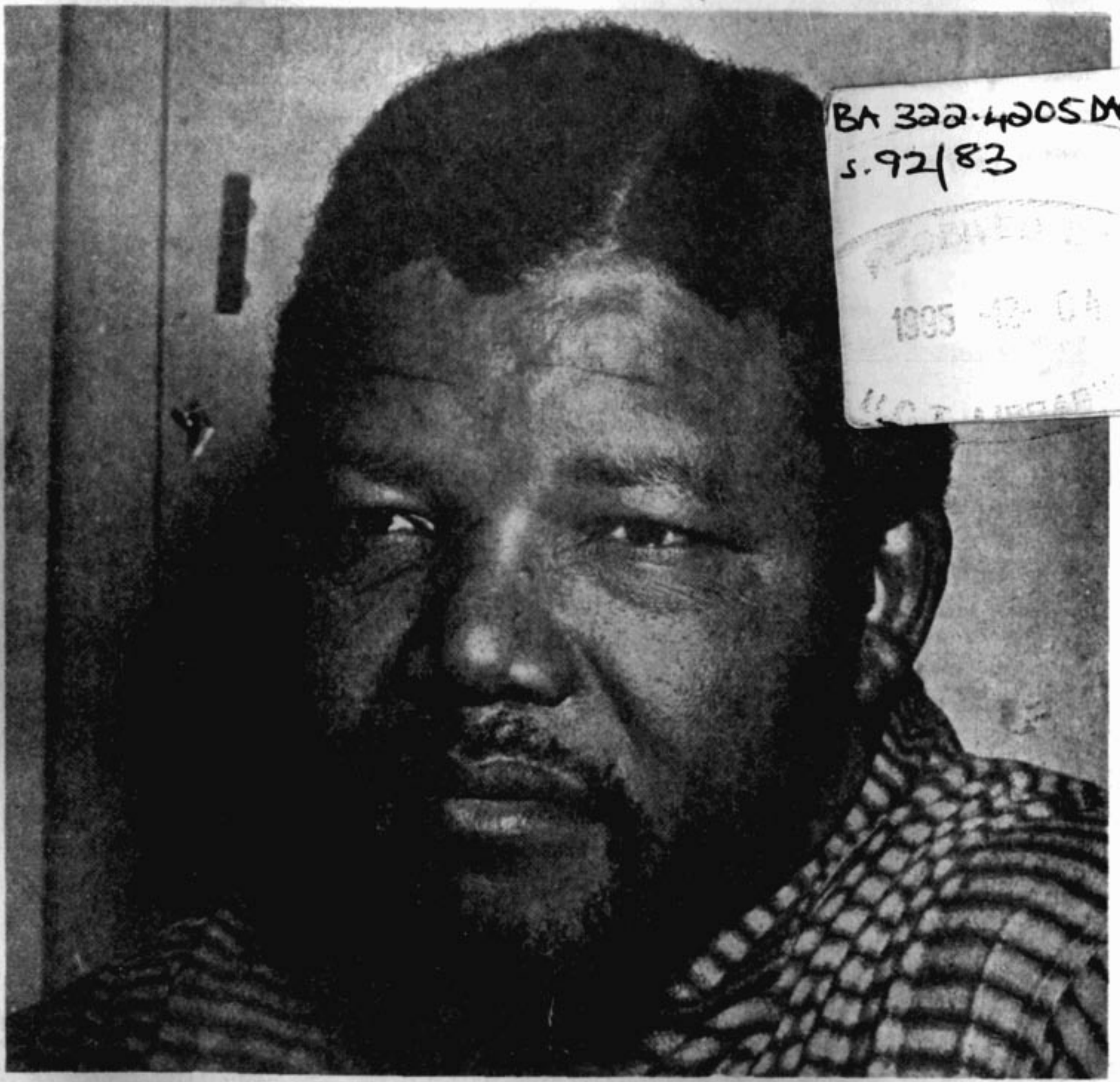


JOL 5 - No 11 1981

DAWN

monthly journal of
umkhonto we sizwe

SPECIAL
ISSUE



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LONG LIVE THE 20TH ANNIVERSARY OF
UMKHONTO WE SIZWE!

Dawn

monthly journal of umkhonto we sizwe

VOL.5 No. 11

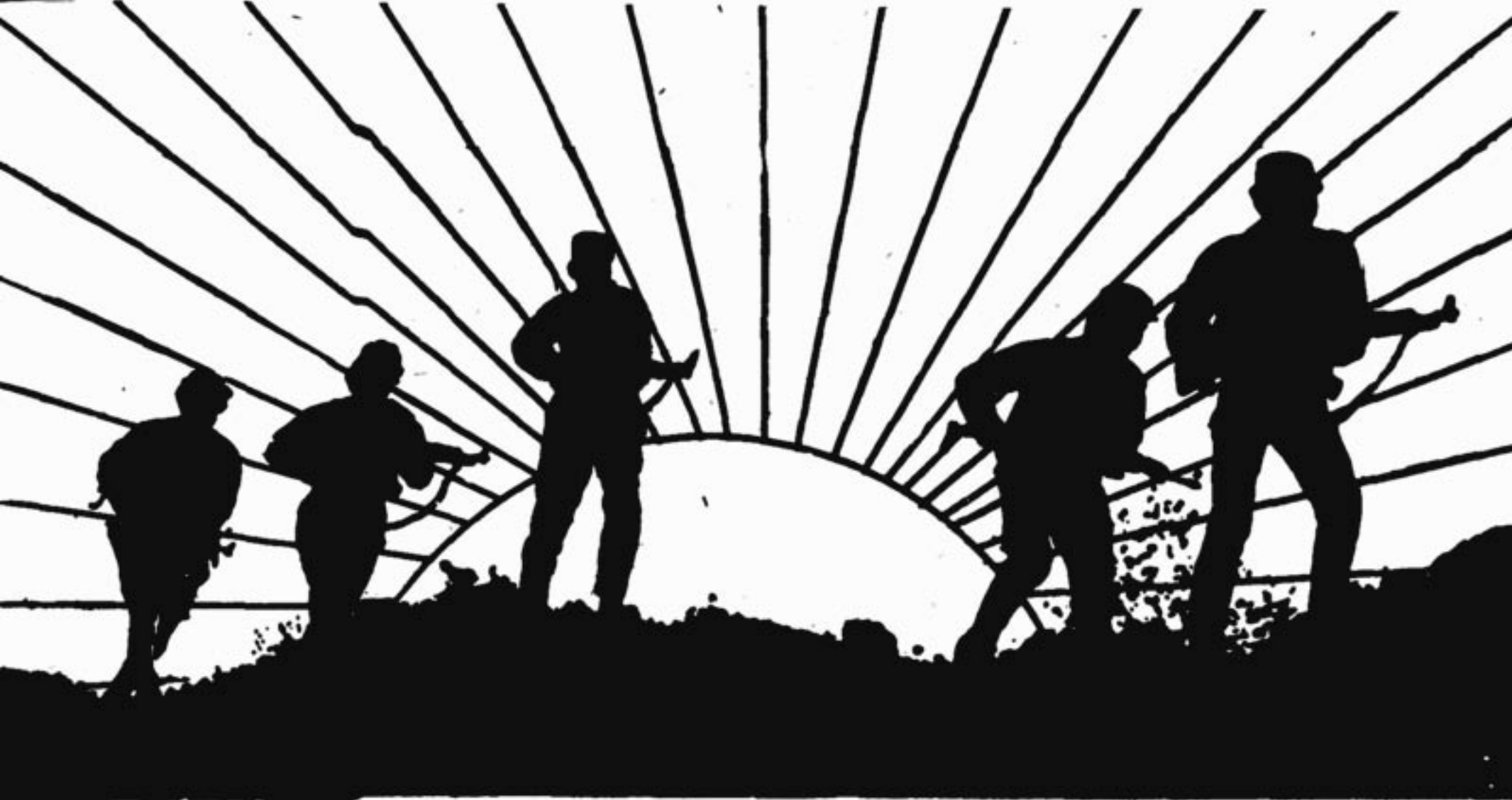
Nov/Dec 1981

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* COVER: Comrade Nelson Mandela, founder-member and first Commander-in-Chief of our People's Army which celebrates the 20th Anniversary of its formation on December 16.

LONG LIVE THE YEAR OF THE YOUTH!



Editorial Comment

THE SPEAR LIVES

On December 16 this year, our people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, will be celebrating its 20th Anniversary as the striking arm of our struggling masses. This is indeed a proud moment for all of us. A moment when we glance in retrospect over a brief yet so glorious a record of struggle. It has been a hectic history with numerous obstacles which posed as it were, great challenges which could only be surmounted through sacrifice, courage and undying determination to terminate our national ordeal - centuries of domination and oppression by an incorrigible minority of white supremacists.

For twenty years, the armed militants of Umkhonto, wading through a rude sea of struggle, held aloof the banner of popular freedom refusing to submit. In this manner adding lofty landmarks and winning the confidence of the oppressed. The courageous trail of our army leads from the momentous Sabotage Campaign of 1961/62, the world-shaking "Rivonia Trial" of 1964, the pace-setting "Wankie-Sipolile Campaigns" - events which in themselves accelerated the pace of our liberatory struggle tremendously. This heroic record has helped to establish a firm foundation upon which rests the mounting offensive of today.

As we celebrate this historic Anniversary we pledge to use it as a stepping stone for the escalation of our

revolutionary war. We pledge ourselves to sharpen our peoples spear, the MK, through the intensification of programmes of rigorous political and military training that will help elevate our fighting efficiency to majestic heights. By so doing we hope not only to hasten the process to bring closer the realisation of the lofty aspirations of our people enshrined in the Freedom Charter, but also to meet the expectation of our leadership and people, to enable them to say with full satisfaction, "Here at last is an army of our dreams."

Ours is an army fortified and bestowed with great traditions which are in fact the collective heritage of all our people. For that matter we cannot afford to let our spear rest. The spear lives and must live as the custodian of the heroic tradition of fighting established through more than 250 years of armed resistance to colonial conquest; as the continuator of the spirit of Mangaung that inspired the birth of our African National Congress in 1912.

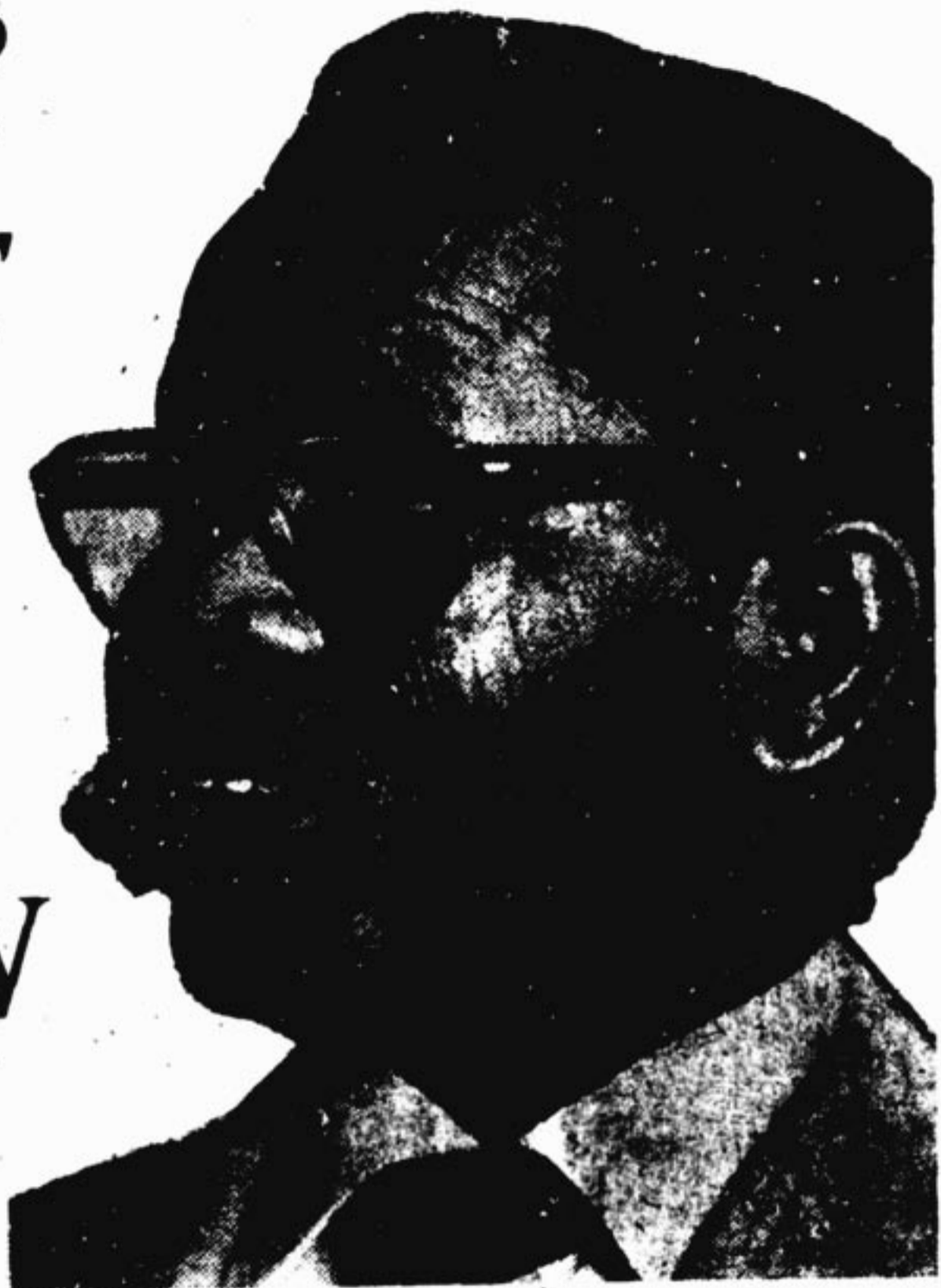
Our quest for the seizure of power and for national freedom is no easy matter. We acknowledge its difficult nature and therefore both our strategic approach and perspectives are based on the recognition of the storms we have to grow through. In this connection, sober assessment and revolutionary perspicacity that is founded on firm conviction in the inevitability of popular victory, becomes one of the indispensable parts of our arsenal.

The recent history of our fight, particularly the Post-Soweto period, has seen a speedy progression towards a more formidable offensive - thanks to the daring fighting record established by Umkhonto during this period. MK is actually beginning to fulfill its role of giving a cutting edge to the people's thrust forward. This is the fruit of the gallantry and example of daring and sacrifice set by militants of the calibre of Vuyisile Mini, Joseph Mdluli, Solomon Mahlangu, the Silverton Trio (Wilfred Madela, Fanie Mafoko and Thami Makhubo) and many others.

On the occasion of this historic Anniversary we reiterate our call to the youth, workers, rural masses, the intelligentsia, the religious people and every conscious and patriotically-motivated individual or collective to lift higher the banner of struggle on all fronts. We invite them to rally behind their true representative and vanguard, the African National Congress and our armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe. Furthermore we invite all able-bodied men and women from all

CONTINUED 'ON PAGE 31

**“OUR
MORALE
HAS
NEVER
BEEN
HIGHER”**



STATEMENT BY COMRADE PRESIDENT O.R. TAMBO
ON THE 20TH ANNIVERSARY OF OUR
PEOPLE'S ARMY, UMKHONTO WE SIZWE - 16TH
DECEMBER, 1981.

Fellow countrymen and comrades,
militants of the people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe,
the Spear of the Nation (Lerumo la Sechaba):

December 16th 1981 marks the 20th Anniversary of our
glorious people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, the spear of the
oppressed black people of our land. This year on Heroes Day,
we look back with pride over twenty years of arduous struggle
and forward with resolve and determination to the battles
ahead. We look back firstly to December 16th 1961 when Umkho-
nto was born; born out of the mighty mass movement led by the
ANC which had united people in every corner of our land against
white minority rule; born out of decades of peaceful struggle
for freedom and justice which had brought nothing but increa-

sed violence and oppression; born finally out of the people's realisation that the violence of the white racists will have to be met with the revolutionary violence of the masses.

