

DAWN Monthly Journal of Umkhonto we Sizwe



FORWARD TO A PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT

DAWN

monthly journal of umkhonto we sizwe

Vol. 4 No. 12

December 1980

Contents

- Editorial Comment: The Anvil and the Hammer . . . 1
- An Appeal to the International Community 3
- I Speak my Mind 6
- Crisis in the Citadel of Afrikanerdom 10
- Fallen Among Wolves 14
- Heroes of our Revolution 17
- Bantustan 'Independence' Fraud 20
- O f Y o u t h 22
- Our People's Army is Growing 24
- H u m a n T o u c h 28
- DAWN Politixword No. 10 - Answers 30
- Dawnlight: Starring Patrick Mphephu 32
- E l S a l v a d o r 33
- Notes From the Gallows 37
- DAWN Politixword No. 11 44

YEAR OF THE
CHARTER





Editorial Comment

THE ANVIL AND THE HAMMER

Georgi Dimitrov might have been referring to us when he said: "He who does not want to be an anvil must be a hammer!"

Yes, we have been hammering for democratic rule through reasonable and controlled armed struggle for nineteen years, but still, fascism refuses to heed to our call. Instead they resort to all the t r i c k s in the book and we have hammered to smithereens Piet "Wapen" Botha's call for changes because it was for adaptation to maintain apartheid while pouring water on the flames of our revolution.

To us any solution that does not recognise and enshrine the principle of democratic rule in South Africa is doomed. We are not made of dreams. It is for that reason that Botha's deceitful reforms lie in shambles, inside the dustbin in our backyard. We are armed for the destruction of the whole system of apartheid to give way to the peaceful reconstruction of our country with the hammer of democracy which could only be solid on the anvil of the Freedom Charter.

For that achievement we have been trodding, trodding and trodding on until on November 26 when they again disturbed us by oscillating the Sword of Democles on the heads of our militants, Comrades Lubisi, Manana and Mashigo. What they must

note is that during these past nineteen years we have only tickled the facade of the fascist regime, but this year touched it where it hurts most. This act against our comrades is the last straw, after which, when we tick at their personnel, there will be hell and fury, which will definitely let people begin to rise. It is then, that no one shall point a finger at the African National Congress when we begin to act a "life for a life", a "tooth for a tooth". It would be brief with lightning speed ringing in the flames of freedom.

They have sentenced to death, which is to us murder; Comrades Johnson Lubisi, 28, Petrus Mashigo, 20, and Naphtalie Manana, 24. All in the cream and gravy of their youth! This is the last straw. They are trying to dig out the remains of our ancestors.

This spree of wanton murder which the racists have set loose is not something new. The Nationalist government was born in violence and has maintained itself in power through violence. Its history is one of contempt for values of any democratic society, of complete intransigence to the claims of our people to a stake in the country's wealth. Instead they have answered by repressive legislation, and yet more banishment, detention without trial, bannings, torture and judicial murder. The people could not endure the bitter cup of slavery forever. Hence the choice of the difficult path of armed struggle.

Today with Umkhonto we Sizwe at 19, we are more than certain that:

"The winning of our freedom by armed struggle... demands more than passion. It demands an understanding and implementation of revolutionary theory and techniques in the actual conditions facing us. It demands a sober assessment of the obstacles in our way and an appreciation that such a struggle is bitter and protracted".

We are acting in accordance with these guidelines and the end result of our effort is obviously victory over the fascist regime. We must remind the Pretoria rulers of Nuremberg.

We therefore call upon the international community whose commitment to ridding the world of the scourge of apartheid has been amply demonstrated on several occasions, to step up

Continued on page 16

An Appeal To The International Community

Speech by Comrade Delinga, on death penalties
imposed on Comrades Lubisi, Mashigo and Manana.
(Member of the National Executive Committee)

Our history is saturated with our blood and sacrifice. Blood spilt by the fascist white racist minority to defend the imperialist multinationals. Why has the international community declared apartheid an international crime against humanity and yet find it difficult to take effective measures to end this crime?

