

DAWN

Monthly Journal of
Umkhonto we Sizwe

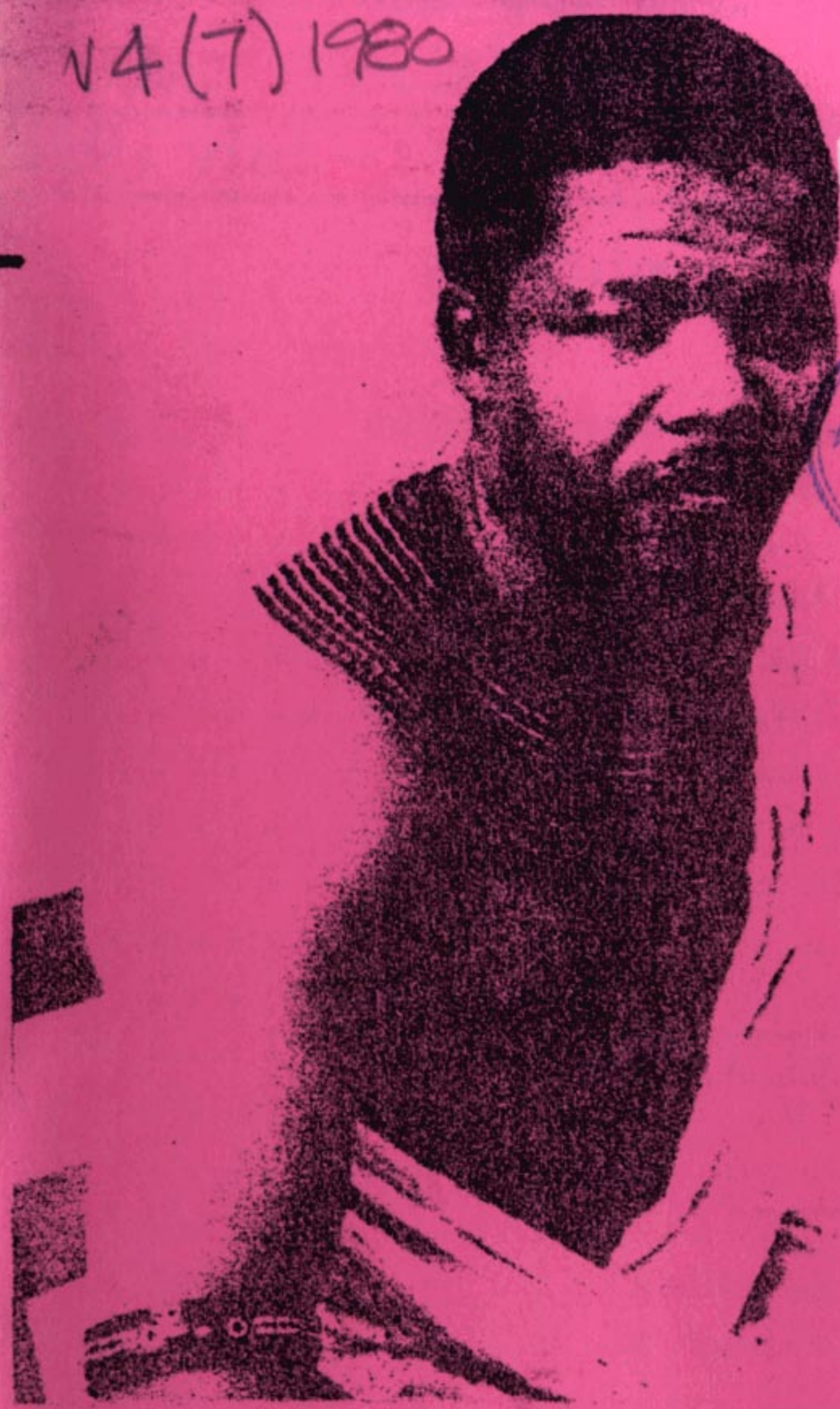


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FORWARD TO PEOPLE'S POWER!

DAWN

monthly journal of umkhonto we sizwe

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**YEAR OF THE
CHARTER**





Editorial Comment

ENOUGH IS ENOUGH

The creators of wealth in our country are poised for a fierce battle. With their blood and sweat they have made South Africa what it is today - one of the richest countries in the capitalist world - and yet their children go to sleep with empty stomachs. They must necessarily reach a point when they must declare in unison: "ENOUGH IS ENOUGH". That time has now come.

In all major industrial centres Cape Town, Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth and Durban as well as in other centres the black workers are irresistibly resorting to strike action demanding higher wages, better working conditions and trade union rights. As one of the more than 800 construction workers in Cape Town who went on strike put it: "So far we have been very patient, but we can't live on our wages any more".

While Fiet "Wapen" Botha talks of 'reforms' the conditions of the black worker, who is exploited not only as a worker but because of his colour according to the apartheid laws, are alarmingly deteriorating. The workers have learnt through bitter experience not to expect any favours from the Pretoria racists and the bosses who are united by a single purpose - to get exceedingly high profits by intensifying the exploitation of the black worker and, when the back-breaking toil has sucked almost every bit of life from his body and brain drive him to the bantustan dumping sites there to die. The white worker, poisoned by privileges and racist ideology falls

to pledge solidarity with his black class brother and it is precisely this state of affairs that the Botha-Malan clique want to maintain with their deceptive schemes like the Riekert and Wiehahn Commissions.

In spite of all the 'sweet talk' by the Pretoria boers their hypocrisy is glaringly exposed by their promptness in employing their repressive machinery to suppress the workers whenever they are involved in a conflict with their bosses. Recently 42 workers who were involved in a massive strike that covered 17 meat enterprises in Cape Town were arrested in a pre-dawn raid, in Boksburg 55 workers were arrested following a strike involving close to a thousand workers at Rely Precision Castings, in New Germany, Durban police used teargas to disperse the more than 6,000 striking workers, helicopters were used to teargas 4,500 striking black miners, while police squads from Klerksdorp, Stilfontein and Orkney were mobilised to reinforce the mine security units. Presently as we go to press many workers are being harassed by racist police as more than 10,000 municipal workers in Johannesburg are continuing with their strike. The list is long and many are the workers who have been brutally murdered by the police.

Instead of intimidating the workers, the violence unleashed by the racist state machinery has demonstrated to the workers the extent to which the apartheid regime fears the militancy of the workers, the need for the workers to strengthen their unity by pledging solidarity with workers in other enterprises. Decisions like the one taken by the Stevedores workers in Cape Town, who threatened to refuse to load any Table Bay Cold Storage meat products of the management replaced striking workers, must be followed up with action to put more pressure on the bosses. As the workers' committee openly stated: "We will not be happy to load the meat if it is sent to us by scab workers employed in place of striking workers", and SACTU said and continues to say: "AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL".

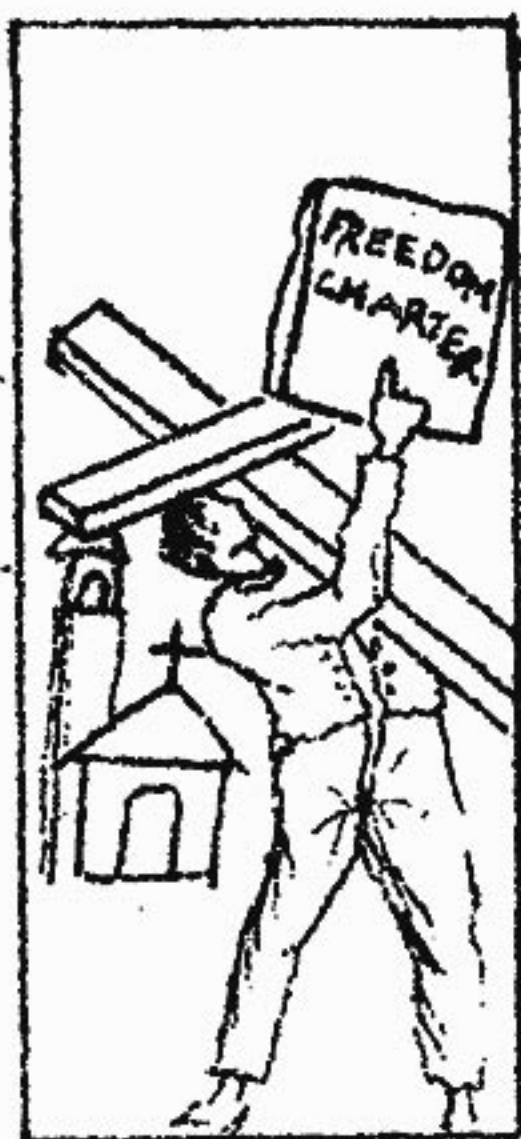
The present situation inside the country serves as a reminder to the workers of the resolution taken by SACTU 25 years ago when it was established, stating: "... a mere struggle for economic rights of the workers without participation in the general struggle for political emancipation would condemn the trade union movement to uselessness and to a betrayal of the interests of the workers". This declaration has assumed added significance especially in this year which SACTU

To be continued on page 9

THE BLACK CHURCH

AND

LIBERATION



-Peter Lerumo

Religious ideas had an important impact and ideological content in the anti-colonial struggle in Africa at the close of the 19th century. The African independent churches' movement has been a religious protest with a political charge. This manifested itself in Kenya with the Kikuyu religious movement, in the Congo with the African Prophets' Movement and in South Africa in Ethiopianism. Nationalism found expression in the breaking away from the white dominated churches rigged with racism and discrimination and the establishment of independent African churches representative of their interests.