UMKHONTO MANIFESTO

On this the 20th Anniversary of Umkhonto, we recall the words of the U m k h o n t o Manifesto, which has since been written in blood by our fighting cadres across the pages of our history:

"The time comes in the life of any nation when there remains only two choices: submit or fight. That time has now come to South Africa. We shall not submit, and we have no choice but to hit back by all means within our power in defence of our people, o u r future and our freedom."

As we look back over these past twenty years, our glorious heroes and martyrs stand out before us, men and women who made the supreme sacrifice for the people's cause; fighters who stood rock-solid in the face of fascist brutality, refusing to submit - soldiers who fought from the front-line, fearless and firm in their conviction of the certainty of victory. From the days of the first Sabotage Campaigns we identify Molefe Mini, Mkaba and others. From the glorious battles of the late sixties when our comrades fell gallantly on the fields of Zimbabwe, en route to South Africa, we recognise Patrick Molao, Basil February, Peter Mhlongo and others. No less prominent are such heroes as Joe Gqabi, Bram Fischer, Lilian Ngoyi, Joseph Mdluli, Babla Saloojee, Gordon Dikebu, the Matola Twelve and countless others. In tribute to all of them too many to mention here, we lower our flag of Black, Green and Gold. Their names have become part of our glorious history and their record a lasting inspiration to our revolutionary struggle.

ENEMY COLLABORATORS

In commemorating the 20th Anniversary of the formation of U m k h o n t o we Sizwe, we need to acknowledge that our march forward has been long and difficult. We have suffered many set-backs, perhaps by far the most severe being the capture of the Rivonia leadership by the enemy. Scores of militants are in enemy prisons. Many of our own people, betraying their own future, have turned traitors and they move in our midst. They are paid by the enemy to help keep us in chains. These agents are prowling among the people and

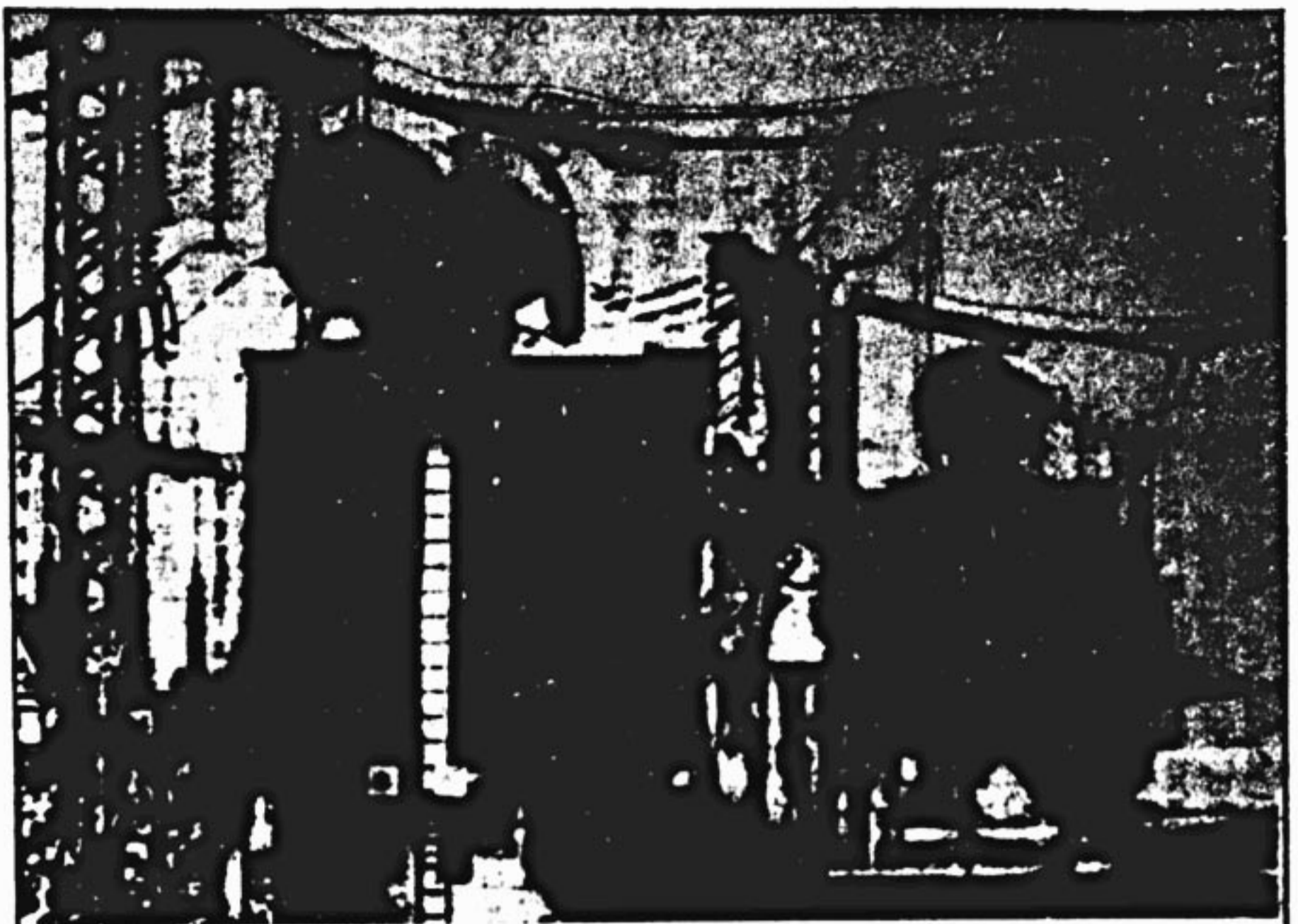
within our organisations day and night. Thanks to them hundreds of our people have been killed, massacred, tortured and imprisoned. Some enemy collaborators have assigned themselves the treacherous task of opposing any form of active mass struggle which could lead to the defeat of the enemy and the liberation of our country. The road to our freedom is indeed no easy walk.

But all along this arduous road to a liberated, a people's South Africa, there have been thousands who have refused to set aside the punishing lead. In the hangman's dungeon, staring into the face of death, Solomon Mahlangu said: "My blood will nourish the tree which will bear the fruits of freedom." And only recently the national leadership on Robben Island with more than eighteen years of gruelling imprisonment behind them have declared: "OUR MORALE HAS NEVER BEEN HIGHER." Likewise, the morale of our fighting masses and of our People's Army has seldom been higher. The black workers of our country have risen as seldom before. The opposition to increased rentals, mass deportations and SAIC-type institutions is scaling new heights. The women and the churches are moving to the front ranks of the struggle. In the Year of the Youth, the young generation is fighting in the front-line of popular battles. The people in the Bantustans are becoming restive. Teachers, lecturers, students, progressive journalists and cultural workers are taking their place among the masses and solidarity actions are becoming a growing feature of our mass struggles.

MASS OFFENSIVE

Of supreme importance in this developing mass offensive is the emergence of Umkhonto we Sizwe as an ever present component of the people's struggles. Born of the people, it is demonstrably of the people. Its strength, like its weakness, is the strength and weakness of the people. Its history and record is a proud example of unity in action. In the sixties Umkhonto fought with the people of Zimbabwe. Within South Africa its cadres often appeared in enemy courts, undaunted and inspiring the people with their courage and confidence as they stood accused of seeking the national and social liberation of the people of South Africa.

The past four years have witnessed an escalation of both popular and armed actions in close combination. We recall the heroism of our cadres in guerrilla attacks which have been associated now with such names as Moroka, Silverton, Beoyens, Durban, East Londen, Port Elizabeth, the Orange Free



The two R17-million transformers burned out in the attack on the Lamontville electricity sub-station near Durban'

State, Sibasa, SASOL, Pretoria, Mabopane, Ermelo; several places in the rest of the Transvaal, the Cape, Natal, the Reef and even Voortrekkerhoogte. We can now truly say the fighting masses, employing their weapon, Umkhonto we Sizwe, are striking at the very heart of the fascist monster. Umkhonto we Sizwe is now inextractably planted in our soil and daily displays an expanding presence.

This is a measure of the enemy's failure to halt the march of the people to victory. In desperation the enemy will go forth to kill, massacre and destroy within South Africa and across international borders into independent and sovereign states. The enemy has done this, the enemy is doing it and will continue to do so with increased fascist brutality in the years ahead. But such is the people's road to the destruction of anti-human and archaic systems of the Botha-Malan type. For the South African fascists the enemy consist not merely of the ANC and its allies, nor merely of the oppressed, exploited and patriotic masses in our country. The South African regime is fighting the countries and peoples of Southern Africa, the countries and peoples of the rest of Africa. It is fighting the rest of the progressive world. With the Reagan Administration as their immediate ally, the racists are hoping to reverse the whole course of human history. That is a poi-

nter to the bitterness and ferocity of the unfolding phase of the African struggle with South Africa as the central theatre.


GLORIOUS CHALLENGE

This nationally hated and international notorious racist and fascist oppressor and exploiter must be destroyed. For the Spear of the Nation, the ANC and its allies and for the popular masses of our country the challenge is a glorious one. The time comes in the life of a people when there remains only two choices: to live and die in perpetual serfdom or to fight and if needs be, to die for freedom. That time has now come to South Africa.

On this national day of commemoration and rededication, the ANC calls on all patriots of our land, regardless of race, creed or social stratum to close ranks in a mass struggle for a non-racial and democratic South Africa. Now! We enjoin the people's army, Unkhonte we Sizwe, to spread itself across the entire face of our country, delivering increasingly mighty blows for liberation. We invite all the militants, activists and people's leaders in our country to respond with enthusiasm to the call for unity in action against the common enemy. We must all support and defend SWAPO and the people of Namibia. The genuine independence of Namibia is on the agenda for now! We must stand in solidarity with the Angolan people. Fascist troops in Southern Angola must leave that country and leave Namibia. We must stand in solidarity with the countries and peoples of Southern Africa who are under constant and mounting subversion by the South African fascists.

**FORWARD TO THE 70TH ANNIVERSARY OF
THE ANC AND THE YEAR OF UNITY IN ACTION!**

MAATLA KE A RONA!



The Spear of the Nation at Twenty

- LOVEJOY KARAS

"UMKHONTO W I L L BE AT THE FRONT-LINE OF THE PEOPLE'S DEFENCE. IT WILL BE THE FIGHTING ARM OF THE PEOPLE AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT AND ITS POLICIES OF RACE OPPRESSION. IT WILL BE THE STRIKING FORCE OF THE PEOPLE FOR LIBERTY, FOR RIGHTS AND FOR THEIR FINAL LIBERATION!"

The above quotation from the MK Manifesto - a flyer released during the first daring actions of Umkhonto in 1961 - expresses in unambiguous language the optimistic vision cherished by the founding fathers, leaders and combatants of our army. The firmness of this statement is also a reflection of unflinching patriotism and devotion to the popular cause for liberation. These lucid but militant words that carry with them an irresistably motivating power, express the ideas upon which is founded the strong qualities of the true patriots serving in Umkhonto we Sizwe: their courage, determination, heroism and valour are in the interest of the oppressed masses of our country and for the sake of a revolution that will remedy all the political ills of today's South Africa.

On December 16 this year as we celebrate the 20th Anniversary of our army, and therefore 20 years of armed struggle we'll naturally have to evaluate our position and role in terms of the vision expressed above. Not only this, but also to review our brief history and our records of struggle with the view of perfecting our tactics of struggle, introducing adaptations and variations if the obtaining situation so demands. We sincerely ask ourselves, "What have we got to show to our people, allies and friends?"

A NEW STAGE

The unceremonious banning of the ANC in 1960 by the racists which automatically implied the stopping of the peaceable channels of struggle, albeit not a blessing, was to mark a historical ascendancy into a new stage in the liberatory efforts of our people. The point reached in 1960 was t h e

inevitable length towards which the entire so-called 'Native Policy' of the white minority regime had been pulling. And to accelerate the process the fascistic authorities had mounted up repression through legislation and physical harassment employing the army and police particularly during the decade of the 50s. These demonic measures, instead of becoming the hoped for panacea in the face of mass militant actions characteristic of the 'roaring fifties', provoked a new fighting spirit within the masses of our people. During the second half of the fifties the people were already questioning the advantage of white-flag politics and the wish to work for winning white opinion. Like Chief A.J. Luthuli, they said we've been "knocking in vain... on a closed and barred door". So the pressing issue of the day was to become the resort to other forms viable enough to produce worthy results. Spontaneous outbreaks of violent struggles punctuated the whole period of the marathon "Treason Trial" (1956-60) - the trial itself was not only an intransigent slap on the faces of non-violent strugglers but perhaps one of Pretoria's most arrogant political shows. In the light of mounting state coercion vis-a-vis obvious disillusionment and a threatening recourse to spontaneous violent upsurges, the responsible leaders of our liberation movement had to grapple with the urgent question "What is to be done?"

During the "Rivonia Trial", Comrade Nelson Mandela, outlining the immediate reasons behind the launching of Umkhonto we Sizwe in 1961 pointed out:

"I, and the others who started the organisation, did so for two reasons. Firstly, we believed that as a result of Government policy, violence by the African people had become inevitable, and that unless responsible leadership was given to canalize and control the feelings of our people, there would be outbreaks of terrorism which would produce an intensity of bitterness and hostility between the various races of this country which is not even produced by war. Secondly, we felt that without violence there would be no way open to the African people to succeed in their struggle against the principle of 'White Supremacy'. All lawful modes of expressing opposition to this legislation had been closed by legislation..."

This statement attests to the sobriety, seriousness and social conscience of the leaders who took the historic turn of 1961. There was no other viable option besides the path of revolutionary violence - our leaders and movement are always at pains to put across the fact that the option of armed struggle was imposed on us as a result of a historically evolving policy of exploitation, oppression and repression through race discrimination and apartheid.

Viewed in the light of the evolution of the Strategy and Tactics of the ANC since its inception - a strategy within which moderation and some strong element of trust in the human conscience are easily discernible - the announcement of its birth through a series of bomb explosions in the major cities of South Africa, signalled a transition into a new revolutionary stage to be spearheaded by Umkhonto we Sizwe - The Spear of the Nation. Of course there were voices from even some of the patriotic ranks that sought to challenge the correctness of the decision to take to arms. These voices have since been either convinced or silenced by the historical realities of apartheid rule whereas the existence of Umkhonto has been a source of great strength and morale within the fighting ranks of our people. Throughout the past two decades in its relentless history, MK has always striven to be in "the front-line of the people's defence".

When, in future the full history of Umkhonto is properly documented they, will have to reserve a chapter on individual and collective acknowledgement, by the people, of our MK as our people's spear in deed.

RICH STOREHOUSE OF EXPERIENCE

The path of struggle is not smooth. It is full of many an obstacle and bogs. It wears out the weak and vacillating and only the tenacious and steadfast succeed in surging forth uncompromisingly to the end. Such has been the case also with the rich history of our young People's Army.

The epic of MK's fighting record carries us through important landmarks;

* The Sabotage Campaign of 1961-62 which signalled the birth of the liberation alliance's armed wing. This militant campaign of sabotaging important governmental installations which were symbols of the regime's reactionary policies of its maintenance was not conceived as a principal tactic, but as an important means of bridging the gap between the period of non-violence and the new option. In this connection it was to be an important bridgehead to the future more demanding stage of

guerrilla warfare.