Is it not that the imperialist countries who wield great power in international affairs find that the underdeveloped countries cannot exercise their independence on issues that affect their fellowmen who are murdered, exploited and oppressed? It is this economic might which the imperialists wield as a result of their plundering of the resources which belong to the struggling masses of the underdeveloped countries and produced by the sweat of the brow of the toiling masses, which enables these powers to ignore solutions that could ease the agony of the oppressed in putting their weight against apartheid.

VIOLATION

Instead, we are told of human rights which are 'violated' in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries when the Ku Klux Klan is allowed to train murderers inside the United States and the US judges find it necessary to defend these murderers by allowing them to go scot-free for these racist crimes. When the progressive and Black people of the United States demonstrate against the violation of the highest human right - life, the might of the US is brought to bear on unarmed, innocent people.

The South African racists are also moving in the same direction in as far as their judges are concerned. Is it possible that part of the international community led by the US has the psychology of white racism which is reminiscent of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" type of slavery? This we make out from the callousness of the white-dominated American government's attitude when Blacks are murdered and the high level of concern when whites have their lives in danger. What is tragic at

times is that at times even our fellow blacks endorse the line taken by the United States.

On the 10th October, 1980, the Rand Daily Mail reported that: "The chief executive of Siemens SA, Mr E. Wentges yesterday argued that the Western world maintain its free market links with South Africa despite the existence of discriminatory policies. At a Standard Bank seminar in Frankfurt, Mr Wentges posed the question: 'Are the labour market situation and relations between the social groups in South Africa so bad that the world must interfere?' Mr Wentges said that in the history of all peoples discrimination had played its part, rooted in law or silently accepted and tolerated. From the beginning South Africa had applied different yardsticks towards groups of different racial origins, which, as a rule, were used but rarely codified... He said: 'As part of free enterprise South African companies - whether national or multinational - aim at necessary changes, as a matter of principle, not revolutionary, but through the speeding up of evolutionary expansion'."

Let us ask the international community to stop being dragged by the nose by the butchers of innocent people under the cloak of human rights. Let us not allow that we look dishonest by declaring apartheid a crime against humanity and yet support it by not taking effective measures to eradicate it from the face of the earth.

SENTENCE

Today, three of our children - Johnson Lubisi, Petrus Mashigo and Naphtali Manana have been sentenced to death for treason against a government which is perpetuating a crime against humanity and our people. Can you commit treason against a state which does not afford you the right to vote, the right of equal human rights, education, the right to share in the wealth of the country, the wealth which is produced by the sweat of the brow of you and your people, a government that regards you as game to be hunted and shot down, a government which uses our children's lives to satisfy the sadistic lust of their army and police? The answer is a big "NO". The eagerness of the racists for the blood of our young sons and daughters is testimony to their fear for this generation, a generation that was shot at in a frenzy of rage in the streets of Soweto, Mamelodi, Guguletu, New Brighton and Bonteheuwel in 1976.

And throughout the country in this Year of the Charter in places like the Free State, where the boers thought they could

intimidate our people they failed. It is also because of the solidarity and also taking their part in the struggle for freedom of the Coloured and Indian rejecting the crumbs that fall from the tables of the white racist regime. In places where the mighty working class in this Year of the Worker is asserting its might to get a fair share of the wealth they produce. It is the might, the glory and the power of Umkhonto militants in feats against them in Moroka, Orlando, Booyens, Sasol and other acts of bravery.

The Pretoria boers, their soldiers, police and informers have failed to cower this generation represented by our three comrades, Solomon Mahlangu, James Mange, young people who are carrying out the tradition of the Battle of Isandlawana, the tradition of Wankie and Sipolilo, the tradition of men like Mini and his comrades, men who went to the gallows singing.

What does the international community expect us to do? What will the international community and those who support this wanton killing say if in anger we went to kindergartens with "An eye for an eye", "a tooth for a tooth". They will call us savages and barbarians, forgetting that they themselves are modernised sophisticated barbarians.

KILLING

We in the African National Congress and its allies and our People's Army, have tried hard to avoid the killing of innocent people. But it might begin to be regarded as irresponsibility for our people to let their children be killed and the act is left unpunished.

We call upon the international community to assist us to avoid a situation where our people will begin to say: "All is fair in War".

We ask the international community to save the lives of our children and brothers not as a favour but as a right in following their own resolution.

