

# DAWN

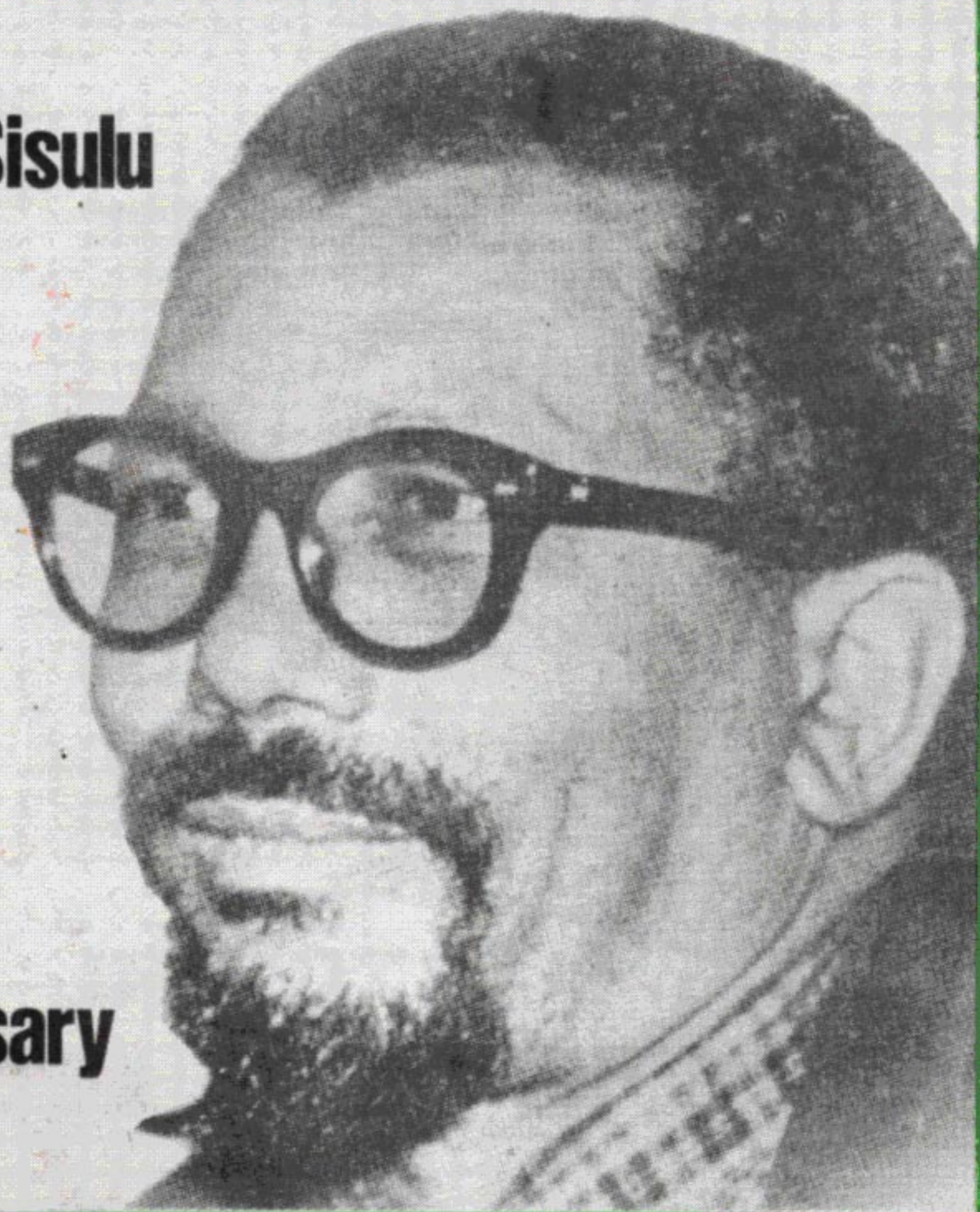


VOLUME 6

NUMBER 5 MAY 1982

**Monthly Journal of Umkhonto we Sizwe**

**Walter Sisulu**



**70th  
Anniversary**

# DAWN



Monthly Journal of Umkhonto we Sizwe

## Contents

Editorial Comment: Coming Home to Roost .....	1
Practice Bears Us Out .....	3
DAWN PolitiXword No.4 Answers .....	9
30th Anniversary of the Defiance Campaign .....	10
Interview with Joe Slovo .....	16
Straight Talk – No Change of Heart .....	24
Heroes of our Revolution .....	26
For No Other Reward .....	32
Naked Among Wolves .....	36
DAWN PolitiXword No. 5 .....	48

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



Editorial Comment

# COMING HOME TO ROOST

The South African agony-hidden history is replete with instances which bespeak the inevitable collapse of the power – and war-mongering clique currently ruling the roost in our country.

While some of the happenings have unfailingly caused the attention of the world to be riveted upon South Africa, for example, Sharpeville and the wanton shooting of miners; the June 1976 massacre of unarmed schoolchildren protesting against a hideous and dehumanizing system, the attendant bloodshed that followed from Soweto to Sibasa, from Kwa-Zakhele to KwaMashu, spelled the inexorable doom of South Africa.

## TREMORS

There were ripples which produced tremors which – if we follow the logical precept of progression – will give rise to something as thunderous and as scorching as an erupting volcano. Some people, metaphorically speaking, would get a brain haemorrhage at the mere thought of a volcano erupting near their fine split-level homes; many others, especially the homeless, would look at the fire and molten lava with pyromaniacal glee. The young men and women who were slain in that unspeakable orgy of

savagery on June 16, 1976, their surviving compatriots, are the ones who'll fashion houses from the lava when it solidifies and becomes a steady rock on which all future generations can stand.

### **CATALYST**

A catalyst of this movement to completely eradicate all seeds and vestiges of the corrupt, inhuman, retrograde apartheid system is unquestionably the African National Congress. Its armed wing, Umkhonto We Sizwe, working on the ingenuous operational patterns of a time-tested leadership (70 years, after all, is not a short period) has caused the Pretoria racists to mouth incoherent ignities that waft all over the country like poison gas. Umkhonto We Sizwe ranks have been richly swelled by a lot of young men and women who left their country, albeit with the greatest reluctance, after the terror was unleashed in June 1976. Solomon Mahlangu, The Siverton Trio, the Pretoria Six, SASOL, Voortrekkershoogte, to name a few, are emotionally charged names of people and places that have widened the crack on the regime's wall. And South Africa is everyday trumpeting how it intends to paper the cracks.

Comrade President O.R. Tambo, after the dastardly and cold-blooded murder of ANC and SACTU comrades in Matola, Mozambique, made it clear that the blacks of our country are not the only ones who have the monopoly to bleed. This, translated into simple English means that since 1982 is the Year of Unity in Action the chickens of all those slain by the fascist regime for all these bleeding centuries, from coast to coast, are coming to roost in Pretoria.

---

**FORWARD TO THE 6TH  
ANNIVERSARY OF  
JUNE 16**

# **PRACTICE BEARS US OUT**

**—Jacob Molefe**

## **A discussion on the continued relevance of the Strategy and Tactics of the African National Congress**

It is now almost thirteen years since the historic 1969 Morogoro Conference where one of the most significant documents of our movement: *The Way Forward – Strategy and Tactics of the ANC* was adopted. One needs to give the briefest of glances to notice the far-reaching changes that have and are taking place since then. Though the strategy of a revolutionary party or organisation remains unchanged for the whole strategic stage, it would nevertheless not be a futile exercise to examine our strategy and tactics in the light of the developments since 1969. With our people's war unfolding at the rate it does and the forces of change daily conquering majestic heights, this article will endeavour to examine, however briefly, the basic tenets of our Strategy and Tactics with the aim of proving its continued and ever-growing validity. For in the final analysis, practice alone is the criterion of truth.

As the overall plan of battle, the art of directing the campaign and the overall statement of objectives of our national democratic revolution the Strategy and Tactics of the ANC consists of three main elements:

- i) The definition of the strategic goal;*
- ii) The principal enemy against whom the main revolutionary blows must be directed and*
- iii) The main revolutionary force and its allies.*

For the amelioration and betterment of the lot of the oppressed majority of the African people who have borne the main brunt of the colonial yoke for the past 330 years, the ANC's Strategy and Tactics states in no uncertain terms: "What then is the broad purpose of our military struggle? Simply put, in the first phase, it is the complete political and economic emancipation of all our people and the constitution of a society which accords with the basic provisions of our programme — The Freedom Charter"

### **FREEDOM CHARTER**

It is on the basis of our demands as enshrined in the Freedom Charter that a correct definition of the class and national enemy against whom the main revolutionary thrust is to be concerted is made. Our Strategy and Tactics does not end up at identifying the enemy, but proceeds to soberly assess his strong and weak points.

It points out the racist regime has a massive potential of armaments and manpower resources, a sophisticated network of communication and railway lines, an organised economy and a relatively well-trained and efficient army. Moreover our enemy has got a strong backing from the imperialist countries like US, Britain, FRG and others who may not limit themselves to supporting the regime but may pass over to active intervention militarily. But inseparably bound up with its strength is also the weakness of our enemy that mainly stems from its unpopularity within the people as well as the need to protect widely scattered installations on which his economy is dependent. Skilful application of guerilla tactics will, asserts our Strategy and Tactics, render the material strength of the enemy useless.

The past years, in direct contrast to the demands of the international community to isolate the apartheid regime, have witnessed increased support rendered by the imperialist countries to the South African regime. With the coming to throne of the war monger Ronald Reagan, the US has not only ended with the underground shipment of military equipment to South Africa, but Reagan has been bold enough to openly voice his support for the racist regime.

The Reagan Administration has relaxed the restrictions on trade with South Africa and refers to our liberation forces as 'International Terrorism'. In Reagan's words: "Can we abandon a country (South Africa) that has stood beside us in every war we've ever fought, a country that is essential to the free world, that has minerals?" What does all these factors signify? They are a clear pointer to the extremes to which the western

world is prepared to go in defence of apartheid South Africa. Therefore when our Strategy and Tactics indicated the possibility of active intervention by the imperialist countries in our country it was basing itself in the understanding of how much stake the entire western world have in the South African wealth and strategic location.

### **ARMED STRUGGLE**

On the other hand the recent past has also witnessed a consistent growth of armed struggle to a level hitherto unprecedented in our history. The dramatic operations of our heroic army, Umkhonto We Sizwe have greatly undermined and disorganised racist South Africa's defence and security networks, shattering to smithereens the old myth about South Africa's invincibility.

