internationalist Cuban forces.



#### *Racist South African sabotage in Angola*

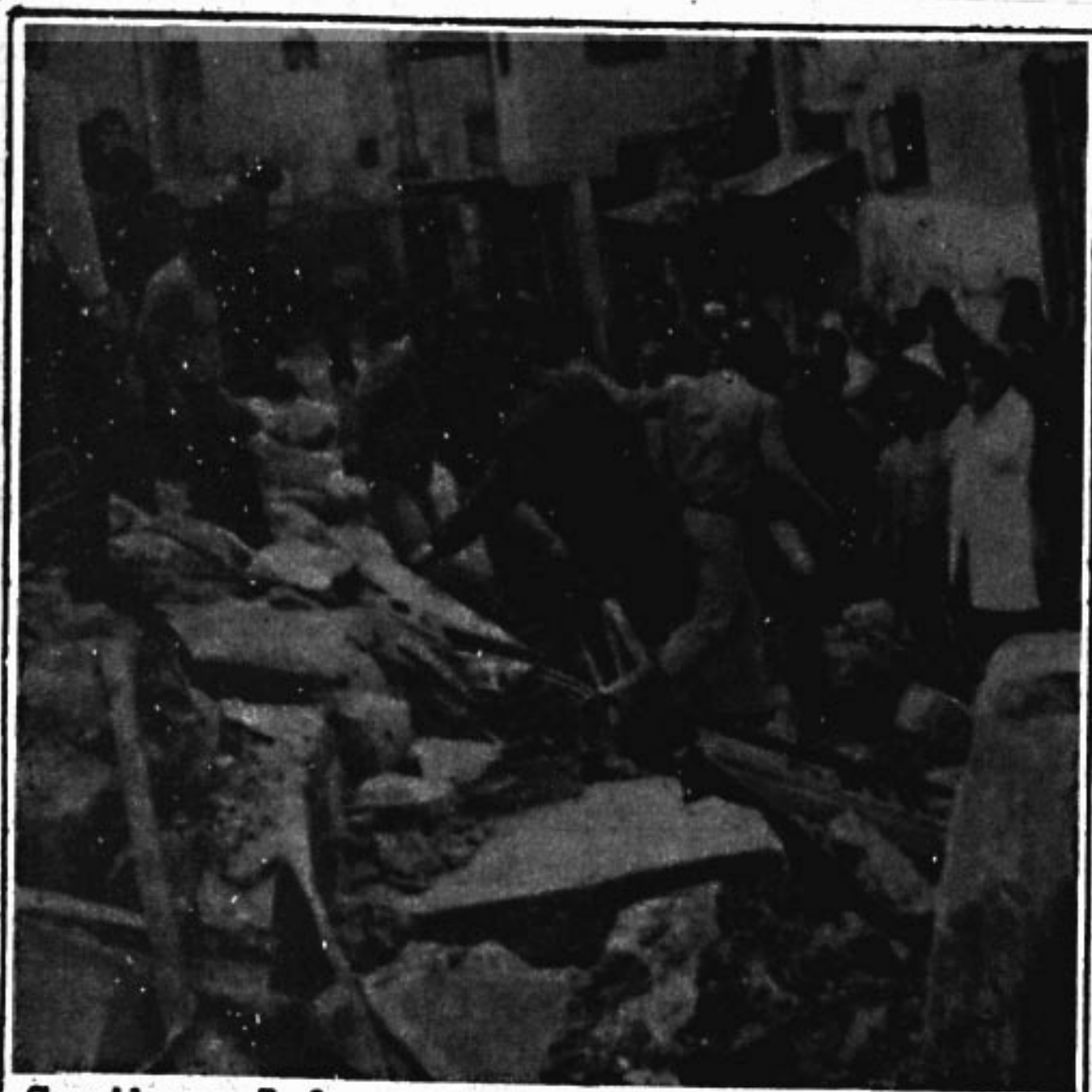
Again abetted by the US Administration headed by Reagan, the racist regime has invaded Angola. Up to this day racist troops are occupying part of the Angolan soil; they are wreaking havoc and death, destroying factories, schools and hospitals, burning down villages, and killing and maiming innocent people. The aim of the racist regime is not only to disrupt the plans for national reconstruction of Angola, but also to force the Angolan government to abandon the African National Congress and South West Africa People's Organisation.