To you my people, there comes a time when a people is left with one and only one choice. That time has long come and we the vanguard of our people say: "NO! to racist brutality". We want to defend our people. If the racists cannot listen to reason we shall take the steps to shoot it out. What type of people are we, people who must look at their children and wives being killed? Even animals don't allow that type of thing.

Those who amongst us are busy defending the killing of our children by selling out and attacking the correct line of the

people when we hit back, those who say we are not at war when we die must answer the simple question: On whose side are they? Are you counted in our ranks?

We call upon the international community to save the lives of our children. Therefore, let us organise as Christians. This government that is killing children, this government that kills clergymen can only be said to be a government that is not Christian and by order of Jesus Christ let us fight it. We, who are workers cannot watch our children die. What will we be working for? To feed children for their death at the hands of fascism? Let us strike and destroy the firms which the multinationals defend by supporting our enemy. We must do away with these sell-outs who come to us and say "we were in Umkhonto" but are now working for the enemy.

This act of murdering our children and sentencing them to long-term imprisonment points to the urgency of the implementation of the Freedom Charter, the document which guarantees freedom for all. This road is tough. It goes via the gallows and dungeons.

FORWARD TO A PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT!

MAATLA KE A ROMA!

POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

I Speak my Mind

The sentencing of our three Comrades: Johnson Lubisi, Petrus Mashigo and Naphtali Manana, to death by the racist judge roused indignation among the entire membership of our movement and MK. Immediately after this brutal judgement was announced different units of MK got together to discuss the implication of this judgement. Below we publish some views expressed by different comrades.

Emil Monde

When the fascist regime of Pretoria passed a death sentence on Mini, Khayinga and Mkhaba in 1963, it thought as it still thinks now, that it was going to instill fear into the people of South Africa with the intention of subduing them

and crushing the liberation movement from fighting and demanding what is by right ours. On the contrary, we have redoubled our determination and efforts in fighting the racists of Pretoria.

The racists have failed to learn lessons from their past death sentences that they have imposed on our people, that the will of a determined people to be free can never be subdued by such acts of judicial murder, mass detentions, long years of imprisonment and open terror on our people on the dusty streets of Soweto, Nyanga, Gugulethu and many other places in our country.

The death sentence that the fascists passed on November 26, on our three comrades namely; Johnson Lubisi, Petrus Mashigo and Naphtali Manana is one of the fascists' strategy of trying to instil fear into the militant sons and daughters of our country, a strategy doomed to failure.

Queen Mafutha

During the height of the Pentagon's war of aggression in Vietnam, President Ho Chi Minh said: "... The more aggressive they show themselves to be, the graver their crimes will be..." What the boers are doing to our people, is tantamount to what Hitler did in Europe and what the US did in Vietnam.

The death sentence passed on Comrades Johnson Lubisi, Petrus Mashigo and Naphtali Manana is but the lethal fascist last kicks of a dying horse.

The three patriots have been sentenced to death without committing any crime at all, but for fighting this internationally abhorred crime against humanity, apartheid. We of the African National Congress, have long declared that the racist Nationalist government of Pretoria has been founded on injustice and inequality. We urge the masses of our people and progressive mankind the world over to come forward and say: "NO! TO THE ILLEGAL HANGING OF THE THREE CHILDREN OF ISANDLWANA".

Sizwe Mkhonto

The lives of our three comrades who are justifiably continuing the battles fought by our forefathers against the colonialists must be saved.

These comrades have "accepted death for the sake of life, and prison for the sake of freedom", and this is our motto. They have readily responded to the lofty call of our people. Their response and attitude to our historic mission is a positive moral category.

We cannot at all leave such murderers unchallenged. It is impossible to be silent, when the lives of our fellow patriots are at stake.

Paulos Motho

This crime against humanity, apartheid, is not worth this world. To the people of South Africa, apartheid is high treason. This move by the racist will not yield the desired results, just as it has failed in the past, for we shall not be intimidated nor shall the masses of our people shrink with fear, panic and capitulate.

The racists have long sewn the seeds of hatred in our people, and everyday as our struggle unfolds, the hatred becomes steeled revolutionary commitment, sacrifice and determination to seize power.

We know that as the tide of the revolution grows more powerful of more such acts are forthcoming as the racists approach their doom.