The racist defence minister has been forced to admit: "The permanent force and the present number of national servicemen are no longer capable of guaranteeing the safety of the white community." Yet in another confession the security forces have also reiterated the 'difficulty to find the ideal security protection for key installations'. It is against this background that the government talks about the so-called area war preparations in which it envisages the extension of part-time services to inactive reserves.

### **NATIONAL SERVICE**

Whilst the National service was nine months in 1967 and 12 months in 1972, it increased to 24 months in 1977. Service in the Citizen Force rose from 19 days per year for five years in 1972 to 240 days served over eight years in 1982. All these developments attest to the correctness of our proposition, viz, that the enemy will find difficulty in coping up as he has to attenuate his enormous manpower resources over large and wide expanses in an effort to arrest the country-wide torrents of our armed and sabotage attacks. The racist enemy already feels the strain. This is what we meant in 1969 when we concluded "superior forces can thus be harassed, weakened and in the end destroyed". To our enemies and their detractors, it sounded a dream then but today practice is bearing us out.

The position of the white population is also given the attention it deserves in our Strategy and Tactics. While the majority of the whites are prepared to die in defence of their apartheid privileges, our Strategy and Tactics points out that it is not altogether impossible that a substantial section of the white population may be won over. Indeed opposition to the apartheid regime is steadily claiming ever-growing numbers from Whi-

tes. The War Resisters Movement is daily growing from strength to strength. But despite all these developments, the majority of Whites still see their stakes in the ruthless oppression and exploitation of the black masses and the defeat of our liberation drive. To convince them of the coincidence of their interests and those of the black masses we need to intensify our political and military struggle to ever higher levels. It is only through relentless engagement with the enemy in all fronts that the whites will learn in practice that the future is ours.

## **MONOPOLY**

A unique feature of South Africa, a monopoly capitalist state, is that race and national oppression are endemic to the entire exploitative system. It is the African masses who are the main victims of the evils and appalling consequences of apartheid which, though the racist rulers of late pretend to give it a coat of sugar, has been stepped up with unbridled intensity. The system of reserves is carried out with added vigour, more and more bantustans are becoming independent, forced mass removals, mass arrests and detentions without trials is the order of the day; pass laws are still intact; the list is endless. Hence we still hold firmly to the belief that the main content of our revolution is the national liberation of the African people. For, in the words of our Strategy and Tactics "...it is only the success of the national democratic revolution which – destroying the existing social and economic relationship – will bring with it a correction of the historical injustices perpetrated against the indigenous majority and thus lay the basis for a new – and deeper internationalist – approach. Until then the national sense of grievance is the most potent revolutionary force which must be harnessed."

The Coloured and Indian people, though occupying an intermediary position between the Africans and the Whites, are also subjected to White oppression and have no say in the running of the state affairs. Our Strategy and Tactics states that these national groups are the natural allies of the African people at the present phase of our revolution. It further calls for the full intergration of the revolutionaries from these racial groups on the basis of individual equality in our struggle.

## **PHENOMENON**

Though not at all a new phenomenon, the past few years have seen our Coloured and Indian people living up to their role in a manner unprecedented in the history of our struggle. During the Soweto uprisings of 1976 and later the Coloured and Indian youth showed once again their



growing resentment of apartheid, the coincidence of their interests with those of the Africans and their determination to march hand in hand with their African brothers in the war against the common enemy. On more than one occasion the enemy schemes aimed at separating these communities from the Africans and setting them against each other have ended in failure.

Last year the boycotts organized by both the Indian people and the Africans against the dummy SAIC elections ended in utter frustration of this government scheme.. On top of this rebuff of the government by our people, the Indian people reaffirmed their strong adherence and loyalty to the Freedom Charter. The domination of the portrait of the ANC leader, Nelson Mandela in most of these anti-SAIC meetings was once again symbolising the growing unity of the people of South Africa across the colour lines. The unwavering support to the Freedom Charter also points to the fact that this document which embodies the strategic goals of our movement still serves as the basis for unity of all the people of South Africa and therefore remains as relevant as ever .

In its recognition of the predominant significance of national oppression in South Africa, the ANC, by no means underestimates the class contradictions inherent in the apartheid structure. It gives full consideration to the fact that national oppression in South Africa is used by the bourgeois class to facilitate the most intense and brutal exploitation of our people. In this regard our Strategy and tactics states that: "Our drive towards national emancipation is therefore in a very real way bound up with economic emancipation." For this reason, our programme sets aside a special and leading role to be played by the working class in our struggle.

Never before have South Africa ever been rocked by such a wave of strike actions by the working class. The discipline and collectivist nature with which these class battles are conducted shows that both, politically and organizationally, the working class is the main contender of the entire apartheid system, its economic, social and political structures. A so-called international research corporation, assessing the situation in South Africa for foreign investors warned them that "eventually business will be unable to develop reliable workforces." Many other similar bourgeois organizations have also been forced to admit that the strike fever in which South Africa is presently gripped, instead of diminishing, is escalating, affecting the cross-section of the business sectors, from the small companies to the largest private industrial associations. These factors indicate in no less clear terms the basic nature of the contradictions between capital



### **Workers on the March!**

and labour in South Africa, and that, these cannot be resolved by any form of reforms short of the total destruction of the capitalist system. The African working class, being brutally oppressed and super exploited, and constituting 71% of the total economically active population, is in the forefront of all these class and national battles.

One important thing to be noted is that while the mass upsurges rocking our country stem from the contradictions inherent in the system of apartheid, they also result from the conscious efforts of our movement directed at harnessing the mass anger and leading our people in their fight against national domination to a victorious end.

### **POLITICAL AND MILITARY**

These activities of our movement are two-fold in character — political and military. It becomes necessary therefore that in examining these activities we also try and show the relationship between these two aspects. Our strategy states that by revolutionary armed struggle we mean “political struggle by means which include the use of military force.” In simple terms what we mean is that our struggle is aimed at winning the support of the masses so that at a certain stage of its development, armed violence should be the weapon employed by the entire people to crush the racist government.

Trodding along this path charted in our Strategy and Tactics our movement, starting from 1979, embarked on a 3-year programme aimed at raising the level of both mass and armed struggles to unprecedented levels.

Looking back at the three years that went down in our history as the 'Year of the Spear', 'Year of the Charter and the South African Worker' and the 'Year of the Youth' respectively, one cannot but marvel at the successes scored by the revolutionary forces of our land headed by the African National Congress.

The skilful exercise of tactics, particularly the combination of armed struggle with the mass struggles have gained our organisation great reputation with both friend and foe alike admitting that the ANC has become a household name in our country.

### **UMKHONTO WE SIZWE**

Of particular significance in this regard are the telling military blows delivered by our army, Umkhonto We Sizwe. The Sunday Times once noted: "Of the 10 blasts this year (1981), many of them have been directed at the symbols of authority, including the SADF recruiting office,..." Such direction of our blows to issues immediately affecting the people have served to reinforce the people's mass struggles and have stimulated mass action further, creating more favourable conditions for the survival, entrenchment and multiplication of our army, and consequently, the general upliftment of our struggle to higher levels.

Summing up our basic strategy and tactics, Nelson Mandela wrote: "Between the anvil of united mass action and the hammer of armed struggle we shall crush apartheid and white minority rule." This is the strategy that saw to the defeat of French colonialism in Vietnam, Portuguese in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau and yesterday, Ian Smith in Zimbabwe. South Africa can be no exception. The boers are already flinching. The imperative of the day is to surge ever forward unsparing of ourselves, guarding against all deviations from the general line charted out in our time-tested document — The Way Forward — Strategy and Tactics of the ANC which has lived to be a noble contribution to the storehouse of world revolutionary theory and practice.

#### **DAWN PolitiXword No.4 Answers**

- ACROSS:** 1. Pelem 4. FCWU 6. One 7. Ban 9. Egg 10. Thomas  
12. Or 15. Incite 18. Hoe 19. As 20. Nag 21. TASS  
23. Ape 24. Go.
- DOWN:** 1. Post 2. Laborious 3. Monarch 4. Fee 5. Wage  
8. am 11. Ho 13. Hashe 14. SACTU 16. ION  
17. Team.

# 30TH ANNIVERSARY DEFIANCE

On the 26th June our embattled masses, the ANC and its allies together with the forces of progress the world over, will be celebrating the 30th Anniversary of Campaign for the Defiance of Unjust Laws. In its 70 years of glorious struggle, the ANC, born into the frontline of the people's struggle, has been tested in a multitude of political battles. The Campaign for the Defiance of Unjust Laws stands out as one of the battles of immense historical significance fought by our people under the vanguard leadership of the ANC and her allies. Starting from the early hours of June 26, 1952, in the words of Nelson Mandela, "The whole country was transformed into a battle zone where the forces of liberation were locked in mortal conflict against reaction and evil. Our flag flew in every battlefield and thousands of our countrymen rallied around." Like all historic battles waged by the masses, the significance of the Defiance Campaign grows with time. Lessons drawn from such battles become even more instructive as we approach our final goal of liberation.

Coming as it does on the great Year of Unity in Action, of the 70th Anniversary of the birth of the ANC, the occasion presents a great challenge to all anti-racist and democratic forces in our country and the world. We review the Defiance Campaign in the light of present tasks and demands of our escalating struggle for the seizure of power in our country.

We focus on the plight of our people – the intensified oppression and cruel exploitation, the increasing terrorism, arbitrary arrests, deaths in detention and assassinations. We focus on the unprovoked wars of aggression waged by the racist regime against the neighbouring African states.

## **HISTORICAL BACKGROUND**

The election victory of the Nationalist Party in 1948 marked a turning point in South Africa. The Nationalist Party, dominated by the rising and aggressive class of Afrikaner capitalist, financiers and industrialists, emer-

# RSARY OF THE CAMPAIGN

—Che O'Gara

ged from the 2nd World War deeply influenced by Nazi ideas and armed with the fascist technique of organisation and demagoguery. Under the government of the Nationalist Party, the policy of colonialism and apartheid in our country was to be pursued with lunatic thoroughness and a callous disregard of humanity which outraged the whole world. Our people were to be subjected to another round of assaults and attacks on their basic human rights, and all forms of freedom under a barrage of insulting, humiliating and oppressive apartheid laws and enactments. Under discriminatory measures such as Railways and Harbours Amendment Act, Population Registration Act, Group Areas Act, pass laws; the Africans, Indians and Coloureds were herded into segregated 'ghettoes', 'group areas', 'Bantu homelands', 'resettlement camps' and farm prisons, where they could be pinned down, supervised, patrolled and persecuted for non-payment of rents, raided for taxes, passes and liquor. The Immorality Amendment Act and Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act brought numerous tragedies. Men and women who lived together for years and reared families, suddenly found themselves breaking the law. Families were broken down resulting in untold misery and frustration.