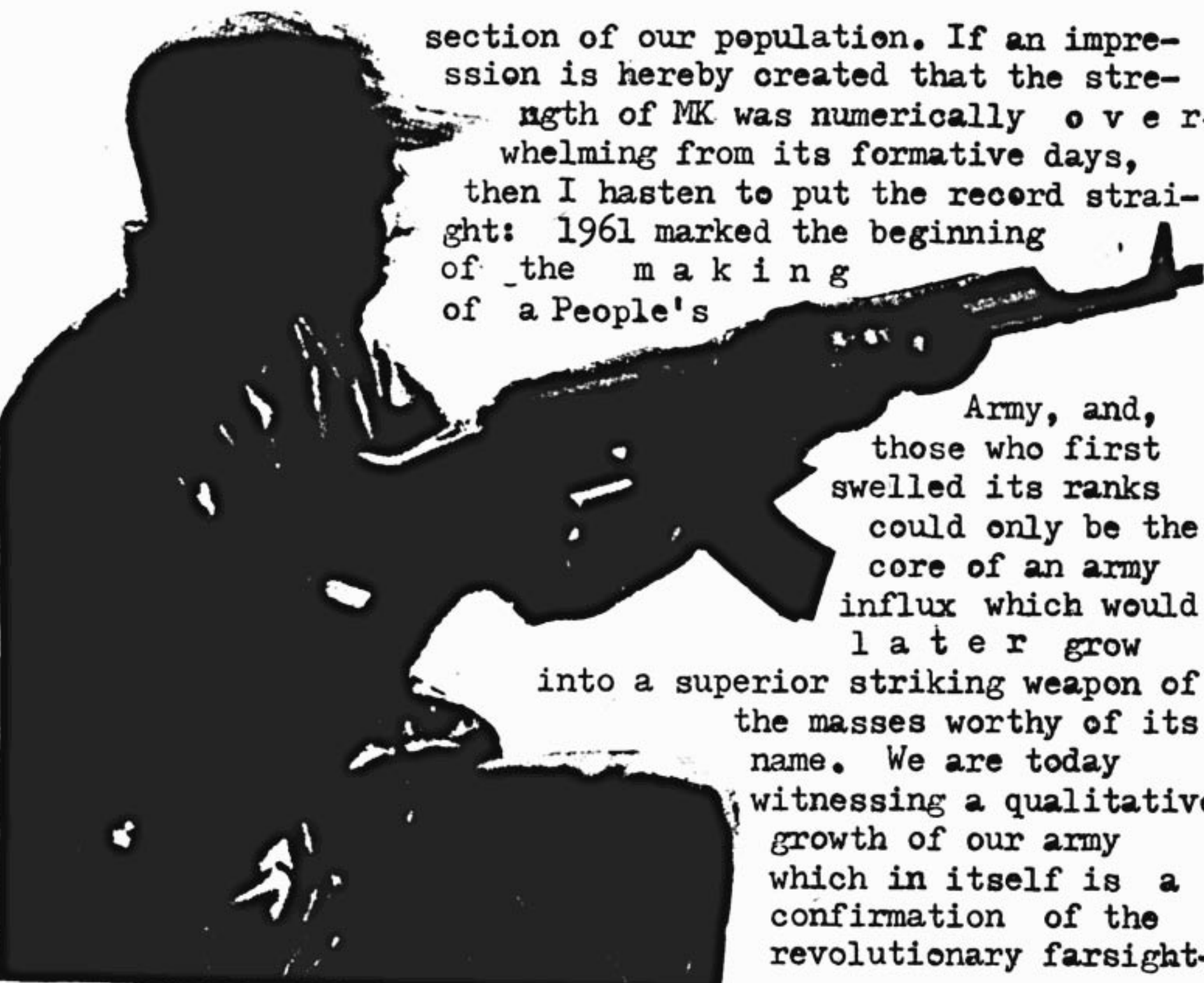
* We have also seen bad days: The consequences of the "Rivonia Trial" were to deal the clandestine structures of our movement a staggering blow. But as is the tradition with all committed revolutionaries, the racist dock was turned into a rostrum from where perhaps the most inspiring, motivating speeches of South Africa's political history were made. Apartheid was attacked and exposed whilst the whole world listened. This was yet another front where though we suffered casualties - the cream of our leaders was incarcerated for life - we rightfully claim victory.

* The Wankie/Sipolilo Days: The heroic Luthuli Detachment was injected into Zimbabwe during August of 1967 together with militants of ZAPU. The African National Congress combatants were destined for South Africa where they were to establish themselves and begin the necessary preparations for guerrilla warfare as envisaged in the draft document "Operation Mayibuye" (the document was amongst the valuable archives captured by the enemy at Rivonia). They were intercepted by Smith's forces and bitter battles ensued. Our comrades fought heroically, putting the enemy to flight and routing him on several occasions. The Zimbabwe battles were on the other hand an obstacle to the main mission. Though the main objective of our combatants was thus foiled, the Wankie/Sipolilo Campaign is a golden page in our history. This was MK's baptism of fire and it set our combat record, thus inspiring a new fighting mood inside our country by shattering the myth of the invincibility of the oppressor.

* The recent history of MK has been well publicised and is reported upon daily even by the reactionary press. It is one record full of examples of devotion and daring feats. For the purpose of brevity I shall not dwell on this period since it will continue to be covered in many ways as it must. But perhaps at this stage it becomes important to discuss some aspects relevant to the nature of our army, to make an attempt at showing what it has become in these twenty years.

WHO ARE MK COMBATANTS?

The formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe in 1961 brought into the van of the popular struggle young militants from the different sections of our population. They were from the intelligentsia, the discriminated middle strata and small traders. They came from the land-starved rural masses and the super-exploited urban working class - the latter constituting the majority of our people's soldiers. Indeed the core of our army was from its inception a representative of a cross-



section of our population. If an impression is hereby created that the strength of MK was numerically overwhelming from its formative days, then I hasten to put the record straight: 1961 marked the beginning of the making of a People's

Army, and, those who first swelled its ranks could only be the core of an army influx which would later grow into a superior striking weapon of the masses worthy of its name. We are today witnessing a qualitative growth of our army which in itself is a confirmation of the revolutionary farsight-

edness and perspicacity of the then "MK High Command".

A UNITED ARMY

An unfortunate impression is always created that Umkhonto we Sizwe consists only of the generation of the June 16 Episodes. Much as this is not necessarily deliberate, it is yet a serious and dangerously misleading approach. We acknowledge with immense pride the rejuvenating role these militants played in opting for swelling the ranks of our army (the author himself belongs to this generation). But there is a hidden danger in overstressing this fact, for in the ultimate the tendency is to obscure the historic contribution of the first combatants, without whom the present heights of our revolutionary war could have never been conquered.

Above all, the generation of the "Luthuli Detachment" is not important only in the historical sense for they are still very active within our ranks - both as commanders and commissars at varying levels of our military structure and as rank and file combatants. They are the epitome of the resilience and tenacity of our war. They carry with them the steeling experience of the Sabotage Campaign of 1961/62 and the hero-

ic Wankie/Sipelile Campaigns of 1967/68. In many ways than one, it is their courage and unflinching devotion to the cause that serve as an important inspiration to us who are fighting with them today. Together we are a dialectical whole, a fast growing army that is fully united from top to bottom. In the words of Comrade President O.R. Tambo:

"... Umkhonto we Sizwe, the army of the people of South Africa, is itself united throughout its heroic ranks within its detachments and between its cadres, its commanding personnel and its political leadership. Thanks to this unity, it has decisively and successfully repulsed enemy attempts to destroy it from within through the infiltration of spies and provocateurs."

OUR POLITICAL AND MORALE SUPERIORITY

The South African revolution is poised to dislodge and destroy the most entrenched colonialist enemy who has at his command an advanced economy, sophisticated repressive machine, powerful army and police that cannot be taken for granted. An evaluation of this evident material strength of the enemy has led some myopic people to shout; "but how do they hope to defeat such a powerful enemy?" They even go further to dismiss armed struggle as suicidal and senseless. This type of approach definitely betrays wilful ignorance and a failure to understand the nature of the war and the calibre of the people's soldiers.

All of us here in the ranks of Umkhonto we Sizwe are a people who at some stage or another have laboured under tonnage of apartheid's humiliating legislation. Together with our people we have waded in the squalor of ghettos where we have been daily victims of police harassment, disease, hunger and denudation. Some have been in the countryside where the Afrikaner farmers are the alpha and the omega whilst the land-starved masses toil for a pittance at the crack of a sjambok. These realities through which we have lived have instilled in us an implacable hatred for the boer-fascist oppressor.

We are convinced that the enemy is not a monolith that cannot be moved. The basis of this unshakable conviction is knowledge of the fact that ours is a just war for popular liberation that draws its strength from support by the broad masses. It is invincible because it is waged by the people

themselves employing as they do every means at their disposal including strikes, demonstrations, boycotts and arms. In this connection we understand and play our role effectively as a spearhead of this P e o p l e ' s W a r. The enemy knows and fears our political strength that is solidified by the overwhelming popular support we enjoy at home, amongst our people, and abroad amongst the peaceful and progressive communities of the world. Our trumps are the liberating ideas of our revolution and a commitment to a democratic order.

The justness of our cause is therefore the great inexhaustable pool of our political and moral strength. It is this knowledge that more than ever convinces us of the imperative of struggle and the inevitability of victory. This is the basis of all the tenacity, daring and selflessness of true MK combatants. Our record speaks for itself: the courage of Solomon Mahlangu, the resilience of Gordon Dikebu (Linda Jobane) - the lion of Chiawelo, the valour of the Silverton Trio, the spirit of no-surrender of Basil February, etc.

MASTERY OF THE ART OF PEOPLE'S WAR

An MK soldier is a volunteer and he goes through his training with no inhibitions - he is free in body and spirit. He therefore goes through his military preparation with high morale, looking forward to his turn to taste the blood of the enemy, the tormentor of our people. But acquisition of the military skill alone is not the primary thing in our army. We recognise the fact that "our military line grows out of our political line." Therefore, we are political soldiers in military uniforms. The domination of the political aspect in our army guarantees our consistent revolutionary approach, enables us to be better able to know our enemy - his strength and weaknesses in order to be appropriately equipped for bringing about his downfall, and above all, imbues us with high moral qualities and sense of duty.

This does not in any way suggest that we are not competent militarily. The enemy himself has admitted that the MK combatants are "highly trained" and described some of our operations as "sophisticated". The fact that we sustain our operations under difficult conditions and manage to evade the boer-fascist security indicates the importance we attach to military competence and the skilful exercise of tactics.

Military instruction in our army is calculated to prepare and steel the combatants, to develop in them endurance and steadfastness. All the positive qualities in a comrade are emphasised and developed. The spirit of comradeship and

mutuality is cultivated through continuous political education. This constitutes the basis for the high combat efficiency, morale and discipline of U m k h o n t o combatants. Indeed, in our army we have been transformed into a proud selfless people. True as in the words of the President of our people's organisation, the African National Congress, Comrade Oliver Tambo:

"In building up our own popular army we aim (therefore) not only at the overthrow of the fascist regime, we aim also at building up a politically conscious and revolutionary army, conscious of its popular origin, unwavering in its democratic functions and guided by our revolutionary orientation."

An army such as ours is definitely invincible. We are a dynamic force, and, the more we fight the stronger we become. Our prestige grows with the steady escalation of the struggle, attracting more practical support from conscious people everywhere. As ours is a protracted war, its immediate future guarantees further development of our politico-moral superiority and an increase in our material strength. This will hasten the undermining of the present advantages of the enemy and finally bring them to naught. This will mark the great turning point to inevitable victory. But we know that the decisive stepping stone to victory lies in the organisation and preparation for the winning of victory. It is precisely on these aspects that we place our emphasis today.

FORWARD TO A PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT!

DAWN politiXword No.10 — Answers

ACROSS: 1. Turret 4. Mob 6. Envoy 7. Meal
8. Late 10. Baton 11. Sofia 13. Snipe
14. SAM

DOWN: 1. Tsedenbal 2. Revolution 3. Egypt
4. Moses 5. Bullet 9. Gaol 12. Arm

Our People's War is Gathering Momentum

The battle for South Africa is definitely on. Events of the past few years have demonstrated beyond all reasonable doubt. The past few years have witnessed growing upsurges of mass struggles; workers' strikes, students' boycotts, community protests, etc. Our people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, has been an active component of these upsurges. The Spear of the Nation sharpened and gave a cutting edge to these popular protests despite unbridled repression and violence characteristic of the South African racist regime.

Umkhonto we Sizwe "appeared to move freely in white areas, seemed able to switch areas of operation and attack with great ease, had the ability to evade capture, and could be assumed to be operating from within with a degree of impunity", "Talk to the ANC while there's still time" and "This is a taste of things to come" are the recent tunes the enemy is playing, swallowing with pain their "we've broken the back of the ANC" utter nonsense.

Below we publish the combat record of our glorious People's Army. The record is incomplete because not all actions are reported. Those that cannot be concealed are reported according to the enemy's version of them, concealing his losses as much as he can. The previous combat diary ended with the professional raid against the Orlando police station, 2nd November, 1979, (D A W N - Vol. 3 No. 11, December 1979).

11th December 1979: Three ANC militants and combatants of Umkhonto we Sizwe; Alexander Moubarris, Stephen Lee and Timothy Jenkins, all serving a long-term sentence under Terrorism Act escaped from the maximum security prison in Pretoria.

4th January 1980: A Soekmekaar police station in the northern Transvaal was raided by ANC guerrillas armed with AK-47 assault rifles.



25th January 1980: Three ANC freedom fighters held 15 hostages in a Volkskas Bank in Silverton, a suburb in Pretoria. Having assured the civilian hostages that they had nothing against them and explaining to them that they were fighting for our people's just demands enshrined in the Freedom Charter, the three militants demanded, among other things, the release of Comrade Nelson Mandela, our leaders and other political prisoners. Ignoring the demands laid down by the three patriots, the fascist police indiscriminately opened fire and killed some of the hostages. The three guerrillas died fighting back having killed a number of racist police including a captain of the South African police force.

5th April 1980: A unit of Umkhonto we Sizwe guerrillas attacked the Booyens police station with hand grenades, AK-47 assault rifles and an RPG-7 rocket launcher (bazooka). The rocket launcher was used for the first time in the history of armed liberation struggle led by the ANC in South Africa.

1st June 1980: Members of the ANC's military-wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, planted bombs and mines and sabotaged three of South Africa's leading oil refinery stations: SASOL I and II and NATREF. The bombs which exploded almost simultaneously caused damage to the tune of R65-million.

1st August 1980: A racist Det. Sgt. T.G. Zondi escaped death by millimetres when he was fired at with an AK-47 rifle near Sobantu Village in Pietermaritzburg. Empty cartridge cases of an AK-47 were found by police near the scene of the shooting. No one was arrested despite a massive search for the attackers.

30th October 1980. MK combatants hurled hand grenades at the West Rand Administration Board offices in Diepkloof. Extensive damage was done to the building.

21st November 1980: ANC combatant, Gordon Dikebu, fought heroically against the racist police who had staged a massive pre-dawn raid at his place of residence in Chiawelo. The shoot-out lasted about 10 minutes and an undisclosed number of fascist police were either killed or injured.

16th January 1981: An explosive charge blew up a Mdantsane railway line. Rail traffic was delayed for several hours.

12th April 1981: ANC guerrillas sabotaged a 15 metres long railway line on the Vryheid-Richards Bay line. When the locomotive's front detonated the explosive, there was a loud explosion. Five trucks were completely derailed and the remaining others seriously damaged.

20th April 1981: An electricity supply sub-station south of Durban was sabotaged with several limpet mines by a unit of MK combatants. The blast disrupted telephone communications, closed factories in and around Durban and left thousands of other industrial areas without power. A spokesman for the power station said that two transformers were completely destroyed.



6th May 1981: The puppet so-called mayor of Soweto, David Thebehali, narrowly escaped death when a bomb ripped apart his car. Shrapnel tore through the car damaging the boot, petrol tank, three tyres, seats and the roof of the car.

10th May 1981: A hand grenade was flung at racist railway policemen killing one of them. The incident took place in the eastern Transvaal when they tried to arrest a man who took out a hand grenade and tried to throw it into the car but was intercepted. A racist railway police spokesman said the blast killed one Sgt. Mahemi.

19th May 1981: The railway line linking Port Elizabeth to Johannesburg and Cape Town was blasted by an explosive charge between Swartkops and New Brighton. The sabotaged rail line was discovered three hours later when a coach of a Uitenhage train was derailed. Rail traffic was disrupted for several hours.

25th May 1981: The Fort Jackson police station in East London came under automatic fire and hand-grenade explosions. The unit of the ANC guerrillas involved in the attack retreated unchallenged.