This affected most mission churches and resulted in the formation of indigenous churches and the incorporation of the Ethiopian church into the all-black African Methodist Episcopal (AME) church in America founded on common grounds. Occurring at a time when South Africa was undergoing rapid industrialisation (1870-1925) giving rise to a urban black proletariat, the idea of a common church excluding racists had a wide appeal. A clear connection between church affiliation and the position of the black man existed. While the leaders of the earlier splits were ordained ministers, the independent churches of the Zionist type attracted the less educated and poorest. The Shembe church in Zululand was formed by Isaiah Shembe, son of a farm labourer.

The Role of Church Leaders

Many church leaders have played an important role in our people's struggle for national liberation. John Dube, a leader in the Congregational church became the first president of the African National Congress in 1912. Charlotte Maxeke a leader in the AME church founded the ANC Women's League. Z.R. Mahabane a Methodist minister was the ANC President in the 40s. He pressed for larger participation of Africans in the Methodist church and in 1960-61 served on the continuation committees of the All-in-conference of African leaders and later the Pietermaritzburg Conference. Rev. N. Tantsi, a minister of the AME church was a leader of the ANC in the Transvaal. Banned in 1953 for his political activities, he later served on the committee of the All-in-conference of African leaders in 1960. The popular song "Mayibuye" is his composition. Rev. J. Calata, Secretary-General of the African National Congress between 1939 and 1949 and Rev. S. Tema, of the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) also played significant roles. All these distinguished church leaders played a role in the formation and activities of the quasi-political Interdenominational African Ministers' Federation (IDAMF) as well as the Bloemfontein Conference to discuss the Tomlinson report. Chief Albert Luthuli, the last President of the ANC inside the country before its proscription was a practising Christian and a leading churchman. However as the secular movement developed these churches separated more and more from them.

Government's Response

The period under discussion saw increased repression coupled with tighter control over churches. All churches had to register so that their policies could be strimlined to conform to government policy. Their doctrines were under continuous scrutiny to ensure that it did not enhance political ideas. Strict control was exercised over the building of churches and educational institutions like the Wilberforce Institute in the Transvaal, founded by the AME church were taken over by the government.

The Native Land Act which led to the uprooting of black Christians adversely affected the church. The Bantu Authorities Act made provision for the ethnic division of townships which made it difficult for a minister to serve a congregation whose membership happens to be of a different ethnic group.

Although the church fought on its nationalist fervour waned leading to most independent churches becoming apolitical, others succumbing to government pressure to the point of open collaboration although some church leaders continued to make individual contributions.

Deviation from Ideals

The AME formed in the 1870s by former slave, Richard Allen on the noble principle of equality and the brotherhood of man was brought to South Africa through Charlotte Maxeke and Reverends M. Mokone and J. Tantsi. The activities of some church leaders have shown a deviation from the ideals of the church.

In 1962 Bishop Francis H. Gow, the first indigenous bishop of the church accepted the chairmanship of the dummy Coloured Affairs Council, forerunner to the Coloured Representative Council (CRC). When District Six fell prey to the Group Areas Act in 1966, the church willingly sold its property to the government while the people resisted this injustice.

In 1968 when Gerdenier, Minister of Interior, called on churches to sever links with overseas churches, a similar move was uncovered inside the church spearheaded by one, Benjamin Rajuili, known collaborator who had served in the Transkei 'government' and was candidate for the '71 UBC elections. Their call for the appointment for indigenous bishops was aimed at dividing the church on the lines of the Bantustans with a Xhosa AME church, Sotho AME church Coloured AME church, etc.

In 1970 at the church's 75th anniversary in Cape Town, one Gama, an administrator of apartheid was given prominence as an invited guest in his capacity as Commissioner of Coloured Affairs together with D.J. Vorster, moderator of the NGK and a known advocate of racial segregation, besides being the brother of the then fascist Prime Minister, B.J. Vorster. This was a clear violation of the principle on which the church is based.

In 1979 members of the church came out in open confrontation against Bishop Ming for his refusal to come out directly against government policy in condemning apartheid. Half the detainees in Namibia are AME members but he has kept quiet while other churches have protested when their members are detained.

The Zion Christian Church (ZCC) serves as an example of how the independent churches are being used to perpetrate government policy. At its recent conference, Bishop Barnabas Lekganyane, addressing more than two million followers said that it

was not for the individual to judge whether the law was just or unjust. He said the church fully supported homeland governments, chiefs and local authorities. This conference was attended by racist Minister of Co-operation and Development, Piet Koornhof (Post 9th April, 1980). There are other churches whose doctrine does not allow its members to advocate political ideas but the reality of their daily existence forces them to involve themselves in the fight against social injustice.

Black Consciousness

The Black Consciousness Movement has had some influence on the black church. In the late 60s we saw the emergence within the church of Black Theology interpreting religion in the light of the experience of the black man with the aim of uniting him in a common struggle against racial injustice. The University Christian Movement (UCM) 1967 stimulated this development. Dr A. Soesak of the NG mission church is a typical example. Taking exception to being called a 'Coloured', he has been preaching that there is no theological basis for racial discrimination or racist separation. The Interdenominational African Ministers' Association of South Africa also closely linked itself with black consciousness and called on the government to scrap separate development.

A Black Priests' Association was recently formed with the aim of uniting all churches in South Africa. Their conference was attended by the Azanian Students' Organisation (AZASO), Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO) and the Congress of South African Students (COSAS). At a recent conference, the idea to form a militant black confessing church as an alternative to the existing denominational churches were discussed and churches were warned to purge the church of racism before the blacks go it alone. The Independent African Churches' Association (IACA) became closely aligned to black consciousness and co-operated with the now banned Christian Institute. However, black consciousness also has its limitations in that it appeals to the radical youth movement and seminaries and does not enjoy support amongst the broad masses and lacks a clear ideological line.

New Upsurge

In nature of the South African society, the majority in all church denominations except those which are exclusively

white, are of the oppressed and the present tempo of development of events and mass actions influences the church to take a more committed stand towards liberation.

The Lutheran Bishop, Manas Buthelezi, recently called on churches to stop emulating the government policy of separate development. He attacked the church for building churches in black areas and installing black priests just like the government dictates e.g. installing Sotho priests in so-called Sotho areas. Bishop Buthelezi called on the living standards of blacks not to be compared to blacks in other parts of Africa but to white South Africans. The recent 'moves' for change, he said, amount to adjustments within the framework of government policy and the constellation of states in a move to gain international recognition for the Bantustans and to neutralise the liberation movement by creating buffer zones. The Bishop also came out in support of students' action in 1976 and served on the Black Parents' Association (BPA) during the uprisings.

Various black church leaders have also come out in support of actions of our masses like industrial strikes and boycotts as the Fattis and Monis case indicates as well as the arrest of Rev. John Thorne, a congregational minister and former South African Council of Churches' Secretary-General, for his support for the present school boycott. In certain areas where a church is traditionally strong the anti-government stand of its leadership has an influence on general attitudes towards the government. This can be clearly seen by the massive support which the Labour Party enjoys in the Eastern Cape, where Rev. A Hendricks, a Labour Party leader, is a leading clergyman.

The Moravian church which has a strong following among the Coloured community with complete control over rural Capetown (former mission stations) like Genedendal, Elin, Mamre, etc., has come out strongly against government policy as opposed to its previous collaborationist role which stemmed from its missionary character. During 1974, the Moravian church in Johannesburg came out against forced registration of Coloured voters for the pending CRC elections of 1975. Rev. C. Wessels is a prominent Moravian minister who was detained for his involvement in the 1976 Uprisings in Port Elizabeth and is also involved in the Eastern Cape Council of Churches. In the Catholic church, the hierarchy excludes blacks almost completely and this led to a fight within the church against this inequality. Outside the church the fight is limited to calls for its schools and seminaries to be desegregated.

The Methodist church recently called for the scrapping of certain discriminatory laws and is in the forefront in the fight for justified conscientious objection. A dramatic confrontation is taking place between the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk (NGK) and its three daughter churches - the NGK in Africa and the Indian NG Kerk. These churches threaten to sever their ties with the white NGK for its continued support for government policy.

In one of its publications, the Presbyterian church speaks of the NGK as the Nationalist Party at prayer. It likened the 'Christians' in the NGK to the 'Christians' in Germany who supported Nazism. The section of the church openly identifying itself with liberation and questioning the legibility of government functionaries holding office within the church can be seen among other things in the church's disapproval of the security police members holding office in the church and of communicants who show racial prejudice.

The Church's Stand

The stand taken by the SACC against racist policy is a commendable one. Recently in a response to the false allegations made by Botha that the SACC is promoting unrest inside the country Bishop Tutu said: "What we are doing is to fight for a just, open and non-racial society where everyone counts". This realisation by the SACC of the Freedom Charter as the legitimate demands of the oppressed most of whom are church members is proof that the Charter can be reconciled with the Christian principle of the "brotherhood of man".