These badges of slavery administered on our people were accompanied by endless measures to suppress and repress the rising tides of opposition which they invoked to destroy freedom of speech and organisation. South Africa was being transformed step by step into a fascist police state, ruled by lawless terror.

## CRUEL LAWS

Under this mountaineous burden of unjust and cruel laws people's resentment was reaching a breaking point. As Mandela explained at the time: "Since 1912 and year after year thereafter, in their homes and local areas, in provincial and national gatherings, on trains and buses, in the factories and on the farms, in cities, villages, shanty towns, schools and

prisons, the African people have discussed the shameful misdeeds of those who rule the country. Year after year, they have raised their voices in condemnation of the grinding poverty of the people, the low wages, the acute shortage of land, the inhuman exploitation and the whole policy of white domination. But instead of more freedom repression began to grow in volume and intensity and it seemed that all their sacrifices would end up in smoke and dust. Today the entire country knows that their labours were not in vain for a new spirit and new ideas have gripped our people. Today the people speak the language of action: there is a mighty awakening among the men and women of our country and the year 1952 stands out as the year of this upsurge of national consciousness."

The beginning of the decade of the 50's was marked by a powerful movement of national awakening. In 1949 the adoption of the Programme of Action ushered in a new militant era characterised by mass struggles. In 1950 the ANC in the Transvaal Province initiated the launching of a one-day strike on May 1. On June 26th the same year, in what has gone down in the history of our people as South Africa Freedom Day, the ANC jointly with the South African Indian Congress called for a nation-wide stay-at-home strike to mourn the victims of May 1st shootings and all those who have given their lives in the noble fight against apartheid rule.



The opening of the campaign. Thousands were in attendance.



**Nelson Mandela (right) and Yusuf Dadoo. The first to defy the unjust laws.**

### **MASSIVE CAMPAIGN**

In 1951 the ANC national conference in Bloemfontein resolved to embark upon a massive campaign of defiance of apartheid laws. On the following year on June 26, together with the SAIC, the ANC launched the Defiance Campaign. In response to the call to action more than 8 500 disciplined volunteers under the able and dynamic leadership of Nelson Mandela took to battle in mass united action against the apartheid evil laws. Starting off in Port Elizabeth in the early hours of June 26 and with only thirty-three defiers and then in Johannesburg in the afternoon of the same day with one-hundred-and-six defiers, it spread throughout the country like wild fire. Peoples from all walks of life engaged the enemy. There were workers, peasants, doctors, lawyers, teachers and the clergy — Africans, Indians, Coloureds and Europeans. The Defiance Campaign demanded immediate and heavy sacrifices. Workers lost their jobs, chiefs and teachers were expelled from service, doctors, lawyers and businessmen gave up their practices and businesses and elected to go to jail rather than acquiesce to white domination. They were prepared to lose all and remain free in the land of their birth.

The enemy responded in a typical fascist fashion to these just demands of the people. A reactionary offensive in the form of arrests, bannings and detentions was launched against our people and their liberation move-

ment. In 1953 between July and August, forty-seven leading members from both Congresses were arrested, tried and convicted for launching the Defiance Campaign. In November 1952, a proclamation was passed which prohibited meeting of more than ten Africans and made it an offence for any person to call upon an African to duty. A series of other such repressive measures like the so-called Public Safety Act, Criminal Laws Amendment Act, the Suppression of Communism Act were further intensified. Arbitrary bannings were imposed on leaders such as Walter Sisulu, Nelson Mandela, Moses Kotane, Dr G.M. Naicker and many others. All these oppressive measures were aimed at intimidating the people to avoid to struggle and to cripple and behead the national liberation movement.

### **REPRESSION**

In spite of all repression, the campaign for the Defiance of Unjust Laws was an outstanding success and of great significance generally in the unfolding of the overall strategy of the stage of non-violence (1912–1961), i.e. the building of a strong national organisation as a means for mobilising and unifying all our people and particularly, the unfolding of the 1949 Programme of Action. The prestige of our organisation grew and its membership rose tremendously as more and more people were turning to the ANC for leadership.

Though initially launched by the ANC and the SAIC, the campaign lured many Coloureds and, towards the end of 1952, a large number of progressive Whites. In action, unity was born and in unity, action was fostered. Inspired by the Defiance Campaign the Congress of Democrats and the Coloured People's Congress were formed at the tail end of 1952 and early 1953 respectively, a process that culminated in the formation of the Congress Alliance in 1953.

**IGAMMA  
VOLONTIYA**



The *Unity in Action* attained during the Defiance Campaign provided fertile ground for waging the heroic battles that made the period of the fifties go down in our history as the "roaring fifties", i.e. the struggle against Bantu Education, The Congress of the People, Anti-Pass Campaigns and many other battles. The adoption of the theme: *Unity in Action* by our movement to mark the 30th anniversary of this heroic campaign is no accident. No other way of marking this important event in our lives can be more fitting.

### **TASKS**

All the anti-racists and democratic forces in our country are called upon in their various social formations to rise to the occasion at the 30th anniversary of the Defiance Campaign by making it yet another landmark in the road to a free and democratic South Africa. We are called upon to display an inexhaustible revolutionary initiative in realising the call of *Unity in mass Action*. We must confront and bring down in a united action the genocidal Bantustan system with its wretched shanty towns where our people are subjected to grinding poverty, diseases and death. The terrorism unleashed on our people by the puppet armies, commanded by Rhodesian Sellous Scouts and agents of BOSS, the arbitrary arrests, detentions and torture and death in the fascist and Bantustan prisons must be halted.

We are being called upon to live to the spirit of sacrifice and commitment to the struggle of the volunteers, to confront the enemy in all fields; in urban areas against high rents, sky-rocketing prices, against the cruel exploitation in the farms and factories, the inhuman conditions at work, cuts on our wages, against harassment and clamping down of our trade unionists. We have a task to put to an end the bombings, raids, killings and assassinations perpetrated by the racist army in the neighbouring states. Let us rise to the occasion and seize power.

# **LAMIA SISIFUNGO**

# Joe Slovo:

**THE GUNS AND THE EXPLOSIONS  
WILL SPEAK EVEN IF THE MASS  
MEDIA IS SILENT – AND WILL BE  
HEARD BY THE PEOPLE**

**Excerpts from a Radio Freedom Interview.**

**Q: Comrade Joe, in the past few months we have been witnesses to intensified enemy brutality on trade union leaders which has culminated in the murder of Dr Neil Aggett and the subsequent arrest of other leading figures like Thozamile Gqweta, Sam Kikine and others. Well, in your opinion, why does the enemy perpetrate this brutal suppression on trade unions in South Africa?**



**Thousands defiantly march in tribute to comrade Neil Aggett.**

**A:** The reasons are clear. We know — and the enemy knows — that there is one force that can spell the destruction of the racist regime, it is the organized power of our doubly-exploited working class. This working class is the key revolutionary force because it is clear that whatever aspect of racism you examine, it is the exploitation of black labour which is at its foundation. What is behind the bantustans it is clear that they are labour reserves to be used to keep a reserve of black labour for the white-controlled industries. What lies behind the pass laws it is clear that it is nothing but black labour control. What is behind Bantu education, again it is clear that it is to prepare black labour for its role in white industry. What is behind the land policy, it is to prevent access to the means of production by blacks so that the black oppressed has only one thing to sell, and that is his labour power.

So, in General it is crystal clear that of all classes amongst the black oppressed it is the working class which has nothing to lose but its chains in the struggle for revolutionary transformation... It is they who create all the country's wealth, working together, in large concentrations at the point of production. And this experience of working together teaches them organisation. It teaches them to understand the system and the collective strength which they can bring to play against it. And when the workers realize their strength and withdraw their labour, they strike at the very heart of the racist ruling class.

### **MASS STRUGGLES**

This was shown in the mass struggles of the fifties and in the last decade we have seen further dramatic evidence of this threat. The impressive strikes of the early seventies helped set the scene for the great Soweto rebellion which gained inestimable reinforcement from the national solidarity strikes which followed. Since then the black labour force has kept up and increased its militant activity on the factory floor.

And these growing actions have won for our working class really major historic gains. There is no doubt that the enemy has lost a



.. Sam Kikine tortured



Oscar Mpepha on trial.

major round in its battles with the black working class. It has been forced to pass legislation granting-in-law-recognition to black trade unions and rights to strike in terms of the industrial legislation. This reform is not the consequence of a so-called liberal policy by Botha or anyone else. It is the fruit of achievement — it is the fruit of bitter struggles by the oppressed and it demonstrates once again that it is in struggle and struggle alone that we will win our demands...

Why this brutal suppression, then, you ask? In short the answer is clear: We can expect the enemy to use every device of state terror, to prevent the emergence of real, independent, free and democratic trade unions amongst the black oppressed. And that is the reason for his brutal suppression.

**Q: Recently, Comrade Joe, the so-called Minister of Law and Order, Le Grange, has indicated that there has been a spate of guerilla activities this year — he said this immediately after the explosion in Durban. But the mass media inside the country has been very quiet about Umkhonto We Sizwe activities. What do you think is the objective of this silence? And how can we, as the ANC, overcome it?**

**A: Well, the objective has actually been spelled out by the enemy. It is trying, by this conspiracy of silence which it is attempting to impose: it is trying to neutralize the inspirational impact which MK actions have made in our people and indeed on the whole international community. I think it is true to say that today as never before the ANC and its allies stand completely unchallenged at the head of the liberation struggle. And there's no doubt that heroic actions like SASOL, like the attacks on police stations, on the power stations, the shelling of Voortrekkershoogte, the attacks on refineries, and so on: these have all played a most vital role in raising the militancy of our people and providing them with even greater confidence in carrying on their own mass struggles. And of course the enemy is aware of this and the mass media — or much of it — does represent the enemy thinking. But we can say that in the past sixty-nine months in**

particular the air has been filled with talk of commissions, statements which amount to press intimidation, and attempts by the authorities to deliberately keep back information on the MK strikes inside the country.

The press and other mass media have indeed been quiet about MK activity. But I believe that we can say with confidence that whatever they do, the exploits of our cadres cannot — and will not — be hidden from the people. Our underground voice will more and more spread the message of actions and news of the struggle to the mass of our people. The guns and the explosions will, I believe, speak even if the mass media is silent — and it will be heard by the people.

