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Monthly Journal of Umkhonto we Sizwe



# DAWN



Monthly Journal of Umkhonto we Sizwe

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**COVER:** Presidents A.E. Xuma, A.J. Luthuli  
and O.R. Tambo.



Editorial Comment

# ORGANISE FOR VICTORY

The apartheid system of the super-exploitation of millions of workers by a handful of big bellies, a system whose smooth-running and survival depends on the brutal national domination of the Black masses, is presently in the grips of the most serious crisis it has ever gone through. The most painful and disgusting thing about this whole situation is that it is not the architects and beneficiaries of this inhuman system which breeds crisis who are bearing the brunt but its victims.

As we are writing almost every black family in our country finds itself tortured by uncertainty about what is going to happen to them tomorrow. Whereas our country is so rich with mineral wealth, agricultural products and foodstuffs from the sea and whereas throughout our lives from generation to generation we have been working like slaves to make South Africa what it is today: "a land of sunshine" as the bourgeoisie call it, we are reduced to a beggarly existence. The price of bread and other basic foodstuffs is shockingly high. The same thing applies to rent and transport fares. Meanwhile, the fascist Pretoria rulers in collaboration with the big-bellies are spending billions of rands to buy arms to shoot us down as soon as we rise up in demand of bread.

To add salt to our wounds the government of Botha and Malan, while shouting deceptive slogans like 'reforms' is busy making final preparations for implementing schemes like the so-called President's Council to divide the Coloured and Indian people from their African brothers and yet another fascist law, the Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill is being rushed through parliament to further tighten the chain of national domination around the necks of the African people.

All this leaves us with no choice but to fight back! Our very existence, our survival, now depends solely on the resistance which we put up against the whole system: starvation, unemployment, high rents and transport fares, the bantustan system, puppet community councils, the President's Council divide-and-rule scheme. Now more than ever before the urgency of the destruction of the entire apartheid state system and the seizure of power by the oppressed and exploited Black majority for the realisation of our basic demands in the Freedom Charter, is making itself felt through the unbearable hardships we are going through as well as the unbridled brutality unleashed by the Botha-Malan tyranny against its opponents both inside and outside South Africa.

We must waste no time! The enemy knows that the apartheid system cannot last forever and is therefore doing everything to postpone our liberation. We must deny the Pretoria fascists and their imperialist allies the breathing space they so desperately need.

Let us organise for v i c t o r y !

Our trade unions, civic, youth, women, church and other organisations which we have so successfully used in the past as in the 1981 Anti-fascist Republic and Anti-SAIC campaigns must now be turned into effective weapons not only for winning our immediate demands but also to crush the entire system of brutal exploitation and oppression. Let us organise the unorganised workers into democratic trade unions and work for unity in our trade unions and other mass organisations.

Let us join the African National Congress and Umkhonto we Sizwe underground and confront the enemy bullet for bullet, to effectively combine our military actions with mass political actions and win freedom in our life-time.

# "WHAT IS TO BE DONE?"

*STATEMENT OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE  
OF THE ANC ON JANUARY 8 1983, THE 71st ANNIVERSARY  
OF THE FOUNDING OF THE AFRICAN  
NATIONAL CONGRESS.*

Fellow South Africans, today, January 8th, we mark the 71st Anniversary of our organisation, the African National Congress. We are beginning a new political year. We must therefore set ourselves new tasks which we should strive to achieve in the coming year. We are marking the important occasion in the history of our protracted struggle at the time when the revolutionary ferment amongst all sections of the black oppressed majority has reached unprecedented heights and has plunged the ruling racist clique into deeper and deeper levels of political and economic crisis.

A distinctive feature of this all-round crisis facing the oppressor class is that the initiative has shifted into the hands of the people and continues so to shift. We are on the offensive to put an end to the cruel system of national oppression and economic exploitation.

It is the process that the Pretoria rulers can neither defuse nor halt. Within the confines of the apartheid system there is no way out of this crisis situation. The real solution lies in the victory of the revolutionary forces, the dismantling of the apartheid machinery and the transfer of political and economic power to the democratic majority. Each year, as our forces advance on the enemy, this, our cherished goal, becomes clearer and nearer.



**President O.R. Tambo - "What is to be done?"**

This time last year we proclaimed the year of the 70th Anniversary of the ANC as the Year of Unity in Action. Drawing on the historic lessons contained in seven decades of struggle under the leadership of the ANC we had sought to ensure during this past year that all those, at home and abroad, who are opposed to the apartheid system and stand for a democratic South Africa should unite in action and act in unity whereby to expedite the process of our liberation. In the coming period we shall need to defend and consolidate all the gains that were made in the struggle to ensure the widest possible united action of the forces of progress in our country.

We have to struggle continuously to overcome all obstacles and differences amongst ourselves that are blocking the realisation of unity and united action. We shall furthermore need to build on these gains, continuously to strive for the situation in which the millions of our people can move as one behind a united leadership and in pursuit of commonly-agreed goals.



Rent boycott by women in Eldorado Park, Johannesburg.

Last year, operating under difficult conditions of illegality and police surveillance and risking arrest and persecution by the security forces, the ANC and its allies in struggle, together with other patriotic and revolutionary forces drawn from all social classes and strata, drawn from all population groups of our people, organised and carried out successfully political con-

frontations and economic strikes throughout the country. Important battles took place around such questions as wages, rents, removals, sporting and cultural boycotts, ceding of Ingwavuma and Ka-Ngwane and the assassination of patriots like Dr. Neil Aggett.

### BEDROCK

Our underground organised forces are striking deeper roots and multiplying among the masses who are the bedrock of our revolution. Gestapo repression and persecution has failed to break the will of the masses or to deter them from the pursuit of the revolutionary cause. Instead they have further provoked the wrath of the people and increased their determination and drive to win freedom. Combined with these mass political actions has been the succession of stunning blows delivered by the people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, against the enemy throughout the country and in such far-flung places as



The badly damaged sixth floor of the 'Presidential Council' building.

South Africa, will discharge their mission with the same dedication and discipline that they have so far displayed. As our struggle unfolds and reaches higher levels of intensity, our armed offensive will occupy a correspondingly more important role in our overall strategy to seize power from the racist tyrants.

Last year we stated that our movement is not only an opponent of the apartheid regime but has actually emerged as an alternative power which has won over the conscious and active support of the majority of our people. The validity of this assessment has been fully

Cape Town, East London, Paul Petersburg, Mkhuze, Komatipoort, Pretoria, Johannesburg and Koeberg, to cite but a few. We take this opportunity once more to salute the commanders and combatants of Umkhonto we Sizwe and to express our confidence that they, the army of the people of

vindicated by events.

Bent on entrenching racial domination and reaping super profits from sweated black labour the racist rulers continue misreading the lessons of the historical development of mankind. For that reason they are determined to plunge our society into the worst of human catastrophes. In sharp contrast to the enemy's strategy of racial and ethnic segmentation, the ANC and its allies continue to uphold and fight for the ideal of a unitary, non-racial and democratic society for all our people, Black and White.

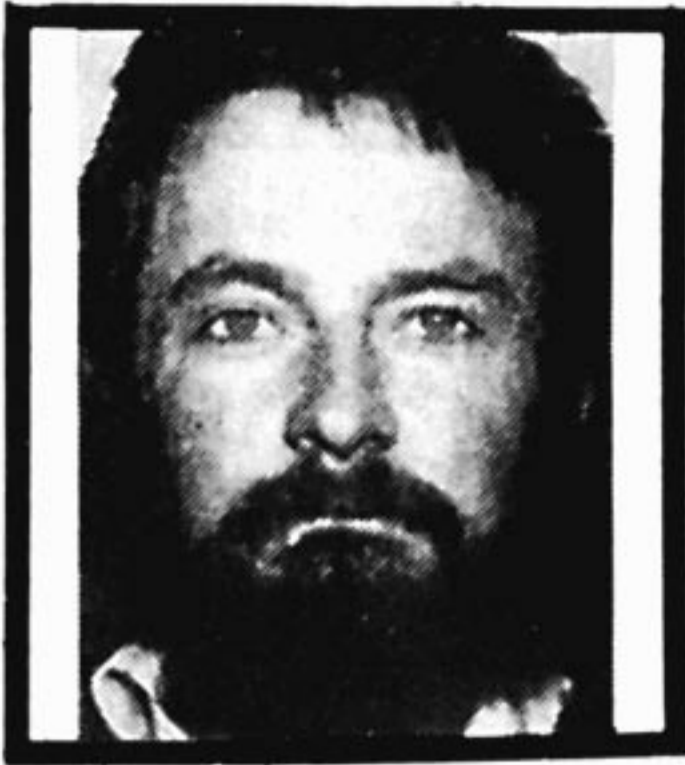
### FREEDOM CHARTER

Our policy document - the Freedom Charter - adopted in 1955, has not only stood the test of time but is winning the hearts and minds of growing numbers of our people, including honest patriots and democrats in the white community as well. For this reason the Botha-Malan regime has launched a counter-offensive to blot out the ANC politically, liquidate its leaders, exterminate its activists and supporters and if possible destroy the very spirit for freedom and to inflict the greatest possible damage on our broad movement for national liberation. To achieve this goal the Pretoria rulers, their army and security forces, collaborators from among the black people and mercenary agents recruited from all over the globe are working out and actually implementing this plan at home and abroad.

### COUNTER-OFFENSIVE

At the centre of this counter-offensive, typical of all colonisers and oppressor classes, there lies the dirty political and ideological propaganda to discredit our strategy and policy inside and outside the country using the state propaganda machinery. Of course, accompanying all this ideological offensive, arrests, detentions, physical and mental torture of anti-apartheid activists and democrats, as well as their murder, continue unabated. Some of the most recent cases of patriots being killed by the fascist police in detention are those of Moabi, Dipale, Neil Aggett and others. Also prominent





in this enemy strategy is the use of the weapon of assassination. Some of the victims include our dear Comrades Joe Gqabi in Harare, Griffiths Mxenge in Durban, Petrus and Jabu Nyaose in Swaziland and Ruth First in Mozambique.