However, in spite of the difficulties which they have had to bear as a result of these barbarous invasions, the Angolan people and their government are as hard as a rock in their resolve to support the struggle for national liberation in South Africa and Namibia.

### **ADVANCE BASE FOR IMPERIALISM**

Like the racist regime in South Africa, Zionist Israel serves as an advance base for imperialism in the Middle East; it is used against the Arab nations and national liberation movements in the region. This was seen in 1956 when Israel formed a tripartite force, with Britain and France, against Egypt following the nationalisation of the Suez Canal by President Nasser. The 1967 war against Egypt and Syria and the occupation of Arab lands in Palestine exemplified the nature and character of Zionist Israel.

Zionist aggressions on the neighbouring Arab states dates back to the very first year of the establishment of Israel as a state. In less than a year of its creation the state of Israel extended its territory onto the Arab lands. With the passage of years these aggressions have become a constant feature in the lives of the peoples in the neighbouring Arab countries.



**Southern Lebanon...remains of a village**



In pursuance of its expansionist policies, Israel has unilaterally declared Jerusalem its capital. This action further shows Israel's determination to deepen the conflict in the Middle East. In Lebanon, Palestinian refugee camps and Lebanese villages have been subjected to almost daily aggressions by the Israeli forces. Besides, in collusion with the imperialists, Israel is co-ordinating isolationist groups, supplying them with all needed military, financial, political and logistical support.

Israel's aims are to suppress and strangle Arab nationalism and liberation movements, and to subject the Arab states to its military hegemony. The dastardly attack on the Iraqi nuclear plant eloquently testifies to this fact. To no lesser degree, as an imperialist outpost, Israel also aims to create conditions that will be favourable to the strategies of US imperialism.

TO BE CONTINUED IN NEXT ISSUE.

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# NAKED AMONG WOLVES

by

BRUNO APITZ

## Chapter 10

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Hofel and Krepinski would certainly not be finished off so quickly. But that was just what troubled Bechow the most. He was alone in the wing of his block. Runki was in the clerks' room, and the room attendants were bringing the food containers to the kitchen. Bechow was printing senseless notes for the block fuhrer, with distress in his heart. He pushed away the penholder and supported his head on his fists. The groups must be informed. This could not happen until evening, when the whole camp was in. But what might occur before that? Bechow racked his brain. Maybe there was no reason for all this worry? Maybe Hofel would hold out and rather be beaten to death than... But he was still living, and as long as he lived, there was also the danger... Bechow stared before him at the table.

Kramer too, sat in his room, balled his hands into hard fists, and cursed Hofel's soft-heartedness and the child which had come, so innocent, so culpable, into the camp. Anxiety gnawed at his brain too, and he felt the same impotence before the dangers which were threatening them like forces of nature. But he could not sit about here and cudgel his brain, something had to be done.

Suddenly Kramer became active. He moved the battery from the flashlight which he, as camp senior, was permitted to use, substituted an old dead one, put the flashlight in his pocket and left the room.

He went to Schupp. What a good thing Kramer had thought of taking along the flashlight. The Scharfuhrer was present in the barrack, and Kramer now had a pretext for his visit. He had Schupp change the battery. A few murmured words, a brief look were enough; they understood one another, and shortly afterwards Schupp was at Kramer's.

"You must try to find out what they want of Hofel. I have to know."

Schupp scratched his neck worriedly. "How should I do that?"

Kramer's hand swept the air impatiently. "It doesn't matter how, you've done other things already. Go to the bunker and repair the light circuit."

Schupp sighed: "It has to be out of order first."

Suddenly that innocently astonished expression came over his face. Mouth and eyes grew round; a thought seemed to have come to him. "Forste," was all he said.

Kramer shook his head doubtfully. "I've thought of that too. Who is Forste, really? Is he on our side, or is he a tool of Mandrill?"