### CONSPIRACY

So, despite the conspiracy of silence, in any case their politicians and generals are daily exposing the impact of our armed activity. Only recently Viljoen warned the country against the growing threat of Umkhonto We Sizwe in what he called its "Strategy of Area War." And he also added that the ANC is responsible for keeping busy bigger forces in the country than are engaged in the war on the Namibian borders. Recently again, Malan's panic measures to mobilise even the old, white pensioners in defence of racism also tells our people. They understand. It tells our people about the growing effectiveness of our armed strikes.

In short, really, there is only one way of the enemy-imposed silence on the mass media. And that is to strike harder, to strike more often and to strike with even greater sophistication. And, whatever the enemy and his media does, the activities of our movement will become known to the people in every corner of our land.

**Q: Today we're beginning to see a considerable number of whites taking part actively in the struggle which has resulted in police murder of one of them in detention, namely, Dr Neil Aggett. Also, there have been persecutions, prosecutions against whites. Do you see this as something new in the South African revolution...?**

**A: Well, it is not completely true to say that this phenomenon you referred to of whites joining the struggle is new. What is new is that they are joining it in larger numbers. Because if we look at the history of our struggle — the modern struggle — in the last 30, 40, 50 years, we have always witnessed a sprinkling of whites who have made common cause with the liberation struggle. Names like Bram**



**Denis Goldberg — Life Imprisonment**

Fischer testify to this.

If we look at the inmates of the political section of Pretoria Central Gaol, we will find that there are numbers of white comrades who are serving life and other terms of imprisonment and who, in their activity as part and parcel of our movement, risked their lives in Umkhonto and in the underground.

But as I've said it is true to say what is new is that the number is growing... We saw very significantly during the Soweto Uprising, for the first time perhaps in our history,

where ordinary white students not part of our movement but enraged by what was being done to the black students in Soweto. We saw white students risking their social positions, risking their studies and marching together with black colleagues through the streets of Johannesburg and being spat upon by the racist police. And this augurs well for the future.

### **WAR RESISTERS**

There is also the growing War Resister's Movement. It is escalating. Of course, numerous of those who do not wish to join the army may do so only for personal reasons. But we believe there are large numbers who are evading the military service because they do not see that there is anything to fight for. Because they are beginning to believe that to fight against the black liberation forces is eventually to fight against their own future, and the future of their children.

Other straws in the wind that we have seen: even in institutions which have previously been regarded as the extreme citadels of reaction like Potchefstroom University. We have seen a number of expressions of opposition to the apartheid regime and activities which could be regarded as the beginning of student thinking about the justness of the cause in liberation struggle. I refer, for example to the way in which a government minister was shouted down not so

long ago by Potchefstroom students — by Stellenbosch students, when he tried to evade a question about the release of Nelson Mandela.

So, although it is still a very small minority, it is a growing force. And it is something which we as a revolutionary movement can only welcome. I believe, and I think we all believe that the situation is ripe for us to win more and more of the thinking whites — the democratic whites — for our broad struggle. And not only that, but it is becoming more and more possible to win some of them to actually show a readiness to join Umkhonto We Sizwe and to participate together with their black brothers in just struggle to overthrow the racist regime. And for all those reasons it is obviously becoming more and more important for our movement to get its policy across to these sections of potential supporters, and to go out of our way to get across to them what we know to be our fundamental programme — and that is a programme for a non-racist South Africa which will have a place in it for all who are prepared to live a life of complete and unconditional equality with their fellow human beings whatever their colour and whatever their creed.

So, I believe that this is the work which we are doing and which we should be intensifying. But in general we should not suffer any illusions. The bulk of the whites, the white trade union movement, the bulk of the whites who are in the army still represent part of the support for the ruling classes of South Africa.

## **PARLIAMENT**

Our job is to attempt to win away from that group as many as we can. But we must not believe that we will be able to bring about a transformation by engaging in what is known as white politics at the level of the Parliament and so on. Because history has shown in our country — and this cannot be disputed — that it is only when we, as a liberation movement, show our strength in mass struggles, in armed combat. It is only when we achieve more and more along those lines that we will win more and more whites who will in practice, begin to realize that the future does not belong to the racist ruling classes but the future belongs to the overwhelming majority of the people.

**Q: Well, finally, Comrade Joe. At the moment we have six members of Umkhonto We Sizwe awaiting execution at the Pretoria Central**

**Prison. Three of them – their death sentences have already been endorsed by the racist Supreme Court division of the Appellate Court. Now what do you think the people of South Africa can do as a force to save the lives of these six combatants?**

**A:** I believe that in the heart of every oppressed man and woman in South Africa, of every oppressed youth in South Africa, is the feeling for these comrades who are facing the gallows. In their heads there must be the conviction that something must be done to save the lives of these gallant heroes...

### **NO DOUBT**

And, therefore, there can be no doubt that amongst the people generally there is a potential for engaging in activity which will set up an all-round national demand to ensure that these comrades are not hanged by the racist regime. And, therefore, those inside our country and outside our country one of the issues which faces the people, which faces the liberation movement is to mobilize the maximum amount of support for a campaign to ensure that the racists are prevented from carrying out what will amount to the murder of heroic cadres of MK.

### **DUTY**

These comrades must not be allowed to die. And it is the duty of all of us, in the ANC, in MK, amongst the people, to do everything, everything in our power to ensure that the enemy is not permitted to carry out its intentions. We are convinced that if there is sufficient anger expressed by the people, backed by actions in support of our anger, the enemy will think twice before sending these comrades to the gallows.

So, their lives, I say to the people of South Africa, their lives are in the hands of all of us.

**They can - and must be saved!**

**By the time of going to press, three of the six comrades, i.e., Mashigo, Manana and Lubisi have had the death sentences against them commuted. (see page 24)**



# THAT LAND WILL BE FREE

**(Dedicated to the MK cadres who carried out the operations during May 1981)**

You heard the news  
We three in one  
Midwife womb child  
Of truth will triumph  
South Africa will be free.

A while before the news  
A tear had dropped  
And burst into a scream:  
We did not leave home to roast in idleness here

We three in one  
Midwife womb child  
Of truth will triumph  
That land will be free

Even with us  
Sitting here  
Slicing pieces  
Off ourselves  
Despair you too  
Are grounded  
That land will be free!

**—Baleka Kgositsile**

## No Change Of Heart

After spending a year-and-a-half in the gruesome death cells of Pretoria, Comrades Mashigo, Manana and Lubisi had the illegal death sentences against them commuted to life imprisonment. The concerted efforts by the oppressed of our country headed by the African National Congress and its allies; the effective blows delivered by our army, MK, at the personnel and structures of racial domination, and, of no little importance, the noble endeavours of the anti-apartheid and peace-loving communities the world over, have torn the knife out of the cutthroat's hand and saved our fellow combatants from the gallows. This is a victory worth celebrating!

The announcement came within weeks after the farcical President's Council (the shameless and futile attempt at improving the image of the abhorrent apartheid system by its envisaged 'power sharing') had issued its first report. The apartheid regime is bent on creating an impression that apartheid is changing. What a farce! Even if the tallest and widest of Chinese walls were to be erected to obscure the aims behind every move made by the racist rulers of our land, we — the oppressed and our allies — would certainly be the last to have our view obstructed. Hence the haste to warn all that the death sentences against the three comrades have been commuted, resulting not from a change of heart on the part of the Pretoria regime.

### APARTHEID

Apartheid remains unchanged and is being intensified. The Group Areas Act is still as valid and forced mass removals continue unabated. The scheme of Bantustanisation of our country is being carried out with ever-growing intensity. Mass arrests, detentions without trial and torture are daily assuming deplorable proportions. The assassination of ANC leaders and members wherever they can be found has been elevated to the level of state policy. Indiscriminate murder of unarmed civilians and the destruction of property and economic

infrastructures is the everyday life of the people in the frontline states who live and labour under a constant threat of a South African invasion and their stooges and puppets branded with deceptive names like the National Resistance Movement in Mozambique, Lesotho Liberation Army, etc.

Among those who sent letters of protest to the South African government the name of Albert Rene, the President of Seychelles, is given particular emphasis by the South African press. There's little wonder why this sudden 'respect' for an African president when not so long ago the Seychelles was under a fierce attack from the racist hordes and mercenaries, instructed by top officials of the South African government and the South African Defence force. By commuting the death sentences the boers aim at influencing the course of the trial of the mercenaries who staged the attempted coup in the Seychelles last November.

### LIVES

We have saved the lives of Comrades Manana, Lubisi and Mashigo. But three more sons of the oppressed of our land: Tsotsobe, Shabangu and Moise — in gross violation of the Geneva accords — are still locked in a fierce battle to stay the hand of the hangman in Pretoria's death dungeons. We have it as a task of utmost urgency to take up the fight to save their lives with added vigour. For if we dare let the boers murder them, tomorrow it will be me, and you.

We once more call upon the conscious communities the world over to join us and campaign to save their lives. We have it within our power to stop these apartheid murders. This will be the most fitting way of celebrating the important victory we have just scored.



# **HEROES OF OUR REVOLUTION**

## **Walter Sisulu**

**—Themba Mlotshwa**

**In the famous "Reichstag Fire" trial, George Dimitrov ably turned the tables on his accusers and delivered a much-remembered indictment against fascism. South Africa, perhaps, leads the world in trials that have a singular feature about them: the South African racists — in courts — are shown for what they really are for the whole world to see.**

**"The Africans in South Africa are among the best informed about events, particularly in their own country. (By 1960) they were aware that in Africa, one country after another was getting freedom and that the ANC, although it was one of the oldest organizations, was not coming anywhere near their cherished ideals... I was myself convinced that civil war would eventually become inevitable unless the government changed its policy. ...I felt that in the interest of my own people it would be better that we should bring about a state of affairs whereby such violence would be controlled."**

**The speaker here was Walter Sisulu in the Rivonia Trial, explaining the rationale behind the formation of Umkhonto We Sizwe, the armed wing of the ANC.**

### **HIS EARLY DAYS**

**On the 18th of May Walter Sisulu celebrates his 70th birthday. He was born at Engcobo in the Transkei district of the Cape Province where he was brought up by his mother and an uncle. He was brought up in an atmosphere that respected and upheld both the Christian tenet and African traditions.**

South Africa being what it is — and one can but wonder how it was for a bewildered young man of peasant origin — it was infinitely hard for young Walter to get advanced formal education. He left school after Standard Four, when he was 15, in order to assume responsibility for the family when his uncle died.

He couldn't be recruited for underground work on account of his age. But then, he wanted work: he got somebody else's poll-tax receipts and was duly recruited. But — still — his attempts at finding work at Rose Deep Mines were thwarted by a chief clerk who knew his mother. The clerk — who probably knew all the hazards for one so young to work underground — helped him obtain a job with a dairy farmer some miles outside of Germiston. Here Sisulu washed, packed and delivered milk bottles.