25th May 1981: Three ANC guerrillas armed with AK-47 assault rifles ambushed a police patrol in Mdantsane. The puppet chief of the so-called Ciskei Intelligence Service, Brig. Charles Sebe, a Capt. Nonho and W/O Mlando were in the vehicle when it came under fire. Mlando was injured in the leg and arm whilst the other two were said to have escaped uninjured.

25th May 1981: A railway commuter line between New Canada and Dube stations in Soweto was sabotaged by a bomb explosion. Railway traffic was disrupted for several hours and hundreds of workers were belated. The explosive charge ripped off a metre of the rail line.

25th May 1981: Armed units of the ANC sabotaged a railway line in Durban. Rail traffic was delayed for several hours.

27th May 1981: A recruiting office of the SADF near the centre of Durban was blown up by an explosive charge. Damage was estimated at hundreds of thousands of rands.

11th June 1981: A bomb blasted the Durban-Empangeni railway

line. A railway spokesman said that the explosive device was suspected to have been placed on the line and detonated when the locomotive ran over it.

26th June 1981: A war memorial in Durban was blasted by a bomb in the early hours of the morning. The sabotage operation took place on the same day on which the racist Minister of Transport, Chris Heunis, was to meet Coloured 'leaders'.

28th June 1981: Within a month, the second explosion ripped off the railway line between Felixton and Fort Dunnford on the Natal north coast. It was suspected that an explosive device was placed on the line and was detonated when the goods train passed over it.

21st July 1981: Two major power stations in the eastern Transvaal were extensively damaged in a sabotage operation by a unit of ANC combatants. The explosions were reported to have occurred within an interval of 10 minutes. The Anort power station, east of Emerlo was blasted at 01,40 am when three explosive charges destroyed three transformers. A few minutes later, at 01,50 am, two limpet mines destroyed two transformers and five generator couplings at the Camden power station, east of Middleburg. A spokesman for Escom said that the sabotage plunged the town of Emerlo into darkness for several hours.

21st July 1981: The Delmas power station near Pretoria was blasted by bombs placed by Umkhonto guerrillas.

26th July 1981: Two bombs exploded in a Durban meter-town area of Smith street, twenty minutes apart, ripping open show-room frontages of McCarthy Leyland, damaging four new cars and shattering more than 50 windows on both sides of the street.

7th August 1981: A gun battle took place between the racist police and a unit of Umkhonto guerrillas at a road-block set up in Elliot, less than a hundred kilometres from Umtata. Two policemen were killed in the battle.

13th August 1981: Umkhonto combatants shelled the headquarters of the South African Defence Force (SADF) complex, the Voortrekkerhoogte military base. Four 122 mm rockets were fired at four strategic points. The racist authorities barred all journalists and photographers from reporting about this operation. The attack forced the racists to admit that it was the boldest of the current spate of attacks against the Pretoria killers' military and economic infrastructures.



One of the strategic points which was struck by the 122 mm rockets at the Voortrekkerhoogte military base.

3rd September 1981: Mapopane police station in Pretoria was attacked by a unit of ANC guerrillas armed with AK-47 rifles and hand-grenades. Three racist policemen were killed and several others wounded. A racist security spokesman of the Pretoria police said that between 20 and 30 guerrillas took part in the attack.

12th September 1981: A goods train detonated a landmine at Delville, Wood, near Pietermaritzburg cutting the railway line. The blast took place at 08,45 am.

10th October 1981: A powerful bomb exploded in the centre of Durban, destroying a number of buildings. The bomb destroyed part of the local offices of the Department of Co-operation and Development and the damage was estimated at R10-million.

11th October 1981: A bomb blast partly-destroyed the Kwa-Zulu government offices near Empangeni. The explosion took place at the superintendent's office causing damage estimated at more than R20,000.

21st October 1981: Umkhonto militants sabotaged five transformers at an Evader electricity sub-station. The explosion which took place at 08,45 pm occurred at the town's main sub-station causing a blackout for several hours.

23rd October 1981: Several transformers were destroyed by ANC patriots at an electricity power station in Witbank. The blast took place at 08,45 pm in Witbank's industrial township.

27th October 1981: Armed combatants of Umkhonto we Sizwe attacked the Sibasa police station in northern Transvaal and two racist policemen were killed. The guerrillas were using

hand-grenades, AK-47 automatic rifles and the much-feared RPG-7 rocket launcher (bazooka).

12th November 1981: Four transformers were destroyed at an electric power station in Pretoria north. Industrial Pretoria (Roslynn) was left without electricity for several hours.

REALITY SHATTERS THE RACIST MYTH

- JOYCE MEKONG

The impact of our struggle for national independence and freedom is growing tremendously. As could be expected, the imperialist powers led by the United States monopolies are becoming more concerned about the future of their multimillion dollar investments in Apartheid South Africa and of the whole Southern African region which in terms of their expansionist designs forms part of their 'sphere of interest' and over which the Pretoria fascist regime serves as their policeman. It is against this background that in addition to their increasing and covert support for their racist allies in Pretoria in defiance of the world's public opinion, imperialist propaganda directed against our just liberation struggles is assuming more hysterical tones. This can be seen in the wide coverage given to the 'findings' of the CIA-directed research groups in the employ of imperialism.

AN OLD MYTH

Recently two 'experts' - otherwise shady characters of distorted intellect - L.H. Gann and Peter Duignan who have long been working for the US-based Hoover Institute which is notorious for its subversive activities against national liberation movements in Southern Africa and forces of freedom, peace and progress the world over, have published a book. Its title is "Why South Africa will Survive - an Historical Analysis" and one South African revolutionary has most appropriately described it as a 'bible' on Southern Africa for the American new right and especially for the Reagan Administration say: "We do not believe that a South African revolution will come during our life-time; we are convinced that change will come from within the ruling white oligarchy rather than by liberation movements. We believe therefore that American sup-

port should go to the Verligtes; the reformers within the ruling National Party..."

Furthermore they claim that the apartheid regime is so strong, economically and militarily, that our mass political action combined with armed activities and supported by sanctions against the Apartheid regime cannot bring about its downfall. While these defenders of imperialism and racist colonial domination are passing off their false argument as "an historical analysis" to give it an appearance of credibility, it is very clear that one of its aims is to revive the old myth of the invincibility of the Pretoria fascist regime. On their part the Pretoria racists have not only failed to instil fear and hesitation among our fighting people and the independent African states who support our just struggle, while reassuring their racist ignorant followers by preaching this myth but have been witnessing with horror how the reality of the South African situation which is very much influenced by our unfolding people's war, completely shatters their myth.

VICTORIOUS PEOPLE'S WAR

To start with, the international climate within which our liberation struggle is occurring leaves no room for such myths. Previously imperialism could have a sway in the whole world. The world situation is completely different today. The Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917 in Russia which saw the workers led by their Bolshevik Party founded by Lenin and in alliance with the poor peasants rising to power, to be masters of their destiny, ushered in the new dawn of world history. More nations rose to the socialist plane of man's development and socialism became a world system. Imperialism was forced to retreat.

At the same time many nations which had hitherto been victims of colonial domination rose to national independence in Asia, Africa and Latin America. In some of these countries the oppressed masses had to resort to arms in order to achieve their national emancipation as the colonial powers had barred all means of non-violent struggle, e.g. Cuba, Vietnam, Algeria, Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe and for this reason we shall focus our attention on some of these victorious peoples' wars to throw more light on our own situation.

It is significant to note that the advocates of imperialism and apartheid colonial domination would hasten to argue that in the examples mentioned above the oppressed were fighting against regimes which were weaker compared to racist South Africa or that the wars were waged outside the strongholds of the colonial powers. But the basic truth is that in all these

countries the oppressed people, united around their national liberation organisations, using every means of struggle at their disposal and supported by the world democratic forces, were confronted with the combined forces of the specific colonial powers and their imperialist allies, NATO especially.

For example the small Vietnamese nation had to go through a series of bloody wars waged against her by different imperialist powers: the French colonialists who were later aided by the Japanese fascists (1940-1945); the French for the 2nd time (1945-1954) and the most bitter war was unleashed by the United States interventionist forces and their local puppets. Acting on the advice of General Goldwater whose strategy for the brutal suppression of Vietnam's just struggle for liberation entailed the bombing of North Vietnam and the sending of ground forces en masse to the South, US President, Lyndon Johnson sent over two million troops to fight in Southeast Asia (Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos) with Vietnam as the main target. That was only during the four years of Johnson's term of office. According to the CBS news the United States dropped more than 14-billion pounds of bombs on North and South Vietnam. Kennedy's military strategist, Maxwell Taylor, unshamedly declared that the United States was in Vietnam to show to the world that wars of national liberation (Taylor described them 'so-called') would not work against determined imperialism armed with the most destructive weapons. The irreversible victory won by the heroic Vietnamese people proved them wrong.

Similarly the intervention of the Pretoria fascist regime backed by United States after the defeat of the Portuguese colonialists in Angola and the ganging up of the colonialist forces of racist Smith, British imperialism and Pretoria against the patriotic forces in Zimbabwe could not halt the people's march to national independence. (It is interesting to remember that hardly five years earlier, if not less, Smith was boasting of "no majority rule in a thousand years".) Can the Apartheid regime be an exception, will it follow a course which is different from that of the already overthrown colonial regimes? N o t a t a l l !

THE ENEMY'S WEAKNESS

Our liberation movement is acting on the basis of a sober assessment of the South African situation and this was reaffirmed and clearly formulated in our document "Strategy and Tactics" adopted at the historic 1969 Morogoro Conference. In this document our movement acknowledges the economic and military strength of the racist enemy and that he can always count on the support of the major imperialist powers such as

the United States, Britain, France, FRG and Japan. At the same time our liberation movement notes, and this is very significant, that this is a case of 'soft underbelly'.

Strong as it is, the Pretoria regime has certain serious weaknesses which in the long run will favour our liberation forces. Our "Strategy and Tactics" states:

- * "The ready to hand resources including food production depend overwhelmingly on non-white labour which, with the growing intensity of the struggle, will not remain docile and cooperate.
- * The white manpower resources may seem adequate initially but must become dangerously stretched as guerrilla warfare develops. Already extremely short of skilled labour - the monopoly of the whites - the mobilisation of a large force for a protracted struggle will place a further burden on the workings of the economy.
- * In contrast to many other major guerrilla struggles, the enemy's economic and manpower resources are all situated within the theatre of war and there is no secure external pool (other than direct intervention by a foreign state) safe from sabotage mass action on which the enemy can draw.
- * The very sophistication of the economy with its well-developed system of communications makes it much more vulnerable... In a highly sensitive modern structure of the South African type, the successful harassment or transport to any major industrial complex inevitably inflicts immense damage to the economy as a whole and to the morale of the enemy."

In addition to this, in a preceding passage the "Strategy and Tactics" shows the mighty weapon which our fighting people have at their disposal, guerrilla warfare, "the weapon of the materially weak against the materially strong," and continues: "Given its popular character and given a population which increasingly sides with and shields the guerrilla whilst at the same time opposing and exposing the enemy, the survival and growth of a people's army is assured by the skilful exercise of tactics. Surprise, mobility and tactical retreat should make it difficult for the enemy to bring into play its superior fire-power in any decisive battles. No individual battle is fought in circumstances favourable to the enemy. Superior forces can thus be harassed, weakened and in the end, destroyed!

NEW ADVANCES

The correctness of the assessment and the necessary action mentioned above is more vividly confirmed and strengthened by the current political situation inside South Africa.

On the one hand it is clear that the Apartheid regime is finding it increasingly difficult to cope with the situation. The massive strike wave that has gripped the country in recent years is threatening the future of Apartheid's economic base. The war-resistance movement within the racist army by patriotically-minded young whites who are refusing to fight in defence of the inhuman Apartheid system is growing. Having completely failed to appease our discontented and fighting people with meaningless 'reforms' and empty promises, the racists are resorting to stepping up their repressive measures and this evokes more hatred and determined resistance from our people.

On the other hand, our entire forces of liberation; the workers and rural masses, the women and youth, Christian and Muslims, democratic whites and all other freedom-loving South Africans are rising to more resolute action. Our people have become conscious of the power they possess and are consciously confronting the enemy not only on matters of immediate concern but on the very fundamental question of power. A very important role in this heightened mass upsurge is played by the pounding blows delivered by the units of our people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, against the enemy's strategic economic and military installations, actions which are rising with the tempo of our mass political actions.

These developments and other related ones emphasise once more the fact that the inherent basic contradictions within the Apartheid system, namely, the extraction of super-profits from the labour of our people by a handful of capitalists and their imperialist partners while our people live under conditions of abject poverty and starvation; the monopoly of all political power by the racist clique and their privileged supporters while this is totally denied to our nationally oppressed people, are growing more acute and are fast approaching an explosion point. These contradictions are such that they cannot be resolved by any means other than by the overthrow of the apartheid regime and the seizure of power by the majority of our people and the implementation of our demands in the Freedom Charter which has already practically become the basis of our people's mass action. With our people having become fed up with the entire apartheid system and resorted to militant action, it is clear that the ongoing

conflict between our people and the Apartheid regime aided by the imperialist powers can only be stopped by the victory of our people.

In other words, what we are witnessing is the maturing of the main ingredients of victory. In fact one of them, namely a dedicated leadership armed with correct revolutionary ideas, and which, is visibly among the people has already reached a high degree of maturity.

The other ingredients are our political and moral superiority derived from the justness of our cause and which finds expression in the uncompromising opposition of our people to all Apartheid policies; the growing unity and determination among our people to win a common victory and our invincible art of people's war. Added to these internal factors is the no less important support enjoyed by our struggling people from the peace and freedom-loving peoples of the world led by the socialist community.

C O N C L U S I O N

If the myth about the invincibility of the Pretoria fascist regime were anything to go by, all these advances made by our people in actual battles for freedom would not have been possible. But for obvious reasons the Pretoria rulers will never admit that they are fighting a losing battle. In spite of this the pressure exerted by our liberatory actions forces them to blurt out certain revealing utterances. Very often the racist chief of police has been heard admitting that our armed actions are gaining ground and that the Pretoria regime cannot stop them. Some of the farsighted go even further. - According to the "Citizen" the former news editor and Progressive Federal Party's leading member, Joel Mervis, stated that Umkhonto we Sizwe is "able to switch areas of operation and attack with great ease... and could be assumed to be operating from within the country with a degree of impunity" and concludes by pointing out that the repressive measures of the Apartheid regime will only lead it to a "Vietnam style no-win morass." Van Zyl Slabbert has admitted that to maintain racist domination "is going to become increasingly difficult and eventually quite impossible." This opinion was also expressed by one Western writer who was prompted by the 1976 June 16 Upheavals, Wilfred Burchett. His assessment shows an even more balanced grasp of the situation. In his book "Southern Africa Stands Up", in a chapter headed "The South African Volcano" he wrote: "South Africa will be liberated from its racist regime... one can come to this conclusion by an analysis of political, military, psychological factors and by

comparing them with similar factors that have played the decisive role in other liberation struggles."

Therefore, while the imperialist powers especially the United States are conveniently underplaying the irresistible might of our popular mass action as the vital force in our all-round drive to bring down the fascist Pretoria regime and deliberately disregarding the international balance of forces which favours us, their sinister intentions are obvious. As soon as their allies in Pretoria are on the verge of collapse these forces of plunder and aggression will move from support to direct intervention. But this will never stop us from achieving our goal of national liberation. All indications point to the complete confirmation of the prediction made by Comrade President O.R. Tambo when he said in 1968:

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

"The battle lines have been drawn up. There can be but one result: victory over the fascist oppressors and the establishment of a democratic state in South Africa!"

CORRECTION: The cover caption (Vol. 5 No. 7 - July 1981), fourth line reads: ... of the SACP and the latter was its General-Secretary, instead of Chairman.

A Soldier of our People's Army

AN ARTICLE BY COMRADE ANDREW MASONDO, A MEMBER OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AND NATIONAL COMMISSAR OF THE ANC.

In this article we shall try to put across what we think a soldier of Umkhonto we Sizwe should be and also what a soldier of the people's army is as portrayed by the soldiers of MK in practice.