Schupp blinked effortfully, looked through the window at the big clock over the gate, and was suddenly in a hurry.

"I'll try it."

"Be careful, Heinrich," Kramer called after him, but Schupp was already outside. At this time, he knew, the bunker janitor, who was kept strictly isolated from the camp, had his daily free half-hour, which he usually spent strolling outside the camp gate. What Schupp knew about Forste was not much. Going his rounds, Schupp had often seen the janitor taking a walk. Out of pure curiosity to test the inner qualities of the man, Schupp had winked at him confidentially in passing by.

Forste had not reacted visibly to the friendly gesture,

but there had been no rejection in his face either. To Schupp a good sign, in which he now had confidence as he walked towards the gate with his tool kit.

He did not have to report out; he had a permanent pass. He got busy on the outside of the front building. He examined the cable for the microphone stand which ran from the report fuhrer's office around the building and into the camp. At this hour it was quiet at the gate. The block fuhrer on duty was bored and was killing time around the gate window. Sometimes he walked over to Schupp and watched him working on the plug switch.

"Is something out of order?" he asked.

"Not yet," answered Schupp philosophically. "But if the report fuhrer connects up the microphone, it could be out of order, and then hell would break loose." Schupp tapped at the switch. "This is war material, after all, and there's always something wrong with it. You see the laminas in here? They often burn through."

The block fuhrer twisted up his face in boredom. "Shut up," he said lazily, uninterested in Schupp's explanations. Schupp was content. He looked for one job after another. The bunker janitor would have to appear any minute. Sure enough, the iron-grilled bunker door soon clattered open, and Forste came out, reporting to the block fuhrer for his free half-hour. Schupp's tension grew. After he had laboriously examined the switch, he walked along the cable. He arranged it in such a way that the block fuhrer could hear him when he asked Forste naturally, "Is your electricity in order?"

So unexpectedly addressed, the janitor looked at Schupp in amazement, and answered with a brief nod. Unnoticed by the block fuhrer, Schupp winked one eye. Forste caught the secret sign without showing that he did. Schupp advanced to the second phase of the manoeuvre. Feeling along the cable he made his way around the entrance gate towards the outside of the building. If Forste had been made curious by the signal, he would look for an opportunity. This was what Schupp figured. He was pleased to see that the janitor was approaching him. He looked questioningly at Schupp who, extremely busy about the cable, murmured to Forste between his teeth:

"Too bad, I would have liked to repair your electricity. What do they want of Hefel?" Schupp ejected the words hastily.

Forste walked on and passed by the gate entrance to let himself be seen by the block fuhrer. Schupp's tension was at the breaking point. The fateful word had been spoken. How

would the janitor react? He showed nothing. Calmly he continued his walk. But as he came past again, Schupp noticed a particular expression on the janitor's face. The features were grave and unmoving, but he slowly lowered his gaze. This was agreement. Schupp knew enough. He hung the tool kit over his shoulder. The microphone cable was in order.

Returning to Kramer he said: "I think that will do it."

## THE JANITOR EAVESDROPS

That night the bunker janitor did not sleep. He lay on a straw sack in his cell and waited. About this time Mandrill was usually sitting in the casino and beozing. When he came back he would haul out one of the bunker inmates and stage an interrogation of his own in his room.

The janitor could tell the degree of the interrogation by the kind of screams that shrilled through the bunker in the dead of night. Sometimes he was summoned and had to drag a body streaming with blood back into a cell. Or sometimes, in the morning, before the corpse bearers came, he would find a dead man under Mandrill's cot. Then he would drag the body over to the washroom.

It was deathly still in the bunker. Ferste lay with his arms crossed beneath his head. What time must it be now? Outside, the everlasting rain swept down across the camp.

Ferste slipped into a light doze, from which he was suddenly startled. The passage had come to life.

Heavy steps sounded. Ferste listened with awakened senses. He recognised Mandrill by the steps that crunched past his cell. A cell nearby was unlocked. Reineboth and Kluttig had come along with Mandrill and had taken off their wet coats. Reineboth was sitting on the cot. Kluttig walked restlessly up and down with his uniform jacket unbuttoned. On Mandrill's desk stood a skull that was illuminated inside.