He must have had a disagreement with the management here — which act brought the wrath of the powerful upon him — for he was subsequently sjamboked — whipped with a hippo hide — and he tried to leave the dairy farm but was returned. Eventually he left the farm after toiling there for eight long months and worked as a 'kitchen boy' for a mine official. He was soon fired here, too, whereupon he found employment as a mine compound sweeper for a pittance of two pounds five shillings a month.

It is not the object of this essay to go into the difficulties of finding employment in South Africa; those problems must have been unspeakably wearying in the late 1920's. But it is prudent to note that young Walter Sisulu's altercations with the status quo then did not stem from what others might summarily explain away as an inherent rebelliousness of spirit. His refusal to kow-tow to, and be cowed by, his bosses came from mankind's time-tested instinct to reject dehumanization.

In the dawn of the thirties he returned to work in the Rose Deep Mines, at the rock face thousands of feet underground. This was a period of the world economic depression and this trying period was an endless nightmare for a black worker. When he had completed his contract he found work as a 'kitchen boy' at the end of 1931. It is when he was working here in East London that he came face to face with the spectre of being at the beck and call of a traitor representative of a powerful white minority.

## **THE ICU**

It is in this period that he came into contact with the industrial and Commercial Workers Union (ICU). In his spare time Sisulu sometimes attended meetings of the ICU, was captivated by Clemens Kadalie's

speeches. It was here, also, that he met Walter Rubusana, a founder member of the ANC.

Soon enough he was working at Premier Biscuits where he learnt his first political lesson in the arena of practical struggle when he led the workers in the bakery out on strike for higher wages. He was, of course, fired and was branded 'agitator'. There is perhaps nothing more enraging to a politically conscious person than to see power being used in a high-handed manner against defenceless people. One evening while travelling on a train Sisulu saw a white ticket-collector confiscating an African child's season ticket. He asked the official why he had done this, but instead of an answer, he became the victim of assault. Unfortunately for the arrogant wielders of power Sisulu was not the turn-the-other-cheek type of a person. He fought back and — as is usual in such cases — was arrested and imprisoned. This initiated him into many such trips he would make to the regime's dungeons.

In the Rivonia Trial there ensued a particularly bitter exchange between Sisulu and prosecutor, Dr Percy Yutar (who should have been feeling a weird kind of dejavu on account of millions of his kinsmen who in about 18 short years earlier, had had Nazi head-hunters sit in judgement over them, with chilling results). Percy Yutar had said that the police don't arrest indiscriminately..

**SISULU:** I have been persecuted by the police, Special Branch. If there is a man who has been persecuted it is myself. In 1962 I was arrested six times. I know the position in this country.

**YUTAR:** You do?

**SISULU:** I wish you were in the position of an African. I wish you were an African to know the position in this country.

Whether most white people don't know the position in this country is, of course, open to debate. But what is clear is that the white minority government will go on riding roughshod over the will and sensibilities of oppressed people. A black person who recognizes this will also recognise the fact that evils that prevail, iniquities and inequalities, cannot be done away with by individuals working in isolation. Racism and apartheid are twin demons that need a concerted effort by people in an organizational structure to exorcise them.

## **CIVIC AND POLITICAL LIFE**

In 1934 Sisulu joined the Orlando Vigilante Association (OVA), an organisation concerning itself with liquor raids, pass raids, influx control and other civic matters. This marked a turning point in his development as he

now participated directly in an organization concerned with the workings of an oppressive administrative system. As he went from job to job, Sisulu studied for his Junior Certificate and also took part in music and debating clubs. The OVA, with Herbert Mdingi as the moving spirit, became a foundation member of the Transvaal Vigilante Association. Sisulu and Mdingi became delegates of the Orlando Association to the Transvaal Association.

From Premier Biscuits, Sisulu went to the newspaper the *Bantu World*, first as a newspaper vendor and later as a distribution agent for *Bantu World*, *Imvo Zabantsundu* and the *Bantu Mirror* of the then Rhodesia. It was in this period that he started writing for the *Bantu World*.

Having been brought up in a culturally conscious family his interest in culture led him to the Orlando Brotherly Society – a cultural organization of which he soon became a leading member. His work in this society brought him to the Chairmanship of the Orlando Musical Association, the Orlando Rugby Club and various activities through membership of the Bantu Men's Social Centre (BMSC).

## **MEETING WITH THE ANC**

It was in these circles, at the end of the thirties, that Sisulu came into contact with J.B. Marks – a veteran trade unionist and member of the CPSA, who was a keen sportsman and able footballer. Through his cousin Samuel Mase he was introduced to leftist literature and this helped to broaden his life-and-world view. This was during those turbulent times of the ascendancy of Japan as a world power and the first rumbles of the World War II. It was in the issue of the World War II that Sisulu parted ways with Mdingi – who had become a close personal friend. Sisulu's position was that the black man shouldn't participate in the war as it was then a war between rival colonial powers..

It was around this period, at the end of the thirties, that he met Dr Dadoo who was then a leader of the Non-European United Front – an organization leading the anti-war campaign. It was this fact that led to Sisulu's seeking Dadoo's acquaintance and services as a medical doctor.

When Sisulu was 28 years old, the year 1940 was to prove to be a turning point in his life. He was recruited into the ANC by Alfred Mbhele, who was a leading trade unionist. This was after he had heard a speech by Dr A.B. Xuma, who became ANC President in December 1940. However,

Sisulu was to become increasingly critical of Dr Xuma's moderate stand. In that same year Sisulu became a treasurer of the ANC Orlando Branch — assuming his first-ever office in the movement in a branch that was active and influential beyond its size.

## **THE YOUTH LEAGUE**

In 1942 Sisulu was delegated by the Orlando Branch to the National Conference where L.E.S. Gama, prompted by a students' strike at Fort Hare, raised the question of youth organisation. It was at this conference that a decision was taken to give greater attention to a youth movement — a decision which culminated in the formation of the ANC Youth League in 1944. It was also at this conference that Sisulu met Moses Kotane, another leading member of the ANC and the Communist Party who had traversed a similar path as Sisulu.

At first active in the ANC Youth League, working with Oliver Tambo, Nelson Mandela, Govan Mbeki, Anton Lembede and others, Sisulu was elected to the Youth League as treasurer at its opening meeting held at the Bantu Men's Social Centre. It was in his office that the Youth Leaguers met to discuss their strategy and tactics. One of those who took part in the discussion, Albertina, a nurse, married Sisulu on 15th July, 1944 with Mandela as his bestman. It was at this function at the BMSC that Anton Lembede, who was then President of the Youth League told Albertina, "You are marrying a man who is already married to the nation."

## **PROGRAMME OF ACTION AND DEFIANCE CAMPAIGN**

Sisulu's next major contribution to the development of the ANC was at the 1943 conference which modernised the ANC constitution. The ANC was turned from a federal into a unitary body and the House of Chiefs was abolished. These decisions broadened the perspective of the ANC and made it a true mouth-piece of the Africans. Sisulu, who from his membership to his life sentence had missed only one conference, was together with his colleagues in the Youth League instrumental in this change.

It was at the historic 1949 conference of the ANC, where a new militant leadership was elected that Sisulu became the movement's first full-time Secretary General. His wife, Albertina, wholeheartedly endorsed his decision and from this time the family would depend on her earnings as a nurse. The NEC decided to grant Sisulu five-pounds a month as travel expenses and Albertina — with two children in the family — agreed to pay for his monthly rail ticket.



The first June 26 National Strike in 1950 took place under his secretary generalship and marked a turning point in the radicalization of the movement based in the 1949 Programme of Action. With this Programme of Action as its guiding spirit, the ANC became more and more involved in leading the militant mass struggles of the time. Along with Dr Moroka, J.B. Marks, Dr Dadoo and Yusuf Cachalia, Sisulu was appointed to the Joint Planning Council for the "Campaign of Defiance of Unjust Laws". The campaign was launched on June 26, 1952, and in all about 8 000 people went to jail for defying apartheid laws. Sisulu himself was a member of a group of 52 Africans and Indians who entered Boksburg location without permits. He told the court, '...As long as I enjoy the confidence of my people, and as long as there is a spark of life and energy in me, I shall fight with courage and determination for the abolition of discriminatory laws and for the freedom of all South Africans irrespective of colour or creed.'

In 1952, the annual conference was held against the backdrop of the Defiance Campaign with the Volunteer-in-Chief, Nelson Mandela being placed under banning and the police looking for Sisulu.

The Working Committee of the ANC decided that Sisulu should go underground to avoid being served with an banning order before the conference. Even in conditions of legality Sisulu had to work clandestinely to prepare for conference at which he presented his report, having arrived in disguise. The conference also discussed the likelihood of the ANC being banned.

### TRAVELS ABROAD

In 1953 Sisulu was invited by the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY) to the Youth Festival in Rumania and travelled as a guest



Human Rights Day, 10 December 1952 — SISULU ADDRESSES A MEETING.

of honour with Duma Nokwe. Sisulu took advantage of the festival to discuss with other African delegates on the reconvening of the Pan-African Conference. He travelled to Israel, Britain, Poland, Czechoslovakia and to China on the Trans-Siberian rail. The journey to China brought him into contact with the Indonesian national movement and on his return via London he met many exiled leaders and veterans of the African Liberation Movement. Sisulu returned to South Africa in December 1953 and went to the Queenstown Conference of the ANC.

Eventually the Pan-African Conference was held in Accra in 1953 with Alfred "Hutch" Hutchinson and Ezekiel Mphahlele as ANC delegates.

### **BANNING AND ARREST AND MK**

Sisulu was banned in 1954 and was arrested a week later for breaking the ban by attending a meeting of the NEC. He however continued working clandestinely for the movement. He was arrested under the State of Emergency and charged with Treason with wide sections of the ANC leadership.

On April 20, 1963, Sisulu went underground to join the High Command of Umkhonto We Sizwe.

On July 11, Sisulu and other leaders of Umkhonto were arrested at their Rivonia headquarters. For months they were held in solitary confinement

---

# **FOR NO REWE**

Allow the free flow of time honoured memory to take us back on a voyage into the protective womb of the past. Let the winds of change stop for a while as we feast our hearts upon the richness of our creation. Pause and listen to Mangaung clapping hands, listen to violin voices

and often brutally "interrogated" — by the security police. Nelson Mandela was brought from Robben Island to join them in the dock when the trial finally got underway on December 5. During his detention, Sisulu revealed, he was told he faced the death penalty, but he could avoid being hanged if he gave information to the police. He refused to co-operate. Finally, life sentences were passed on Sisulu and his fellow accused. As of this writing Sisulu has been behind bars for almost 19 years, Mandela for 20 years. Life imprisonment for political involvement in South Africa simply means that those incarcerated in this hideous way are not eligible for parole or remission.