This is part of Botha and Malan's 'Total Strategy', to bring terror, death and pain amongst the oppressed. History has proved that no amount of guns, torture, killings, etc., can stop a united and determined people in their drive to genuine freedom. Cuba, Vietnam, Angola and now recently Zimbabwe are fine examples.

Alex Mashini

Our right to fight by any means at our disposal to free ourselves from this genocidal system is recognised by the entire world community which has long declared apartheid a crime to mankind. It is not surprising that the African National Congress to which these three patriots of our country belong, is recognised by the world as a true leader of our people.

According to the Geneva Convention, our three comrades deserve the status of POW. Sentencing the three patriots to death, is a repetition of what Hitler did to people who resisted Nazism. The Pretoria racists must not be allowed to do this criminal action.

Irvin Shongwe

As the lines of our struggle are drawn with mathematical precision, as the revolutionary tide grows stronger, we expect more of such brutal measures by the genocidal apartheid regime. To us in the revolution, this act by the racists, is a sign of weakness, fear and panic.

We shall not be intimidated or terrorised by a dying horse who in response to the determined mass actions of our suffering people and the sound of the liberating gun murders, terrorises, kills and imprison without course.

No amount of intimidation, torture, terrorism and violence can stop history's destined wheel, for Ethiopia, Vietnam, Angola, etc., have proved beyond doubt that a united and determined people is more powerful than arsenals or nuclear bombs.

We urge the international community to rise up in defence of the lives of Comrades Johnson Lubisi, Petrus Mashigo and Naphtali Manana - fighters of peace and champions of democracy - who have been sentenced to death by the criminal apartheid racist regime. We pledge the masses of our people inside the country to come out and stand by our comrades and see to it that the racists do not carry out this heinous crime.

It is at the Pretoria fascists have launched a full-blooded campaign of terror against the people, the revolution and the African National Congress with its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

For the ANC this enemy brutality emphasises the urgency of the need to overthrow the apartheid regime. We once more want to make it clear to the racists that as they rule by the gun, so shall they perish.

David Skhosana

If there was to be any formula for hatred, then this continued slaughter of our people by the Pretoria fascists is one. There's totally no point in getting angry or crying. For anger and tears won't wash off the racist filth from the face of our country. Our task is to wash this filth with hatred for the enemy, with revolutionary organisation and mobilisation. It is our task as young people in our revolution to see to it that our movement grows stronger. It is also our task as young people to ensure that we don't achieve 'moderate victory' but that all power - political and economic - must be in the hands of the oppressed and exploited people of South Africa. What we want is the complete dismantling of the present existing state machinery and replace it with a people's government.

In no way should we find ourselves ruling with the oppressors. For this would be a betrayal of Mahlaungu, the cause of our three comrades in the death row and all our patriots.

Our objective is to ensure the implementation of the Freedom Charter.

CRISIS IN THE CITADEL OF AFRIKANERDOM

- Klaus Maphepha

It is not in the habit of the Nationalist government to use carrot and stick policy. But in the recent past one has noticed some developments, though not changes, towards the tendency to use some carrot in trying to keep the simmering volcano under control.

This, however, is only a facade behind which there is a fierce intra-Afrikaner struggle for power and a sinister move towards putting Afrikaner strongmen, especially military men at the helm of the Nationalist Party policy. This struggle has occasionally surfaced in very acrimonious and shameful notes with the racist Premier, Piet "Wapen" Botha going to the extent of pointing some of his men in the nose and even chucking some out of his office. These are clear illustrations that there are serious crises in the citadel of Afrikanerdom.

STRUGGLE

The struggle within the Nationalist Party, which itself should not be seen in terms of Botha versus Treurnicht, is fast shifting White racist power into the hands of a clique of selected common-minded brand of Afrikaners whose characteristic feature is prominence in fascist secret organisations like Broederbond and Military Academies. It is only regrettable that the fracas within the Nationalist Party has been divided in terms of the 'verkrampte' and the 'verligte'. But it is incorrect, for example, to call Botha a 'verligte', but you had rather call him a far-sighted verkrampte. So, building from Botha's recent slogan of "Whites must adapt or die" it becomes clear that his cosmetic exercises are only designed to ward off the bigger danger.