The countries of Southern Africa are embroiled at the present time in an undeclared war launched by the Pretoria regime. Whether it be in Mozambique and Angola, Lesotho or Zimbabwe, Botswana or Zambia, Seychelles, Mauritius or Malagasy, the apartheid monster is involved in a deliberate campaign of murder and pillage. Our people have been slaughtered in cold blood and have even had their bodies desecrated. The enemy has stated the purposes of this aggression quite clearly when it has repeatedly proclaimed its intention to act against these countries so long as they allow the ANC to be present within their territory. Clearly therefore, the peoples of Southern Africa are having to pay the supreme sacrifice as they have done and are doing in Angola, Lesotho, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and elsewhere in the region because they are refusing to bow down to the demands of the enemy, to have the African National Congress and SWAPO of Namibia uprooted and expelled from this region.

#### P A C T S

The offer made a few days back by the racist Prime Minister Botha to the independent states of Southern Africa for these states to sign non-aggression pacts with apartheid South Africa constitutes part of this offensive designed to impose Pretoria's will on these states. Botha is the persistent aggressor. No African country has fired a single bullet across its borders into South Africa, and yet Botha is inviting the targets to sign a non-aggression pact with the aggressor. If he believes in non-aggression, why does he not stop aggression? If he believes in aggression, how will a non-aggression pact stop him?

During the past year this regime has been encouraged in its counter-offensive by the criminal activities of Zionist Israel against the people of Lebanon and the Palestinian refugees in that country and the Palestinian Liberation Organisation, the PLO. After repeated raids, aggression into Lebanon, during the course of which the Zionist Israeli troops mercilessly butchered both the Lebanese and Palestinians and sought to destroy whole cities, the Zionists ultimately occupied virtually the whole of Beirut and other parts of Lebanon.

### T E R R O R

Apart from anything else, the Pretoria regime used this experience to prepare the white South African population for similar campaigns of terror against the peoples of Southern Africa, as happened and is happening in southwestern Zambia and in Maseru. Significantly, both Zionist Israel and fascist South Africa enjoy the full, active, political and material support of the Reagan Administration. It is this support that has strengthened the striking capability of these two regimes. We need to say here that tragically the white population and certainly all its political parties openly acclaimed this campaign of terror and allowed themselves to be used to legitimise the commission of these crimes. The racists have proudly proclaimed that up to 86% of the white population of our country supports the policy of aggression against independent Africa and it especially approved the brutal Maseru Massacre. We would like to urge our white compatriots, seriously, to weigh the disastrous implications and the dire consequences of their being accomplices in the commission of these heinous crimes against the people of Africa.

The Reagan Administration has placed itself firmly and unequivocally among the bandit forces that are conducting a reign of terror throughout Southern Africa. Its support for the apartheid regime consist precisely in encouraging these fascists to intensify their counter-offensive and in guaranteeing them immunity from punitive international action. Every crime that the Pretoria regime commits, be it in South Africa, Namibia or elsewhere

bears Washington's stamp of approval. This regime goes into action backed by the logistic, financial and political support of the United States. The apartheid regime, acting in its own right and in furtherance of the global strategy of the United States, constitutes a strike force for the accomplishment of the counter-revolutionary objective of defeating the progressive forces of Southern Africa, including SWAPO and the ANC, and transforming our region into an exclusive economic, political and military preserve of the imperialist world.

### O R G A N I S A T I O N

In the face of this determined enemy counter-offensive we must hit back with all our strength, ensuring that the millions of our people are engaged in struggle. To increase our offensive power we must organise the people into strong mass democratic organisations. We must organise all revolutionaries into underground units of the ANC. We must organise all combatants into units of Umkhonto we Sizwe. We must organise all democratic forces into one front for national liberation. Large sections of our people remain unorganised. We should not allow this situation to continue any longer.

For us to achieve victory it is essential that we ensure that the masses of our people engage in struggle as a conscious and united force. That requires that these masses must have their own democratic organisations to mobilise and guide them and through which they can themselves make their own point of view heard. So far only a small minority of the black workers is organised into trade unions. It is the task of the existing democratic trade union movement to ensure that the unorganised workers are in fact organised. This organisational drive must encompass also the workers in the mines and in agriculture. We do have to bend all efforts to ensure that every worker belongs to a democratic trade union. Therefore with all the power at our command we make a special appeal to the democratic trade union movement to come together again and actually succeed to draw up and adopt a plan for the united action of the democratic non-racial trade union movement. There is no obstacle too

formidable to stop us achieving this goal.



LIFE IN THE  
COUNTRYSIDE,  
A VERITABLE  
HELL.

The situation in the countryside also calls for bold and urgent measures to establish or strengthen the popular organisations among the rural masses who are suffering in a manner and on a scale that is indescribable. Whether as landless peasants, unemployed or agricultural workers or as deportees who have been dumped in the so-called resettlement areas or as victims of the criminal Bantustan system, our people in the countryside are living in a veritable hell. To them, as to the rest of us, the issue of liberation has become a matter of life and death. These masses need also to be organised and mobilised into action where they are and wherever they are. They must be mobilised to confront the oppressor and exploiter now! Hence the need for mass democratic organisations that will lead them. Similarly all patriots and revolutionaries must work tirelessly to strengthen and expand the mass democratic organisations among the youth and students, among the women, among the cultural and sports workers, the religious community and at the civic level.

While the task of building the mass democratic movement must fall on the shoulders of the patriotic forces of our country in their entirety, a special responsibility for the accomplishment of this task rests with the membership of the African National Congress. On this day we salute you dear Comrades and express our profound admiration for the manner in which you have contributed to raise the struggle to the level at which it is today, yet that very achievement imposes on the ANC new, more complex and urgent tasks. The people

expect us to lead them to victory, they expect us to answer the question together with them in struggle and in action, the question: WHAT IS TO BE DONE? We must therefore pose the question to ourselves. Are we organised enough, strong enough, disciplined and dedicated enough to meet our obligations to the people? Let all of us on this day, the 71st Anniversary of our organisation, seek to answer these questions frankly and honestly in order to correct all previous mistakes and to learn from our experience with a view to building the ANC itself inside the country into a more formidable organised force than it is today.

### PERSPECTIVE

The African National Congress is a movement of patriots. It leads the masses in struggle for the destruction of the fascist regime, the transfer of power to the people and the realisation of the objectives contained in the Freedom Charter. It upholds a strategy which combines revolutionary mass political action with revolutionary armed struggle. As members of the ANC we must, together with the people in fact, help to solve all problems that serve to slow down the progress of the struggle, provide a clear perspective of where we go from here and translate that perspective into a practical programme of action.

This year we shall be observing the 20th Anniversary of the Rivonia arrests. By decision of the United Nations General Assembly, the international community will observe the anniversary by further intensifying the campaign for the immediate and unconditional release of all South African political prisoners. We, the people of South Africa, must be in the forefront of this campaign in our millions. But we must also observe this anniversary by seeking to emulate the example set for us by these outstanding revolutionary patriots who have remained in captivity for two long decades. To emulate them means that for every Mandela, Sisulu, Mbeki, Kathrada, Goldberg, for every Motsoaledi, Gwala, Nyembe or Hogan that the enemy has captured we must produce a thousand others to take their place. We have a duty to make our own sacrifice in the struggle to which they dedicated

their lives. We must follow in their footsteps, learning from their experience, inspired by their courage and fired with the same love for the people and the same dedication to the cause of freedom which have made theirs to be household names not only in South Africa but throughout the world.

The enemy relies decisively on the use of force to entrench himself in power. We have to meet his murderous onslaught by intensifying the armed struggle. Our task therefore is to further strengthen the combat capacity of Umkhonto we Sizwe within South Africa for the immediate purpose of escalating our offensive. The masses of our people must become and be part of this great revolutionary army, Umkhonto we Sizwe. We would like to take this opportunity to pay special tribute to those combatants, those members of our People Army who have fallen heroically in battle. Our revolutionary masses, least of all the ANC, will never let it be said of them that they fell in vain. And even as we speak here there are six young militants, members of Umkhonto we Sizwe who are sitting under the shadow of the gallows in Pretoria's death cell. These prisoners-of-war are the responsibility of the international community and, specially, of our own people. The lives of Comrades Shabangu, Moise, Tsotsobe, Motaung, Mosololi and Mogoe-rane must be saved.



Walter Sisulu Two decades in captivity.



Mabote Salomane (Zandi) one of the martyrs of our struggle.

### PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL

Among the key elements in the enemy's strategy of survival and the entrenchment of the apartheid system are

the proposals put forward by the so-called President's Council. Central to this plan is the co-option of the so-called Coloured and Indian communities of our population as tools to be used for the perpetuation of white minority domination. It has dawned on the white minority that alone, unaided, it is unable to prolong the life-span of apartheid. The recent decision of the South African Labour Party to support and participate in the implementation of the President's Council's schemes must therefore be **c o n d e m n e d** without reservation. The African National Congress calls upon all our people in the so-called Coloured Community to reject this decision and to rebuff all attempts to draw them into the camp of the oppressors, to set them against the majority of the people of South Africa, to set them against the peoples of Southern Africa and the entire continent, to set them against the international progressive community.

The campaign for the rejection and defeat of the enemy's counter-revolutionary constitutional plan is a task of all patriotic South Africans; Africans, Indians and democratic whites in addition to our people in the Coloured community. There can be no solution to the South African problem without the transfer of power into the hands of the majority. During this year the Botha regime will seek to enact and implement its so-called Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill. This bill is intended to legalise genocide on a new and unprecedented scale. It aims to enslave the African workers as never before and will result in the deportation of millions of our people into the Bantustans in pursuit of the obnoxious plan of turning South Africa white. We must launch the most concerted campaign to defeat this Nazi bill with its intentions. It must be resisted with every possible means on a national scale.