## **CONCLUSION**

It is only in the deeds of such heroic and selfless men like Walter Sisulu that an MK cadre could mould his own life. Comrade President O.R. Tambo had this to say: *"On the occasion of his 70th birthday, in the name of the people of South Africa, the National Executive Committee of the ANC wishes to announce that it has resolved to bestow on Walter Sisulu the high and heroic title 'Isithwalandwe - Seaparankwe' in recognition of his fearless service to the cause of liberation, democracy, social progress and peace."*

And most of us can add the amen: **A LUTA CONTINUA!**

# **OTHER AIR**

—Joe Congo

slicing the air. A hand upon a hand, shoulder marrying shoulder, we inhale the commanding birth of unity. The counselling years and decades of our existence have an open message to be read and heard by all in our manful siege upon enemy positions.

**"...And till our dying hour  
We'll hate the whip that flogs our land."**

**South Africa, breathe this once, at least today the air is clean. Release bubbling joy to trample roughshod over father, mother and child. Unlatch every lock and key, the knock is on every door for this birth is of the child of kindness smiling on every household. Unbutton every ounce in solemn remembrance to the January 8 "gathering of the brave". Unfurl the people's banner for this is the day we never died. This is what it is, this is how it should be for the chorusing birth of the heart of hearts that ushered our march from war to war. Posterity rises to a man, posterity is grateful, we are grateful. 70 Years! Arms in hand!**

### **JANUARY 8**

**January 8, 1912 must have been a day of gaeity in the air. The sun should have risen earlier than usual in unison with our pride soaring to the summit of mass decision. To the boiling of pots mothers must have hummed a vaporous rainbow song, the children in their playgrounds an orange smile. Whiter clouds must have dotted the sky for grandfathers to say this must be the day, grandmothers more adamant that there could be no other day. All were saying 'the point is to change the world', not all has been lost, life can still be altered in the making of the coming day, our human name can still be restored. As tears of breathtaking joyous achievement ran rivulets so were the frowns of tribalism drowned. The hug was for a man's worth, for the man's labour of love in the service of a flowering nation. History was upon us begging no entry but entering. It must have been the longest day of welcoming the dictatorship of change. It is a day to be relived in our time.**

**A new beginning was upon us, a new response was our ready reply, we embraced the past to knife our weight upon the future. So it was that in 1912 the fires of glory were lit over our land. So it is that today the prism of time acknowledges our endurance over the distance of unblinking loyalty. The path has been that of men forcing furnaces in the building of a land of partisans. Many have come, many have gone, many are coming and others still going as we refuse to part ways and grow bald come torturing enemy skeleton thumbs. It is now our turn in this unbroken relay towards the finish that cries out for no apology. Let us live in it in the fullness of courage for future generations to wish they had lived in the morning song of our time.**

**There have been lulls, raging fires and pauses but we have remained in**

the midst and thick of our encircling assault. "Lizalise idinga lakho" we sang as the first in Africa. The promise remains unfulfilled, after 70 years the tyrant still sits on his throne. Yet these are years filled with no regret, years during which no milk has been spilt. Today we stand as the collective summation of many a negotiation of dangerous turns, thunder years of weathering unkind gales and storms. Years of backbiting stabs of poisonous slander. Ours has been destined to be no split of a second victory, the enemy is still desperately digging in, the people's grievance is deepening; our aims can only be higher.

### **BOLD CHANGE**

Having travelled such a distance we can settle for no half-measured changes, for no paper ennobled victory. We are reaching out to the furthest recess of bold change. Ours is not a wild and unbalanced resolution that can grind to a halt by wishful applause. We cannot tire now after so long. What would have been the need of all these years? What would have been the reward of sustaining such courageous endurance? Let it be another 70 years than one year rewarded with barefooted freedom, than one year rewarded with roundbellied few. Our 70 years is reason enough, confidence enough in us enforcing our true liberation. Let it be that as we raise the people's flag those that made it all possible are not left behind. It cannot be that all these 70 years are reduced to a mistake. Such is our conquering battle song.

100 Years after Isandlwana! We are one people! To fallen warriors! We are one people! For our land and plough! We are one people! For Mtlokwa and Gcaleka! We are one people! The Congress of the People is loud! We are one people! Rivonia to Matola! Sipolilo to Morogoro! We are one people! For Lutuli's flaming memory! Duma Nokwe's bayonet name! We are one people! To 20 years of our glorious army! 60 Years of a stalwart ally! We are one people! For 70 years of youthful staunchness! 70 Years in unbreaking attack! We are one people! Till victorious revolution! An indivisible people.

### **MANGAUNG**

As the sun again goes down we rise to honour the day as a reminder that there is still work to be done. As we fall to rise the distant Mangaung sunrise beckons for more. To the fallen we say the lightning battle cry shall continue to resound with a fierce deadly pressure. Till we are lord over our land the enemy will bleed. As things turn sour, the enemy nastier we shall be exploring his septic wounds. Fearless battle upright-

ness is what we are as we make our home-grown 'festival of the oppressed'. Breaking new ground, growing from an army imbued with confidence, soldiers calmly resolved in calculated courage, ours is the winning march. We are no newcomers in war, 'no strangers to burials', no cowards under the heat of fire, we grow from the depth of pain. As we converge upon the butcher's nest we shall be giving a good account of ourselves.

All the fullness of these 70 years, all of the hardships and accompanying victories, errors and losses, corrections and repeated advances, reprisals, retreats and daring assaults. All, for no other reward other than a nation that visibly brightens in mass delight as we bury our hearts in happy commitment. Let us again say Amandla! We again say Mayibuye!

In celebration! As we redden the field!

---

# **NAKED AMONG WOLVES**

**by Bruno Apitz**

---

## **Chapter 14**

Gay had called in a few other Buchenwalders after Pippig. Not with any intention of carrying through an interrogation. He only wanted to feel them out. He took his line of questioning from the impression he had of the man who stood before him, and he soon noticed that all of them were hard-boiled customers. None of them knew anything.

Now he concentrated his attention on Rose, for whom he had served up Pippig so succulently. The afternoon was well advanced when he summoned Rose.

"Well, my boy, have a seat. Rose was your name, right?"

"Yessir."

Gay lit a cigar and laid the match circumspectly on the ashtray, saying with a worried sigh: "You've got yourself into a stupid mess. How long have you been in the camp?"

Gay did not appear to be thinking of any such thing. He puffed at the cigar, and Rose gazed at the glowing tip. That was what the cop had burned holes with... Gay leaned back in the chair, crossed his arms comfortably across his chest and looked at Rose amiably.

"You Buchenwalders are a funny lot. For the sake of a little kid you let yourselves be slugged within an inch of your lives. If you want to keep your mouths shut, you ought to be consistent. But if you let yourselves be beaten up first and then you blab anyway, you can't be surprised if you aren't treated as reasonable people any more."

Gay bent confidentially towards Rose.

"That Pippig, he's a good chap, I'm sure! I take my hat off to him! Couldn't he tell meright away: Good, Herr Commissar, we did find a little kid. Then everything would have been all right. No, first we have to bash the hell out of him and then he tells after all. Now, is that a reasonable person?"

Gay leaned back again and remarked casually: "Thank goodness, the rest of your outfit had more sense and admitted it right away. So what good did it do Pippig?"

Rose sat crushed on his chair, and Gay sensed the approaching success of his tactics. He got up and walked through the room, holding a monologue.

Terrible things were happening inside of Rose. What the cop was saying went far beyond the 'soft-soap treatment'. He seemed to know a lot. Had Pippig really admitted everything and not told him the truth? Had the others...? Before Rose could straighten out his thinking, the cop stood before him and tapped him encouragingly on the shoulder.

"What have you all been thinking of?"

Rose remained sitting as he had sat, with his head hanging.

"I have nothing to do with this whole thing," the words came out of him softly.

"I know that! Pippig told me all that," Gay hastened to assure him. "But where in heaven's name did you drag the poor little tot?" Rose kept silent. Gay stood at the window and rapped against the pane. In the space of a second he considered and made up his mind. He went over to Rose. Amiably, but with an unmistakably tough grip he took him by the front

of his jacket and pulled him up. He could tell by Rose's limpness that this was right. He took the cigar out of his mouth, flicked the ash off, and accidentally held the burning tip under Rose's nose. The acrid heat bit into Rose's mucous membrane.

Paternaly, Gay said: "Now why don't you be reasonable, Rose.

"I don't feel like doing you up the way I did Pippig, I dislike that sort of thing. But if you force me...Rose, for God's sake, I'm only doing my duty!"

If he notices that I know anything...

Rose's eyes were glued to the cop.

"Well, where did you bring the poor little kid?"

Rose's eyes wavered. He pulled all his courage together.

"I don't know," he stuttered, expecting the cop's fist in his face. But Gay only sighed and raised his arms regretfully.

"Very well, I'm sorry for you. Go to your cell now and talk it over with Pippig. I'll have to call you in again tonight..."

It was dark by the time Rose was brought back to the cell by the jailer. Pippig lay in a fever and was out of his head. The jailer laid the damp cloth on his forehead and rumbled at Rose as he went out: "Now don't you be foolish, it's enough with this one here."

Rose sat huddled on the stool. All the misery of the world crept together in the cell. Rose would have liked to say something:

"Rudi..."

Pippig did not move; his breath came in hot heaves.

"Rudi..."

Rose shook him by the shoulder.

The delirious man groaned. Rose let go of him. Small and crooked, he squatted on the stool. Now he was all alone with himself!

The commandant had summoned the entire staff to his headquarters, and therefore the evening roll call was accomplished very quickly. Kluttig was not present; his place was taken by the permanently inebriated Weisangk. Reineboth planted himself in front of the camp fuhrer and gave his report.

Then: "Dismissed!" That went fast today. Something was in the air.



The tens of thousands knew it! The rumor of evacuation had permeated the atmosphere of the camp like a gas.

Something was in the air!

The usual noise went on in the blocks. The prisoners crowded about the soup containers, the room attendants calmly dished out the niggardly soup as usual, the bowls clattered. As usual, the men squeezed themselves onto the benches at the longtables, shoulder to shoulder, so that there was scarcely enough freedom of movement to wield a spoon. After the soup they gnawed as usual at the bread ration for the next day, which had become even smaller. And still it was different from before.