Thrust forward by Mandrill, Krepinski and Hefel tottered into the room. They remained shakily standing, and trembled all over. Their clothing was still wet. Krepinski stood bent over and had pulled his head deep inside his shoulders. He was terribly cold. Hefel was also shuddering with the cold. His jaw was chattering.

Reineboth regarded the two with the look of a connoisseur. The beating seemed to have done its job. He got up unhurriedly and stood with his legs apart.

"Listen here, you two," he said. "This afternoon we were

only having a bit of fun with you. Now it's getting serious." Again he picked on Kropinski first.

"As I see, you understood our German very well. Good boy." Reineboth took the knout from the table and waggled it up and down, dangling it against the tip of Kropinski's nose.

"Where did you bring that Jew brat?" Kropinski looked at Reineboth with a pained expression on his face; something like appeal was in it. Reineboth let the knout whip through the air. "I'll count to three. Answer!" Kropinski pressed his lips together, his face contorted as if he wanted to cry. "One, two, three..." Kropinski shook his head vehemently. Reineboth hit him across the face with the knout right and left. Kropinski screamed wildly, the strokes rattled down on him. Blinded, he reeled backwards, falling against Kluttig, who thrust him back with a kick, and Kropinski staggered here and there under the torrent of blows until he collapsed, meaning. Reineboth beat murderously at the fallen man, who rolled on the floor wildly. All this took place behind Hofel's back. He was standing with his head stretched forward, listening behind him, and gazing absently at Mandrill's gray face. Mandrill seemed to be thinking about something, and watched Hofel's Adam's apple, which rose and fell as he gulped. All at once he clasped Hofel's neck in his hamlike hands and pressed his thumbs against the windpipe. Hofel's eyesight left him. He was choked by suffocation and nausea. But just as he was losing his senses, he got his breath back. Mandrill had loosened his grip.

Hofel breathed heavily. Behind him he heard Kluttig's enraged screeches and Kropinski's gurgling cries of pain, like a death rattle. Reineboth did not desist until the Pole fell silent. Only then did he throw Mandrill the knout, which the latter caught expertly. The young man's face no longer had its well-groomed smoothness, it was hideously distorted. Reineboth hooked his fingers into Hofel's chest and gasped, fagged out from beating: "Now it's your turn!" Hofel was attacked from behind by Kluttig, who bent his arms backward. Hofel writhed with pain. Kluttig braced his knee against Hofel's back and forced his arms up so high that Hofel began to scream loudly in mad pain, and fell to his knees. Then Mandrill hit out. The brass-studded end of the knout swished mercilessly down against the back of Hofel's head. Hofel fell on his face and lost consciousness under the blows.

"That's enough for now," Reineboth interrupted Mandrill. "We'll continue in half an hour."

Mandrill dragged the battered men back into the cell, threw a splash of ice-cold water over them, and locked the door.

## WHO ARE THE OTHERS

Suddenly the electric bulb on the ceiling lit up. The door was ripped open, and Kluttig's piercing voice tore the protective isolation aside like a blanket, and the senses of both men, naked and exposed, quivered in anticipation of coming agonies. With an effort they stood upright. Kluttig was avid, he screamed at Hofel: "Who are the others in your secret organization?" An icy terror shot through Hofel. "Will you talk?" Kluttig grabbed Hofel roughly by the front of his jacket and hurled him against the wall. Hofel's knees gave way. Mandrill threw himself on top of him, forced his hands together behind his back, tied them with the rope, and pulled Hofel up. Hofel felt Kluttig's breath in his face as he screamed again: "Who are the others? Talk, man! I'll kill you!"

Now Hofel knew what they wanted of him, but he also knew what he could expect if he kept silent. He forced all his strength together and writhed, groaning, under the pressure of his inner torment. Reineboth observed the struggle delineated in Hofel's face, and when he thought that the crisis was near he gave Mandrill a sign. "Hang him!"