Georgi Dimitrov in his "United Front Against Fascism" graphically pointed out that Fascism is not merely a result of some ego or conspiracy within the ruling clique but a direct product of imperialist finance capital. It is not only the product of the struggle against the oppressed and exploited majority but also of one group of finance capital against the other.

The Botha group has become convinced that Apartheid cannot survive without the buttress of imperialism. So to woo this

support Botha must do as the master says in the words of Henry Kissinger: "Blatant Apartheid makes Africans see Communism as an alternative, and it becomes difficult for us to defend that system". On the other hand the Treurnicht group sees no survival outside the frame-work of hard-core Afrikanerdom, "One concession leads to another until you are left with nothing", he recently 'admonished' Botha.

Whilst Botha is trying to harmonise the co-existence of foreign monopoly and Afrikaner capital, Treurnicht on the other hand wants the latter to triumph at the expense of the former.

The departure point really is what has come to be known as the Information Scandal, though it is by no means the starting point. The Scandal helped the Botha group to immediately consolidate its position and Botha then easily embarked on his current 'managerial politics' which has culminated in recent government reshuffles.

The apartheid military's top generals - the faces behind Botha.



Lt Gen M Muller
Chief of Air Force



General M Malan
Defence Minister



Lt Gen CL Viljoen
Chief of Army



Maj Gen
PW van der Westhuizen
Chief of Staff,
Intelligence

The very reshuffle is a clear revelation of the sinister forces at play. Gerrit Viljoen who has been recalled from his genocidal expedition in Namibia, is the chairman and an outspoken Broederbond fanatic. Dawie de Villiers is the one time captain of the notorious Springbok and the former South African ambassador to Britain. Britain most probably has the largest

BOSS (now NIS) overseas network. Political trials in South Africa are evident of this. Alexandra Mombarris, as an example, had his flat burgled by a BOSS agent in London. But the most interesting of all these portfolio shake-ups is the appointment of Magnus Malan as the Defence Minister. The rise of a soldier in Malan to power is perhaps rare in the South African history. Both he himself only entered the military for a time before going back to civilian life. If ever it is sometimes true that in politics power begets power, then it is likely to be true with Malan who is already seen as the future Prime Minister.

Malan has been dubbed as Botha's yes-man, especially in 'reform' policies. But this is debatable. It might be through his own experience that Malan has come to realise that military arsenals alone are no answer to South African problems. It is perhaps at the military headquarters in Pretoria's Potgieter Street where he presided over staff studies where he became convinced of this fact. Malan also studied with the American Army; Regular Command and General Staff Officers' Course in 1962 just before Vietnam. But perhaps the real period that left a dent in his mind was during his attachment to the French Army in the early sixties where he saw how the Algerian war ripped French society itself.

IDEOLOGUE

Malan has proved to be a prolific ideologue of the racist regime. He deems it very necessary and has worked hard in trying to create a monolith of the Defence and private industry. He has personally chaired the co-ordinating committee of the Army, Navy, Air Force and Armscor. The racist regime's recent shift towards closer conspiracy with Military Academies in Israel and Taiwan is no surprise as Malan is a keen student of the military and political strategies of these academies and in fact maintains close contact. It is partly through this unholy hobnobbing that Malan has coined the acronym Diplomatic, Psychological, Semantic, Cultural, Economic, Military, Political and Intelligence (DPSKEMPI) by which he hopes to renovate South African defence strategy. The military constitutes only 20% of the whole strategy.

The whole strategy further illustrates a further fascist militarisation of all institutions of power. Clearly the scope of DPSKEMPI is beyond the range of any army that does not itself, as a matter of fact, constitute a military government. The appointment of Malan as Defence Minister satisfies this condition. No other soldier of career has ever enjoyed as much

power as Malan in South Africa.

Malan's so-called 'defence strategy' is now working at full throttle in South Africa. The press has been gagged from reporting about military manoeuvres. Competent teachers are being replaced by soldiers with holsters on their sides especially in places considered as 'hot spots' by the regime. In the rural areas soldiers are 'offering' Aspro tablets and sweets and every classroom has a picture of the SADF with a caption aimed at wooing students to join the boer army. Needless to say, all this display of military extravagance goes with astronomical budgets whose brunt lies on the shoulders of the oppressed majority.