The conversations, which had buzzed about like flies hitherto, now acquired direction, tens of thousands of thoughts about-faced and united in an enormous procession marching towards the end, which with terrifying suddenness was breaking through the riven wall of clouds.

There was only one subject of conversation in all the blocks: evacuation! Many a man deprived of the sight of the future by years in concentration camp now saw the end of the time, of *his* time. But what was coming? Death or freedom? There was no clear outlook. Happenings did not proceed at an even pace; they lurched, jumbled, tangled.

Death or life? Who knew?

They were talking about it in all the blocks. At the last, the very last minute, the whole camp might be wiped out. They had all it took! Bombs, poison gas, airplanes! One telephone call from the commandant to the nearby airport...and in half an hour there would be no more Buchenwald, there would only be a smoking, smouldering void. So quit dreaming, pal! Here you were expecting something quite different these ten long years! Nobody felt like dying just before the end! Damn! *What end?* If one only knew! Suddenly some men realised that the callus which had armored the breast in all these years was no longer able to provide enough resistance to the thing beating inside, and some men realized that they were not so inured to death, which had stood behind them all these years like a sentry with a rifle, that they had only imagined they were inured to it, that it was false to imagine one was superior to death.

The gruesome specter was already cackling with malicious glee: Who laughs last laughs best!

And that's how it is: Death in the camp was your consort. Death outside

the barbed wire is your enemy!

It had stolen into the camp along with the rumor and squatted down in the barracks wherever people were sitting together. It squatted, too, at the little meeting in the foundation pit of the infirmary barrack, it had climbed down through the trap door and stumbled over the broken stones to the back where the candle was burning, and every one of them, Bogorski and Bochow, Riomand and Pribula, Kodiczek and van Dalen, every one of them knew it was present as a silent guest.

Bochow had given his report on the situation. The arrest of the ten men from the effects room, the threatened evacuation, the advance of the front to Thuringia, the possibility of rapidly developing events. Riomand supplemented the report. He had heard about the discussion in the commandant's office, and there was no doubt about what that lot up there were worrying about. The impetuous Pribula wanted a decision to stop the evacuation by force. He demanded that the resistance groups be put on the alert and the weapons distributed.

"Are you mad?" Bogorski hurled at him in Polish.

There were 3 000 SS men in the barracks outside the camp; this had been reported by Kohn, whose medical squad patrols were out there nearly every day. Kassel, where the front was now situated, was near, but by no means near enough. Because this was so, because uncertainty and rescue still seesawed like the rolling sea, no premature decision could be made. They would have to stick to the old tactic of waiting and — should the evacuation be put into effect — of delay and obstruction, in order to save as many people as possible. But they knew that the great moment was ripening and that the circle was closing. What was to happen then...Bochow said it in deep earnest: "...What happens then, Comrades, will determine life or death. And we must live! I can't make big speeches, but today I would like to say this: The people left alive behind the barbed wire of the concentration camp will be the vanguard of a juster world! We don't know what's to come. But whatever the world is like afterwards, it will be a juster one, or we must despair of the reason of mankind. We aren't dung, we aren't martyrs, we aren't victims. We are the bearers of the highest duty!"

### **SHOOT THEM.**

Schwahl had summoned Kluttig. He was afraid of conflict with the camp fuhrer at the staff meeting which was about to take place. On the

table lay the telegram from Himmler, ordering the camp to be cleared.

Although Schwahl did not like to be alone with Kluttig, he had made up his mind to this talk. He trusted in his diplomatic adroitness. Kluttig marched stiffly into Schwahl's office.

Schwahl picked up the telegram and demonstrated it like an instructor in a classroom. "Evacuation! Order from the *Reichsfuhrer SS!* Do you mean to oppose the order?" he demanded ominously.

The answer Kluttig was tempted to give would have been open mutiny, so he maintained a dogged silence.

Schwahl took advantage of this. "The evacuation is being left to the judgement of the camp leadership. If you please! The power to command is in my hands, or isn't it?..." Kluttig also kept silent at this, and Schwahl pressed his advantage. "Just between us two, Hauptsturmfuhrer, who can help us now? The *Fuhrer?* Or the *Reichsfuhrer SS?*" Schwahl snickered. "We're caught in a trap. The time for great deeds is past. Past! he repeated emphatically. "Now it's our necks that matter."

Kluttig wanted to burst out, but Schwahl was too much in command of the floor. "If we step out here and leave a pile of corpses behind, we've had the honor of being faithful unto death, but — what can we buy with it?"

"Coward!" snarled Kluttig.

Schwahl smiled tolerantly. "I want to keep my head on. If we had won the war, then just out of pure joy I'd stage a lovely shooting match in the camp. Unfortunately — just between us — unfortunately, we've lost the war, and that alters the situation."

Kluttig's obstinate rage broke through: "I'm not going along with that! You hear, Standartenfuhrer? I'm not going along with that! This miserable sneaking off, this... this..."

His voice had its piercing trumpet tone, but this time it did not affect Schwahl, who drew back his shoulders, threw out his belly and crossed his arms over his chest.

"Aha! You want to slam the door behind you with the crack of a bullet. My dear boy, that sounds very dramatic over a microphone. But we aren't in the propaganda ministry here, we're on the Ettersberg, and the front is right around the corner. If we shoot, we'll be shot right back."

Kluttig shrieked: "We'll shoot!"

Schwahl remained unimpressed. "At whom, if I may ask? At the Americans? Don't make yourself ridiculous."

Kluttig walked past Schwahl with stiff steps and threw himself into one of the heavy leather chairs at the conference table, a picture of helpless fury. Schwahl regarded his opponent.

"What do you actually want?" he said after a while. "I don't think you know yourself. You want to wipe out the camp. Then you want to track down the secret organization of the Communists. Now you're chasing after a Jewish changeling and locking people up. Your nerves are going, that's all."

Kluttig leaped up and shouted at Schwahl: "I know exactly what I want!" With trembling fingers he pulled the list out of his packet and held it out to Schwahl.

"There!"

Schwahl looked at the paper.

"What's this?"

"The ringleaders of the organization!" Kluttig answered cuttingly.

Schwahl raised his eyebrows.

"That's very interesting..." It might have been surprise, but it might have been mockery. He read the names attentively.

"Several heads, in fact. How did you find these?"

"Chasing after the changeling!" Kluttig replied with heavy sarcasm. Schwahl retained his composure.

"And what do you want to do with all these heads?"

"Cut them off, Standartenfuhrer!"

"Hm-hm..." Schwahl merely remarked, putting his hands behind his back and walking thoughtfully up and down. Kluttig waited; the decision was coming. At last he seemed to have it all in order. He stopped before Kluttig. They looked at one another.

"Listen here, Hauptsturmfuhrer. I don't agree with what you're doing here. No, don't interrupt me, I want you to listen to me. What's done is done now, and your campaign is much too extensive for me to be able to reverse it without showing our weakness to the camp..."

"Weakness?" Kluttig demanded, outraged.

"Yes," Schwahl answered shortly, and at that moment he knew he was the cleverer. He left Kluttig to himself again and resumed walking round the desk, which he was so fond of doing when he had anything important to say.

"Let's talk about something else. We have the order of the *Reichsführer SS*, and it will be carried out. The camp will be evacuated! We're alone together, Kluttig, and I want to talk very frankly with you. We don't know what's going to happen. Maybe some day I'll have to answer to the *Reichsführer SS*, so I'm carrying out his order. Maybe I'll have to answer to the Americans some day! Maybe we all will!"

Schwahl read through the list once again. Long and attentively. Finally he asked: "Are you firmly convinced that you have the ringleaders here of the...?"

"I am firmly convinced of it," replied Kluttig, drowning out his own uncertainty. Schwahl went to the desk, took up a fountain pen and crossed out one of the names, then handed Kluttig the list.

"Shoot them! Without any stir, and in complete secrecy!"

Believing Schwahl had signed, Kluttig accepted the list and discovered that the commandant had crossed out Kramer's name.

"Herr Standartenführer!" he exclaimed.

"I still need him," Schwahl stopped him, brooking no contradiction. But at the same time he shrugged his shoulders. "Sorry, my boy, that's how it is. All these years we've taken it easy as far as the administration of the camp was concerned and left it to the prisoners. Now we depend on them. Without a very experienced camp senior I can't carry through the evacuation."

"But Standartenführer! Kramer is their most important man..."

Schwahl smiled knowingly: "Something like a general, isn't he? There you are. All the better for us. How do we checkmate a general? We take his officers away from him. Get rid of the others and your Kramer will be eating out of my hand. Get the point?" Flattered by his own shrewdness, Schwahl clapped Kluttig patronizingly on the shoulder.

"If it gives you any pleasure, you can shoot him in the back of the neck at the very end, for all I care. But now I still need him."

Kluttig had to be content with that.

## THE STAFF MEETING

After the fuhrer staff had assembled, Kluttig sat in the corner of the office and had a disagreeable feeling that he had been taken in by the cunning Schwahl. Schwahl had held out a crust to him and he snapped it up. Kluttig looked at the commandant suspiciously. How conceitedly the fat creature displayed himself. Schwahl walked up and down, lecturing, with Himmler's telegram in his hand. "The order is clear and will of course be carried out!" With stabbing glances, Kluttig observed the effect of Schwahl's words in the faces of the others. Beside Schwahl's desk sat the fuddled Weisangk, gaping blearily ahead of him. He evidently minded being without schnapps; the commandant was stingy with it at staff meetings.

No one paid any attention to Kluttig, they were listening worshipfully to the commandant.

"The moment for the evacuation is near, we must operate according to the situation at the front." Acting the perfect general, Schwahl stepped up to the map and ran his broad hand down over south Germany. "We'll only be able to get through in this direction."

Weisangk grunted. Schwahl spread his arms dramatically. "There is no other way open to us..."

Kluttig was chafing inwardly. He was tempted to jump to his feet and start trumpeting, but the general agreement of the others held him back. Schwahl drew himself up in the middle of the room and said, as if in mockery of Kluttig:

"Of course we know there is a secret organization in the camp. We are not so stupid as to overlook this circumstance. But it is only that, just a circumstance." He turned to Kamlith: "Do you believe, Herr Sturmbannfuhrer, that your troops could be seriously threatened by this organization?" The Sturmbannfuhrer answered the question with a disdainful laugh, and Schwahl hastened to second him: "I share your opinion absolutely. A few volleys fired into the camp will break any resistance in a moment, and I would not hesitate to make use of this measure if it should prove necessary." He interpolated an imposing pause, placed his hands behind his back, and wheeled about the desk, his head high. Then he continued: "But that is not the point now. Gentlemen, I am responsible for the security of all of you. Not only for now, but for the future too." He said this with especial emphasis, sure of everyone's agreement, for he knew his people.