It went through Hofel like gunfire. He uttered a long-drawn cry. The fear of the horrible torture made his body as naked as if it were skinless. Screaming, he braced himself against Mandrill, who dragged him to the window and threw the rope through the grating. Mandrill was just about to pull when Reineboth prevented him. Drowning out Hofel's lunatic screaming, he bellowed: "Tell two names! Tell one, do you hear, just one! Come on! Tell!"

Reineboth waited one more moment. Fear must soon break the dam of will power and swamp him.

"Come on, quick! Talk!" But Hofel did not listen. He screamed. He threw back his head and moved it convulsively from side to side. Mandrill pulled the rope tight with one jerk.

Hofel's arms were wrenched upward, the shoulder joints cracked. He was swinging! His scream turned into a whistling sound. The muscles at the nape, strained to splitting, became hard as iron, and the stretched-out neck went stiff and stark as stone. After Mandrill had knotted the rope to the bars, he threw himself on Kropinski, who had crept fearfully into a

corner.

"I not know nothing," he wept. He was tied up, pulled to the window, and strung up beside Hofel. They both screamed like animals. Reineboth was familiar with the course of the process.

The screams seldom lasted longer than two minutes; then the man's strength was used up and could produce no more than a childlike whimpering. Kluttig stood before the hanging men with his fists on his hips. His eyelids trembled. As long as the two were screaming, it was no use talking to them; they heard nothing. One had to wait. Mandrill lit a cigarette. "Listen, Hofel! We'll untie you now. If you don't tell what you know, we'll let you dangle till you turn into a jumping jack." Reineboth went over to Kropinski. "That goes for you too, Pole!" To give his threat substance Reineboth took them both by the belt and pulled as at a bell rope. Each jerk, which multiplied the load of the hanging bodies by hundreds of pounds, made both men scream piercingly. Their faces changed color. Reineboth accompanied the fiendish game with friendly words: "To show you that we aren't inhuman, we'll untie you now. I advise you to be grateful." At a sign from him, Mandrill loosened the ropes, and they both sank to the ground.

Reineboth exchanged a glance with Kluttig, who nodded assent. Mandrill arranged the bodies against the wall in a semi-sitting position. Reineboth lifted Hofel's hanging head with the tip of his boot.

"What do you know about Kramer?" Hofel kept his eyes closed. Reineboth waited a while, then he let Hofel's head go, and it sank back over his chest. "Good," he said, "let's start the other way round. What have you got to say about yourself?"

The silence of waiting, which lasted seconds, was torn by Kluttig, who yelled out in shrill rage and kicked the two like a football player.

"Will you talk, you hoodlums?"

Reineboth, cleverer and more controlled than Kluttig, bent over the two men, who were lying on the floor. "Listen, we'll leave you alone now. We'll be back soon. Get your breath and think it over carefully. Either you tell us what we want to know, and stay alive, or we hang you by the neck, and then your little boy won't have any dear uncles any more."

Reineboth stood up and said sneeringly: "Come, gentlemen, the patients require quiet for meditation."

The key cracked relentlessly in the lock, the light went out.

The night was kind. Its guardian hours glided noiselessly across the two, like healing hands. Forste did not have to listen any more, he knew it was over for today.

He fell asleep. But in the cell not far from his own, a whispering had begun, so soft that it barely stirred the air in the room.

"What they want to know names from us?"

Hofel did not answer Kropinski's question. Supported against one another, they had stood themselves against the wall, in order not to freeze on the icy cement floor in their wet clothing.

"You not want to tell to me?" began Kropinski again after a while. But Hofel still kept silent. He let his head hang, and the darkness protected his face from Kropinski's eyes.

Hofel's thoughts could not advance beyond the barrier of guilt. They strayed amidst the rubble of his burst ego, stumblingly seeking a path in the pathless confusion. His nerves were like red-hot wires, and inside him he was screaming as if he were still hanging. To flee the fear he whispered hastily, driven: "They'll come back! Listen! They'll come back! We'll be hanged again!... Listen, I can't stand it another time! I..." Hofel pressed his larynx shut. The words dammed up. Hofel listened for sounds beside him. It remained still. Kropinski said nothing. The despair became a torment to Hofel. The man standing next to him was just as frightened as he was and threw him no helpful word that Hofel could cling to in the maelstrom of dissolution.