OPPONENTS

Botha has temporarily succeeded in ostracizing his opponents in the Nationalist Party and already Mulder and Vorster are contemplating a new right-wing Afrikaner party. Botha further consolidated his position by giving himself the political leverage of appointing twenty Cabinet members. This has enabled him, among other things, to be able to doggedly push forward the President's Council headed by Schlebusch against all odds.

This division in the Nationalist Party is however, not at all permanent. We are still to witness many divisions and attempts at cobbling. History has it that as the struggle intensifies the enemies are likely to shelve their differences and run into the same laager only to come out and scatter around in times of decisive victory. The revolutionary struggle of the masses of our people, with their most organised vanguard force, the African National Congress, are surely the very power that has effected the first divisions and they are geared towards ensuring the decisive victory.

"AT THE MOMENT THE WHITE COMMUNITY AS A WHOLE BELIEVES THAT IT CAN MAINTAIN ITS MONOPOLY OF ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL PRIVILEGES IF IT STANDS UNITED. WHEN THE PRESSURES OF THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT DEMONSTRATE THAT THIS CANNOT BE, IT IS LIKELY THAT THE VERY SAME FACTORS WHICH HAVE RECENTLY BEEN THE SOURCE OF GREATER UNITY WILL BECOME THE SOURCE OF A MUCH BIGGER DIVISION AND FRAGMENTATION THAN WE HAVE PREVIOUSLY EXPERIENCED".

- THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST, No. 76 1st Quarter '79 -

Fallen Among Wolves

- Joe Congo

A minute of silence. Silence descends, whispering silence. Heads bowed, eyes closed and hats in hand. Caps off to martyrdom! All hail Afrikaanerdom! A hero has died. As the flag draped coffin is lowered all present take an oath that you never died in vain. He was God's child and an ardent Christian, he died during weapon cleaning, the priest has just said. Present at this funeral is the family and the closest of the next-of-kin. There is no glamour of ceremony here, no brass band to sing "Die Stem van Suid Afrika".

All this is done in the names of security, in the name of bullet-proof Boer soldiers, in the name of those that wield a magic wand against Umkhonto, those that never die. These secret heroes. Our country should not know that "our boys on the border" are made of flesh, muscle and red blood. That they bleed and die under cannon of sizzling and liberating bullet and shrapnel of freedom.

Boer soldier, you are a young man in your late teens. You are beaming with full life from ear to mouth. You have been brought up well-fed, well-clothed and under mother's tender care. Today you are a man old enough and groomed enough to stand on your mother's kitchen table and scream "ANC is terrorism! Soviet threat! Cuban presence in Angola!" This is your parrot politics and you think you are a politician. For the time being you seem to have forgotten that your teacher once said: "Leave politics to politicians". You are bravely making an entry into this vicious and merciless world of politics that left your white-haired Verwoerd a Tsafendas gift of gaping wounds and your next to demi-god Vorster landing bare-bottomed on a seat of ferment.

I may not know your name but I would not mistake you in a crowd. Your stare, language and thinking logic relate volumes. You seem to be possessed of anger seeming to be naturally inbuilt. At sight an African fogs your mind and tenses your muscle. With an African you cannot smile, your laughter is colour defined and expensive, at best you can afford a hangman's grin. You have been sentimentally stirred to a point beyond which there seems to be a margin of no return.

This is no time for me to put the record straight, you know your record. "You crouch over your r i f l e and it is your finger that caresses the trigger" in Sharpeville to Carl-



Young conscripts in training. Tomorrow's casualties?

DEATH

Dear Mr/Mrs/Miss
We regret to inform you that your son/brother/
husband, was killed/missing in action
on the 19... . He fought bravely and

WRITES

tonville. You are the shrills and tears of Soweto and Langa. Without batting an eyelash you tear limb and body apart. You stare death in the face thirsty for a dust soaked young and promising brain. In hawk fashion you prowl over Mahlangu's grave even when he is no more. With all honour and dignity you relate your saracen exploits to your mother, wife and children. You seem to be racing with madness itself and yet, perhaps stupidly, I still want to believe that you are still human. Human enough to have a biologically functioning b r a i n and fully aware of the grave crime you are committing with a yellow callous smile.