The government, reeling under the attack from the church is not a passive onlooker. Recently it was revealed that the creation of the Christian League of South Africa (CLSA) as a counter to the 'politically motivated' SACC was financed with government funds. Ds. Buti recently attacked the strategy of the white NGK of using its tremendous financial power to influence and dominate outspoken black ministers who reject apartheid. These ministers and their congregations are being threatened that the NGK will withdraw its financial support unless they toe the line. It is against this background that the recent attack on the SACC by the Independent Churches of South Africa (ICSA) should be seen. The negative trend within the church which shows itself from time to time is inevitable because of the ups and downs of social development. Vaccinations in response to enemy manoeuvres lead to certain sections laying emphasis on petty concessions at the

expenditure of the struggle. The injection of new ideas, which channel the church into the struggle and neutralise the petty-bourgeois tendencies which manifest themselves in the acceptance of hand-outs to satisfy personal interests, is needed.

Continued from page 2

declared THE YEAR OF THE WORKER to mark the 25th anniversary of its foundation on March 5, 1955, and even more so when all progressive mankind is joining the working class of our country in taking stock of the road traversed by their vanguard party - the South African Communist Party, a working class organisation which since its creation on July 29, 1921, through its committed participation in our struggle for national liberation has proved itself to be an indispensable component of our liberation movement.

At this hour of our liberation struggle, in this great Year of the Freedom Charter, when the fascist rulers are frantically doing everything they can think of to preserve the abhorrent apartheid system, the workers must increasingly throw in their lot with the rest of the oppressed people. The question of how long the apartheid system will survive depends ultimately on the workers whose labour is the source of the huge profits which enable the Pretoria racists to maintain their repressive machinery, to pay their personnel, to buy additional arms etc. But the workers alone cannot fulfil this gigantic mission. They must join hands with the rest of the oppressed masses - peasants, students, progressive intellectuals, believers and non-believers - and the increasing number of democratic whites. The daring actions of our people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, must always be backed with mass political action involving all the cross-sections of our population such as the current strikes, demand for an unconditional release of Comrade Nelson Mandela, the militant opposition to all apartheid practices like Bantu Education. The racists must not be given any chance to rest.

This is above all a challenge to us combatants of MK to improve our discipline and strengthen our conviction so that together with our entire people led by the African National Congress we can advance to final victory saying:

FORWARD TO A PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT!

HEROIC MOTHER

You blazed the path
to our mothers
Path of struggle
Path of defiance to
injustice.

You led our womenfolk
out of centuries
in the background
shaded by their manfolk
to march to battle
alongside men
indifferent to danger
or death

Heroic mother
You ensured that
we be brought up
intolerant to enslavement
That our homes
be schools in national
and cultural assertiveness

We, your sons
In these wild places
Reaffirm our resolve
to wipe off the fascist brutes
and to honour
your memory.

-Nicholas Radebe

The Role of the South African Communist Party in the National Liberation Struggle

-Mkhonto Bomvu

We are all of us gathered here in the bush, suffering the privations and dangers of war, with one common overriding aim - an aim that unites all of us - workers, peasants, students, intellectuals - into a closely-knit, tightly-organised unit. That aim is the absolute destruction of the system of oppression and exploitation that makes daily life in our country a waking nightmare for the vast majority of our people, and a paradise on earth for a tiny minority.

In order to achieve this difficult but noble aim of ours, it is not enough that we are learning the art of war - the arts of weaponry, explosives, topography and tactics - the art of evading, surprising and vanquishing the enemy. If victory is to be more than something we dream about during the dark hours of guard duty, then we have to be armed with a thorough and painstaking analysis and understanding of the society we are trying to change and the history which led to our presence today in this friendly country, thousands of kilometres away from home.

Such an analysis of our society will throw up the unavoidable conclusion that the oppression and exploitation in our country is two-fold.

On the one hand there is the national oppression and exploitation of the majority of our people. It is this factor which has put a butcher's knife through our society, slicing it cruelly into two racial camps.

On the other hand our society is divided by a vicious system of class oppression and exploitation.

When, despite more than two centuries of determined & unflinching resistance to the hungry imperialist monster, our people were temporarily subdued, the victory of the imperialists did not simply give them total control of the land and its resources. The social system which the imperialists

brought with them does not survive on land and gold alone. It survives primarily on labour. The cheaper the labour, the better for the system.

It was of primary importance for the system of the imperialists - a system we call 'capitalism' - that they turn the dispossessed African people into a class of workers, to man the rapidly multiplying mines, factories and farms. Thus they created the South African working class.

An understanding of the two aspects of exploitation and oppression in our country - national and class - helps us to understand the history of our struggle and the present alignment of forces that is massing against the Botha regime.

The African National Congress was formed with the primary purpose of uniting the oppressed masses of our country for the elimination of national oppression - for the restoration of the land and its resources to the people as a whole.

Today we are celebrating the 59th birthday of the South African Communist Party - the organisation that was formed on the 29th July, 1921 to lead the working class of our country in an onslaught against class exploitation and oppression, towards the creation of a socialist society, free of oppression, free of exploitation, free of racism and discrimination.

MANIFESTO

In the manifesto announcing its birth the Communist Party of South Africa called on "all South African workers, white and black, to join in promoting the overthrow of the capitalist system and outlawry of the capitalist class, and the establishment of a Commonwealth of Workers throughout the World".

Only those who have been blinded by the propoganda of the racists and the imperialists, or who have been blinded by their own desire to wear the flashy suits of the capitalists, drive around in silver Jaguars, and dine at the Carlton Hotel, will deny the fact that the communists of South Africa have played a vital and uncompromising role in the struggle to free our country.

We can proudly name amongst the great names of our struggle, dedicated communists, some who have fallen and some still fighting - Albert Nzula, Edwin Mofutsanyana, Johannes Nkosi, Jimmy La Guma, Moses Kotane, J.B. Marks, Bram Fischer, Yusuf Dadoo, Govan Mbeki, Joe Slovo and many, many others whose names are indelibly printed on the bright pages of our history.

Not only have individual communists given body and soul to

our struggle, but communism as an ideological and organisational force has given to our struggle profound analysis and revolutionary action.

To fully understand the role of the South African Communist Party in the liberation struggle we must understand the crucial role of the working class in that struggle.

As we have said, when the imperialists robbed the people of their land and forced them into the mines, farms and factories, they were creating a class of workers - a class indispensable to the workings of the capitalist system. But at the same time they were planting the seeds of a tree that would grow to massive proportions and ultimately strangle them.

If the South African working class is the key to the operation of the system of exploitation in South Africa, it is also the fundamental force that will ultimately shatter that system.

The South African working class has its fingers around the throat of the exploiters. It is the role of the Communist Party, as it is the historical role of communist parties in all countries, to teach the workers that by unflinchingly tightening their fingers around the throat that they hold they can bring an end to exploitation in their country.

CLASS AND NATION

We have said at the outset that the struggle in South Africa has both a class and national character. We must not fall into the trap of seeing these two aspects as two distinct and separate struggles. It is precisely the complex interrelationship between these two aspects of our society that has led to the mighty alliance between the South African Communist Party and the African National Congress in the struggle for the national liberation and social emancipation of our country.

The Communist Party, since its early days, has recognised that class exploitation in South Africa cannot be ended until the system of racist and national oppression has been totally pulverised. It recognised that this primary aim could not be achieved without a broad alliance of all class forces opposed to the system of racial and national oppression.

In 1928 the Communist Party fully committed itself to the liberation of the black people of South Africa when it adopted a special resolution which included the following words:

"South Africa is a black country, the majority of its population is black and so is the majority of the workers and peasants. The bulk of

the South African population is the black peasantry, whose land has been expropriated by the white minority. Seven-eighths of the land is owned by the whites. Hence the national question in South Africa, which is based upon the agrarian question, lies at the foundation of the revolution in South Africa".

Some years later, Moses Kotane, one of the greatest leaders of both the South African Communist Party and the African National Congress, said:

"There can be no working class victory without black liberation and no black liberation without the destruction of capitalism in all its forms".

FREEDOM CHARTER

Today the South African Communist Party fully supports the revolutionary programme of the South African liberation movement - the Freedom Charter. The Party's own 'Immediate Proposals' echo many of the demands of the Freedom Charter.

The Party's proposals call for the establishment of a unitary South African state in which election to representative bodies shall be by "universal, equal, direct, adult franchise, without regard to race, colour, sex or property, educational or other qualifications whatsoever".

It calls for the guarantee of the "fullest liberty of speech and thought, of the press and of organisation, of conscience and religion, to all citizens" and for the guarantee of the "people's freedom of movement".

The Party further proposes that vital sections of the country's economy must be placed in "the hands of the national democratic state" and that "historic injustice must be corrected by the nationalisation of the mining industry, banking and monopoly industrial establishments".

It also says that, in order to "rectify the injustice committed by the colonialists in seizing most of the land of South Africa, the revolutionary state must take immediate and drastic measures to restore the land to the people".

These are just a few of the revolutionary demands of the South African Communist Party - demands which are in complete harmony with the aims of our national liberation struggle. But, of prime importance, they are demands which cannot be won, implemented or defended without the leading and well-organised participation of the South African working class in our

struggle. It is the crucial role of the South African Communist Party, whose birthday we are gladly celebrating today, to ensure the leadership and organisation of our working class, so that not only can victory be assured, but so that it can also be consolidated and extended to new horizons.

We carry on our shoulders a stormy but brilliant history. This history, with all its currents and tides, streams and tidal waves, has gathered together in a torrential power capable of sweeping off the face of the earth one of the most evil and degrading social systems ever devised by the human species.