In the first place a combatant of our People's Army is a product of the South African situation. He or she is a son or daughter of the oppressed masses of our people or son or daughter of the privileged few who has rejected the privileges which come from a system which feeds on the blood of innocent people and became a democrat.

Secondly an MK combatant is moulded and produced by the African National Congress and its allies. Continuous and purposeful political work plays an important role in the MK cadre's life and in building up high morale, the willingness to carry out orders, being staunch in battle and ready to fight the enemy to the last. He accepts that political authority of the ANC and its allies is above that of the military authority of Umkhonto we Sizwe. In fact he is first and foremost a member and activist of the ANC.

He belongs to an army which is defending a just cause and fighting for freedom and national independence and for the liberation of other peoples from racist aggression. If the cadre accepts and understands these ideals of the army which themselves derive from the policies and programmes of the liberation movement, this breeds in him a high awareness of duty, conscious discipline, a sense for good organisation, heroism in battle and dedication to the cause of freedom.

PEOPLE'S LEADER

Both in the rear and inside the country the African National Congress and its allies should appear as a single fighting, mobilising and guiding force. The cadres, by word and deed, should strengthen the people's morale and lead them

to perform military and political feats of a very high quality.

The ANC and its allies should be the great leader, organiser and general of the South African people during the war. It should channel the whole force of the oppressed community, the whole of the people's energy, their determination, tenacity and powerful will towards the single goal of smashing the racist regime. In this important task the MK cadre is central as the instrument to bring about success. He is the generator of high morale amongst the people. He is conscious of the words of V.I. Lenin:

"... in the final analysis, victory in any war depends on the spirit animating the masses that spill their own blood on the field of battle."

The relation between soldiers and officers are based on mutual respect and soldiers take the orders from officers as commands of the people.

...NO SURRENDER

The spirit of no-surrender is a hallmark of the MK cadre. We meet this spirit in the attitude of Comrades Vuyisile Mini, Zinakile Mkhamba and Wilson Khayinga who went to the gallows singing "Nants' indod' emnyama Verwoerd". It is no less in the attitude of Comrade Solomon Mahlangu who walked tall to the gallows and said: "My blood will nourish the tree which will bear the fruits of freedom."

This spirit raises its head again in the Silverton Operation and in Matela where in spite of odds being against them, our comrades registered our fighting tradition by inflicting heavy casualties on the racist enemy.

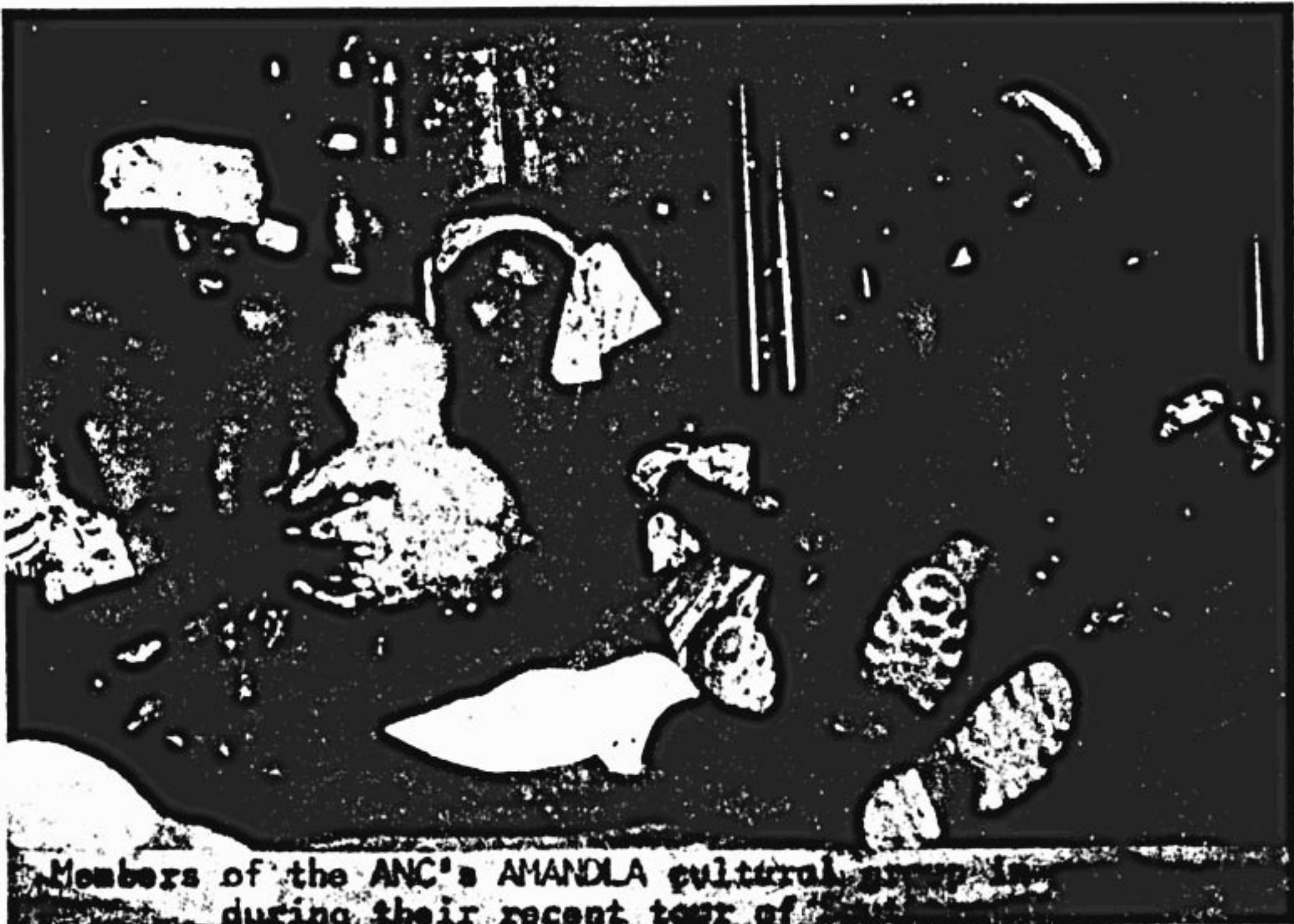
It reminds us of the Derdepoort encounter where although the enemy had four hours advantage to encircle our comrades after a traitor, Paulos Makgaga, had given them away; the dauntless soldiers of MK broke the encirclement with the enemy suffering great losses. It was also in Chiawelo where Gordon Dikebu fought like a lion, exhibiting great courage of a people's soldier and the spirit of no-surrender. A great deal of sense of duty and determination was displayed by one of our comrades in the Eastern front during the operations in Zimbabwe during 1967, who when seeing that he was hurt, asked his comrades to give him a light-machine gun and ammunition so that he may cover them in their retreat. The comrades involved in the SASOL operation flaunted outstanding valour when

on their way to the target one of their cars capsized but they could not be deterred. Guided by conscious discipline, they understood that an order had been issued and had to be fulfilled. They then checked one another and found that none was seriously injured. Thereafter they got into the remaining car, reached their destination and carried out their task as planned.

What could be more daring and courageous than the attack on the highly secured Voortrekkerhoogte military base? This is literally going into the lion's den to capture its cubs. The mettlesome "Pietermaritzburg 11" (James Mange's group) who challenged the whole state machinery when in fact they were in its claws displayed courage of the first order. The comrades who attacked the police in Butterworth, the roadblock in Elliot and a pitch battle in Barkley East show a high level of gallantry and determination.

CULTURE AND ARTS

The MK cadre is a complete personality capable of great cultural feats. A great sense of duty and self-discipline has been exhibited by the **AMANDLA GROUP**. The amount of work



Members of the ANC's AMANDLA cultural group in
during their recent tour of

and preparation that goes into their cultural performances pay tribute to the character and talent of an MK cadre. Their determination to produce the best can be testified by those who had the pleasure of attending their shows during their tour of Western Europe and also of Southern Africa.

The poetry and articles that appear in the monthly journal of Umkhonto we Sizwe, **D A W N**, bear testimony to the cultural and literary abilities of an MK soldier. The posters, art-works produced by the MK art group is a clear indication of the creativity of the cadres of our People's Army.

Is it possible for anybody to call such a soldier a terrorist? If anybody does, then we must suspect his ability to understand and appreciate the fruits of human heritage called civilisation.

To you the people of **S o u t h A f r i c a** such is your army, the creator of a future based on the provisions of the Freedom Charter. It is 20 years old, yet **a c t s** as a mature, civilised and determined adult.

FORWARD TO THE 20TH ANNIVERSARY OF OUR PEOPLE'S ARMY!

FORWARD TO THE 70TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ANC!

FORWARD TO THE YEAR OF UNITY IN ACTION!

FORWARD TO A PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT!

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2.

sections of our population to swell the ranks of our army. For, as the Vietnamese people say: "Every citizen a soldier and when the bandits come even the women fight."

During this proud moment, we remember all our patriots who have laid down their lives in the fight for freedom, to them we say: **Eternal Glory!** We salute our heroic leaders and comrades incarcerated in boer-fascist dungeons and pledge to indefatigably fight for their release. We salute our fellow combatants and comrades, the "Pretoria Six", who despite the threatening hand of the fascist hangman still carry their heads high as true patriots do.

To the Pretoria **m o n s t e r s** and all their henchmen and proxies we say: The hour of reckoning is fast approaching and there can be no turning back. We are uncompromisingly committed to a protracted war of liberation. Victory will be ours and the enemy will be brought to justice.

LONG LIVE THE SPEAR OF THE NATION!

FORWARD TO VICTORY!

I SPEAK MY MIND

Theme: Landmarks in our Armed Struggle

- EDWARD DILINGA

THE SABOTAGE CAMPAIGN.

Twenty years of hardwork and sacrifice have passed since the formation of our people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The founders of our People's Army were faced with the problem of organising and controlling violence which was beginning to show itself spontaneously from the people. They were also faced with the task of creating a revolutionary army out of a people who were barred from military training or use of any type of modern weapons or the use of explosives; be it for civil or military purpose. Some of our people had never seen a pistol, rifle or machine gun unless in the hands of a fascist white soldier or police.

The basic problem of the army at that time was lack of training, it was a question of learning whilst you do. Yet the thirst for this knowledge was great and in the process quite good operations were carried out. In fact the enemy himself paid great tribute to our work by saying that people who had trained in Algeria had arrived.

A I M S

The aim of our first operations was to introduce the new phase of the struggle. It was to prepare our people mentally to accept the fact that we were now entering a period in which the level of sacrifice was higher than thither to. Having been steeped in an era of non-violent methods it became necessary to convince them of the necessity of the change to revolutionary violence. It became necessary to convince them by practical acts that we were capable of entering this new phase.

It also became necessary for us to convince Africa and the world at large that we had to embark on this phase of struggle. It was crucial that we prove our ability to do something practical and also to prove that we had exhausted all peaceful methods. This was the reason why our first Commander-in-chief, Comrade Nelson Mandela, had to make his tour of

Africa and some countries overseas.

A problem the leadership had to solve was one of convincing the units that at this stage we were to avoid the loss of life during our operations. We could not understand this because the boers were killing our people and we felt that we must in turn kill them. It was the painstaking explanation of the leadership which convinced some of us of the necessity to prove that the African National Congress was not a terrorist organisation which was not sensitive to the preservation of human life, more so that even within the liberation movement it was not totally agreed that it was time to change the method of struggle to the highest form. It was necessary for the leadership to convince everybody that the change to armed struggle was not an adventurist feat.

LACK OF MATERIAL

From the practical point of view as an operator a formidable obstacle was the lack of material. We used all methods to procure material for operating. I remember a time when we travelled 22 km to a quarry site with the hope of stealing explosives from a pillbox, just to find that it was impossible to open it. You can imagine how we felt considering that we had to foot all that distance in vain and risking arrest because the tents of the quarry-workers were about 50 metres from the pillbox.

There was a time when the units in Durban had procured a good amount of explosives but did not have detonators and yet we in the Eastern Cape had a good supply of detonators but did not have explosives.

An interesting aspect was that most of the comrades who were sent outside for military training were people who had been baptised in actions of MK inside the country. We were building MK units which would receive these members when they returned. We were beginning to train within the country and hoped that these people on their return would enhance our skills and knowledge in military science and art.

We had the advantage that the African National Congress was still well-organised and therefore we could use its machinery to assist whenever we were in trouble without exposing ourselves. Another advantage was that during the day we were ordinary citizens who were doing their work like everybody else. We could move to place or from places without attracting attention.

I must admit that from the early sixties to now a great deal has happened and our army has grown and become more

sophisticated in its manner of operation. It has better facilities than we had then. What seems to remain a common feature is the spirit of no surrender.

We are confident that our army will grow from strength to strength both as a political organiser and as the spear and shield of our people.

FORWARD TO THE 20TH ANNIVERSARY OF MK!
FORWARD TO THE 70TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ANC!
ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

- JAMES MAKHAYA

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RIVONIA TRIAL.

On the 11th of July, 1963 the fascist police of Pretoria raided the headquarters of Umkhonto we Sizwe at Rivonia, Johannesburg. Several underground leaders of our organisation, the African National Congress, were arrested. Amongst these arrested were Comrades Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Elias Motswaledi, Ahmed Kathrada and others. The arrest came at a time when our leadership was beginning active preparations for the launching of guerrilla warfare. The South African police hastened to boast of having "broken the back" of our Liberation Movement. But events that followed exposed the fallacy of the boast.

Of course the arrest of the leadership of our people was a serious blow on the movement as a whole. Yet the arrest cannot be attributed to the enemy's proficiency but to certain errors and miscalculations on our part. Perhaps it is necessary to look at some of these miscalculations.

The introduction of armed struggle in South Africa had far-reaching consequences. As expected the enemy was to respond more ferociously in an attempt to destroy all those connected with this new form of struggle. The effectiveness of the enemy was dependent on a number of factors. Among them were our organisation's capacity to make its internal movement and security watertight. As it turned out later, security safeguards of the movement proved inadequate.

ACTIVISTS KNOWN

Firstly the majority of the leadership and other ANC activists were known by the enemy and his stool pigeons from the period of public campaigning. Added to this, the underground headquarters got to be known by more cadres than was necessary, therefore registering a violation to the basic rules of

conspiratorial work that fighters should only know what concerns the fulfilment of his task - this was mainly due to experiences of some banned leaders who operated clandestinely for several years without serious casualties inducing an attitude of undermining the fascist special branch. Though there were plans to change the headquarters or distribute its task, they could not be appreciated as u r g e n t. The first victims of the enemy's swoop, mostly first-timers and inexperienced in the hands of the sadistic boer-fascist torturers, in spite of their determination, revealed important secrets. This was to lead to the fascist crackdown on and disruption of different areas of our underground machinery. As the great V.I. Lenin once observed:

"Every new form of struggle, accompanied as it is by new dangers and new sacrifices inevitably 'disorganises' organisations which are unprepared for this new form of struggle... But this does not mean that one must n o t fight. It means that one must learn to fight. That is all."

ANOTHER BATTLEGROUND

The arrested leadership turned their trial, which opened at the Old Synagogue early in 1964, into another battleground. The battle-hardened and steeled leadership was to conduct itself in a manner worthy of emulation. What looked as a blow was in fact transformed into a new offensive against the enemy. The trial was a forum where our leaders w e r e t o show our people and the world the patient, moderate and modest way in which the African National Congress persuaded the racist regime to come to reason but to no avail.

The question of the enemy's counter-offensive means that revolutionaries should perfect their tactics. They should always aim at frustrating the enemy's reprisal methods and spy net-work. He who does not commit mistakes means that he is doing nothing. It remains true that the overthrow of t h e racists in our country can only be achieved through armed struggle.

Today it is beyond any shadow of doubt that the liberation movement of our country has long recovered from the post-Rivonia set-back and has fully recaptured the offensive. We owe it to the t e n a c i t y and resilience of our leaders and comrades who stood trial in 1964.

LONG LIVE THE RIVONIA TRIALISTS!

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE WANKIE/SIPOLILO CAMPAIGNS.