#### Ka-NGWANE

Despite its restoration of the control of the Ka-Ngwane and Ingwavuma areas to the respective Bantustan administrations, the Botha regime has clearly not abandoned its plan of depriving more than a million of our people of their birthright as South African citizens. It

has not abandoned its plan in regard to Kosi Bay which would serve its military strategic objective. The appointment of the Rumpff commission confirms this fact. The regime is looking for new ways and means of realising these intentions. We call on all the people to oppose any attempt to barter away even a single square inch of South African soil, to oppose any attempt to deprive a single South African of his citizenship.

**C R I S I S**

The apartheid crisis, not only also economically. Pretoria regime is cal sums of money chine and on the sive apparatus. The economic crisis and is shouldered by ing people in the prices, rent, fares, wages and salaries loyment. We must system in our coun-wealth shall be fit of all our



The bus boycott.

system is in deep politically but At the same time the spending astronomi-on its military ma-rest of its repres-burden of this military build-up the ordinary work-form of higher taxes, reduced and higher unemp-f i g h t for a try, a system whose used for the bene-people.

When we observed the 70th Anniversary of the ANC we were joined literally by millions of people on all the continents. This event proved to be a universal and moving demonstration of the commitment of the world people to the destruction of the Apartheid system and a re-affirmation by the international community of its pledge of solidarity with the ANC and the people of South Africa in their struggle for national and social emancipation. From Southern Africa to North Africa, from South America to North America, from Eastern Europe to its Western part, from the Middle East to the Far East - the same message of solidarity came back. The message was repeated by Christians and Communists alike, by Buddhists and Moslems, workers and intellectuals, Anti-Apartheid groups, political parties, artists, women and youth organisations.





Anatoly Gromyko, Director of the African Institute of the USSR Academy of sciences, opening a Soviet public meeting to mark the 70th Anniversary of the ANC.

An issue that is of grave importance for us in South Africa is the fact that the Pretoria racist regime is committing daily acts of aggression against the people and against independent African states in Southern Africa. In the course of this, through its agents and directly it kills people, including children, and it carries out political and economic destabilisation against these states on a wide scale. We cannot remain aloof in the face of this criminal activity. We must denounce and actively oppose this campaign of terror that the Pretoria regime has

unleashed against independent Africa. And the most effective deterrent to the campaign of terror across our borders is a massive assault upon the regime on all fronts within our borders and by the people as a whole. In doing so we shall be reinforcing the decision of the summit of the heads of states and governments of the Front-line countries which was held in March of last year in Maputo when they resolved to strengthen their co-ordinated defence actions in order to defeat Pretoria's acts of aggression and economic sabotage against free and independent Africa and to force the regime to withdraw its occupying forces from the People's Republic of Angola.

The decisions of the Maputo summit are by their very nature a reflection of the position of the OAU and its member-states. In this connection it is important to emphasise that the people, especially of South Africa and Namibia, are as never before in need of the effective support of the OAU. It is of course common knowledge that during the past year the OAU has experienced serious internal problems. As part of the African continent, as part of Africa's progressive forces we must work for a



Presidents O.R. Tambo and Sam Nujoma at the Front-line States summit in Maputo last March.

solution to the problems that have plagued the OAU. We cannot stand aloof from this effort either, for as the founding fathers of the OAU declared, no African country can be truly free until all of Africa is liberated. That truism is being demonstrated on our continent today. African countries need solidarity, one with another, and no single one of them or all of them collectively can claim full independence unless and until the whole continent has been liberated, and at the present time until Namibia and South Africa have been freed. That is why the current concern of the peoples of Africa in regard to the state of this great African organisation are particularly acute when they relate to the aggressions to which the people of Southern Africa are being subjected by the fascist regime assisted by its imperialist allies. We are confident, however, that the OAU will observe its Twentieth Anniversary as a united force capable of leading the peoples of our continent, capable of playing its proper role as a member of the Non-Aligned Movement, capable of contributing in the struggle for world peace.

In your name dear Compatriots, we salute our comrades-in-arms, the heroic people of Namibia, their valiant vanguard SWAPO and the mighty People's Liberation Army

of Namibia (PLAN), all under the dynamic leadership of President Sam Nujoma. We pledge our solidarity with them. We condemn the Reagan Administration and the Pretoria fascists for their crimes against Namibia and the People's Republic of Angola. In spite of them, in spite of the Reagan Administration and the Pretoria racists, even because of them, Namibia will be liberated by SWAPO and the people of Namibia.

We extend our greetings to all the peoples of Southern Africa as well as those of Western Sahara, Palestine, El Salvador, East Timor and their vanguard organisations POLISARIO Front, PLO, Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front and FRETILIN.

We greet the Non-Aligned Movement especially the participants in the forthcoming New Delhi summit. We salute the fighters for peace throughout the world and pledge that we will do all in our power to remove the violator of international peace and security in our midst, the apartheid regime.

We greet our friends and allies throughout the world and call on them to persist together with us on the side of the forces of national and social liberation, peace and stability in Southern Africa. We are most deeply appreciative of the political support and substantial material assistance they have given us during the past year and which we know they will continue to give in greater measure.

Fellow South Africans, the apartheid regime is preparing for the crisis ahead. That is why it is bringing its armed forces into decisive positions of authority within the apartheid power structure. That is why it is carrying out constitutional changes designed to centralise power in the hands of a racist President. The captains of the apartheid system are reorganising themselves in the vain hope that they can deal us a crushing blow. But we shall never be crushed. No people determined to free themselves have ever been crushed, and we are not about to be an exception! But we must organise ourselves for the capacity to attack effectively as well as defend ourselves effectively. We must organise ourselves into a conquering force. The level of our

political and armed offensive must reach new heights during the year 1983. This will be our **YEAR OF UNITED ACTION.**

**MAATLA KE A RONA!**

**POWER TO THE PEOPLE!**

**AMANDLA NGAWETHU!**

CORRECTIONS (In the issue preceding this).

Page 39, line 2 should read: ... any training in military science and art except only whites, instead of and.

Page 40, line 9 should read: ... the Defence Council was announced, instead of Council of Ministers.

Page 56, 3rd line from the bottom should read: an iniquity unprecedented in the history of the kingdom of Lesotho, instead of impunity.

Page 80. The clues numbered DOWN: 15, 18, 20 and 23, i.e. the last four, are redundant.

Dear Readers and Authors,

Kindly accept our earnest and sincere apologies.

THE EDITOR.



**Forward to a**

**People's Government  
AMANDLA! MAATLA!**

# WE SHALL RESPOND!

## NEW YEAR GREETINGS TO THE FIGHTING RANKS

Compatriots and Comrades-in-arms, the New Year is now upon us. It brings with it new vistas for advance in our liberatory effort. It also illuminates upon discernible prospects of bitter battles ahead of us. All of us countrymen should rise up and face the future with courage and determination unparalleled.

The Year of Unity in Action (1982) wound up with boer-fascism once more plunging its toxic fangs into many of our militants and comrades. The racists bestial massacre of our brothers and sisters in Maseru was calculated to subvert the struggle through intimidation and bloodletting. But the blood of our patriots slain in Maseru has not spilt in vain. They **shall be avenged!** Let the apartheid cutthroats, mercenaries and lackeys know that their doomsday is fast approaching and that no matter the bloodbaths they are scheming with their imperialist mentors managed by the US Administration, the tide of revolution in our country can never be stemmed. **N e v e r !**

Three-hundred and thirty (330) years of oppression could not subdue our people's desire to free themselves. Apartheid brinkmanship, its bellicose designs both inside and outside South Africa have failed to attain their satanic objectives. Any further attempts at such - and we don't doubt it - will be frustrated by our cool resolve to surge forth to assail the castle of white colonialism and tyranny. Our people have shed much blood in the slaughterhouses of Pretoria. We shall not be cowed down but proceed in the prosecution of the struggle with "a fearlessness that rises with danger."

We shall respond! Umkhonto we Sizwe and our people have taken up the challenge. It will be an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth as we proceed to rout the enemy. The war will not be easy. It will be fraught with difficult-

ies and many pitfalls might affect our acceleration. But in the ultimate the forces of justice and progress will prevail upon those of evil and doom.

Throughout the years of its existence, our People's Army has spearheaded the popular struggles as it continues to do so. In the course of this the lives of many of our best patriots, sons and daughters of the oppressed have been lost. It is their blood that is calling. It is also the plight of captives of apartheid - our leaders and comrades - and trials and tribulation of our millions at the other end of the whip of fascism that sustains us in the conviction that the destruction of the system of white domination and racism is acutely urgent. We salute our martyred dead and with them the "Pretoria 6" condemned by murderous judges to death. We vow in their name to never spare ourselves in the fight for liberation and the conquest of a South Africa of the Freedom Charter.

Countrymen and Comrades, the die is cast and there can be no turning back. The battle-lines are drawn with mathematical precision and there can be no room for fence-sitters. You either join the forces of revolution or submit to white terror and racist sadism. We cannot submit.

## R E C O R D

Let us perpetuate our gallant record of struggle initiated by our forebears in years gone by. Let us hold fast to the standard of popular struggle and rally to the banner of our African National Congress. Let us hearken to the instructive words of our President, Comrade O.R. Tambo, who says:

"Let us arm ourselves with the fearlessness of Shaka; the vision and endurance of Moshoeshoe; the dedication and farsightedness of Sol Plaatje, the military initiative and guerrilla tactics of Maqoma..."