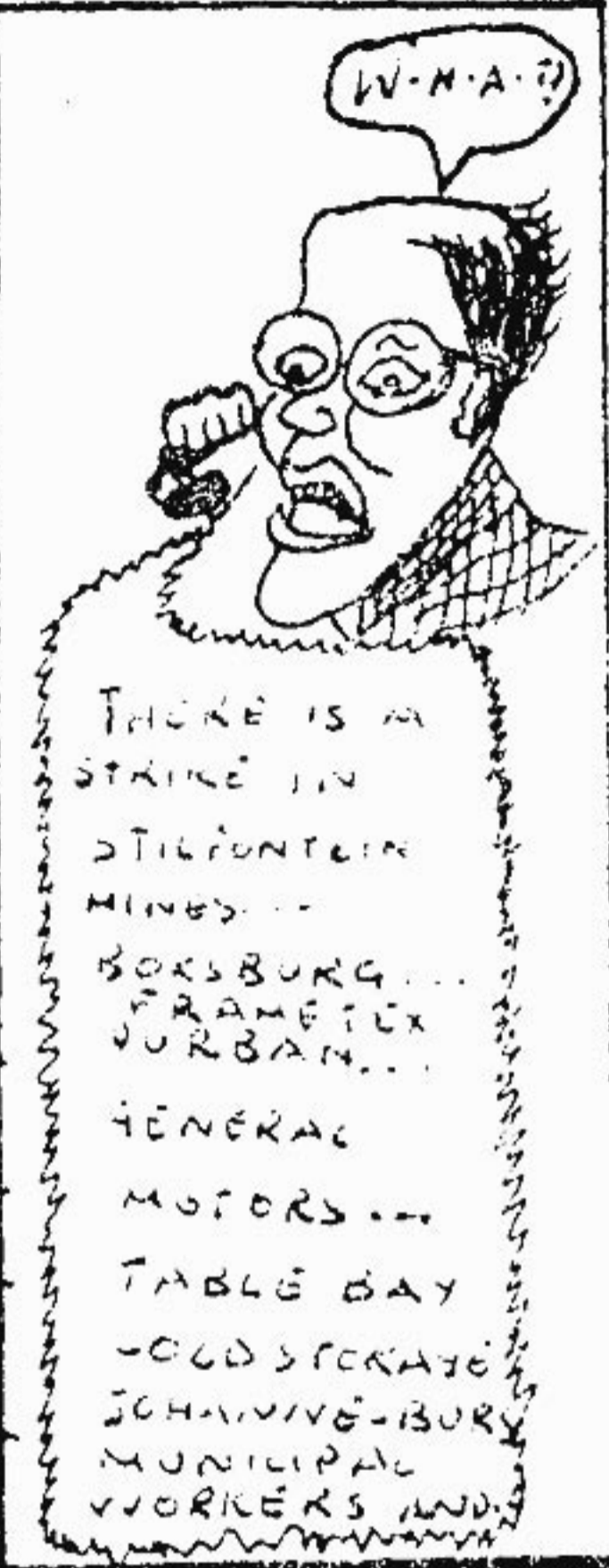
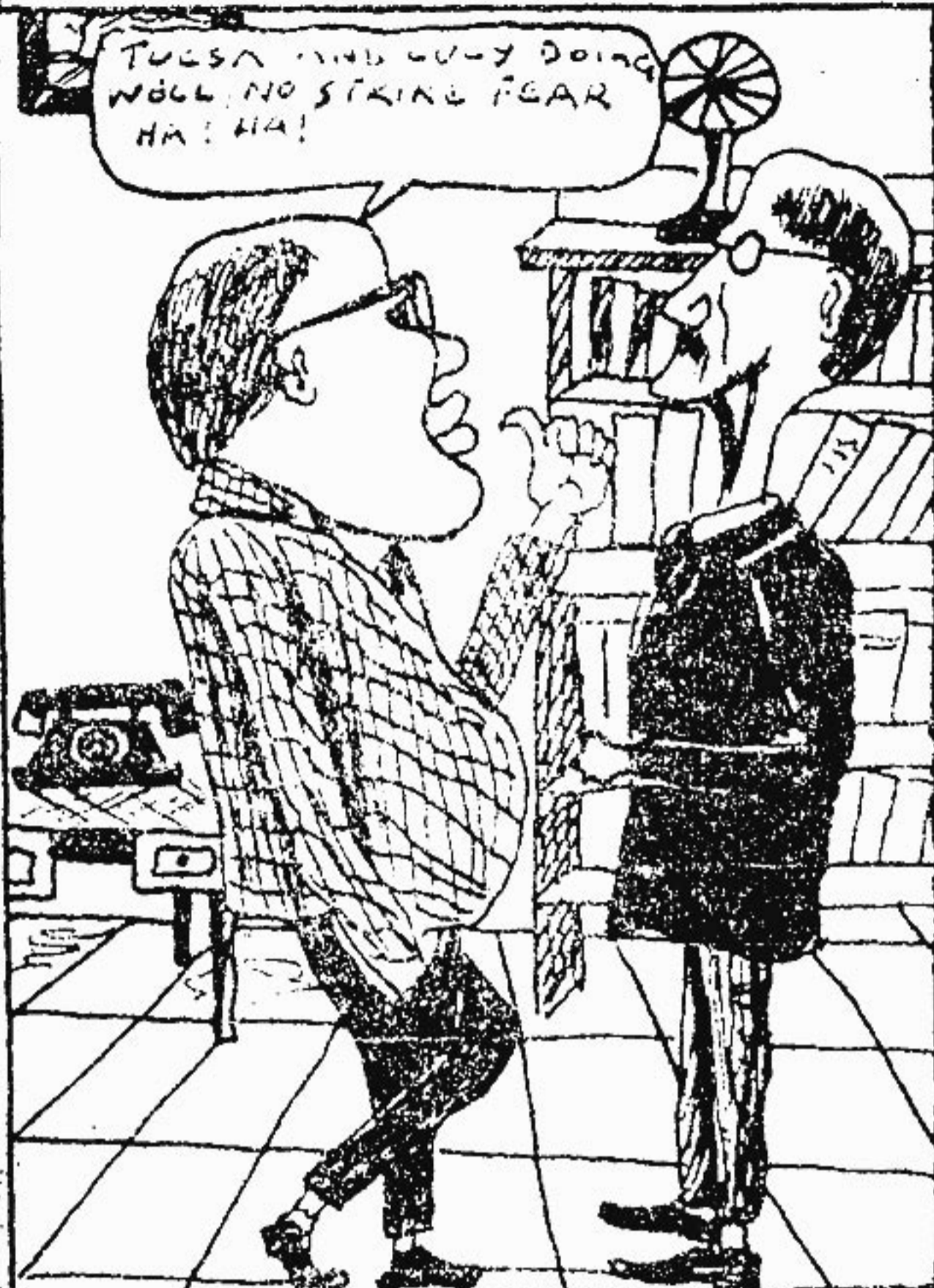
Throughout our history the exponents and defenders of this system have tried to destroy the power we possess by encouraging us to use it against one another. They have tried and failed countless times to divide us. But they have not learned their lesson. They are still trying to divide us and they will continue trying to do so until the day when we finally divide them into a billion tiny fragments.

So let us all - workers, peasants, students, intellectuals - communists and non-communists - all patriots of our country join together in celebrating our unity, in celebrating the birth of one of the vital components of our unity, in celebrating the great revolutionary alliance of which we are a part.

DAWN politiXword No.5 - Answers

Across: 1. Philosophy 6. Olga 7. Old 9. End
11. Omit 12. Solo 13. APO 14. May

Down: 1. Progress 2. Load 3. SASOL 4. Poll
5. Yardstick 7. Odd 8. Dollar 10. Delay
13. Of



WAR RESISTANCE

Broadcast from Radio Freedom

Radio Freedom has recently received a copy of the latest issue of "Resister", the bulletin of the London-based Committee on South African War Resistance. This committee was formed in December 1978 and is made up of South African war resisters who have been active in many spheres of anti-apartheid work. The committee provides assistance to military-refugees from South Africa; it involves South African war resisters in discussion groups, seminars etc., it campaigns on behalf of war resisters inside the country; it produces various publications, and so on.

The latest issue of the committee's bulletin "Resister" - contains some interesting items.

In its editorial "Resister" comments on two dramatic recent developments in South Africa - the Free Mandela Campaign and the schools boycott. It says:

"From a war resistance point of view... it is noteworthy that significant support for both the Mandela campaign and the education protests has also been forthcoming from some sections of the white community, particularly students from the English-speaking universities...

"Thus some of the very people the regime intends to conscript to fight against the African National Congress' military wing, and to help enforce such aspects of the hated apartheid system as inferior education for all those not classified as white, have been showing direct support for the 'enemy'. Not a comforting thought for the Malan-Botha military machine".

In an article entitled 'Paratus Panics' "Resister" comments on the attempt by the racist regime, through 'Paratus', the official organ of the South African Defence Force (SADF), to counter the growing resistance to military service. To quote "Resister":

"...the insecurity of the apartheid military brass, and the growing concern they have for the rising tide of opposition to service in the SADF, rea-

ched its most hysterical pitch yet in the April, 1980 issue of 'Paratus'. No less than ten pages (one quarter of the publication) were devoted to propaganda aimed at persuading conscripts of the 'justness' of the racist 'cause'...