While your money-saturated bosses enjoy the last drops of a shrinking paradise you march and trounce Cunene Province, you create human ash in Nyazonia, you erase smiles in Kassinga. "Hands Off Angola!" We say. "Hands On Angola!" You reply. You reduce summer, spring and autumn into one meaningless passage of time by summoning hell unto earth. You are the one that breakfasts on the Zambesi and dines across the Equator. "Hot pursuit" is your greeting passport into free, harmless

and friendly Africa. Invasion of foreign lands has become your stock-in-trade, simple as boarding a tourist bus. But this time you are the fare and your Almighty Pretoria the benefactor.

Time is fast approaching when the Northward Limpopo bound train for border duty shall be your terror and nightmare. At the railway station your "Papa" and "Mama" shall bid you farewell and your return shall be a ghostly knock on the front door, the entry of an unknown man, a consoling note reading: "He died with honour and glory for the fatherland". "Papa" and "Mama" shall stare each other in the eye and their numb gaze shall converge on your younger ten year old brother whose path is also that of "glory for the fatherland". This is your path as the fish of the race-mad muddy waters, I want to breathe the life into you but you have been drained dry and exhaled of the love for life and man.

Mr. Soldier, if I may address you so, the decision is yours, judgement has not yet been pronounced. We reserve the right to final judgement. Yours is a marathon trial. Rustenburg, Moroka and Booyens are the people's trialstones surging uninterruptedly forward under the ever present reminding trial venues and echoes of Amalinde, Thaba Bosiu and mighty Isandlwana.

In battlegrounds as far apart as Blood River and Wankie we buried soldiers. We are dynamite itself exploding with freedom and grinding you alive. Rightly placed, you are an accident and scurvy of history, and your body and soul belong to the manure fields of posterity.

Continued from page 2

campaigns to save the lives of our comrades. To our oppressed but fighting people, the message is to carry on in the spirit of the successful battles of the Year of the Freedom Charter and the South African Worker, to engage the enemy in all fronts. to harass him, disperse his forces and weaken them. In brief, to deny him peace.

FORWARD TO A PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT!

HEROES OF OUR REVOLUTION



EDWIN JEZILE MKWANAZI

Edwin Jezile Mkhwanazi, popularly known as "Fumes", died on the Sunday evening of July 2nd, 1978, of asthma, that had kept him in torment for more than two years and was hardly two months in the flood-stricken Lusaka, on his return from Hungary where he was receiving treatment.

And so Fumes has run his race.

What a race it was: brief, fast, robust - a race to the finish. To us, Fumes was like "Elmer Gentry". When there was a mission to be carried out, we knew that Fumes was the man. He would make it. If a comrade was "in the soup", we knew that Fumes would save him. Comrade Fumes was the spirit of Umkhonto we Sizwe. He was the living blood of our ranks, as he was always the spirit of our jam sessions where he would jive to the rhythm with zeal and splendour.

PRODUCT

In Fumes, we see a true representative of Umkhonto we Sizwe. Wherever he was and whatever he was doing, Fumes was MK in word and deed.

Fumes was a product of the Ghetto and he could play the act efficiently, and knowing that our history has nothing to do with chaos, he played the role he had chosen in his life, that of a true, dedicated, honest militant of MK who tolerated nothing that was against his organisation.

It is because he was light-hearted, full of life and walked with a spring in his step and laughed even in difficulties, that we look at those who fell in our struggle, defending freedom. For that, the African National Congress has looked at his youthful life with admiration. We do not necessarily talk

of those who fall in the struggle. The liberation of the Motherland requires blood, the blood of her best sons.

Umkhonto we Sizwe, was hardly a year old when the youthful, energetic, the simply irrepressible Fumes, joined its ranks. By the end of 1962, in the distinguished company of other compatriots, Fumes was en route to distant lands to acquire skills and the wherewithal deemed indispensable for the restoration of human dignity for the Black race in South Africa. He envisioned very vividly a South Africa in which Freedom for the despised and down-trodden indigenous people would be restored, when democracy would see the light of day.