In 1968 the servant of our oppressed but fighting people, Comrade President Oliver Tambo spoke dialectically when he said:

"The sound of gunfire can be heard from the banks of the Zambesi river. Very soon the sounds shall be heard inside the Republic itself. The tide of revolution will grow and develop until it covers the whole of Southern Africa. There can be no compromise with the fascists... until apartheid and oppression have been smashed..."

This was when fierce fighting was raging between the ANC-ZAPU combatants and the Smith-Vorster racist troops in Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) during the prominent Wankie-Sipolilo Campaigns of 1967/68. Little did the imperialists and their myopic henchmen of Salisbury and Pretoria foresee that only 13 years later, Zimbabwe would be more than a year liberated and in South Africa an artillery piece using 122 mm rockets would be used to shell the stronghold of apartheid Pretoria, the Voortrekkerhoogte military base.

S I G N I F I C A N C E

The significance of the Wankie-Sipolilo Campaigns is that it exposed the enemy's myth that a black man could not handle modern sophisticated weaponry. Hence the enemy was forced to run for dear life and some of his apolitical troops even left their weapons behind. It is in these operations that our struggle gave birth to martyrs like Paul Petersen, James Masimini, Peter Sithole, Delmas Sibanyoni and many other heroes of our revolution. In these campaigns it was where the first genuine pioneers of our People's Army, the Luthuli Detachment, received their baptismal of fire.

This was also the situation where the manhood of the pioneers of our revolutionary army was tried and tested. The enemy who was using superior modern weapons, i.e. aviation, armoured personnel carriers and other sophisticated military equipment was forced to admit that the spectre of revolution was haunting Southern Africa. We also saw in this period the morale of the masses of our people in South Africa going sky-high.

In this way the Wankie-Sipolilo Campaigns confirmed the assertion that no force on earth however militarily well-armed



The ANC-ZAPU combatants in an arms-inspection parade.

it might be can deter a united and determined people waging a just people's war. This finds further confirmation in the escalation of armed struggle in our country, the most developed one in our continent industrially, economically, militarily and otherwise; shattering all claims by some reactionary circles that guerrilla warfare is inconceivable in our situation because there are no enough "jungles and mountains" to make bases.

J U N E 1 6

The L u t h u l i D e t a c h m e n t introduced other cadres of Umkhonto we Sizwe (the June 16, Moncada, etc.,) to the political and military traditions of the ANC and MK. Today we see how the seeds that were sown by these revolutionaries of our Motherland are beginning to bear fruits. Their products of the June 16 aftermath are displaying the skills and know-how they inherited from this treasure of our people practically in the numerous battles raging inside our country. SASOL, Secunda, fascist police stations, the Voortrekkerhoogte military base, electric power stations, etc., are fine examples of what the pioneers of our People's Army have taught their successors.

Therefore, in this Year of the Youth and the 20th Anniversary of Umkhonto we Sizwe, we urge our fighting people to stand up against the cancerous Apartheid regime and unite their actions more than ever before. As stated by our late leader, Chief Albert Luthuli that: "The length of the term of slavery depends largely on the oppressed themselves and not on the oppressor..."

LONG LIVE THE SPIRIT OF THE WANKIE-SIPOLILO CAMPAIGNS!
LONG LIVE THE 20TH ANNIVERSARY OF OUR PEOPLE'S ARMY!

AN INSPIRATION TO ALL.

The 20th Anniversary of Umkhonto we Sizwe is an inspiration to all e a d r e s of our glorious people's army, both inside and outside our country. It is a bridge which had to be built t h r o u g h relentless hardships, so that we could enter with our rescue formations of devoted fighters to save the oppressed black majority, who for centuries now have been under the perpetual siege of the fascist Pretoria regime.

To us the combatants of Umkhonto we Sizwe, December 16, 1981 is not a day of festivity but a day of rededication to the struggle for the liberation of our country and people from racist and colonial oppression. It is a day when we l o o k back to our past and assess the path already traversed in this long and bitter struggle. We ask ourselves, in the words of Comrade President O.R. Tambo:

"Are we living up to what is expected of members of a revolutionary and fighting organisation? Is the OATH we took of any meaning and substance to those who swore to fight until freedom is won?"

MILITARY CAMPAIGNS

Military campaigns waged by MK combatants alongside the people's mass struggles have greatly intensified in the recent past, scoring successes on whose base future battles will be fought. Under difficult conditions of underground the faceless fighters of our Motherland have put the enemy on an anvil tearing his economic strength with devastating blows of sophisticated methods of sabotage. In oil refineries at Secunda and Sasolburg, electric power stations in Durban, Pretoria and Witbank, railway lines and other strategic economic and military infrastructures have been repeatedly attacked with their destruction costing millions of rands on the enemy.

The devastating attacks against racist police stations, the so-called department of cooperation and development and the shelling of Racist South Africa's fortress, the Voortrekkerhoogte military base, exposed the enemy more than o n c e that he is failing to contain our growing people's war which is visibly spreading to all corners of our country.

The intensified armed actions inside our country h a v e spelled an eternal curse to the Pretoria regime. The hour of retribution is approaching at a terribly high speed for

the racists.

T A S K S

The dynamic situation inside the country charges us, on this great occasion, with the great task of defending each gain of the revolution we have so far scored giving the enemy no chance of recovering from his losses. Each one of us must rally behind our vanguard movement, the African National Congress and our revolutionary leadership responding with utmost precision to every call.

We are fighting a desparate carnivore, we have to be vigilant against all his attempts to devour us with his sophisticated military equipment and dogs of war by keeping constant offensive and repulse him. We must be vigilant against his agents infiltrated within our ranks. Closure of ranks in our People's Army shall frustrate all enemy manoeuvres within our midst.

Let us rededicate ourselves, entering the battlefield with no fear, devoting ourselves to the just cause of liberating our Motherland. We must draw our inspiration from our heroes who fell in Zimbabwe, Silverton, Dobsonville and Chiawelo. We must avenge the death of those massacred in Sharpeville and Soweto and our martyrs like Gqabi, Mdluli, Mini, Mkhaba, Khayinga, Mahlangu and many others.

LONG LIVE THE 20TH ANNIVERSARY OF UMKHONTO WE SIZWE!

STRAIGHT TALK...

Into the fire...

That is where all traitors and stool pigeons always end! But it remains quite incredible how some people can be corrupted by greed and mollified by good-boy-pats on the back. Maybe they envy the dog which is satisfied by a little brush on the head and a tossed bone - even though such envy is sufficiently ludicrous to all sane people. First it was Matanzima, then came Mangope and along came Mphepu, all dragging our people into the mud there in the pig-sty reserves euphemistically called 'homelands'. Now it is Lennox Sebe, cap in hand at Botha's doorstep clamouring for his own 'independence' pigsty.

Our people's protests and rejection of these evil schemes is the frying pan enough, but puppets seem to be

able to absorb a lot of heat before they burn. Maybe they need direct fire right away. This is a question all true patriots of our country have been debating for quite some time. But the people have long declared their firm opposition to the balkanization of our Motherland. As the manifesto of Umkhonto we Sizwe stressed, "The people's patience is not endless..." It has become very clear that the people have now reached the end of their tether and they are beginning to say: "This far and no more". This united outcry is a battle-cry beckoning all of us to the firingline where the quislings and runners of the enemy will be made to pay the price of selling out.

Umkhonto we Sizwe is ready to respond and, it is already responding. It is ready to reinforce and spearhead the popular fight on all fronts. We are poised to take the spear to every nook and corner of our country and it remains to be seen whether we'll allow December 4 to fully transform the Ciskei into another generator of bloodmoney for a bunch of quislings whilst millions of our people are dragged into draught stricken, poverty stricken and disease infested death camps. The people are united in their resolve to frustrate this boer fascist scheme. Anybody who will stand in their way through collaboration with the enemy as the Mphepus, Mangopes, Matanzimas, Thebehalis and their coteries do must heed our preparedness to push them into the fire.

The naked selling out of the nation cannot be left to continue. Therefore we cannot stand idle as the Sebe brothers follow the satanic course traversed by the Matanzima brothers and others of throwing more of our people into the abyss of multiplied oppression.

We know that the bantustans (whether we attach the ridiculous label of independence or not is not an issue) are not only aimed at performing the role of reservoirs of cheap labour but have also been conceived as part of the 'defence strategy' of the white power establishment. The Pretoria boers readily confers repressive powers to the puppets and see to it that they are employed e.g. the Second Bantu Law Amendment Act, which empowers the Bantustan chiefs to ban or banish patriotic elements in the same manner as the Suppression of Communism Act; Proclamation R400, which legalises detention without trial etc. The militarisation of the South African state encompasses also these 'buffer zones' as has been demonstrated by the haste with which the boers have been breeding puppet armies in these areas. These machinations are calculated to fortify the apartheid fortress against the popular

liberatory forces. Therefore, we must mobilise all our energies and strength to foil these reactionary ploys. That time has now come!

WILL ARMED STRUGGLE BRING MORE SUFFERING?

- BORIFI NTATHELA

Since we embarked upon armed struggle many theories aimed at disproving the feasibility of a victorious armed struggle in South Africa have been formulated. The absence of thick bushes like in other parts of Africa, the level of South Africa's economic development and the strength of the 'invincible' South African Defence Force were but some of the arguments in support of these absurd theories. Now that armed struggle has become not only a reality but prespects of a victorious revolution have emerged, the tone is gradually changing. We are told that armed struggle will bring us even worse suffering. These are the apologists of apartheid who condemn armed struggle with the aim of disarming our people so as to prevent or at best postpone the inevitable overthrowal of the abominable apartheid system. Not only them. We appreciate with immense regret the existence of staunch opponents of apartheid who, due to ignorance and honest failure to understand the laws of history, still believe that the South African racist regime can be toppled by peaceful means. Though we respect this opinion of the latter, we do not share it. Whether deliberately or not, both groups present our people defenceless in the face of ceaseless and unbridled repression and violence meted out by the enemy.

NO CHOICE

Our long history of struggle has taught us that the downfall of the apartheid system can be brought about only through force of arms. For five decades the African National Congress counselled non-violence for the attainment of its popular objectives. Who will deny that all peaceful protests during this stage of peaceful struggles were suppressed with varying degrees of violence by the racist Pretoria regime? The Sharpeville Massacre and the subsequent banning of our organisation demonstrated beyond all shadows of doubt the readiness of the enemy to use all the power at its disposal to destroy

our national liberation movement, the ANC. With the closure of all avenues of peaceful struggle, only one choice remained: "Submit or fight". When our people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe was formed, an answer to the reactionary violence perpetrated by the racist regime was found - revolutionary violence.

Even after the decision to take up arms had been reached we still hoped to bring the racists back to the world of reason. The Sabotage Campaign of the early sixties was, among other things, a letter to the government to reconsider its policies & draw our country out of the path of bloodshed and civil war. In the words of the Manifesto of Umkhonto we Sizwe: "We of Umkhonto we Sizwe have always sought - as the liberation movement has sought - to achieve liberation, without bloodshed and civil clash. We do so still. We hope - even at this late hour - that our first actions will awaken everyone to a realisation of the disastrous situation to which the Nationalist policy is leading. We hope that we will bring the Government and its supporters to their senses before it is too late, so that both the Government and its policies can be changed before matters reach the desperate stage of civil war."

Whether armed struggle will bring more suffering or not is not the point we intend debating or do we intend turning a blind eye to the enormous sacrifices involved in a war. The point is that the decision to turn to violence was forced on our people. We had come to realise that the overthrowal of the racist regime by non-violent means would take another 50 years, or even more. The choice of armed struggle was forced on our people for the alternative would have meant submission to perpetual bondage and servitude. All the same, such concern for our suffering is bound to rouse some response. True enough, our acts of sabotage of economic installations coupled up with our call for the international isolation of the apartheid state are bound to, in fact are calculated to engender certain economic set-backs and we also, the oppressed, will definitely suffer our share of the consequences. The acknowledgement of this fact does not and cannot in any way dissuade us from the course we have chosen. The late Chief A.J. Luthuli, as way back as 1964 stated:

"We are committed to suffering that will lead to freedom - as it has been the lot of all oppressed people before us from time immemorial. What we are determined not to do, cost what it may, is to acquiesce in a status quo that makes us semi-slaves in our own country,"

PAST EXPERIENCE

In an attempt to project armed struggle as the cause of more suffering the oppressors have always resorted to a campaign of deliberate and systematic genocide. Failing to match the guerrillas in combat, the oppressors have always let loose their anger, desperation and frustration on the civilian population. We need only recall the barbaric crimes committed by the Americans in Vietnam where the US air force dropped more bombs than on the whole of Europe during World War II. The atrocities committed by the Rhodesian racist regime of Ian Smith against the peoples of Zimbabwe, Zambia and Mozambique defy description. The Rhodesian Sellous Scouts cutthroats hunted down people like game, murdering innocent and unarmed civilians in Chimoio, Nyazonia and numerous massacres. Whole villages, settlements and crops were destroyed and razed to the ground.

This policy of genocide has always been accompanied by a campaign of slander intended to depict the actions of freedom fighters in a distorted way. Numerous acts of banditry have been committed in the name of 'terrorists'. The aim of all these outrages is to instill fear in the masses by portraying armed struggle as an evil responsible for their untold miseries. This, it is hoped, will dissuade the people from supporting their liberatory armies.

GROWING CAMPAIGN OF TERROR

The South African racists, like all oppressors everywhere, cannot be an exception. They've already demonstrated their readiness to unleash any amount of terror in defence of apartheid. They are daily committing untold crimes against the Namibian people. Arrests, torture and brutal massacres have become the daily life of this small, oppressed but fighting people. The death sentences imposed on six combatants of our revolutionary army; Petrus Mashigo, Naphtalie Manana, Johnson Lubisi, Anthony Tsotsobe, Johannes Shabangu and David Moise in a period of barely nine months is one fine example of Pretoria's naked brutality. The appointment of the former commander of the Rhodesian Sellous Scouts, Colonel Ron Reid-Daley, to head the Transkeian army and many other tyrannical schemes attest to the extent to which the racists are prepared to go in defence of the world-abhorred system of apartheid.

This campaign of terror is not limited within the boundaries of our country but is extended to all countries within the reach of Racist South Africa. The racist Premier P.W. Botha has repeatedly threatened to attack all neighbouring countries which "harbour ANC terrorists". Numerous attacks

against the population and the economic infrastructures of these countries have been launched with unbridled intensity. By attacking innocent civilians and economic installations in the neighbouring African states the racist rulers hope to project our war for national liberation as a cause for more suffering not only for our people but for the entire region. This is calculated to discourage the peoples of these countries from supporting their brother people in their struggle against the cancerous system of apartheid. But no amount of terror can stop independent Africa from supporting our liberation struggle. Each attack against independent Africa convinces the people of these countries more and more that Africa will never know peace and stability as long as South Africa remains in the hands of the white racist minority.

UMKHONTO WE SIZWE

When our army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, was formed in 1961 it declared in its Manifesto: "Umkhonto we Sizwe will be at the front-line of the people's defence." This should serve as a reminder to those who are haunted by fear of future sufferings that our people are no more defenceless. No terrorism and repression will go unpunished. Our ability to defend our people against all repression, be it police, administration, employers, etc., have been clearly demonstrated by the two explosions which rocked Parcs for Peugeot and Leyland in Durban and numerous other attacks against administrative offices, plants, police stations, etc. As our army grows from strength to strength such actions will grow both in scope and intensity till the achievement of our victory.

VICTORY OR DEATH

When we decided to take up arms we were never geared for an easy victory. We knew as we still know that the struggle will be long and bitter. No oppressor has ever surrendered power to the people without stiff and stubborn resistance. The South African racists will employ all their power in defence of apartheid and their resistance will grow stiffer as the spectre of defeat looms over them. But we have demonstrated already our readiness to sacrifice our all in pursuit of the lofty ideals embodied in the Freedom Charter. "Our task, the task of the ANC and its allies, of the cadres of Umkhonto we Sizwe and of the popular masses of our country", in the words of Comrade President O.R. Tambo, "is to take to the battlefield with all its bitterness and fight through to the brightness of a new day, a new South Africa..."