We salute the fighting ranks of Umkhonto we Sizwe, its Commanders and Commissars and all the people's soldiers who remain true to the popular cause. To them we say: Your courage and heroic determination is enflaming the

hearts of the oppressed and invoking their confidence. In the new year let us spread our exploits and beat the enemy at skilful exercise of tactics. Our victory is in sight but we have to wade through a raging sea to claim it. We are equal to that task comrades. We are strong and have to and must be stronger as we mount the offensive. Our New Year wish is that in 1983 we are to present ourselves to the people as an army worthy of its name and prestige. But to the enemy we should descend like raging tigers to vent our hatred upon his lot.

### C A L L

We call upon you the down-trodden, you whose sweat furnishes luxuries for the fascist monster, you whose toil sustains the coffers of the oppressor to revolt against the tyrant. The hour of reckoning has come! We call upon the workingmen and rural masses, blacks in the civil services, intellectuals, youth, students and worshippers of God Almighty. We say: This is your Fight! You all have a role in the revolution. Join Umkhonto we Sizwe now! Smash apartheid at sunrise and win freedom for your day.

**THE EDITOR.**

### DAWN PolitiXword No.8 Answers

**ACROSS:**

1. Hough 3. Olaf 5. OMM 6. Gawie 8. Arms  
 10. One 11. Naude 12. SAL 14. Do 15. Kwasa  
 18. BA 19. Bea 20. OD 21. Tyrone 23. Damp

**DOWN:**

1. Hogan 2. Hoe 3. Oman 4. Fusillade  
 7. Would 9. Resha 13. Ibid 15. Key  
 16. War 17. S o n 19. Bt 22. On

# DEFEND OUR FUTURE

- MICKEY MODISANE

The racist regime of Pretoria is currently pursuing a policy of terrorism and brutality against the African National Congress and its allies, in a vain and desperate attempt to forestall the revolutionary seizure of power by our oppressed people. This bestial policy is an acknowledgement of the enemy's great concern and fear of the growing prestige and popularity of the African National Congress both inside and outside the borders of our usurped motherland, South Africa.

The current popular upsurge South Africa is witnessing is testimony to the invalidity of the racist regime's previous wishful claims that the ANC has been driven into oblivion, that it has dealt a crushing blow against us. Prior to 1976 the policy of the regime was characterised, among other things, by its ludicrous and indeed ridiculous attempts of inculcating within its electorate a spirit of false self-assurance and illegitimate pride, thus deceiving the white minority leading it to believe that white rule in South Africa is eternal.

It is easy to confuse and bluff the people during periods of relative calmness, as the pre-1976 period possibly was, but it is something else to lie to the people in times of mass upheaval, where it takes not years or months, but weeks or hours for the people to know the truth. Ironically, the boers are now swallowing their own lies and vice. After having claimed to have decimated the African National Congress their same spokesman - Jimmy Kruger in particular - were accusing the ANC of having planned and executed the 1976 Uprisings. Had it not been decimated? The 1976 and subsequent events proved beyond doubt that lies and malicious propaganda cannot save the sinking boat of apartheid and exploitation. Reason has triumphed over evil.



Consequently, we should concede that the campaign the regime is unleashing against all opponents of its inhuman apartheid system is a last resort to uphold and defend the racist status quo. Like its past policies of unbridled terror the present campaign brings no solution, instead it continues unabatedly driving the whites to an abyss. We shall recall that the Portuguese colonialists at the height of the liberation struggles in the former Portuguese colonies of Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique, in an attempt to frustrate and arrest the seizure of power by the peoples of these countries, resorted to a sinister conspiracy to rid these peoples of their revolutionary leaders. Amilcar Cabral was assassinated (1973) in Guinea-Conakry and E d u a r d o Mondlane (1969) killed by a parcel bomb in Tanzania. Contrary to the wishes of the Portuguese the banners of liberation were unfurled and hoisted in these countries. It is precisely the overwhelming support the African National Congress and its allies enjoy from the masses of our people that is driving our rulers into frenzy. The African National Congress is a nightmare which haunts and tortures the racist regime.

## FEATURE

A striking feature of the South African political scene today is the unbanning of the ANC by our oppressed but fighting people. According to a survey conducted and published by the influential and conservative Johannesburg "Star" newspaper on black opinion in the major urban areas revealed that if the blacks were allowed a vote the ANC would get 40% of the vote for Parliament, the PAC 10%, AZAPO 11% and the traitor Buthelezi's tribal-based Inkatha would get 21%. In a similar survey it was further revealed that Comrade Nelson Mandela, incarcerated in the notorious Pollsmoor prison, is the most popular leader inside South Africa; 76% of those interviewed unambiguously said they are overwhelmingly behind him. And mind you these surveys were not country-wide, and as such were not inclusive of all the black peoples' opinions. Moreover the poll was conducted by "The Star", an unreliable source of information. Nevertheless, this

information is indicative and reflective of the mood of our people in racist South Africa.

## FREEDOM CHARTER

A no less significant event, rather development, is the popularity of our revolutionary document, the Freedom Charter. Addressing a packed anti-SAIC hall one delegate from the Natal Indian Congress in an impassioned speech noted: "We are pro-Freedom Charter. Our answer was given 20 years ago." This presaged the death of the SAIC. Today the South African Indian Council is no more, it is dead. Also during the Anti-Republic Campaign the ANC dominated. In a symbolic episode the racist flag was burned to ashes and the colours of Black, Green and Gold - colours of freedom and liberation - were unfurled and hoisted sky-high, inspiring millions of our people to rise to the occasion and claim their birth-right. Space does not allow me to enumerate all the political activities, which by their virtue are reviving the memory of the roaring and stormy 50s, like for instance the dynamic upsurge in the labour front.

Alongside these daring political battles the presence of Umkhonto we Sizwe is most glaring. According to the Johannesburg "Star" (7/1/82) Umkhonto we Sizwe was responsible for more than 50 major attacks and sabotage activities in the nine months preceeding December 1981; these include among others, the sophisticated attack of the SADF's headquarters, the Voortrekkerhoogte military base, in Pretoria in August 1981. An interesting feature of MK operations is the sophistication and coordination displayed. After all, our armed struggle is not taking place in a vacuum, it complements our political endeavours. Our military line grows from the political line of our political organisation, the African National Congress.

Undoubtedly, South Africa is now in a war state, we are striking very hard against the enemy, and to strike we shall. It is now the enemy in person that we want, and the regime is aware of this, that is why his response to our activities has been most typical. The enemy fears the might of the African National Congress. But our duty to our people, to the peoples of Angola and Mozambi-

que who are daily victims of racist South Africa's aggression, to Africa and indeed the whole of mankind, is to smash the rule of apartheid and exploitation in our country. "Towards this victory we shall fight to the bitter end," as declared by our President, Comrade O.R. Tambo.



MARTYR OF

MASERU

MASSACRE.

Quoting the NEC statement on the occasion of the 70th Anniversary of the formation of our people's organisation, the ANC, Comrade Alfred Nzo (our Secretary-General) pointed out in his impassioned address to the ANC Youth Conference in Morogoro, Tanzania:

*"Throughout 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 the prospects of capturing power would fade with the distant future. Twenty years after the oppressor regime declared it illegal, the ANC today, 70th Anniversary, is openly acclaimed as the leader of our people, thanks to the imposition by the masses of our people 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 at the end."*

To demonstrate the seriousness of the racist regime's killers squad here is our count-down:

\* In 1980, bombs blew two of our residences in Swazi-

land, and as a result two people lost their lives, including a child of seven.

- \* In January 1981, our residences in Mozambique were raided by racist commandos and thirteen of our patriots were butchered in their sleep.
- \* In February of the same year Khati Sello's house was attacked by 'LLA' bandits, backed by the Pretoria hordes, the reason being that he is sympathetic to the ANC.
- \* In 1981, Cde. Joe Gqabi, a member of the NEC of the ANC, was assassinated as he was leaving his Harare home.
- \* In June 1982, in Swaziland Petrus and Jabu Nyaose, were killed by a bomb placed in their car.
- \* A prominent revolutionary-writer and a leading member of the ANC and SACP, Cde. Ruth First, was killed in Maputo by a parcel bomb.
- \* On December 9, 1982, the fascist commandos of Pretoria supported by five helicopters raided 12 of our residences in Maseru and cold-bloodedly massacred 30 South African refugees and 10 Lesotho nationals (seven women and three children).

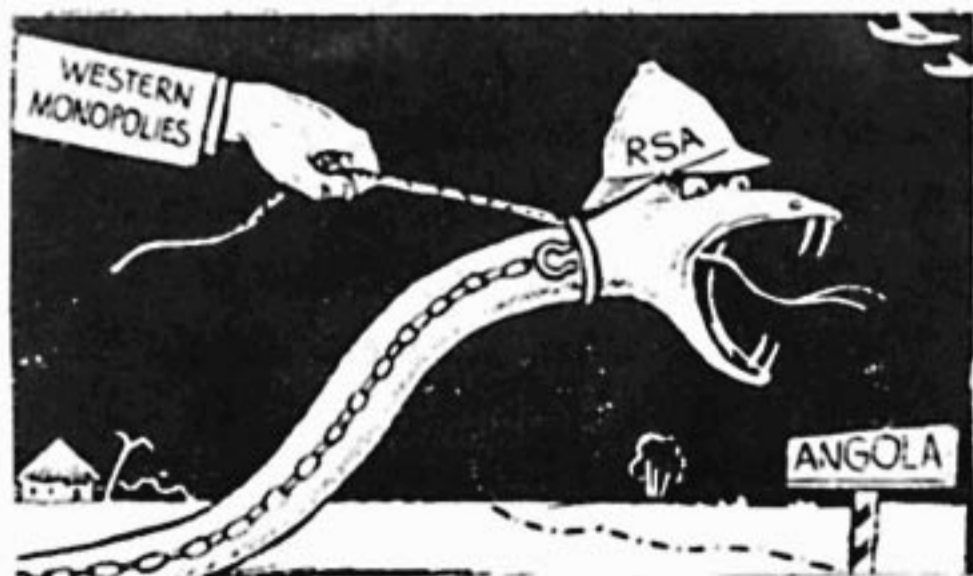
And the list is in no way next to complete. As the horizon draws nearer the more frantic the hated enemy becomes. All that this exhorts is that while attacking the enemy we should also be able to defend our organisation, like a boxer who whilst delivering a knock-out blow against his opponent always has his guards up in defence against a possible counter-punch from his rival.