"But this propaganda is useless - every year growing numbers of young white South Africans see that they are being called upon to fight a civil war, and to take up arms against fellow South Africans whose cause is just. As conscientious objector Peter Moll argued last year, to fight for apartheid is to fight for the maintenance of a system of fundamental injustice. Conscripts are fooled - the morale of the SADF is at an all-time low, resistance is growing, there is mutiny in the ranks, and in the society as a whole the level of popular resistance to apartheid is higher than it has ever been".

In an article on military detention barracks, "Resister" the following to say:

Resister has received further information about conditions in the main South African Defence Force detention barracks (DB) at Voortrekkerhoogte in Pretoria.

"There are now over 200 detainees in DB there, 70% of them for offences involving what the military calls 'AWOL' (away without leave). This includes many war resisters and conscientious objectors - Peter Moll and Richard Steele among them. About 70 Jehovah's Witness conscientious objectors are kept in a separate barracks. There are also a number of black Namibian soldiers sentenced for AWOL.

"DB is effectively controlled by a hard-core of about 15 'Ou Manne' - long-serving prisoners usually in for serious criminal offences - who brutalise the other inmates with the connivance of the corporals and officers in charge. Beatings of prisoners are a daily occurrence, and there have been numerous deaths, which often go unreported in the press...

"Despite the strict secrecy which surrounds the SADF's detention barracks, enough informa-

tion is leaking out to suggest that war resisters and others imprisoned there are in serious danger".

In the April 1980 issue of 'Paratus' mentioned earlier, the Chaplain General of the South African Defence Force has written an article in which he attacks conscientious objectors. "Resister" publishes a reply to the Chaplain General by Bishop Colin Winter - the Bishop-in-exile of Namibia.

In his 'Paratus' article, the Chaplain General asks:

"Can murder and assassination, havoc and destruction, rape and the overthrowing of established order through violence be founded on the Word of God, even when the term 'freedom fighter' is used?"

In 'Resister', Bishop Winter replies:

"None of these can be defended on the word of God. Newspaper articles and eyewitnesses in Namibia show that the South African soldiers have engaged in all these against a defenceless black population".

The Chaplain General asks:

"Is the word of God ambiguous, in other words, does it lead to conscientious objection for one person while for another it is a call to responsibility - a God-given assignment to defend his country, his nation, his church, women and children and Christian civilisation?"

Bishop Winter replies:

"One could hardly call the South African state today a Christian civilisation with its mass arrests, state violence, use of torture. The word of God is unambiguous when it declares 'righteousness (Justice) exalts a nation'. The overwhelming majority of blacks in South Africa would deny that justice exists for them in South Africa today".

The Chaplain General goes on to ask:

"Are the churches not opening the door for young men who wish to evade their responsibilities to

do so under the cloak of conscientious objection?"

And Bishop Winter replies:

"The real question here is who is evading their responsibility. The Chaplain General would be on stronger grounds if he were to enter into public debate with such people as Peter Moll. What is he asking young people to die for in South Africa? Does he really believe that it is right to die to defend racism?"

Finally, Bishop Winter further replies to the racist army chaplain by saying:

"The question that the Chaplain General ought to be answering is why South Africa insists on sending thousands of young men to face death in Namibia when international law has declared their occupation of Namibia to be illegal, when the UN has condemned their right to stay there and when the leading churches in Namibia have asked for the UN to determine the country's future by a free and fair election. The Chaplain General's repeated statement that all who oppose South Africa are Marxists is nonsense. In Zimbabwe, the government, which the Chaplain General condemns, is using the Christian churches to help rebuild the country after the war.

"In his last paragraph the Chaplain General speaks about the conflict in 'Rhodesia'. I have just returned from that country and have seen for myself that the Christian church is working closely with the new government to help resettle the refugees. There is absolutely no conflict.

"So it is nonsense to claim that Mugabe's government is anti-church.

"In Namibia South African soldiers have burnt down churches, closed clinics and hospitals and are used to hold down a suffering people. It is this that the world condemns and which conscientious objectors in South Africa are refusing to support. The conscientious objectors are the true patriots because they call into question the things that the South African state is asking young men to die

Continued on page 24



WE SALUTE

COMRADE

NELSON

MANDELA

On July 18 the entire membership of our liberation movement and our friends marked the 62nd birthday of Comrade Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela, an outstanding leader of our embattled people and first Commander-in-Chief of our revolutionary army, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Comrade Mandela together with other leaders of our people, Comrades Govar Mbeki, Walter Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada, Elias Motsoaledi, Raymond Mhlaba, Andrew Mlangeni and Wilton Mwayi who are also in Robben Island as well as Comrade Dennis Goldberg who is in Pretoria Central Prison and many other patriots of our country who are imprisoned continue to hold the banner of our revolution high. Their heroism reminds us of those daring revolutionaries who carried out revolutionary work right inside the Nazi concentration camps, linking their activities with other revolutionaries outside prison, and whose relentless efforts were crowned with victory.

We in Umkhonto we Sizwe take the fine examples of determination, endurance and self-sacrifice set by Comrade Nelson Mandela as a challenge to ensure the liberation of our people whom he so much loves.

THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES! VICTORY IS CERTAIN!

REVOLUTIONARIES OF UNBREAKABLE SPIRIT



NELSON MANDELA:
An appeal to the people of South Africa smuggled out of Robben Island.

Unite! Mobilise! Fight On!

Introduction by Oliver Tambo, President, African National Congress of South Africa.

"This message by Nelson Mandela addressed to the struggling masses of our country was written to deal with the present crisis gripping our enemy and in the aftermath of the Soweto Uprisings. It was smuggled out of Robben Island under very difficult conditions, and has taken over two years to reach us. Nonetheless we believe the message remains fresh and valid and should be presented to our people. His call to unity and mass action is of particular importance in this Year of the Charter - the Charter - the 25th Anniversary of the Freedom Charter. The ANC urges you to respond to this call and make 1980 a year of united mass struggle".

MANDELA'S CALL

"... From our ruler we can expect nothing. They are the ones who give orders to the soldier crouching over his rifle; theirs is the spirit that moves the finger that caresses the trigger... Apartheid has failed. Our people remain unequivocal in its rejection. The young and the old, parent and child, all reject it... The soil of our country is destined to be the scene of the fiercest fight and the sharpest battles to rid our continent of the last vestiges of white minority rule... Even as we bow at their graves we remember this: The dead live on as martyrs in our hearts and minds, a reproach to our disunity and the host of shortcomings that accompany divisions among the oppressed, a spur to our efforts to close ranks, and a reminder that the freedom of our people is yet to be won... We face the future with confidence. For the guns that serve apartheid cannot render it unconquerable. Those who live by the gun shall perish by the gun!"

UNITE! MOBILISE! FIGHT ON!

Walter Steyn



Ahmed Kechrane



Dennis Goldhoff



for. They are telling us loud and clear that all life is sacred. History will prove that they are right and South Africa is wrong".

...These extracts do not only reveal facts which are of concern to all our people, but they also raise issues which are of special concern to the young white South Africans who are compelled to take up arms against their own compatriots.

Firstly, the existence of a publication like "Resister" and an organisation such as the Committee on South African War Resistance indicates that the growing movement of resistance to the apartheid regime from inside its armed forces is not just a product of our wishful thinking. It is a fact, and one which it is going to become increasingly difficult for those holding the reins of power to ignore.

Secondly, these extracts from "Resister" show that there are a group of war resisters who are concerned not only with running away from the apartheid army, but are deeply concerned with making a positive contribution to doing away completely with apartheid and all it entails.

These people are setting a fine example to other war resisters and potential war resisters. It is up to those trapped unwillingly in the cage of the racist army to follow this example - to take their stand on the side of the people; to choose their action, and to follow that choice with determination. The South African struggle is a broad and complex one. It needs concerted and patient effort in all spheres - inside and outside the country, political and military. It is out of this concerted effort that we can say:

A VICTORIA E CERTA!

VICTORY IS CERTAIN!

"IT WAS TO KEEP FAITH WITH ALL THOSE DISPOSSESSED BY APARTHEID THAT I BROKE MY UNDERTAKING TO THE COURT, SEPARATED MYSELF FROM MY FAMILY, PRETENDED I WAS SOMEONE ELSE, AND ACCEPTED THE LIFE OF A FUGITIVE. I OWED IT TO THE POLITICAL PRISONERS, TO THE BANISHED, TO THE SILENCED AND THOSE UNDER HOUSE ARREST, NOT TO REMAIN A SPECTATOR, BUT TO ACT. I KNEW WHAT THEY EXPECTED OF ME AND I DID IT. I FELT RESPONSIBLE, NOT TO THOSE WHO ARE INDIFFERENT TO THE SUFFERINGS OF OTHERS, BUT THOSE WHO ARE CONCERNED..."

- BRAM FISCHER -

THE POLITICS OF THE MAN IS DECISIVE

- Joseph Vuki

The bourgeoisie and their propagandists have always asserted that the superiority of weaponry plays a decisive role in so far as the outcome of war is concerned. These assertions are always coupled with the politico-military propaganda apparatus of imperialist states. The aim has always been to belittle the role of the masses in history and in war and to extol the blind power of military hardware and to turn their personnel into murderers who will blindly serve to further the aims of imperialism as has been the case with the US army's role in Vietnam and later to be followed by the Chinese horde. They also aim at concealing the class nature of wars as much as they try to conceal the class divisions between officers and rank-and-file soldiers. Without underestimating the destructive role played by weapons in general and those of mass destruction (nuclear weapons) in particular, we need to examine this question very closely. But at the same time we do not agree that man is an appendage of the very weapons he is using whether with the purpose of liberating or of subjugating the vast majority of the exploited and oppressed masses.