The Spear Thrusts

Come fellow toilers transfixed in grief and penury
And bury your woes in this fount of life
For your burden unsung the spear has known
And the road to salvation opened

The delightful day for vice has ended
And all the land in dark is clothed
No Doubt! This score of years aback
Portends victory for the down-trodden

Let all the guilty now behold
The booming waves that fill this night
The nauseating wail of valiant rocketry
And this born-fire feeding on oil-from-coal
Presages doom and oblivion

Tireless and tenacious
Beyond twenty years of trials and tribulations
Baptised and tempered in the crucible of front-line
Forward the spear thrusts
To the dawn of victory

Let all raise their fists in salute
Of this long and wary score
Echoing from Wankie to Rustenburg
From Sasol to Voortrekkershoogte
No less where three spears pierced
Like thirty wounded lions

Let all the fallen rest assured
There is glory where they lie
Their spears point towards the final goal
Shining even brighter in the course of the day

And let to the occasion rise the living
For in their hands now rest the spear
And it is on them where history
Awaits the final prize.

- DILIZA DUMAKUDE

BANTUSTANS - Splitters of National Liberation Forces

- CHRIS MTHULI

As a vanguard movement of the revolution in South Africa, it is the duty of the ANC to muster all freedom-loving and democratic forces arrayed against the racist Pretoria regime both within and without our country for its speedy and inevitable destruction to establish a government based on the will of all our people (black and white). Whilst recognising the absolute necessity of working in reactionary institutions with the aim of undermining them from within, we should also be brutal against incorrigible quislings who camouflage their treachery by projecting enemy-created Bantustan community councils, South African Indian Council, etc., as instruments of change. To regard Bantustans, the enemy's strategy of "divide and rule" as a force worth mobilising is self-defeating.

The Bantustan system is the direct opposite of the aspirations of our people for unity expressed as way back as 1912 with the founding of the African National Congress. From its inception in the late 19th century, the sinister concept of reserves, bantustans or 'homelands' was and is based on the fallacy that the white settlers occupied uninhabited areas as they were moving northwards and on their way made contact with the African people emigrating southwards. Nothing could be further from truth. The truth however is that our people, fighting as separate ethnic groups and armed with inferior weapons could not withhold their positions from the northward thrust of the marauding land-hungry settlers.

LAND ACT

When in 1910 the British and Boers conspirators, in total disregard of our indigenous people, created with impunity the Union of South Africa, - this marked the beginning of a systematised pillage and plunder of our country. The white settlers were entrusted to hold away the destiny of a country that was never theirs. In 1913 they heartlessly enacted the Land Act by which they would occupy 87% of the land, the most fertile and minerally rich. The rightful owners of the land, in spite

of their overwhelming number are supposed to be overcrowded in the remaining 13%.

In 1925 they bestowed the President of the Union with paramouncy over all the so-called reserves (this law has not been repealed with the sham independence of the Bantustans). The white government had not only robbed us of our land and kept us in limbo, desecrating our very culture.

This is how our people are expected to live.

Faced with an unprecedented growth of national feeling in the post war years, the cynical Nationalist government enunciated in 1951 the Bantu Tribal Authorities Act by which it hoped to divert the fervour of nationalism to tribal reserves. Transkei became a test-case in 1963 - we are told that it is today independent, so is Bophuthatswana and Venda. This is an outrage to our dignity and destiny.

Our people have always been incensed and resentful of these diabolical laws designed to render them landless. Since the time after the Bambata Rebellion of 1906 until 1961 they have shown their rejection of racist domination by all possible avenues except armed struggle. This is evidenced by the creation of the ANC in 1912 to unite the oppressed and led the resistance against being relegated to hewers of wood and drawers of water in the land of our birth.

The powerful Defiance Campaign of 1952 marked yet another milestone of renouncing the hated apartheid system recently introduced by the Nationalist Party which came to power in 1948. The Pondoland, Sekhukhuniland and Zeerust Revolts cannot go unmentioned to show that our people have rejected Bantustans on a national level.

FORCED CITIZENSHIP

To an African city dweller, Bantustans mean forced citizenship and forced removal when he can no longer produce wealth for the white boss. For those in the countryside it means forced removal at any moment depending on the whims and caprice of the racist president. The Freedom Charter sets out clearly what we the people of South Africa aspire for.

The Bantustans have however not only been created to frustrate our political aspirations, a role they play with outstanding zeal. Transkei's Proclamation R400 and other rep-

ressive laws; Sebe's brutality against trade unionists are clear proof. Our organisation, the African National Congress, is banned under Matanzima's repressive laws. They also serve the economic and military efforts of the Pretoria regime. But of course we know that the economic power that Racist South Africa is today, is attributed to the super-exploited black majority who are now told that they belong to the barren Bantustans.

It is not by chance that the Bantustans are economically wholly dependent on their white masters. Because these are areas whose relief does not allow agriculture, stock-breeding or forestry to say the least. To all intents and purposes there are no industries. They are over-crowded by elderly people who have no social security after being rejected by white industries, women and children who are by law denied a normal family life for all the economically active men, family men, are contracted through the migratory labour system to lead the lives of prisoners in the compounds while servicing the white economy from which they earn slave wages. Hunger, diseases and ignorance are rife. The infant mortality rate is absolutely high. About half of every thousand babies die before the age of five due to malnutrition and related diseases. We know that in South Africa food is plentiful, but to maintain high rates of profit it is thrown into the sea. Life expectancy is despicable. To imagine that at least it should be above sixty, in our country it is about 40-45 years. Our people cannot live long enough because all their life is exposed to hazards calculated to destroy them. The doctor patient ratio is alarmingly high and consequently health services are very poor. The housing does not allow the necessary privacy in family and community life. The schools are overcrowded and do not offer conducive atmosphere for studying. To say the least about the concocted education to keep us in perpetual servitude. Train and bus fares are high and the people in the bantustans are expected to pay taxes in a drive to have these self-sufficient.

All these satanic designs no doubt show that the policy of bantustanisation is an important and integral part of the systematic genocide against our people. We know that the Pretoria racists say the whites are a majority in South Africa because Africans, divided on language groups, form minorities. We also know that they encourage emigration to South Africa by whites so as to augment their number to back up their argument.

PUPPET ARMIES

Because of the balance of forces in Southern Africa today,

the white supremacists find it difficult to defend South Africa. The lines of defence are on its very borders. The combatants of Umkhonto we Sizwe, our people's army, are piecing the monster through its belly. The racist monster is, against this background, creating puppet armies in these bantustans - mark you the bantustans are more or less positioned along the borders. This is setting Africans against Africans. This is saying the Africans should do the dirty work for the enemy. This is to say Africans must serve as cannon-fodders in their aggressive wars against Angola, Mozambique and other Front-line States. This is tantamount to saying Africans have got no right to live.

We know that the racist army is powerful in terms of its military technology, skill and manpower. We also know that it has a big arsenal which is backed by the US and other West European countries. But we know that half a million of the most powerful army of the US troops plus the puppet army of Vietnam were rendered useless by the Vietnamese people. We have a proud history of wars of resistance - the blood of our heroes runs in our veins. Our war of liberation is just. That is why we are certain of victory in the end.

We call upon our people in the bantustans to continue with fresh impetus their refusal to be forcefully removed from areas they have occupied from time immemorial. They should not take up citizenship cards nor vote in the sham elections. They should in fact render the puppet governments ineffective. They should protest against rent increases, high transport fares, tribal bantu education, taxes and low wages. They should demand to live normal lives with their families. We are saying that they should demand the right to basic human life, to live as a right.

We must exhort and educate the puppet armies to rise against their 'governments' and dissuade them from joining these tribal armies. Those amongst them who are moved by the misery which bantustans has brought to our people should undermine these puppet armies from within and use their military knowledge to sabotage all symbols and exponents of oppression.

**DOWN WITH THE BANTUSTANS 'INDEPENDENCE!'
FORWARD TO A PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT!**

NAKED AMONG WOLVES

by

BRUNO APITZ

Chapter 9

Word of the event quickly made the rounds of the camp. Hofel's incarceration smelled bad. What was wrong? Prisoners carried the disturbing intelligence into the blocks. A messenger brought it to the optics barracks.

"They've just thrown Hofel and a Pole in the bunker. Kluttig and Reineboth got them. Something's rotten..."

Pribula and Kodiczek looked at one another, troubled: the military instructor in the bunker? What did that mean? The news also made its way rapidly to the infirmary. Van Dalen behaved quietly when he heard it. He was rinsing out dirty bandages in the washroom. He drew his bushy eyebrows together thoughtfully. This could be a dangerous business. He was tempted to drop everything and run to Bechow. But he had the sense not to, remembering the cardinal rule for all underground functionaries, to remain inconspicuous. If it was really dangerous, he would receive the proper instructions in time.

Bechow heard about it through the room attendants, who brought it from the kitchen. He could no longer stay in the block, he was too anxious. He invented a pretext for going to the clerks' room. Fortunately he found Kramer alone. Kramer had secretly been fearing an encounter with Bechow. He knew only too well why he had left the hard-pressed Hofel to come to terms with Bechow's assignment by himself. It was the secret resistance of his humanity that had bidden his conscience to shut both eyes after he had conveyed the instructions. Have nothing more to do with it. See nothing, know nothing more.

Out of the same resistance he now argued rebelliously with Bechow, who reproached him for not having supervised the removal of the child right up to the departure of the transport. "I did my duty!" He defended himself too loudly. Bechow made no reply to this. His disciplined way of meeting reality, in whatever altered form it took, made him see at once that it was useless to quarrel about past mistakes. A dangerous situation had come about through Hofel's

arrest. His unfailing instinct told Bechow that there was a connection between the arrest and Kluttig's and Reineboth's attempt to get their hands on the apparatus. The two certainly suspected a member of the underground in Hefel; they would never have kicked up such an open row over the child. Bechow pressed his lips together and looked for ways out, but found none. W h a t n o w ?

Kramer shrugged his shoulders helplessly.

"We won't get the kid out of the camp any more. I'm glad I had it put somewhere else in time. Zweiling is behind this."

Bechow listened with only half an ear. He was thinking. Only Kramer, as camp senior, was in a position to find out what was happening to Hefel and Kropinski in the bunker.

"Listen, Walter," he said at last, "you have to help. There's no more use in keeping you half in the dark all the time. You know more than I can tell you anyhow."

"What I'm not supposed to know I don't know, even when I do," replied Kramer.

"Can anyone hear us now?"

"Just talk," Kramer grumbled. Bechow lowered his voice.

"You know that we have weapons. Where we keep them hidden is beside the point. Hefel is the military instructor for the resistance groups. One of our most important comrades! Do you understand?"

Kramer frowned and nodded silently.

"Nobody knows what they're doing with him in the bunker now," Bechow continued. "One thing is sure, they'll give him the works. If Hefel weakens, the whole apparatus can blow up through him. He knows where the weapons are hidden, he knows the comrades in the resistance groups, he knows us, the underground leadership.. "

Bechow paused. Kramer too was silent.

"Listen, Walter, you've got to find out whether Hefel keeps quiet. We can't get into the bunker. How you manage it, I have to leave to you, I can't advise you. Maybe you can use Schupp."

Kramer had already thought of this possibility himself.

"Whatever you hear, inform me immediately. You know what it's about now. Be careful, Walter. Whoever you involve, only tell him what's most necessary, but otherwise - silence!"

"You don't have to teach me the ABC," growled Kramer.

Bechow clapped him on the shoulder.

"I know, I know..."

It was not Bechow's nature to lose his head when in dan-

ger. His courage was not reckless, it was the sort that weighed one factor against another, observed and calculated. When Bechow had recognised something as correct, he carried it through with quiet perseverance, sometimes even without the knowledge of his comrades, as when he hid the six carbines that were smuggled into the camp in August, 1944 under cover of the confusion caused by an American bombardment.

ONE SUNDAY AFTERNOON

One Sunday afternoon at the end of August Bechow strolled to the infirmary with Kediczek and Pribula. Van Dalen joined them, and the four sat down on a bench opposite the long main barrack of the infirmary. They had met because Bechow wanted to tell them the hiding place.

"You saying now where they be," urged Pribula.

He meant the carbines. Bechow smiled in the corner of his mouth. "You're sitting right in front of them."

Pribula and the others looked across the open space before them, and their stealthy glances groped over the front of the main barrack. Bechow helped them with a silent, indicative nod of his head towards the green flower boxes on the window sills, where red geraniums bloomed.

Van Dalen was the first to understand.

"In there?" he whispered, astenished. Bechow's eyes confirmed it. Speechless, they stared at the flower boxes. Bechow enjoyed their surprise.

"Would you have agreed with me," he asked, "if I had proposed that hiding place?"

No one answered; their silence said no.

"That's bold," said van Dalen at last.

"But correct," Bechow added quickly. "People searching for anything creep into corners but pass by a thing that's in front of their noses, and besides..."

Bechow stopped short. An SS man was turning in from the infirmary road to the main barrack. He walked carelessly past the flower boxes. Before the last one, however, beside the entrance, he paused. Something about the box had aroused his interest. In alarm Pribula grabbed at Bechow's hand, which was resting on the bench. They saw the SS man straighten a geranium which was hanging crookedly out of the box, and press it into the soil. They followed the SS man's actions in the utmost suspense. Bechow smiled confidently. And smiling, he finished the interrupted sentence after the SS man had disappeared into the barrack.

"... and besides the sentimental beasts will destroy people, but not flowers..."

They said nothing. The incident had convinced them.

But Bechow was not as confident today as he had been then. Anxiety drove him to Bogerski. Every hour was costly, for any hour might bring a catastrophe of incalculable scope. The pressure of time compelled Bechow to by-pass the law of caution. Perhaps a safe opportunity could be found to confer with Bogerski about what to do. Another lucky chance came to Bechow's aid.

The Scharfuhrer of the bathhouse was lounging about in his office, the shower room was empty, and the prisoners of the commande were dragging to the disinfection barrack the junk which a newly arrived transport had deposited in front of the bathhouse. Bogerski was among them. Bechow unceremoniously joined in, picked up a heap of rags, and went with the others to the disinfection building. Bogerski had immediately understood the meaning of Bechow's behaviour and followed him without seeming to do so. They had nothing to fear from the prisoners, and they were undisturbed in the disinfection barrack. They stood beside a high pile of garments that had been tossed together, where they could observe the entrance.

"If they soften up Hofel there... If he doesn't hold out."

They looked at one another dumbly. Bogerski lifted his arms a little, he had no other reply. They hardly dared to speak of the monstrous danger. It was massing together, dark and heavy, looming like a mountain. They felt their own helplessness. What could they do if Hofel uttered just one name...

Then the chain would unreel! And it would pull them all into the abyss. Although the organisation was well camouflaged, it consisted of human beings. Determined human beings, yes, defiant of any danger. And yet, other laws prevailed up there in the lonely cells of the bunker. There a man was alone with himself, and who knew whether he would remain truly adamant under physical and mental torture or would shrivel up into a wretched object, into a battered cleft of humanity where in view of the tortures and a certain and agonising death the naked instinct of self-preservation might prove stronger than any will power and any courage? Every one of them had made a vow to die rather than betray. But between a vow and its fulfillment lay many stations in the untried nature of a man.

Which individual of all the thousands members of the resistance groups could say of himself that he would be strong enough up there to hold out until the last?

"This can grow into a landslide..." whispered Bechow. Bogerski wrenched his look from the emptiness in which he had

sunk it. He smiled wearily, as if leaving the maze of uneasy thoughts behind him and overcoming the weakness of the moment. "What will be," he said softly, "we do not yet know at all."

Bochow's face clouded.

"We must have faith in Hefel," said Bogorski.

"Faith, faith! Are you so sure he'll hold out?"

Bogorski raised his eyebrows.

"Are you sure of me? Or of you? Or of others?"

In some annoyance, Bochow waved the hard question away.

"Who said that? Your heart said that also?"

He sensed that beyond reason there was a bottomless deep where all words and thoughts were without echo and which gave forth no answer. "So what should we do?" he asked.

Bogorski shrugged his shoulders again. What could they do? All military drill must be cancelled immediately. No more weapon instruction must take place, no group meetings. The extensive network of the organisation must be sunk to the deepest underground of concealment. That was all that could be done. To wait was the thing - wait and see.