In all these frantic efforts to blot us out of existence, the CIA features prominently. The Reagan Administration, defying and ignoring its people and the world public opinion, has openly aligned itself with the Pretoria boers. They are intimate class brothers. Typical of the bellicose nature of imperialism, in March last year, the Pentagon war-hawks set up a so-called US Senate Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism, which was headed by the notorious and infamous Denton, known for his crimes

against the Vietnamese people. This 'Sub-Committee' so says the Western mass media, 'revealed' sensational news related to the 'involvement' of the Soviet Union in the affairs of the peoples of Southern Africa, so as to further its 'expansionist' and 'hegemonistic' designs. We are further told that the African National Congress and the South West Africa People's Organisation of Namibia receive 60% of their military aid and 90% of their overall aid from the USSR.

Nothing is sensational indeed about this news. The peoples of the world know that it was the resilience and fortitude of the Soviet people, their Communist Party and Government that rid the world of the scourge of fascism. The banner of victory was raised high above the Reichstag by the Soviet Army after having carried out a gruelling but glorious liberation mission of the Eastern and South-eastern European countries which were occupied by Hitler under the heel of fascist terror and tyranny. Was this abetting and aiding terror? The answer is a big No! It was proletarian internationalism in action. Conversely American soldiers were seen in Asia raping, looting and bombing villages and committing acts of genocide in Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea.

Presently, Pretoria's fascist troops are occupying the southern parts of Angola killing whatever has life. They are training and directing the bandits of the 'MNR' from the People's Republic of Mozambique to commit acts of sabotage and destabilisation, and in this manner frustrating the economic plans of the FRELIMO-Party and Mozambican government. Added to this are fresh prepara-



tions for a large scale invasion of the PRM. In fact South Africa has no respect whatsoever for Africa and the world. And this is international terrorism at its best. The 'ANC' and the sole vanguard of the Namibian people, SWAPO, have never for a moment hidden that the Soviet Union supports all peoples struggling for national and social emancipa-

tion, nor has the USSR for that matter. Both to Reagan and Botha, in fact the whole imperialist system, all that stands for progress is terrorism. This is nothing but an attack against the peace-loving and revolutionary forces of the world.

Echoing the old fairy tale that the African National Congress is controlled by white communists who in turn pay their allegiance to the Kremlin, this Sub-Commission was trying desperately in a characteristic anti-Soviet fashion to prove that the ANC is not indigenous. However, we in the ANC are not new to such slander, through the ages we have proved them to be a conglomeration of lies and malicious propaganda masqueraded as the truth. Like-wise this attempt shall find no receptive ear. Here it is relevant to quote the words of our President, Comrade O.R. Tambo when addressing the celebration marking the 60th Anniversary of the formation of the South African Communist Party:

*"It is often claimed by our detractors that the ANC's association with the SACP means that the ANC is being influenced by the SACP. That is not our experience. Our experience is that the two influence each other. The ANC is quite capable of influencing, and is liable to be influenced by others... the SACP has been an integral part of the struggle of the African people against oppression and exploitation in South Africa. We can all bear witness that in the context of the struggle against colonial structures, racism and the struggle for power by the people, the SACP has been fighting with the oppressed and exploited."*

## TRAITORS

Another sinister feature of this Sub-Committee was to attempt to prove that Hlapane (recently executed by our people), Nokonono and their likes are innocent witnesses who are supposed to have been frustrated by the ANC's association with the SACP. But who are they? Hlapane sold our leadership in Rivonia. He was an unscrupulous, despicable and rusty renegade, traitor long vomited

by our revolution. Nokonono, a young ambitious opportunist known for her lust for power and fame, is equally a willing agent of NIS. We can proudly say that the so-called findings of the US Senate Sub-Committee on 'Security' and 'Terrorism' were a non-starter and a still-born baby. All attempts to destroy the ANC and to weaken its alliance with the SACP have been thwarted. We are a strong majority.

Behind the racist regime's attempts to frustrate our revolution lurks the so-called honourable men of the CIA. The CIA has never been involved in our affairs as it is today. In fact the situation inside South Africa, as we have already pointed out, is a matter of great concern for the whole imperialist world, particularly the US. In South Africa we face not only the racist regime of Botha and Malan, but the combined forces of imperialism who are sustaining the racist monster. Imperialism is in deep crisis, unparalleled in its history, more and more people in the world have said enough is enough and "have started to move forward". After the Matola Massacre, the Mozambican government released incontrovertible evidence incriminating the CIA of having spied jointly with NIS on ANC officials and activities. The exposed CIA agents were subsequently expelled from the People's Republic of Mozambique. CIA's association with Pretoria's secret services is not a new phenomenon. Together in 1975 they planned, using the UNITA and FNLA bandits and the Zairean mercenaries to forestall the attainment of independence by the people of Angola through their legitimate revolutionary vanguard organisation, the MPLA.

### STEADFAST

However, because of the steadfastness of the MPLA and the support from the socialist countries and some African states and organisations, the Angolan people were able to proclaim their national independence on the 11th of November, 1975, amidst Pretoria's invasion of the southern part. The scope and proportion of the involvement of the CIA and BOSS (now NIS) are well-documented in John Stockwell's "In Search of Enemies", exposing imperialism's

plan to bleed Angola. In fact from its inception in 1947, the CIA was envisaged not so much as an intelligence gathering service, but above all as a subversive organisation. On the 18th November, 1944, at the height of the Second World War, Bill Donovan, then head of the war-time Office of Strategic Services (OSS), in a memorandum submitted to President F. Roosevelt, forwarded a detailed scheme for the setting up of a central intelligence accountable to the President. According to Bill Donovan, the tasks of this central intelligence department were not to be merely those linked with intelligence gathering only, but equally to conduct subversive operations abroad, thus after the war in 1947, the CIA was formed. (See: N. Yakovlev - CIA Target - the USSR, p. 82). Apparently the victories that the Soviet Union was scoring against fascist Hitler were preoccupying the men in Washington. From the CIA to the Atom Bomb the objective was one: to nip socialism and other world revolutionary detachments in the bud. But, alas, what Hitler's "Operation Barbarosa" failed to achieve, Donovan's CIA also dismally failed to achieve. To scare and blackmail the USSR the Pentagon resorted even to the most extreme and bestial crime: it dropped the A-bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, in Japan, killing and fatally wounding more than 200 thousand defenceless civilians.

A fundamental necessity therefore arises for all cadres of our movement and its allies both in the army and elsewhere to be always on the alert and vigilant. Pretoria and Washington want to see us destroyed. Let us ensure that in this "Year of United Action" our ranks remain closed and defended. The defence of our great organisation is precisely the defence of our people and future, of prosperity.

In conclusion, let us always bear in mind that the regime's campaign of terror and mass killing is part of imperialism's global strategy to bleed the world revolutionary movement. Imperialism is wounded, hence its lethal last kicks. Our duty to the people of Southern Africa, particularly those of Angola, Mozambique and Lesotho, and of the whole world is to expedite the speedy



overthrowal of the abhorred international crime against humanity, apartheid. Moreover, let us defend the honour and tradition of the African National Congress, we need it, we cannot do without it.

# A Poem for the New Year

With stubborn reluctance  
 the year slips under our feet  
 Adamant to fade into history  
 Adamant to file our record  
 It has been battles by the score  
 And to battles we advance afore

The new year smiles at us  
 Upon our names comrades  
 Opens up a s t e e p road  
 We shall walk it obstinately  
 We shall blaze it triumphantly  
 This road to our future

Your h e r o i s m comrades  
 Challenges the eternity of time

- ELAN THUPAPEDI

# STRAIGHT TALK...

## Old Bait New Hook ...

The Presidential Council constitutional hocus-pocus is no mere political fantasy of Nationalist Party minds but is now a real show that has been attracting curious audiences even from quarters once listed amongst the not-easy-to-hoodwink. There is some reluctance due to fears of possible political repercussions to the interest they now show in the new apartheid production by some elements, yet willy-nilly, like reluctant fish they have been nibbling at the old bait fixed on the newly sharpened hook. But the recent Eshowe Congress of the Coloured Labour Party that has voted in favour of enlisting with the Presidential Council forces takes the cake as regards the fervour with which they are now biting with intent to swallow the old bait of apartheid constitutional juggling advertly called 'reform'.

No doubt the Nationalist Party anglers are rubbing their hands in glee over the announced resolutions of the Eshowe Congress which to them constitutes a great catch. The apartheid propaganda machine is still whinnying crazy over the event while Radio RSA tone expresses an uncontrollable desire even to knight some leaders of the Labour Party.

What might be surprising is why this once applauded organisation of Rev. Alan Hendrickse could bow so low as to embrace the same political structure and processes it had declared war and waged at times successful battles - the destruction of the Coloured Representative Council (CRC) for example - against; why is it that some victims of boer-fascism are suddenly kissing its feet whilst screaming "We are not selling principles, we are negotiating". At this stage we do not want to conclude - it is too

early - that the experience of the CRC days were but a gilded facade destined to expose the true interior later. We do not want to think that way because whatever energy the Coloured Labour Party (CLP) was able to siphon into its crusades was tapped from the masses and remains the masses'. So that the spineless elements within its leadership, past masters at political verbiage meant to mobilise support from the oppressed on the one hand whilst invoking cheers from the oppressor on the other hand, may not pat their backs over battles waged and won by the people at whose helm they once stood for some time.