MORALE

We in the African National Congress and its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, like our allies in the socialist countries and all other revolutionary forces are firmly convinced that the weapons, no matter how good they may be, can be rendered ineffective when they are in the hands of an apolitical soldier. That is to say it is only men with excellent morale who can accomplish any task no matter how difficult it might be.

Let us take the experience of the Great Patriotic war to illustrate this. On the one hand the aggressor, that is, the Nazi forces, backed by the rest of imperialist camp, were large and heavily equipped with the most sophisticated weapons. The fascists had been preparing for this war for a number of years during which their soldiers had been systematically indoctrinated with the most chauvinist and inhuman



ideas, turning them into automatons who killed without the slightest doubt, for a cause unknown to them. The atrocities they had committed in Germany itself and other European countries are beyond description. In spite of all this, these hardened criminals who lacked conviction were successfully rebuffed by the Red Army.

The astounding victory of the Red Army men was made possible by the fact that they, unlike the Nazi army whose function was to commit genocide in the interests of the exploiters, were convinced of the justness of their cause and knew that they were defending the peaceful labour of their people, and that they enjoy the full support not only of the Soviet people but of all the peace-loving people throughout the world.

EDUCATION

This was also possible because of the correct political education of the Red Army soldiers under the guidance of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, a party of a new type created by V.I. Lenin. Our people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, under the leadership of the ANC believes that the decisive factors in war have been and continues to be the moral, political, psychological and fighting qualities which not even the most sophisticated weapon can replace. We have also come to understand that even the most subtle ideological indoctrination cannot guarantee high morale among the soldiers, since morale itself is not a product of outside influences nor of the propaganda aimed at 'winning the hearts and minds of the soldiers'. But on the contrary, it is indissolubly bound up with and reflects the morale of the people. Our morale has its source and basis in the great wars of resistance waged by our greats like Makanda, Moshoeshoe, Sekhukhuni, Cetshwayo and many other leaders of our people and also in the fact that our liberation war has as its aim the implementation of a democratic society as reflected in the people's document - the Freedom Charter.

Our morale, inexhaustible energy and enthusiasm are gene-



ated by the fact that our war is just and serves to further our people's cause against the Botha-Malan regime. It is these lofty ideals that inspired the combatants of our army like Solomon Mahlangu, James Mange and many others who are bravely facing the hazards of a war situation both inside and outside the country. The racist regime, like all other ruling circles in the West, has resorted to cynically exploiting the ignorance of the white section of our population to the extent of misleading them to fight a war that is not theirs by offering fat pay, turning them into killers and therefore accomplices to the atrocities committed by the racist army internally against the majority of the population who are fighting for their liberation. Externally, they are conducting their war of aggression against the Front-Line States, particularly the People's Republics of Mozambique and Angola because of the road they have chosen - support for the liberation movements of Southern Africa.

Despite all the indoctrination carried out on the white population and the racist army, the number of soldiers who absent themselves without leave and those who desert, has increased dramatically whilst thousands are defying call-ups to go and serve in the 'operational areas' where the gallant forces of Umkhonto we Sizwe and the People's Liberation Army of Namibia are uprooting the rotten foundation of racism in their steady but confident march to genuine freedom. This is in spite of the brutalities perpetrated by the regime by way of torture and long term imprisonment with an aim of intimidating our people and to isolate us people's soldiers from our parents, friends and beloved ones.

Ours is a just struggle for the liberation of our people, a cause behind which our entire people rally. Our people's militancy and the combat ability of Umkhonto we Sizwe has shattered the myth of the invincibility of the racists. We are further strengthened by the brotherly support we receive from the socialist community led by the Soviet Union. Our superiority over the racist army is unquestionable.

WE HAVE LOST A COMRADE

-Afrika Nkwe

When I heard about the untimely death of a young combatant of the June 16 Detachment, Comrade Champion Dladla, on the 26th July, I was shocked. I could not believe what I heard from my commander. I asked him thrice about this accident which took away Champion's life. He was one of us who left our beautiful country in those stormy days of 1976, to prepare ourselves in the art of people's war in order to destroy the racist regime and build a new democratic South Africa, free from all forms of oppression and exploitation.

Comrade, you hoped to see our Motherland free from the fascist claws, but we, your fellow-combatants whom you have left behind, will continue with the revolutionary armed struggle for the liberation of our country. And that is the most fitting tribute we will pay to you.

Your memory, my friend, shall never fade, your name will not be lost, your cause will never falter and on that day when victory is ours, your beautiful Motherland will concur that victory belongs to you as well.

My comrade-in-arms, you chose to fight rather than submit to racist terror of the Pretoria boer regime. Nobody will be forgotten and nothing will be forgotten when our people will be rejoicing like any other free people on that great day of our victory.

You the finest sons and daughters of our beloved country shall never be forgotten by our people. For the past three years I have known Comrade Champion as a simple young African man, doing his duty for his country in the context of our time.

Your death, comrade, is a loss to our struggling masses.

Lala kahle nsizwa yo-Mkhonto!

Let's pick up his fallen spear!

A m a n d l a ! M a a t l a !

LALA KAHLE NSIZWA YO-MKHONTO

WE LAID HIM

We laid him in this earth to rest
A soldier lad, no more,
No medals bright adorned his chest -
And stripes he never wore
His mausoleum it will be,
This earth, till time is done,
And round him, blazing galaxies
Will spin forever on.

Upon its peaks sleep mist and cloud,
and blizzards blow apace,
There thunder roar both long and loud,
The winds begin their race
War's guns have long, long ceased their din
We laid him in this earth, as in a
mauseleum grand...



-Agostinho Neto

THE CUBAN EXPERIENCE

-Andrew Selek

The explosion of historical necessities in Cuba was the product of the tireless efforts of all patriotic forces united not in words but in action. The Cuban revolution was a further confirmation of the fact that imperialism was and is on the retreat and the forces of progress are on an offensive.

Bourgeois theories like that of geographical fatalism; that communists are interested in world wars because it is only under the conditions of such wars that social revolutions can be successful etc., were blown up into pieces in the first liberated territory in America.

How was a revolution successful barely 120 kilometres away from the headquarters of the forces of reaction? How was guerrilla warfare successfully conducted on an island? To answer these questions, one has to examine both the objective and subjective factors that prevailed internally and externally especially from the forties.

NEO-COLONY

The struggle of the international working class reached new levels in the forties. Conditions of the working class were deteriorating. The struggle led to the emergence of socialism as a world system after the victory over Nazism. Cuba had been US neo-colony since the proclamation of the republic in 1902 following the withdrawal of colonialist Spain. The governments of Batista (1940-44); of Grau (1944-48); and of Carlos Prío (1948-52) were defending the dollar power at the expense of the Cuban masses. The army of reserve labor consisted of 600,000, thousands were kicked out of the remaining land by the landlords, the working class was ruthlessly exploited, illiteracy, unhygienic conditions, embezzlement of public funds, gambling prostitution and vice were everywhere. The opposition bourgeois political parties had sufficiently exposed themselves that they were incapable of coping up with the situation and that they were neither a solution nor an attempt to a solution.

The Communist Party founded in 1925 and all other patriotic forces were severely persecuted, but they held high the banner of the revolution.

COUP D'ETAT

Under these conditions, it proved easy for Batista backed by US imperialism, which was already not happy with political developments in Cuba, to organise a military coup d'etat in 1952. The discredited Prío and his henchmen did not offer any assistance. Reactionary trade union leaders sided with Batista. The coming into power of Batista meant further humiliation and misery to the masses.

Given all these conditions, the revolution became both a necessity and a possibility. The recognition of the necessity of the revolution is necessary but not sufficient. It is necessary to point out how revolution should be made under specific conditions. In Cuba all other forms of struggle had been exhausted. There was no choice but to embark on armed struggle.

ANNOUNCEMENT

On the 26th July 1953, young revolutionaries led by Fidel Castro Ruz, attacked the second biggest military installation in Santiago de Cuba, the Moncada Garrison. The aim of this action was to capture weapons and to arm the masses and to announce the new form of struggle, the armed struggle. This mission failed to achieve its main objective. But not always are tactical setbacks a synonym of defeat. Some of those who participated in Moncada were killed and others like Fidel were arrested. The enemy became more vicious. The Moncada programme united all the patriotic forces against Batista. When Fidel was put on trial he exposed the brutality of the enemy. After he had been sentenced, there were popular demonstrations demanding his immediate release.

In 1955 the workers' struggle reached great heights and the national campaign for the release of political prisoners forced the enemy to respond positively to the demand of the masses.

After the release of Fidel and his comrades, active political work was done among the masses. Funds to buy weapons and to maintain the struggle going were collected among the masses. This activity helped the revolutionaries to check if they were in close contact with the masses or not. At the same time it guaranteed that the struggle was for the masses and therefore it should be financially maintained by the masses themselves. Underground cells were formed throughout the country. Home-made bombs, uniforms and food for the guerrillas were prepared by the underground cells.

Fidel and his comrades left for Mexico. They bought a small boat Granma and weapons. Frank Pais, the leader of the underground machinery, prepared the masses for the general popular uprising on the day of the landing of Granma. Underground newspapers and radio station, Radio Rebelde, were established to maintain constant close contact with the masses. The student movement led by Echeverria had regular contacts with the July 26th Movement.