M A N D R I L L

The confinement in the bunker had proceeded without anything happening to the two. None of the usual ill-treatment had taken place. Mandrak, the Hauptscharfuhrer of the bunker, who was just in the process of devouring his breakfast - there was a delectable smell of fried potatoes in his office - had gone out into the corridor, chewing, and at a signal from Kluttig had locked up Hefel and Kropinski in one of the cells together, was to come along to Reineboth's office. Mandrak did it unhurriedly. He let the other two go ahead and first went into his room to put on his uniform jacket. He then walked composedly into the report fuhrer's office, and buttoned up his jacket. He remained standing, although Kluttig and Reineboth had both sat down. Kluttig puffed in his chair, with his thumb in the button seam. Mandrak was still chewing his breakfast.

"Listen, comrades," Kluttig began, "those two are a special case, we're going to work on it together."

"Interrogation till they talk," Reineboth interrupted, twisting up a corner of his mouth in a sneer.

Kluttig raised an admonitory hand. "For heaven's sake, don't finish them off, either of them, we need them."

He explained the ins and outs of the situation to Mandrak and told him that with Hefel they had their hands on the key man to uncovering the illegal organisation. Mandrak listened without saying a word; once he ran his tongue over

his lips. No interest showed in his face, whose ashen skin was covered with peckmarks. Nor did the dull gaze of his **o p a q u e** **d a r k** eyes betray anything. As he stood there before the camp fuhrer he seemed almost submissive. Kluttig had risen. "You know now," he said impressively, "what it's about."

Mandrak slowly put his hands into his trouser pockets and asked in a low voice: "What should I do with them?"

Reineboth drummed with his fingers. "Fondle them, Mandrill, fondle them," he said cynically.

Mandrak flashed a look at Reineboth out of the corner of his eye; something like a grin flickered about his mouth. He liked being called "Mandrill." This horrible name had the weirdness and fearsomeness of the jungle about it, which Mandrak savoured pleasurably. He said little and asked less. And when Kluttig anxiously interrupted, "No, Mandrill, leave them both in peace for the moment, we'll talk about it later," Mandrill turned his head slowly to the camp fuhrer and only nodded silently. He left the room, apparently finding it uncomfortable to take his hand out of his pocket in order to turn the doorknob. Outside he shoved the door shut with his foot. He ambled over to the bunker wing. The long corridor, only about six feet wide, lay in constant semi-darkness. The twilight was emphasised by the wan gleam of an occasional naked bulb in the ceiling. The passage was secured by a heavy grilled door and, at the far end, a small barred window. Nothing moved behind the massive, iron-clouted wooden doors of the cells. They stood on either side as stiff and stark as funeral vaults. The only living being to pass through the corridor was the bunker janitor, Forste.

CELL No.5

Mandrill went up to cell number 5 and pushed aside the latch of the peephole. He looked through it for some time. The cell was completely bare of furnishings, without table or chair, straw sack or blanket. It was an oblong box. Six and a half feet long, ten feet high and barely five feet wide. Its sole fixture was the wire-in naked electric bulb in the ceiling. In the rear wall of the cell was a small, heavily barred window. Mandrill unlocked the cell. Hofel and Kropinski came to attention in the usual military way. Without a word Mandrill grasped Kropinski by the front of his jacket and pulled him forward with his face to the door. He did the same with Hofel, whom he set in position in front of Kropinski and turned slightly to one side. He inspected the prisoners for posture and position and kicked them both in the 55

kneecaps. "Stand straight", he said darkly. "Whoever moves gets s l u g g e d till he creaks laughing." He left the cell and beckoned Forste to him. " N o f e e d . "

Forste came stiffly to attention as he received the order.

Hofel and Kropinski stood motionless, listening, like affrighted animals. They riveted their eyes on the door of the cell and waited for the atrocity that might occur at any moment. Their thinking had become paralysed; only their sense of hearing was wide awake. They listened to the camp sounds that filtered up to them from the gate. Out there everything was going on as usual. How strange that was...

Crazy thoughts ran about Hofel. You're in a concentration camp! What is that, really? Suddenly he realised that he had forgotten the real world, the life outside. Beyond the barbed wire he could neither think nor feel. The only real and comprehensible thing was the dull belkowing of the block fuhrer, the everlasting outcry, the tramping and the clattering. During the moment of tense listening, even this reality seemed ghostly and spectral. All at once he thought quite clearly: It's none of it real at all, it's only a phantasm! Entering this ghostly reality as from far, far away, Hofel felt an infinite tenderness:

... I kiss you fervently...

But that too was just as ghostly and shadowy, seeking its way, straying, lost. A cold shudder passed through Hofel. He stared at the iron food flap on the door. He had forgotten that Kropinski was standing behind him...

And suddenly Hofel saw the reality! Only from afar, but approaching nearer, irresistibly, on tank treads and turrets.

That is real and that alone! Nothing else!

All at once he became aware of Kropinski. "Marían..." he whispered, for talking was forbidden.

"Tak?" the whisper returned.

"The Americans are coming nearer all the time... it won't take much longer..." Only after a short while did Kropinski respond:

"But I saying that, always..."

They spoke no more. They stood motionless. But deep inside them they had an anchorage. The reviving sense of life pumped its warm blood through them...

Kluttig was having a regular fit of stage fright. He was sitting in the casino with Reineboth. They had retired to a quiet corner with a bottle of wine and were whispering secretly with their heads together.

"First we beat the shit out of them. Then we let them

ew in their own juice, and in the night we interrogate
m till they talk."

Kluttig drank down one glass after another. He squirmed
anxiously about in the chair. "And if we don't get anything
of them?"

Reineboth soothed him: "Then we'll bash them till they
don't know whether they're male or female any more. Don't
worry, those babies will sing like nightingales."

Pleased with himself, Reineboth pursed his lips, pushed
himself forward from the back of his chair and bent across the
table to Kluttig, who lapped up every word he whis-
pered.

"Now we've got to show what we can do. Do you know any-
thing about psychology? Listen, Herr Camp Fuhrer.
Hofel and Whoosis have to be dead as far as the camp
is concerned. Their only society is just us. You and I and
Mandrill. They have to feel as if God himself has forgotten
them."

He tapped Kluttig on the elbow; Kluttig blinked into Rei-
neboth's sly face, and the latter waited until his thought had
penetrated Kluttig's brain before he continued:

"The more godforsaken they seem to themselves, the more
easily we can squeeze the juice out of them. Mandrill gets
permission to play with them as much as he likes, he just
mustn't let them conk out on us."

"We'll thrash every single name out of Hofel separately.
That'll do it, all right," he said in English and added:
"Learn English and keep your eye on the ball, get it, Herr
Camp Fuhrer?" He got up. "Man the guns," he remarked.

"Where are we going?" asked Kluttig.

"To beat the shit out of them," Reineboth replied amia-
bly. "So soon?" Kluttig slowly looked up with wine-bleary
eyes.

Reineboth recited: "Strike while the iron is hot."

Mandrill unlocked the cell. Without a word he grabbed
Hofel and jerked him out into the corridor; Kropinski follow-
ed. Mandrill locked the cell again. This brief moment of
being unobserved sufficed Hofel to exchange a glance with
Kropinski; there was apprehension in it, but determination
too. Mandrill kicked them in the backside and drove them out
of the bunker. As Mandrill pushed the two men forward into
the room, Reineboth walked up to Kropinski and took hold of
his jacket button.

THE EXECUTION BEGINS

"Where's the Jew brat?" he asked, and when Kropinski

gave no answer, Reineboth said forcibly: "Think it over, Pole."

Light wandered in Kropinski's eyes, he sought for a way out. "I no understand German..."

That was h e l p l e s s and clumsy.

"Ah," Reineboth replied, "you no understand German. We will give you lessons in German." Reineboth had deliberately picked on the Pole first. Hefel was to look on. Three of fuhrers grabbed Kropinski and thrust him towards the rack. Kropinski had to put his feet into an open drawer which was banged closed, jamming his feet in.

The block fuhrers pulled Kropinski's trousers down and threw him prone over the rungs of the slanting, trough-shaped rack. With practiced movements two of the block fuhrers pulled Kropinski's arms forward, held his wrists firmly, and forced down his shoulders. The third pressed Kropinski's head against the rungs. Now it was as if his body were screwed down. Meantime Reineboth and Mandrak had made themselves ready. Reineboth carefully pulled on the pigskin gloves and experimentally curved the extra long cane, which was of finger thickness. Then the execution began.

Hefel stood as if stretched, a stifled cry choking in his throat, his heart trembling wildly. He watched with ghastly objectivity. Reineboth stood with his legs apart. Taking aim, he laid the cane against the naked buttocks. Elegantly lifting the cane, the supple upper part of his body bending backwards, he swung back his arm, and then the cane hissed through the air. **C r a c k !** Kropinski's shudder was the rearing up of his body, pinioned by the block fuhrers. After Reineboth, Mandrill swung. This blow, executed with the same force, if not with Reineboth's sportsmanlike elegance, struck the hip region.

Kropinski gave a suffocated groan, his loins fluttered. The block fuhrers leaned down on his twitching shoulders. Again Reineboth established his aim with the cane, using the burning red stripe of the first stroke as orientation. As he swung, his lower jaw jutted forward voluptuously. Bringing down the cane on Kropinski's neck he aimed through his narrowed eye at the red stripe.

Kropinski made a high, gurgling sound. With the indifference of routine Mandrill struck at the kidneys. Cut followed cut. Aimed with athletic precision by Reineboth, the blows cracked down in almost exactly the same place. The red welt widened, swelled and burst open. The pent-up blood spurted out and flowed down the thighs. Kropinski moaned in his wind-

pipe. This seemed to be what Reineboth had been waiting for. His s e n s u e u s smile hardened, his eyes became slits, and the strokes that followed came down accurately on the open flesh. Kropinski slumped. Reineboth and Mandrill interrupted the execution. While the block fuhrers let go of the inert body and one of them tossed a splash of water over the unconscious man from a pail that had been standing ready, Reineboth cast an appraising glance at Hefel. He had stood there the whole time as straight and stiff as a poker. The horror in his face had turned to stone. Now he felt Reineboth's look trained on him. Their eyes met. Reineboth sensed the effect on Hefel and was satisfied. Between his lips was a smile as thin as a thread, he shifted his eyes from Hefel to Kluttig, coming to an understanding with the latter. Mandrill had meanwhile lit a cigarette.

Kropinski moved; he made an effort to rise. The block fuhrers forced him back onto the rungs. Mandrill threw away his cigarette and the execution was continued. Awakened by the splash of water, Kropinski began to scream, and the block fuhrers had all they could do to hold down his rearing body. The strokes hailed down with savage impact until they both thought it was enough. The block fuhrers pulled up the martyred Kropinski from the rack and flung him aside. Kropinski collapsed like a sack.

"G e t u p!" Kluttig yelled.

Mechanically Kropinski tried to carry out the order. With trembling arms and legs he got to his feet and remained shakily upright.

"Pull up your pants, you swine!" yelled Kluttig again.

"Or do you want to show us your posies?"

Kropinski reacted like a robot.

Reineboth poked Hefel in the chest with the bloody tip of the cane and pointed to the rack. There was something inviting about the gesture: Won't you kindly take your place...

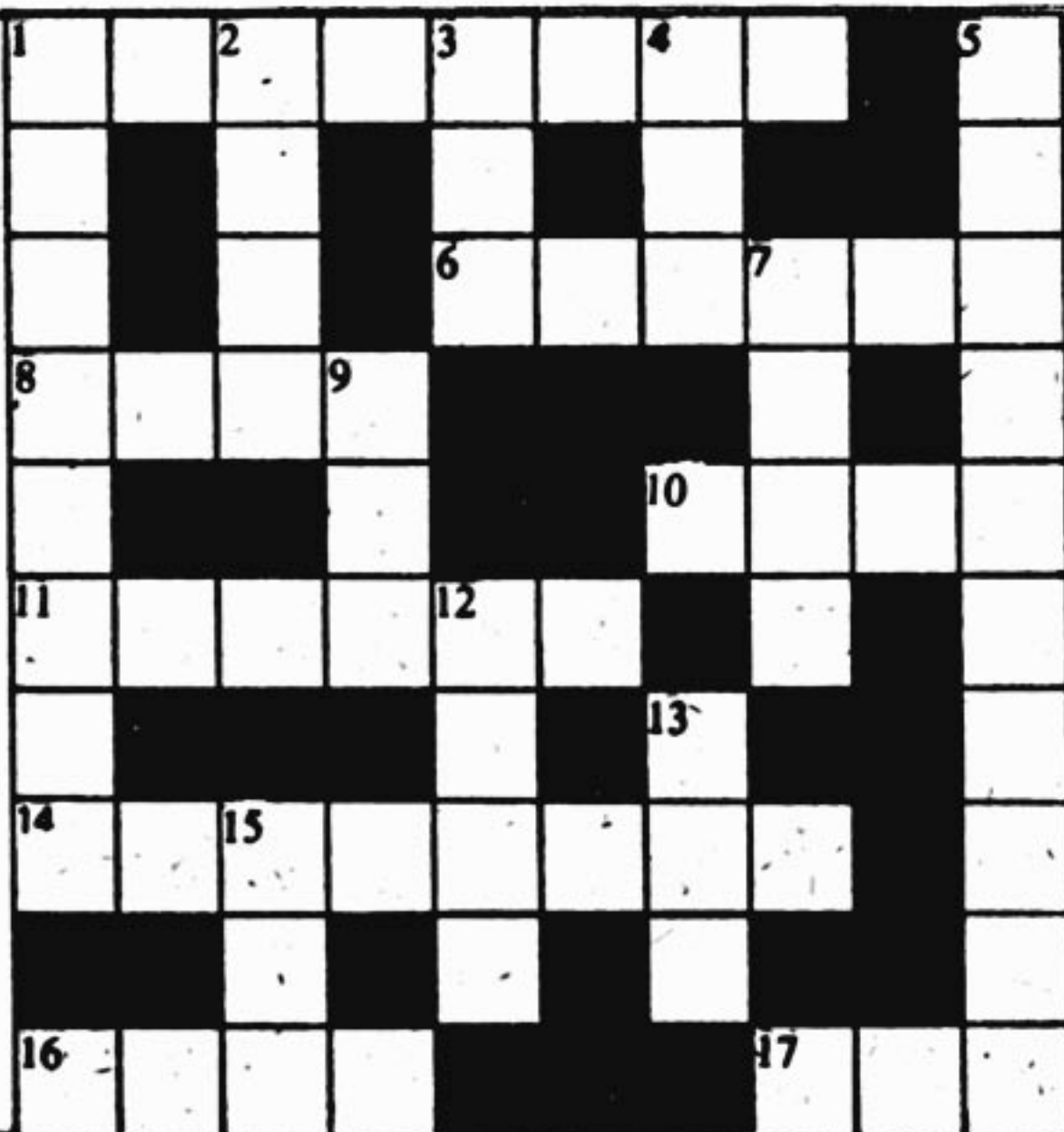
Stiff-legged, Hefel walked the few steps and was stretched over the rack by the block fuhrers.

TO BE CONTINUED IN NEXT ISSUE.

DAWN

Political Word

No. 11



CLUES

Across

1. "Long Live the 20th Anniversary of ... we Sizwe!"
6. Causing or able to cause death.
8. Saved mankind from Nazi enslavement.
10. We swear under it.
11. Soweto is one.
14. "... and Tactics of the ANC".
16. Monthly Journal of Umkhonto we Sizwe.
17. Reactionary US' intelligence agency.

Down

1. Started in Soweto on June 16 1976.
2. T o c a r e s s .
3. Plants sabotaged by MK last year at SASOL I and II and NATREF.
4. MK guerrillas use it for sabotaging.
5. The name of MK's first Commander-in-Chief.
7. Home-made explosives are sensitive to it.
9. A grown up mouse.
12. Late Yugoslavian leader.
13. In t h e past.
15. A quarrel or heated argument.

See Answers in DAWN Vol. 6 No. 1

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