It is regrettable yet it must be admitted that the present line of the CLP leadership gives organisational expression to a tendency that has been obscured by pretentious political sloganeering by some who have sought to use the liberatory struggle for ends alien to the aspirations of our down-trodden people. Such elements have not stood up to champion the genuine cause of the people but instead, with false faces, have come forward to drag the oppressed into acquiescence in a political system designed for the national strangulation of the black masses - Africans, Coloureds and Indians. Let them be warned that they do so at the risk of condemnation and rejection by the masses of the people.

What do they have to say in reply to this: "... I would like to reply to a few questions in relation to the Government's guidelines for constitutional development... Do these constitutional proposals affect the right to self-determination of the White man?" The answer is no. It is implicit in the guidelines that the right to self-determination and identity of the White man is maintained while the Indians and Coloureds are granted a say in their community affairs and matters of common concern (our emphasis).

"... The Nationalist Party rejects a system of one man, one vote for South Africa. It also rejects so-called Black majority government, but the Nationalist Party and the Government are in favour of a system whereby the various population groups will be able to manage their own affairs and consult on matters of mutual concern".

All sane and fair-minded South Africans will be quick

to notice that the above citation which by all means sums up the central purpose of the so-called 'new constitutional dispensation' is an ably presented official defence of apartheid as the alfa and omega of government policy in South Africa. Keen perusal of the same will reveal that:

- (a) official South African policy through successive governments has been and is still bent on preserving and perpetuating the system of white privilege;
- (b) the phrase "self-determination and identity of the White man" refers to and can only mean White domination, supremacy and baaskap;
- (c) "community affairs and matters of mutual concern" in the citation above refers to advisory board elections and harangues and the SADF, the Police Force and Separate Development;
- (d) the system of one man one vote, universally recognised as a fair basis for democracy, justice and right is categorically rejected - a striking revelation of Nationalist Party ultimate intentions in Namibia and South Africa.

Let those who flirt with the regime's 'constitutional dispensation', who cry "we are not selling principles..." even before being accused of selling out be warned: "The theory that we can sit with folded arms and wait for a future parliament to legislate for the 'essential dignity of every human being irrespective of race, colour or creed' is crass perversion of elementary principles of political struggle. No organisation whose interests are identical with those of the toiling masses will advocate conciliation to win its demands". We have quoted these ever-instructive words from an article written in 1953 by Comrade Nelson Mandela exposing the constitution of the Liberal Party precisely because the incredible new line of the CLP is anathema to the unity in struggle and aspirations of the deprived black masses and at the same time reveals fervent haste to nurture the seed of impotent liberalism and conformism. In the interests of united

action of all ranks and formations of the oppressed this tendency must be fought and defeated. The people must refuse to be misled!

To us the incredible political versatility of some from the ranks of the down-trodden and deprived emphasises the crying urgency of the lot that remains to be done in the direction of uniting all our people behind the demands enshrined in the Freedom Charter for a principled offensive against the obnoxious system of apartheid. At this hour of our fight for freedom the fulfilment of the task is as extremely urgent as the task itself is titanic. But we are satisfied that we of the African National Congress and its allies are equal to the task.

We furthermore appeal to those of the leadership of the CLP with a conscience to desist from pursuing the disastrous course charted by the lamentable Eshowe Congress. It is never too late. There is still time before the line and sinker of the racist hordes can be swallowed wholly. We implore them to assume position with the victims of the regime's policies.

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# NAKED AMONG WOLVES

by Bruno Apitz

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## Chapter 18

The morning was well advanced before the camp had finally lined up. In the giant square there was no sign of the Jewish prisoners' blocks; they had lost themselves in the mass and had disappeared into it. And scarcely was the line-up completed when the block and commando fuhrers burst into this mass, punching and pulling out of the ranks all those whose appearance indicated that they might be Jews. The blocks did not budge, but they swayed like fields of corn. The Jewish prisoners flitted between the ranks, hid themselves behind backs, and were thrashed pitilessly when an SS man caught them.

The block fuhrers reaped a rich harvest in the squares of the Little Camp. Within a short time thousands of Jewish prisoners had been clubbed out of the blocks and driven to the gate. Here they crowded one another, held together by the feverish hum of agitation. Dogs were yapping outside in front of the fence. The block fuhrers seemed to have received a command from someone; they suddenly abandoned the blocks and ran towards the gate. The swaying in the ranks subsided and the blocks stood exhausted, as if they had let blood.

While the fuhrers continued beating the Jewish prisoners at the gate, so as to form the mass into marching order, and a hundred men approached with carbines and dogs, Reineboth's voice shouted over the mustering ground through the main loud-speaker on the tower: Everybody else into the blocks!

Exploiting the pandemonium of the departure, Bogorski had left his block and caught up with Bockow. They came quickly to an understanding. Bogorski hurried to inform Kramer, and Bochow ran to Pribula's block. The young Pole in turn had to fetch Kodiczek. The hastily summoned men met in Block 17 for a few minutes' discussion. The faces of the men still burned. Kramer's hands were trembling now as he pushed the cap back from his forehead.

Pribula sat down on a bed, his breath hissed audibly through his teeth and he brought his fists together. Bogorski knew how intensely the young man felt. "Nyet", was all he said, and shook his head. Pribula looked up at him, and Bogorski saw the repressed fire in his eyes; he continued in Polish: "We must fight by waiting and wait fighting..."

Tortured, Pribula slammed his fists on his knees.

"Always delay, delay!" he groaned again.

As if he had not heard it, Bochow turned to Kramer, but what he said was a reply to Pribula. "Everything is up to you now, Walter. Delay, delay!" Turning on Pribula he cried out hoarsely: "There is no other alternative!"

Pribula got up wearily: "Dobrze..."

"Uvaga!" said Bogorski to the Pole. "We are weak because we cannot prevent the evacuation. All right. But

the fascists are also weak". Bogorski pulled Kramer over by the shoulder. "when Klutting says to you, make a transport ready, you answer him, Yessir, I make transport ready." Bogorski was full of life as he addressed Kramer, at the same time turning to the others. The transports, he said, should be assembled in such a way that each time only the most undependable elements, politically and morally, were handed over to the fascists. The camp had to be cleansed. "Your instructions are iron-clad commands; irrevocable! Y o u understand?"

Kramer nodded silently. Suddenly the siren began wailing. As if impelled by fear, its you rose to the highest treble and overflowed the camp with its alarms. "Kharasho!" triumphed Bogorski. "Alert!" Everyday it must come. Once and twice, then they cannot evacuate! "Let's go!" Bochow urged.

Hofel stared at Kropinski in sudden terror. "Gone!" he burst out. "They're all gone!" He reared up at the door, raising his arms high but before he could pound his wild fists against it Kropinski was beside him tugging him back. Hofel reeled in Kropinski's arms and whimpered. "They've forgotten us!... We're alone in the world!... We'll have to suffocate here!"

Kropinski pressed Hofel to him like a brother and tried to soothe him, but Hofel's senses had turned inward, he freed himself and cried out: "To suffocate... suffocate!..." Terribly frightened, Kropinski pressed a hand over his mouth so that the cry drowned in a gurgle. Hofel defended himself with sudden strength, the two struggled together. Hofel succeeded in pulling the hand a w a y and his liberated cry broke through like the shrill tone of a trumpet. In horrified desperation Kropinski attempted to restrain Hofel, who was hitting out madly, and stop his mouth. Gurgling and rattling in his throat, again and again letting loose a scream, Hofel twisted about in the arms that held him, but it was too late.

The door was unlocked and Mandrill entered the cell; behind him, pale and still as a shadow, Forste. Appalled, Kropinski let go of the screaming man and stared. Mandrill did not say a word. He narrowed his eyes and looked over the screaming Hofel, for seconds only. Then

Mandrill struck him. It was a terrible blow. His arms paddling for support, Hofel staggered into the corner, crashed against the wall and fell, knocking over the jam container. Its disgusting contents spilled over him as he collapsed unconscious. Mandrill examined the effect of his blow with disinterested eyes and left the cell. For a moment he paused in front of the closed door, and said in a threatening tone:

"If he dies on me beforehand..."

"He ought to be cleaned up," Forste dared to advise.

Mandrill looked at him coldly. "A Samaritan, huh?" He went back to his room and left the janitor behind, ignored....

Kramer was ordered to Reineboth. "Listen here! By tomorrow morning you get ready a transport of 10,000. People who can march, understand?"

"Yessir."

Reineboth stepped up close to Kramer and blazed evilly: "If there are any more shenanigans like with the Jews, I'll hang you myself on the gate, you understand?"

"Yessir."

Kluttig, who had been sitting at Reineboth's desk, got up and blocked Kramer's way: "Where are the 46?"

It was on the tip of Kramer's tongue to answer. "I don't know", but he said: "Everything in the camp's at sixes and sevens. The camp's patrol searched and didn't find anything."

Kluttig grabbed Kramer by his jacket front. "Listen, boy, I'm saving you up for the end," he ground through his teeth. "Don't think you're getting away with this! You, Hofel and the Pole... I've got something in store for you three."

He held his pistol under Kramer's nose. Kramer received the threat in silence; the thought raced through him: Hofel and Kropinski are still alive...

"And your hidden Jew brat won't escape us either! There'll be a clean up here to the last man!"

In order to be informed quickly about all that had happened, Eochow waited in the clerks' room for Kramer's return and went across to his office when he saw Kramer coming over the mustering ground. He noticed that there



was something out of the ordinary when Kramer slammed his cap down on the table. "What's up?"

Kramer laughed in broad, grim merriment. "The way he waved his shooting iron under my nose..."

"Who?"

"Kluttig."