On the 30th November 1956, the general uprisings which were intended to coincide with the landing of Granma took place. But due to bad weather conditions, Granma landed two days later than scheduled. On the 5th of December 1956, the baptism of fire took place. The guerrillas suffered heavy bombardment from the enemy. They lost their boat, weapons, provision and 70 fellow-combatants. The remaining twelve tactically retreated to the Sierra Maestra mountains, where they licked their wounds and re-organised themselves politically and militarily. With the help of the rural population, the rebel army with Fidel at its head, steadily recovered. They became the nucleus of the future people's army, Revolutionary Armed Forces of Cuba.

The military action and the social and mass struggle were closely linked together in their conceptions from the very beginning. While the guerrillas were daily annihilating the enemy forces, the workers and peasants were also weakening the economic sphere of the enemy.

The sustained teachings, the lessons and example of the communists had contributed to the spreading of Marxism-Leninism. This became an attractive and unique doctrine for many young revolutionaries rising to political consciousness. At the same time, the people themselves were to discover the profound truth of the doctrine of Marx, Engels and Lenin. This does not suggest that all members of the revolutionary movement were communists, but Marxism-Leninism was the way of thinking of its main leaders. Most of its members were coming from the workers or families, i.e. workers and peasants.

UNITY

One of the fundamental problems of armed struggle is to maintain unity within the movement - unity in ideology and in organisation which will guarantee unity in action. There must be unity in action between urban and rural combatants. There must be unity between the exiled leadership and the leadership in enemy prisons. There are moments when the urban combatants felt that they are more important because they suffer the immediate reprisals of the enemy. This tendency can be very dangerous if the movement does not eliminate it before it takes root.

In Cuba there were moments when there was no solid unity between guerrillas on the mountains and combatants in the cities especially the students' movement. This did not only evolve around tactical questions but also the question of the participation of the Communist Party in the armed struggle. In some instances urban combatants organised popular strikes without correct co-ordination of work and as a result those strikes were not successful. Distinguished leaders sometimes are produced and tested during difficult periods of the revolutionary movement. Those moments are like the examination room from which capable leaders come. Fidel distinguished himself as a leader capable of forging unity in action of all patriotic forces. That unity was forged in a bitter struggle against the enemy.

The armed forces of Batista were being destroyed in a series of battles. Armed movements of strikes and protests in the cities like those of August & September of 1957 and of April 1958 demonstrated that enemy repression could not undermine the

revolutionary movement. The second front, Frank Pais, commanded by Raul Castro Ruz was formed. Columns commanded by Ernesto "Che" Guevara and Camilo Cienfuegos traversed through Camaguey Province, penetrated into the Escambray and the enemy suffered heavy blows in Las Villas Province. In the Oriente Province, the rebel army under the Commander-In-Chief, Fidel Castro, started the offensive. Important installations were occupied by the rebel army and the armed people in Santiago de Cuba.

Batista, fearing the revolutionary march of the sons and daughters of Jose Marti, left the country. Officials of his army, together with some bourgeois politicians tried to establish a 'new government' in Havana. The masses responded by a general popular strike against the enemy manoeuvres. This strike was called by the rebel army.

The enemy was defeated but that was not an end. The question was who should seize the power. In some countries heroic battles have been fought and won but revolutions lost. In Cuba the war and revolution were won by the people. But why? This was mainly because from the beginning of the armed struggle the working class in alliance with the peasantry and other patriotic forces had close contact with its vanguard party played the vital role in the making of history; the popular masses were active participants in the revolution; bourgeois nationalism was constantly combated within the national liberation movement; and the leadership had no interests different from those of the masses.

Proper steps were taken against foreign and national monopolies. Political and economic reforms took place in favour of the masses. This marked the beginning of struggle against capital. But the dollar power could not fold its arms and relax. US imperialism together with its lackeys in Latin America and the whole world of dollar influence, started the economic blockade against Cuba. Counter-revolutionaries were trained in subversive activities in the USA. Attempts to assassinate the leadership of the revolution were frustrated. Diplomatic pressure was put on Cuba. She did not succumb to all these criminal activities. This was precisely because Cuba was not alone. She had the support from her natural allies; the socialist countries led by the Soviet Union, the national liberation movements and all the progressive forces in Western countries. Even within South Africa,

To be continued on page 4.

OBITUARY

The news of passing away of the leader of the people of Botswana, President Seretse Khama, came as a blow to our people who are engaged in a fierce struggle against racist colonial domination, fascism and imperialism in South Africa and Namibia.

President Seretse Khama, grandson of Khama III, was born in 1921, in Serowe. In 1925 he succeeded to the Bama-ngwato throne when his father Sekhoma died. When he had come of age and had to take up his responsibility as traditional leader of his people, the colonialist British government made various attempts to depose him, but because the people of Botswana looked up to him as their sole legitimate leader, Seretse Khama became the country's first president in spite of the wishes of the colonisers.

Under President Khama's leadership, Botswana has made her contribution to the total elimination of colonialism in Africa as a member of the Front-Line States, OAU and Non-Aligned Movement. It is remarkable that despite her economic dependence on racist South Africa, Botswana has maintained her anti-colonial stand. Even harassment by the Pretoria boers and Smith could not pressurise them into terminating their support to the Zimbabwean people, who have recently won their independence, and the people of South Africa and Namibia who are still fighting.

Expressing the firmness of the Botswana people shortly before his death, President Khama said: "Botswana will continue to work for the elimination of injustice and racial tyranny in the sub-continent".

We have no doubt that following the example set by their leader, the people of Botswana will continue to make their contribution to their brothers' struggle to destroy the last bastion of colonialism in our region, the racist Botha-Malan regime and secure peace for all our peoples.

REST IN PEACE PRESIDENT KHAMA

NOTES FROM THE GALLOWS

by

JULIUS FUCHIK

Chapter 6

CHARACTERS AND PROFILES I

Signed and sealed. The investigating judge finished with me yesterday. The case moves even faster than I foresaw. It looks as though they were in somewhat of a hurry. My co-defendants are Lida Placha and Mirek. His defection did not gain him much.

Everything was cold and correct before the investigating judge, cold enough to make us shiver. But at Gestapo headquarters things were pretty lively, frightening, but still a part of life. There was passion there, the passion of fighter on one side and of hunters on the other, of beasts of prey or ordinary robbers. Several on that other side have convictions of a sort. Before the investigator, however, there was nothing but an official act. The big lug with the hooked cross on his lapels indicated a conviction which did not exist inside him. They were the shield behind which hid a pitiful little official, trying merely to live through this era somehow. He is neither good nor bad to the defendants. He neither smiles nor scowls. He only performs an official function. Instead of blood he has very thin soup in his veins.

They copied out evidence, quoted paragraphs of the law, and signed. There are about six charges of treason there, intrigues against the Reich, preparations for armed uprising, and I don't know what all. Any one of them would be sufficient.

For thirteen months now I have been fighting here for my life and that of others, with ruses and with spirit. Their party platform talks about Nordic strategems, but I think I trumped them at that. I have lost out simply because they hold the ax, in addition to their trickery.

That duel is thus at an end. Now begins the waiting. Two or three weeks until the indictment is worked out, then the journey to the Reich, waiting for the trial, the sentence, and finally the hundred days of waiting for execution. That is my outlook - a future of four or perhaps five months. A lot can happen in that time. Everything could be changed in that time. Perhaps. There is no way I can guess from here. A

rapid change of events outside could, however, also hasten our finish. So even that might not be helpful.

This is a race between the war and hope. A race of one sort of death against another sort of death. Which will come first - the death of fascism or my death? Is that merely my private question? Oh, no, it is asked by tens of thousands of prisoners, by millions of soldiers. It is also asked by tens of millions of people in all Europe and around the world. Some have more hope; some less. But that is really only illusory. The horrors with which the decay of capitalism has engulfed the world threaten everybody to the utter limit. Hundreds of thousands of people shall die - and what fine people - before those who remain are able to say: I outlived fascism.

It is a matter of months, and soon it will be a matter of days. But those will be the cruelest days. I have often imagined how tragic it would be to be the last soldier to be shot through the heart by the last bullet in the last second of a war. But someone must be that last soldier to fall. If I knew that I could be that last man to fall, I would go this moment.

The short time left me in Pankrats does not permit me to give these notes the form I would wish. I must be briefer. Give more attention to people and less to the period of history. They are most important.

I began to describe the Jelinek couple, simple people in whom you would not have seen heroes in normal times. At the time of their arrest, they stood next each other, their hands above their heads - he pale, she with that tubercular flush below her temples. Her eyes showed some fright when she saw how the Gestapo wrecked her model apartment in five minutes. Then she turned her head slowly toward her husband and asked:

"What happens now, Joe?"

He never had much to say, had to search for his words: and talking excited him. Now he replied calmly, without effort or pathos:

"We shall go off to die, Marie".

She did not scream or even shudder. With a graceful movement, she lowered her right hand and grasped his, there before the mouths of the pistols. That earned both of them the first blow in the face. She wiped her cheek, looked the invaders up and down, and said almost comically:

"Such handsome young fellows," she said, raising her voice, "such handsome fellows and such brutes".

She took their measure correctly. A few hours later they carried her out of the office of the "examining commissar"

beaten almost to unconsciousness, but they could not beat anything out of her. Neither then nor later did she ever give anything away.