Hofel felt compelled to speak of it, in order to disburden himself of his guilt towards Kropinski, but there was resistance in him against uncovering what was so deeply guarded. Yet the man beside him was his comrade in death, after all, and would take it with him to the other side. This thought turned the scales, and Hofel began to talk, hesitantly at first, tearing strip after strip from his secret. "They want to know who the comrades in the apparatus are... We have an apparatus, you see... The camp knows nothing about it. No one knows anything..." He told of his own activity as military instructor. "You know, we sit in the evening under a barrack of the infirmary, under the ground, you understand?... I show them how to cock a pistol and how to aim..." He related how Soviet comrades had secretly smuggled weapons into the camp, and when Kropinski asked



whether there were also Polish comrades in the groups, Hofel said yes and described the courageous deed of Joseph Lewandowski. "That was before the camp was bombed; at that time the Gustloff Works were still standing, and carbines were manufactured there. We wanted to bring one of them into the camp. Lewandowski did that. We waited for a day when the block fuhrer from Block 19 with the crooked neck had gate duty, because he can't stand the sight of blood, and that day Lewandowski made believe he was sick and fell over against the machine and he..." Hofel swallowed, "he purposely held his arm in the slide rest. His whole forearm was torn open. He bled horribly, and we laid him on a stretcher, and under Lewandowski was the carbine... The blood simply dripped but Lewandowski was perfectly still when we got to the gate and didn't move. The block fuhrer with the crooked neck got weak in the knees and we quickly carried Lewandowski through the gate. Afterwards we notched the carbine, in the bore and in the butt end. It became our drill carbine. I used it to show the comrades how to load, how to manipulate the lock and how to take it apart."

Hofel broke off. He had said enough to drive the fear out of himself...

Now he was glad he had someone beside him who knew it too and with whom he felt united.

Kropinski had listened breathlessly. He wanted so much to say something, but he was too overwhelmed. He only whispered, "Dobrze," again and again, "dobrze, dobrze."

Telling the story had strengthened Hofel somewhat. He knew that fundamentally he was not a coward and had the will power to hold out. The horrible fear came from the nerves. He only needed to think they would come back and hang him again and immediately he shuddered all over. His muscles trembled, and he was flooded with fear. He quaked before the dreadful moment when the bridge between strength and will would crack, and that was why he sought a foothold in Kropinski; it was almost an imploring plea for this foothold when he said to Kropinski, after a while; "You see, that's why they want to know the names."