"Yes, for the future too," he repeated. "You understand me." No one attempted to say anything, they all concealed themselves from one another with their silence. Now Schwahl's moment had come. Frankly triumphant, he said: "We owe it to the energy of Hauptsturmführer Kluttig that he succeeded — at the last minute, I may say — in tracking down the ringleaders of the secret organization in the camp. In this way he has done us an invaluable service. I have given him the order to shoot the group of conspirators, and I am convinced that he will carry out my order with all due shrewdness and prudence."

"And what happens after that?" asked Kamloth, who had been silent until then.

Extremely astonished, Schwahl raised his eyebrows. "We carry out the order of the *Reichsführer SS*," he replied.

Kamloth turned to him with an indolent movement. "Himmler? Rot! He can give orders! He's far away from the shooting. But I'm supposed to be bothered with that riffraff? Shoot down the whole bloody lot of them. That's my slogan."

Schwahl turned about uneasily. "And what about the Americans?"

Kamloth wearily shoved his hands into his trouser pockets.

"Don't talk rubbish, Schwahl. Before they get here there'll be nothing left of the camp and I'll be a million miles away." He laughed coarsely.

Schwahl went white, his spongy cheeks trembled. Suddenly he shouted hysterically: "In the name of the *Reichsführer SS*, you have to obey me! Who's commandant here?"

"Who's in charge of the troops? You or me?" Kamloth struck back.

Kluttig had leaped up. In a few steps he was beside the *Sturmbannführer*, looking to him for cover. Agitation struck him dumb, he only gazed confusedly at Schwahl. The others had also risen. They felt an explosion coming. But Schwahl removed the detonator: "A plot? A conspiracy?"

Kamloth had no such thing in mind and replied harmlessly: "Don't talk rot. Conspiracy? Nonsense! I simply don't feel like trailing along behind that mob. I'm for shooting." He sat down in one of the leather chairs at the conference table and lit a cigarette. In the protection of this powerful confederate Kluttig suddenly felt strong.

"Shoot them! That's my slogan too," he roared, and placed himself challengingly beside Kamloth.

The incident startled all of them out of their silence, and pandemonium

broke loose. They started wildly taling and gesticulating at one another.. Without the slightest regard for Schwahl, their superior officer, the coarsest of the block fuhrers took Kamloth's part.

"Well, you see what the people think," he said to Schwahl, "why do you object to shooting?"

Schwahl, at bay, retreated behind the desk.

"Who says I object to shooting? If there's no way out, the whole camp can be blown sky-high within half an hour!"

"Then blow it sky-high!" screamed Kluttig. "After us the deluge! If we have to go, we don't want to leave any bolshevistic swine alive!"

The block fuhrers started blustering all over again.

"Shoot down the whole pack!" they yelled. The reviving chaos of opinions again threatened to ball up Schwahl's well-considered plan. He took a tough step forward among the disputants.

"I command immediate silence!" The sharpness of the order had the intended effect. Schwahl was gratified to see that they still obeyed him. The silence which immediately fell restored his sense of security, and he realized in a flash that the thing to do was to reinforce his wobbling authority by behaving fearlessly. Schwahl repeated what he had just said. "Who says I object to shooting?" It was like a shot square into the target. Yet Schwahl still did not appear to have hit the bull's eye.

Kamloth reacted immediately.

"Herr Standartenfuhrer!" There was an inordinate hardness in his exclamation that was meant to pull Schwahl up. Schwahl swung about to the Sturmbannfuhrer, and for one brief moment their eyes tested one another. "Do you give me your word as an officer on that?"

"I give you my word of honor!" Schwahl replied, whipping it out just as Kamloth had whipped out his question. It was like a pistol contest between them, and Schwahl recognized in the behavior of the others that he had hit the bull's eye.

Take care, watch it, though Reineboth, the diplomat is in a jam, but he's won for the moment.

"Please take your seats again."

Schwahl waited calmly until the original order was re-established.

Even Kamloth had sat down.



Schwahl enjoyed the expectant quiet. The crisis was overcome. Now he was every inch the high-ranking commandant again; he stood beside Weisinger, who was leaning back in the chair with his arms spread out and legs apart, proud to be making a fierce face for his Standartenfuhrer.

Schwahl stepped behind the desk.

"I will read you the telegram which I have received from the *Reichsfuhrer SS*."

He read: *In view of threat to Thuringia by General Patton's 3rd American Army, I command: Concentration Camp Buchenwald subject to my authority shall be evacuated. Time and means to be determined by camp leadership. Sole power of command with camp commandant. Loyalty to the Fuhrer. Heil Hitler. Reichsfuhrer SS Himmler.*

Silence.

The effect on his audience was unmistakable and Schwahl exploited it.

"The camp will leave in stages. Fifteen thousand men per day. First the Jews: To Hof, Nuremberg and Munich. Sturmbannfuhrer Kamloth will assign the convoys!

"And what does my SS do when it gets to Munich with that mob?" asked Kamloth..

Schwahl smiled in the corner of his mouth. "How much of the mob gets to Munich is your business, Sturmbannfuhrer. My business is not to leave any dead in the camp"

"Oh, I understand," jeered Kamloth. "Your nose is clean when the Americans come and I'm left holding the bag."

"You just *don't* understand, Sturmbannfuhrer," Schwahl instructed him. "It's no responsibility of yours if prisoners die before Munich. In any case you receive no order from me to kill prisoners, though I might point out that mercy killing is not murder but should be regarded as humane treatment."

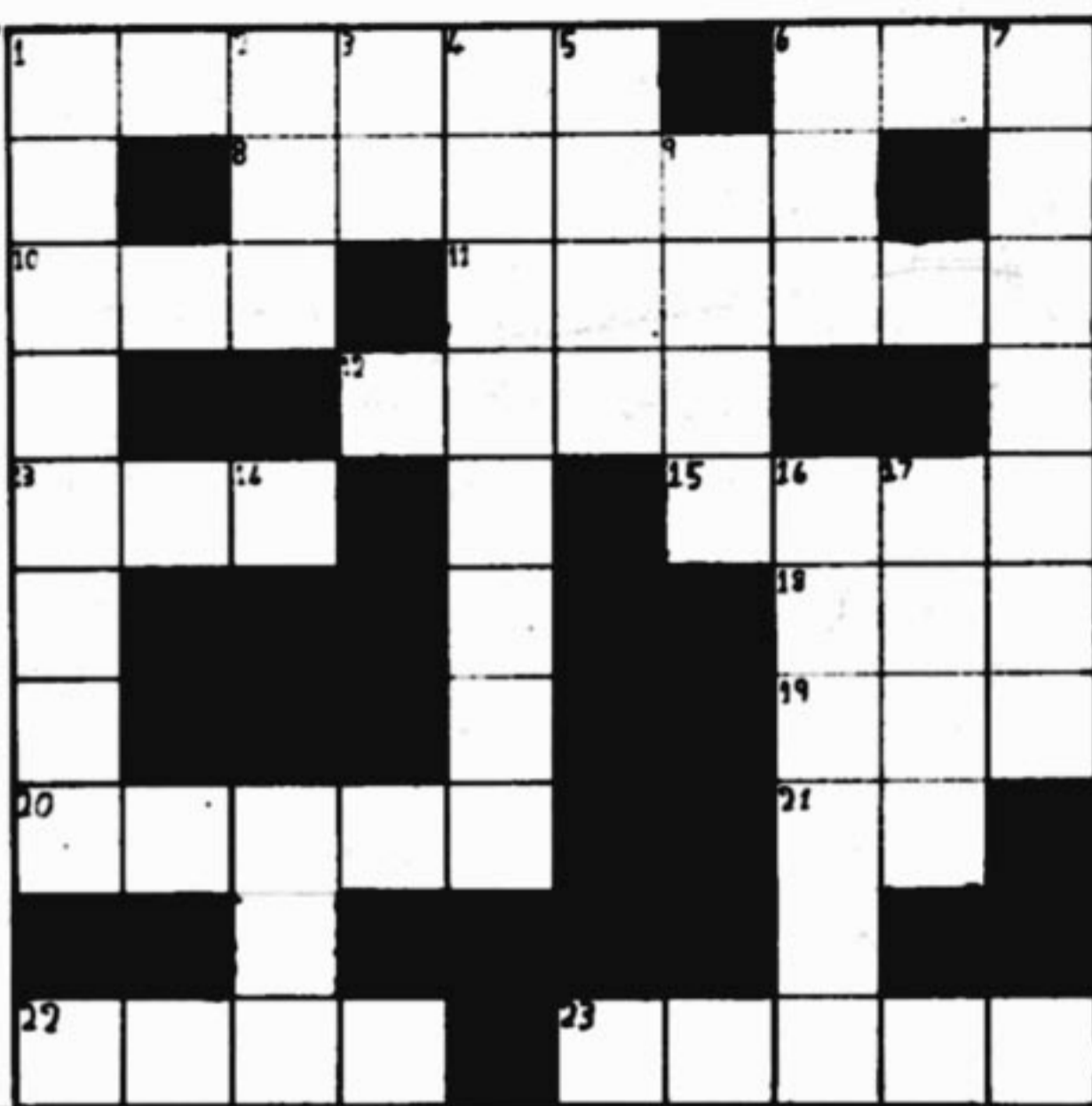
Kamloth crossed his arms over his chest. "Clever, very clever."

Schwahl replied winningly: "You like to shoot, Sturmbannfuhrer..."

"You can bet on that," Kamloth scoffed.

With this verbal duel they had come to an adequate understanding.

To be continued in the next issue.



#### ACROSS

#### Clues

1. ... Forman was the editor of New Age.
6. Organ of the African People's Organisation (APO)
8. Those who donate
10. Liberian head of state.
11. Roman Emperor
12. ...—Dadoo—Naicker Pact.
13. Distress Signal.

14. Inner surface of the hand.
18. A beverage
19. A measure of weight.
20. He's an Afrikaner entrepreneur.
21. 'A' used before vowel sounds.
22. To entice
23. Requested

#### DOWN

1. Organ of the ANC Youth League.
2. Form of poem.
3. Number
4. To hamper
5. Rich Soil
7. A rower.

9. To cut as harvest
14. An Engineer
16. "To move forward we must ..., act in unity and unte in action.
17. Boys name

See Answers in DAWN Vol.6 No.6.

# **DISCIPLINE IS THE MOTHER OF VICTORY**

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

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

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

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

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

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

# **ACT NOW!**

## **STOP THE RACIST MURDER OF COMRADES**



**SHABANGU**



**TSOTSOBE**



**MOISE**

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