Kramer sat down at his desk and laughed bitterly. "And the way Reineboth couldn't get rid of me fast enough because that nincompoop of a Hauptsturmfuhrer talked too much."

"What is it?" Bochow pressed him.

Kramer raised his arms over his head in the fullness quietly placed the hands on Bochow's shoulders. "Our two in the bunker... they're still living. I know it. I know still more. We can get our 46 pals out of their holes. Nobody's looking for them any more."

"You're sure?"

"Sure."

Kramer took a long breath and the wrinkle over his nose dug in deeper. "The merry-go-round goes round. By tomorrow morning I've got to get a transport of 10,000 men ready. Maybe I'll succeed in dragging out the departure until the noon alert. We'd gain a few hours."

"Do what you can, Walter."

But suddenly Kramer asked without any transition:

"Where's the child? Where is it, Herbert?"

"I don't know."

Kramer examined Bochow's face for the genuineness of the assurance.

"Look for him!" he ordered somberly.

"Why?"

"Why?" Kramer hurled the question back in anger. He sat down at the desk, looked at his folded hands and began to speak softly: "That little thing has cost us too much already. Now let it be one of us like the others, like Hofel, Kropinski, the 46, Pippig, you, me... It should march with us or die with us. But we've got to get it here!" He pounded hard with his fist. "Get it here! Look for it!"

Bochow said nothing. He understood his friend, and the demanding tone echoed in his own heart.

Roughly and wrathfully Kramer shattered Bochow's silence: "One of you took it away. One of the ILK! Who was it?"

Kramer became still more impatient. "Search!" he insisted. "If we get our comrades out of their holes, the little thing shouldn't still have to... Who knows what sort of place it's in!"

Bochow sighed and nodded. "You're right, Walter. Why shouldn't it march with us now or... You're right, Walter. I'll try to find out where it is."

Kramer got up slowly, milder by a great deal, and reconciled.

The marching orders came down on the affected blocks like a heavy blow. The block seniors brought them back from the clerks' room where they had been summoned by Kramer. "We've got to get ready for tomorrow, comrades... Ten thousand men! That meant clearing out entire blocks!"

Meanwhile, secret discussions were being held all over the camp. The liaison men from the apparatus were bringing instructions to the leaders of the resistance groups. "Some of the comrades in every group will go with the transport. Volunteers! Talk to your people. They're to take weapons along, stabbing weapons. They have to try and finish off the guards on the way and liberate the transport."

Bochow and Bogorski had issued these instructions; there had been no time to call the ILK together. The group leaders called out the members of their groups separately, taking a short walk between the blocks, or withdrawing to a corner of the dormitory. "Will you go?" Silence, lips pressed together, the shadow of a thought gliding far away to where there was a wife, children, or a mother or a girl... at last a nod or a head shake. Some gave an answer on the spot because there was no faraway image that an errant thought could consult for a decision: "Sure I'll go."

The volunteers were taking death on themselves.

#### THE 'WEHRMACHT' REPORT

Surprisingly, a German Wehrmacht report was broadcast to the camp that evening, the first one to be made in

some time.

Schwahl had already issued the order for it in the afternoon, while discussing the transport with Kamloth.

Schwahl wanted to give an indignant answer, he even began brandishing his hands at Kamloth, but then he returned to walking around the desk. "You're a reasonable man, Kamloth. Do you believe you can still depend on your troops? It isn't the old nucleus any more, there's a lot of dead wood there."

"One command will do the trick!" Kamloth boasted.

Schwahl's face flowed out wider. "You think so? I can tell you another story. With my permission Kluttig ordered your police dog company to search for the 46. They didn't find a single one."

"Because they couldn't find any."

"Or didn't want to... Maybe I know your troop better than you do? The war is lost. Or isn't?" Schwahl halted before Kamloth. "We're singing our swan song. Or aren't we? When you're losing you're careful, whether you're a general or a soldier. Do I have to make myself still clearer?"

Kamloth obstinately contradicted the truth he disliked hearing: "Once we're on the way my boys will tallyho as if they were after rabbits."

Schwahl quickly poked a finger through this promise:

"That's quite another thing! But here in the mouse trap, my boy..."

"What you don't think of."

Vain as a field marshal, Schwahl replied: "I think of quite a lot of things. For example..." He went to the telephone and instructed Reineboth to announce the day's Wehrmacht report to the camp. "When you're losing, he said after that, repeating his remark, "you're careful, and that also applied to them in there. When they hear that we're stopping the Americans the barometer will fall and they'll march out the gate tomorrow morning like sheep."

The blocks listened to the report in the utmost suspense. Its effect was as Schwahl predicted.

In the area around Eisenach, Meiningen and Gotha, the

American advance had been brought to a halt. The prisoners looked at one another anxiously. What would happen now? The resistance groups were still observing the stage-two alarm. They were not allowed to leave the blocks; they were to be on call. Apart from the instructions to go along with the transport, no other had been issued by the leadership. Had the plan of operations in which each group received its assignment months ago been thrown overboard? The position was hazy and beclouded, and it grew still vaguer that evening when rumours chased through the camp that American parachute troops had landed on either side of Erfurt.

After a restless sleep Kramer was on his feet again at dawn. The prisoners selected for the transport were getting ready in the blocks. The volunteers from the groups took silent leave of their comrades. The weapons which they themselves had made were concealed in their clothing. Would they succeed in liberating the transport and getting through to the Americans? How many SS men would accompany the transport? Where was it going?

Kramer went from block to block. "When Reineboth calls, start lining up. Mill around, you understand. Maybe the alert will come early today and we'll be able to drag out the departure."

But something quite different and unforeseen occurred. All the plans for delay were upset. A half-hour before the appointed time, several hundred SS men marched up to the gate. They formed a lane, carbines at the ready and hand grenades in their belts. The wrought-iron gate was opened and remained open. Across the vacant mustering ground block fuhrers ran into the camp with clubs and revolvers in their hands. They burst into the block fuhrers and screaming, fleeing prisoners. The selection for the transport was transformed into panic, cries and flight. The prisoners were driven out of the side roads, onto the main road, then up the mustering ground and through the open gate!

The beaters tore back into the camp and swept new mobs out of the gate.

The hunted mass lost their ability to think, they were nothing but a torment of fear, flight and an ungovernable

instinct to run away from the blows of the b e a t e r s, through the open gate, as if deliverance were out there. It tore across the camp like a cyclone. The lane of SS men had spread out to both sides of the immense procession of expelled prisoners. When they were done with their driving the gate closed and the mob teemed down the approach road at a running pace, amidst yells and blows from rifle butts. By the time they reached the barrier the SS had beaten the people into an approximation of marching orders.

### IMPATIENCE THREATENS DISCIPLINE

The resistance groups were in a ferment. They were demanding weapons. Unrest and impatience were threatening discipline. The contact among the groups through the liaison men was no longer adequate. The emergency of the moment required the comrades of the ILK to emerge more and more from their concealment. For this reason a lightning decision was made to hold a discussion with the leaders of the resistance groups.

After darkness had fallen, over a hundred of them entered a block which had been emptied by the expulsion. Kramer also took part in the discussion.

Bochow had scarcely opened the meeting when a demand arose from the ranks for armed resistance against further evacuations. Pribula was again the most impatient of all. His friends in the Polish groups joined him. But other leaders also demanded abandonment of the passive tactic.

"We'd rather go down fighting than look on while our comrades are driven to their deaths. Today it is 10,000 tomorrow it may be thirty thousand." The unrest mounted. "Let's use our weapons!... Tomorrow!"

Kramer, who was standing to one side, could no longer restrain himself. He called into the tumult: "First of all - stop this crazy shouting! This isn't a strike meeting, we're in a concentration camp! Do you want to bring the SS in here with your noise?" It became quiet immediately. "You want to use your weapons - tomorrow? Well well."

Kramer's mockery angered them. Many began their racket all over again.

"Let me talk, goddam it! As camp senior I've got the heaviest load to carry, so I've got a right to speak my piece. How many weapons we actually have, I don't know. You'd know that better. But I know one thing! There won't be so many and they won't be so good that we can take on 60,000 SS men. I also know that the commandant will take good care not to leave a field of corpses behind here if we don't force him to it by our own stupidity!"

"By our own stupidity?"

"What kind of camp senior are you?"

"Listen to that, he even sticks up for the lousy commandant!"

Bochow interrupted: "Let the camp senior finish speaking."

Kramer snorted.

"I don't know whether all of you are Communists. I'm one! Now listen closely so you understand how I meant that."

He paused for a moment.

"We've got a little child hidden here in the camp. You certainly know about it. Because of this child we've had to go through a lot. For his sake two of us are locked up in the bunker, you know them. Because of the child our Pippig let himself be beaten to death. A lot of other pals of ours have stuck their necks out because of the child. You yourselves sitting here were in great danger because of the child. There were times when the fate of the whole camp hung by a single hair. What kind of stupidity was that on our part to hide a little child? If we'd handed it over at the gate when we found it, our Pippig would still be living and Hofel and Kropinski wouldn't be in the bunker now waiting to die! And there wouldn't have been any danger to you or the camp. Of course then they would have killed the child, but that wouldn't have been so bad, would it?"

An extraordinary attentiveness filled the room. Kramer asked Pribula, who was standing near him.

The young Pole made no answer. Kramer saw the repressed glitter in his eyes.

"You see how hard it is to decide over life and death! Do you think it's easy for me to send death transports to

the gate?"

Kramer turned around to the others. "What should I do? Should I go to Kluttig: I refused to follow the order, shoot me dead?... Be great of me, wouldn't it?... You'd erect a monument to me, I'm sure... But I'll manage without the honour, and instead I'll send people to their deaths in order to... rescue people, only to keep Schwahl from shooting!"