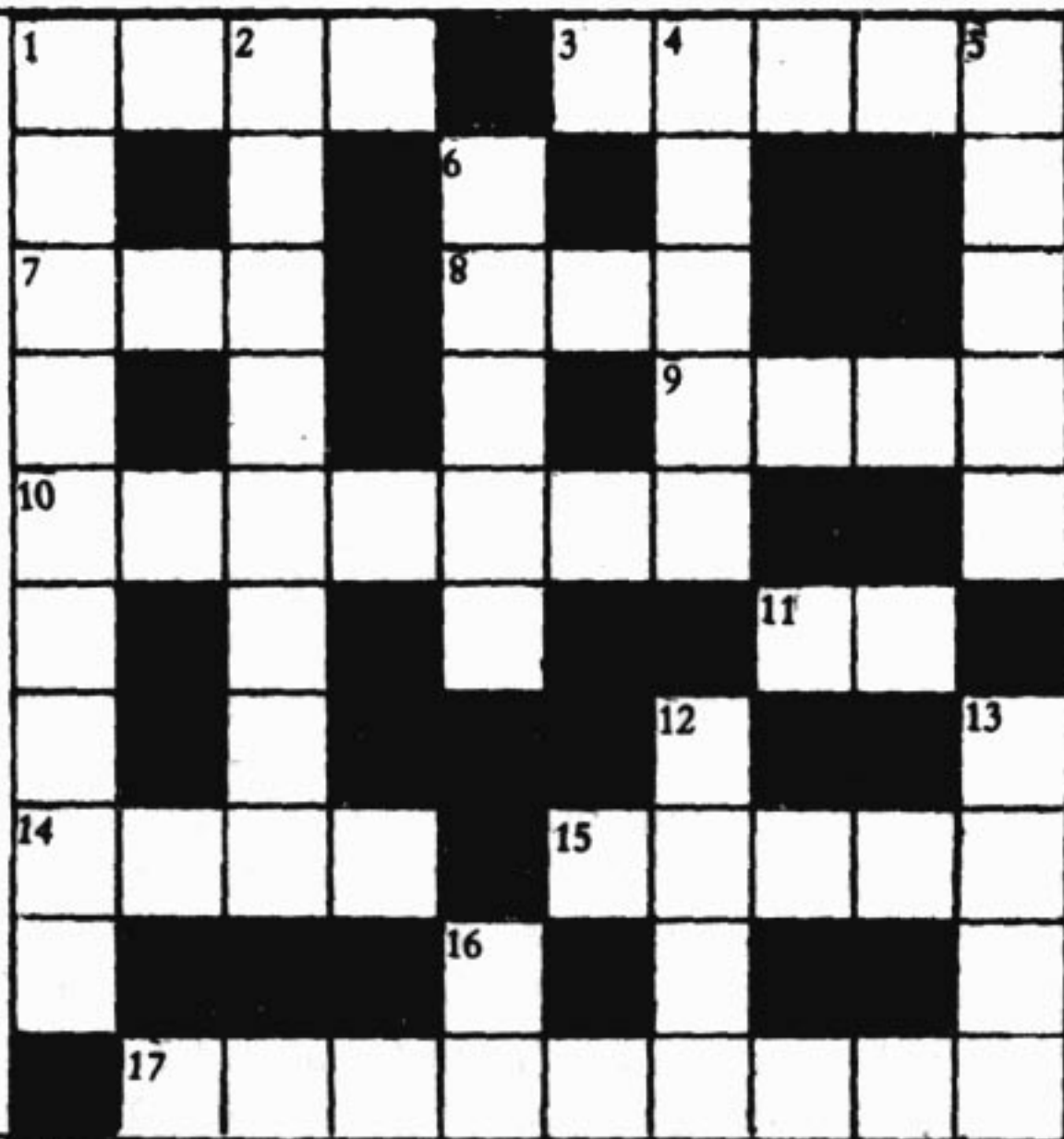
Kropinski understood, he wanted to help and he had nothing but his solidarity. "I also will hang, and I know now everything, like you. We poor little people and all alone, and nobody protect. But we not say nothing, no word? We will scream, always scream when they want to know names. That is better as if we tell..."

TO BE CONTINUED IN NEXT ISSUE.

# DAWN

## PolitiXword

No. 1



### Clues

#### Across

- 1. First President of the ANC.
- 3. "Forward to the Year of ..... in Action!"
- 7. The first liberation Movement in our continent.
- 8. To fail to keep up.
- 9. Sometimes referred to Socialist countries.
- 10. Holds authority in an army.
- 11. Initials of the late Comrade Marks.
- 14. The pointed end.
- 15. Chairman of the ANC's Revolutionary Council.
- 17. "Left-Wing" Communism - an..... Disorder.

#### Down

- 1. Racist South Africa's fascistic laws.
- 2. Modern combat planes.
- 4. A country in Central Africa.
- 5. The year 1981 was dedicated to it.
- 6. The colour of our flag.
- 12. Real or sham food placed to attract prey.
- 13. Polish citizen.
- 16. The last bastion of imperialism in Africa.

See Answers in DAWN Vol.6 No. 2

# **DISCIPLINE IS THE MOTHER OF VICTORY**

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

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

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

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

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

**Learn well how to seek revenge.  
Courage but intelligent courage!**

***ACT NOW!***

**STOP THE RACIST MURDER  
OF COMRADES**

**NAPTHALI MANANA**

**ANTHONY TSOTSOBE**

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**DAVID MOISE**



**FIGHT FOR  
THEIR RELEASE**