I cannot say just what happened to them during the time that I lay in my cell unfit for a hearing, but I do know that they told nothing in all that time. They were waiting for me to give the word. How often he was bound wrists to ankles and beaten endlessly. But never talked until I was there and could give him a sign with my eyes what he should admit so that we could get on with the examination.

His wife was sensitive and compassionate, as I knew her before the arrest. In the whole period at Gestapo, however, I did not see a tear in her eyes. Her home was her pride, but when the comrades outside wished to comfort her by sending in word that they knew who had stolen her furniture and were keeping constant watch on him, she replied:

"The devil with the furniture. Don't waste time worrying about that. There are much more important things to do, and right now they have to work double to take our places. First we have to scrub out this place, and if I live through that, I'll be able to take care of my house myself".

One day they took the Jelineks away, each to a different place. I searched in vain for any trace of their fate, for people have a way of disappearing utterly after Gestapo handling - scattered in a thousand cemeteries. Oh, what a crop will rise one day from that frightful seeding.

Her last message was:

"Chief, tell them outside not to grieve for me, and for no one to be intimidated by my fate. I did my duty as a worker, and shall die the same way, too".

She was only "a domestic", Never had much education, and did not know that brave message centuries ago:

Pilgrim, tell the Lacedaemonians that we lie dead, as the law required.

THE VYSUSHILS

Lived in the same building, right next the Jelineks. They were also named Joseph and Marie. A minor official's family, a little older than their neighbours. He was seventeen when they drafted him and sent him into the First World War, a tall youth from Nusle. A few weeks later they brought him back with a smashed knee, which never healed properly. They first met in a hospital in Brno, where she was a nurse. She was eight years older than he, having left an unhappy marriage



and possibly this tall railway clerk and the lady got entangled in something normally forbidden.

He was arrested shortly after me, and I was horrified the first time I saw him here. How much would be lost if he talked! But he didn't. He was brought here because of a few political leaflets which he gave a pal to read - but he never got further than leaflets.

Some time ago an indiscretion of Pokorny and Pixova gave away the fact that Honza Cherny lived in the apartment of Mrs Vysushilova's sister. Thus they "examined" Joe Vyusushil two days after my arrest, tried to beat out of him something about the last Mohican of our Central Committee. The third day he came into number 400 and sat down very carefully - it hurts like the devil to sit on open wounds. I glanced at him with both anxiety and encouragement. He replied in the forthright Nussle manner:

"When I refused, they get nothing for all their work on my backside".

I knew that couple well - how much they loved each other and how lonesome they were whenever they were separated for day or two. Months passed now. How sad the wife must be in that attractive home above Michle, alone at the age when solitude is three times worse than death. How many plots she must have invented to bring her husband back to the little idyl which they comically called each other Mummykins and Daddyki. But she found only one way to get along - to keep at the underground job, to do the work of two.

Thus she sat alone at the table on New Year's Eve, 194 with his picture where he used to sit. As it struck midnight she clicked her glass with his at that empty place and drank to his health and his quick return - chiefly that he should live till liberty.

A month later she was arrested also. Many of us in number 400 shuddered because she was one of the people outside through whom we kept contact open.

She didn't drop a word.

They did not beat her; she was so ill that she would have died under their blows. They tortured her worse - with imagination.

A few days before her arrest they took her husband off for labour in Poland. Now they told her:

"Look, what a hard life that is, even for a healthy man. But your husband is a cripple and will never stand it. He will drop dead there, and you will never see him again. The

where will you look for a husband - at your age? So, be reasonable and tell us what you know, and we shall return him to you right away".

He will die somewhere there, my Joe, poor Joe! Who knows what sort of a death? They have killed my sister, they will kill my husband and I shall be left alone, all alone till death. How could I find at this age? But I could save him. They could bring him back - for a price. No, it won't be I who will pay that price, and it would not be he if I got him back that way.

She never dropped a word.

She disappeared in one of the nameless transports of war. And soon after came word that her Joe died in Poland.

L I D A

The first time I went to the Baxas' was in the evening. My Josey was home and a tiny creature with lively eyes whom they called Lida. She was hardly more than a child, staring seriously at my whiskers and happy that some new and interesting thing had come in to keep her amused for a while.

We became friends quickly. I turned out, to my surprise, that this child was almost nineteen, Josey's half-sister. Her family name is Placha (which means timid) but she does not have that characteristic herself. She is fond of amateur dramatics.

I became her confidant, which made me realise that I am an elderly gentleman in spite of everything. She confessed all her youthful sorrows and youthful dreams to me, and ran to me to decide her arguments with her sister or brother-in-law. She was as quick-tempered as young girls are, and spoiled as late children are.

She went with me the first time I left the house after living there half a year. An elderly man with a limp was less noticeable if he walked out with his daughter than if he were alone. Those we passed looked at her rather than at me. That is why she went with me on my walks, that is why she went with me to my first illegal meeting. That is why she moved into my first secret apartment. Thus - as the indictment now says - thus it developed naturally that she became my underground courier.

She does it happily, without worrying too much about what the work is or what it means. It was something new and interesting, something which not everybody does, and has a note of adventure. That is all she needed.

As long as she worked on small matters, I didn't wish to

tell her much about it. The less she knew if she were caught, the better she could defend herself - better than if she had a feeling of guilt.

Lida developed fast, and could take much more responsibility than running to the Jelineks with some small message. It was time to tell her what it was all about, and I began to teach her. It was a regular school, and Lida learned greedily and happily. To all appearances, she was the same happy girl, light-hearted and a little flippant, but inside she was quite changed. She grew and began to think deeply.

In this work she became acquainted with Mirek. He had already done a lot of work and was able to tell about it convincingly. He made quite an impression on her. She perhaps missed judgement on his basic traits, but in that I misjudged him also. The important thing was that his work and his evident conviction brought him closer to her than other youths.

Love grew fast in her and set deep roots.

Early in 1942 she began hesitatingly to ask questions about membership in the party. I had never before seen her so hesitant; she had never taken anything so seriously. I weighed the matter, continued with her instruction. I still wished to test her.

In February, 1942, she was voted into the party directly by the Central Committee. We walked home through a heavy frosty night; she was silent, though usually quite talkative. Crossing a field near the house, she suddenly stopped and in the silence in which you could hear the snow crystals settling said ever so quietly:

"I know that this is the most important day of my life, for I no longer belong to myself. I promise you that I will never disappoint you no matter what happens".

A great deal happened after that, and she never failed us.

She maintained our most confidential relations with the higher leadership. She had the most delicate and most dangerous jobs of making contact with groups which had been cut off and of warning workers who were threatened with acute danger. When things went wrong for the higher command or our secret hideout was in danger, Lida slipped through like an eel and set things right. She did the important things just as she had done the small, as a matter of course, with happy light-heartedness, beneath which was now a firm sense of responsibility.

She was arrested a month after us. Mirek mentioned her when he talked, and then they found out that she had helped her sister and brother-in-law to escape into the underground.

...e tossed her head and played the temperamental role of a
...ght-hearted girl who doesn't suspect that she has done any-
...ing illegal, which can have dire consequences for her.

She knew a great deal, but didn't tell a thing. And most
important: she kept right on working. Her surroundings and
methods changed, her tasks were different, but she did not drop
her hands in her lap in any sense of the word. Her duty
to the party had not changed. She did what she was given to
do, fast, exactly and devotedly. If it was necessary somehow
to straighten out a complicated situation in order to save
someone outside, Lida took it on with an innocent face. She
became a trusty in the women's section of Pankrats and scores
of unknown people outside were saved from arrest by messages
which she got through. After almost a year of this, one of
her messages was caught and put an end to this "career" for her.
Now she is going with us to trial in the Reich. She is
the only one of our group who has any reasonable hope of living
in liberty. She is young. If we should not be here, please
don't lose her. She needs to learn a lot. Teach her and don't
let her be stunted, but don't let her become proud of herself
or content with what she has accomplished. She has stood the
test of the toughest struggles. She has passed through fire
and has proved to be of excellent mettle.

Continued from page 34

...e bastion of reaction in Africa, pro-Cuba demonstrations
...ere organised in front of the US embassy and all over the
...country.

The revolution in Cuba did not only solve national pro-
blems but transformed itself into a socialist revolution. Cuba
became the first socialist country in the Western Hemisphere
or the first truly liberated territory in the American
continent.

THE CUBAN REVOLUTION IS IRREVERSIBLE

DAWN

PolitiXword

No.6



CLUES

Across

1. Short for Johannesburg.
4. Progressive combat plane.
6. To set free.
9. ANC's official organ.
11. Rifle used by Umkhonto guerrillas.
12. To be frank.
15. "There shall be... and security".
16. News published by one newspaper before others.

Down

1. Fuchik's first name.
2. A young child.
3. Very uncommon.
5. USSR's Foreign Minister.
7. To make a mistake.
8. War-torn country in Africa.
10. Not good.
13. Our people's organisation.
14. Comrade President Tambo's initials.

See answers in DAWN Vol. 5 No. 8

DISCIPLINE IS THE
MOTHER OF VICTORY

our battle cry is
and will continue to be
VICTORY OR DEATH
WE SHALL WIN!
-Comrade President
O.R. Tambo

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

**SOLIDARITY WITH
COMRADE JAMES MANBE**



**STOP
THE EXECUTION**