Kramer looked into the faces staring at him. "Do you understand that?... It isn't so easy to understand. It isn't easy at all. Because what we have to make now isn't only a simple decision! We don't simply have to choose between life and death! If that were so then I'd say, Right you are, out with the weapons, beginning tomorrow we shoot! Tell me: Did we send Pippig to his death because we rescued the child? Tell me: Should we have let the child be killed so as to rescue Pippig? Well, come on and tell me! Who'll give me the right answer?"

Kramer had become deeply aroused. He still had a lot to say. But the thoughts grew continuously more complicated, he shaped them with his hands but found no way of expressing them any more and capitulated to the insurmountable.

The men were silent. It was as if Kramer had taken every one of his heavy words from a scale and placed them in these men's hands: Here, weigh for yourselves!

The men had come to their senses. More disciplined than it had begun, the discussion was carried through to conclusion.

Early the next morning Kramer received fresh orders. Within a few hours, another 10,000 men were to leave and to be followed by a further 10,000. And all 800 Soviet prisoners of war were ordered to depart on the same day.

While Kramer, aided by the block seniors and some of the camp patrol, assembled the first transport and long trains of SS men marched from their barracks to the camp, the ILK held a hurried meeting in Block 17.

The departure of the prisoners of war meant the loss of strong resistance groups. It was decided that the prisoners of war should obey the order. Since it could be safe-

ly assumed that the Americans would make further progress hourly, the prisoners of war were instructed to overcome the escort teams on the way, when they guessed that the American advance guard was nearby. Then they could be equipped with stabbing weapons and just a few pistols. Bochow was assigned to deliver the weapons. It was a life-and-death decision. The comrades of the ILK separated as hurriedly as they had come together.

The French, the Poles, the Russians, the Germans, the Dutch, the Czechs, the Austrians, the Yugoslavs, the Rumanians, the Bulgarians, the Hungarians and many of the other nationalities had to offer up men. There was a buzzing, a humming, a clamour and a shouting in a babel of tongues from the various blocks of crowded masses.

In the midst of these hectic and hasty preparations, the siren suddenly screamed: Air-raid alert! Everyone rushed rejoicing back into the blocks. The lined-up SS raced to their barracks. The sixteen from the medical squad ran across the mustering ground. Reineboth shouted at them through the closed iron gate: "Back with you!" For a moment the sixteen hesitated, then they turned around and ran back again down the mustering ground. The prisoners at the windows of the front row of blocks called to one another: "They're not letting the medical squad out any more!"

Kohn sent his men to the infirmary, turned in and ran to the clerks' room, ripped open the door to Kramer's office and shouted joyously: "The chase is over!" He slammed the door again and ran out after his men...

The hard camp discipline which had held down the inmates all these years had fallen apart in the general disorganisation of the last few days. Nobody bothered about regulations and prohibitions any more. The fascists had lost their authority, and all that remained for the mass of prisoners was the danger of evacuation and of being wiped out at the last minute. Accompanied by Kramer, Bochow entered the block of the Soviet prisoners of war. Bogorski and a few of the resistance group leaders withdrew with the German comrades to the block latrine. Bochow had brought along five of the available pistols and they quickly vanished into the soldiers' clo-

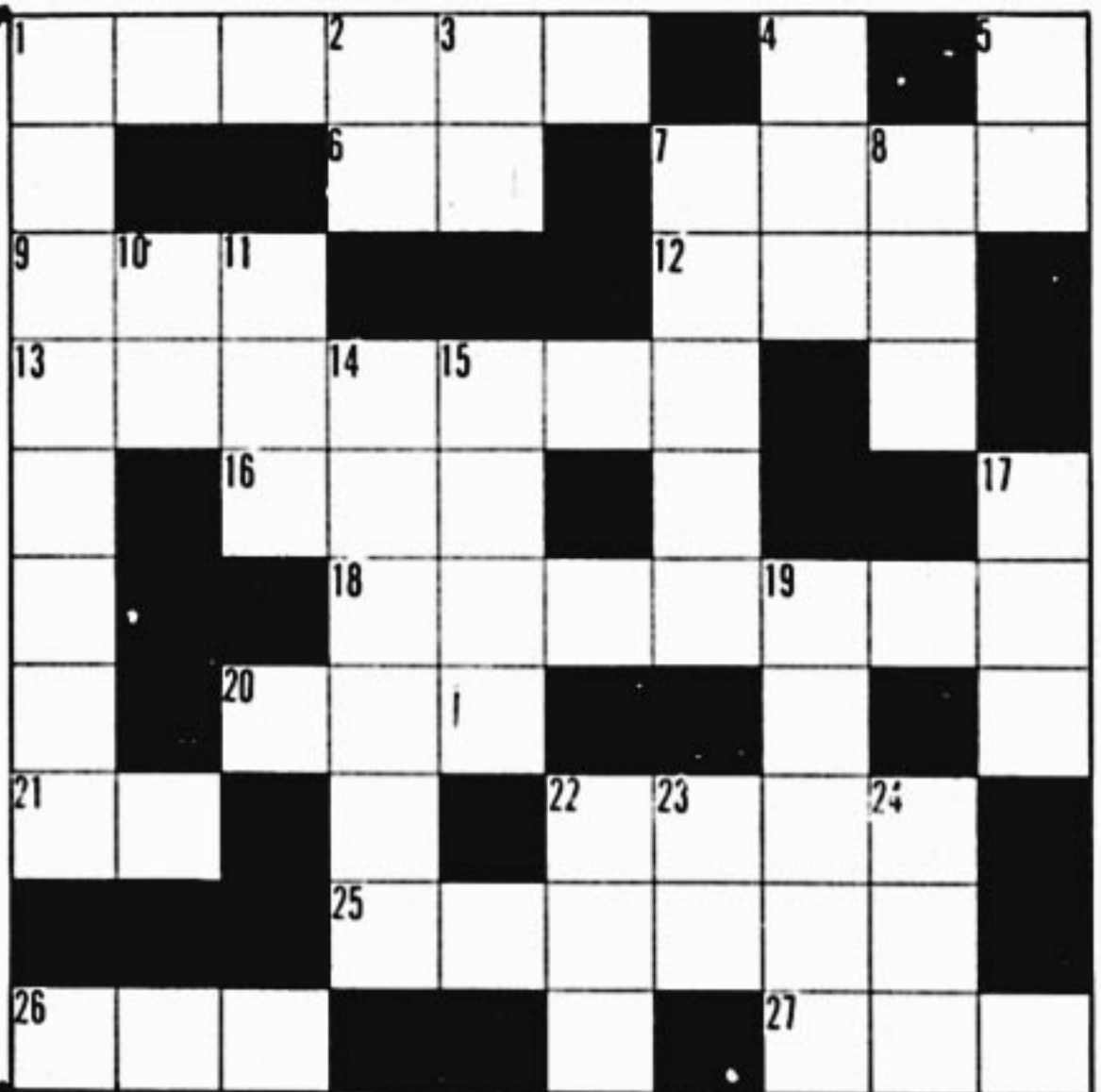


# DAWN



Political Word

No. 1



## Clues

### ACROSS

1. A lodging for troops.
6. Frequency Modulation.
7. A ten-footed shellfish.
9. Has its HQ in New York.
12. Opposite of ewe.
13. ANC's representative in UK.
16. Mozambican News Agency.
18. Borders with Sierra Leone.
20. A receptacle for rubbish.
21. V e r y.
22. A place authorised to make a country's coins.
25. A river in our Motherland.
26. An ampere.
27. to ... to an end.

### DOWN

1. Executive Secretary of the SADCC.
2. Low Frequency.
3. Thirteenth letter in the alphabet.
4. Irish Republican Army.
5. Uncle Marks' initials.
7. Punishable by law.
8. Chief Luthuli's initials.
10. N u m b e r.
11. Organisation for Angolan Women.
14. Member of the ANC's NEC.
15. Former Ugandan President.
17. To preserve in a can.
19. A place for shooting-practice.
22. An adult male person.
23. A preposition.
24. Number of clauses in the Freedom Charter.

SEE ANSWERS IN DAWN VOL. 7 NO. 2

thing.

Bogorski had worked out a simple plan. The Soviet resistance groups should march in the wings of the procession and cover the flanks. The aim would be to overpower suddenly as many SS men as possible, and disarm them. That was the task of the flank guard. The other Red Army men would immediately join in the fight. If the attack succeeded, the men would make their way to the heights of the Thuringian Forest and establish communications from there with the approaching Americans. If the plan failed... "All right," said Bogorski simply, "we did our duty." He sent the leaders away; they were to distribute the weapons. Now he was alone with his German comrades. It was time to say good-bye.

They did not say a word to one another. Bogorski held out his hand to Kramer and uttered only, as before: "Comrades..." Then they embraced each other mutely. A hot feeling mounted in Bochow as Bogorski silently laid his hands on his shoulders. Their glances met through a crystal of tears and the brotherly love they had always felt for one another united them. They smiled.

When they had overcome their emotion they talked to one another with the vivacity of pain.

"I still have to give you something. Little child."

"Have you people got it?" asked Kramer in utter surprise.

Bogorski shook his head.

"So you did take it away," Bochow cried, and you didn't tell me the truth..."

"For the last time: I did not take the child away."

He hastened out but came back again immediately, a young Red Army man with him.

"He," Bogorski pointed at the soldier.

The young man nodded. Formerly one of the commando for the SS piggery which was located in the camp behind the infirmary, the young soldier had 'stolen' the child from Zidkowski's bed on instructions from Bogorski, and hidden it in the pen of a pregnant sow. The child was still there. None of the prisoners in the commando knew...

To be continued in the next issue.

# **DISCIPLINE IS THE MOTHER OF VICTORY**

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

# STOP THE HAND OF THE APARTHEID HANGMAN!



tsotsobe



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FOR UMKHONTO WE SIZWE ACTIVITIES  
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