Lest it be forgotten. The exit of Fumes and his colleagues took place at a time when the entire South African sub-continent still reeled under colonialist occupation. Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland were helpless British Protectorates. Mozambique and Angola; Namibia, Zambia and Malawi - were all colonised territories.

TRANSIT

In the then Bechuanaland, the colonial Administration was in shameless collaboration with the fascist regime in South Africa. All intelligence information was passed on to the Boers, if they did not feel the inclination to cross the border and collect it themselves. Remember Mafeking in South Africa, was the capital of Bechuanaland until 1965.

Small wonder then that Fumes and his colleagues literally lived in the bush for the duration of their prolonged transit in this country. Northbound, they inched their way in rickety trucks and on foot. The onset of darkness often presaged an encounter with predators and scavengers of the wild. Somehow, these largely unarmed people made their way through minimal losses. Nature turned out to be kinder than human types called British Administrators.

Beyond the mighty Zambesi lay still more hostile territory. Thanks to the invaluable assistance given by the United Independence Party (UNIP), freedom fighters who were themselves embroiled in a bitter do or die struggle for independence, passage to Dar-Es-Salaam on the East African coast was realised. The destination lay further ahead and more tenuous overland transportation was laid out.

The Fumes group was initiated to a particularly rigorous military training programme in a country where live bullets were preferred to dummy and where the limits of endurance were tested in day-long desert marches, sweltering hot by day and

bitingly cold at night. In preparation for future crossings of the Limpopo, Vaal, Orange, Tugela and the Kei, Fumes and his colleagues taught their comrades the secrets of eating wild roots, snakes and other animals normally considered revolutive. They had one and one purpose only: to defeat the enemy whatever the cost. Starvation, a weak physique and natural barriers were definitely not going to stand in their way as they marched to freedom.

By the middle of 1963 Fumes was fuming, ready for the big encounter with the enemy. New arrivals and the uninitiated could only marvel at the supreme fitness of their physical training instructor as Fumes put them through the paces at four o'clock every morning. As he demonstrated each exercise he would jump in the air or squat with inimitable dexterity on the floor.

TRAINING

A review of the home front pointed to a need for further and more comprehensive training to produce an effectively all-round MK cadre. Overcoming an acute disappointment at not being able to proceed to battle, Fumes accepted the directive for more training. In the event, Fumes discovered himself. This training brought to the surface qualities that had been latent in Fumes. To this excellent physical machine, was introduced a new weapon - an ideology. That compass saw Fumes through severe moments, when hardships beset the movement, despondency scattered many into limbo, whom today we have forgotten and our struggle is still continuing unabated. Close friends of Fumes deserted the African National Congress. Some of his colleagues tended to adopt an ethnic complexion. Fumes has survived it all.

When we take a look around our ranks we see some shades of Fumes - we heave a sigh of relief and think: "Fumes is still alive. There is his incarnation in sibani-bani".

It has been said that Fumes produced many a hero who distinguished himself in battle: in Wankie, Sipolilo, and in the very fascist citadel itself. That is a plain statement of truth.

A brave man, full of guts, Fumes commanded the respect of the weak and the strong alike. He was that type of person you always felt proud to know and be associated with. He inspired confidence.

The dictates of the situation demanded of Fumes to be where he was when death snatched him away "in his prime". During his brief life his quiet, if not qualitative contribution

to the cause of the people was tremendous. Let it be said again - Fumes was a fine fellow: he had p l u c k, warmth and boundless love for his fellow sufferers.

So, that evening while he was under a severe relapse in the presence of his girl-friend, Monty, whom he was planning to make a life-companion, Comrade Edwin Jezile "Fumes" Mkhwanazi, lifted his right hand fist in the salute of the African National Congress, managed to squeeze out in a voice only known to asthmatics: "AMANDLA". And the lights went off. A great man has passed away.

Bantustan Independence' Fraud

As the Year of the Freedom Charter and the South African Worker draws to a close, our people are locked in serious battles with the oppressor in demonstration of their utter rejection of the Apartheid system. Strong voices from various quarters representing popular feeling continue to be heard at home and abroad. Amongst them two outspoken opponents of the status quo, compelled to leave the country in the wake of fiendish harassment and impending incarceration, have been energetically drawing the attention of international opinion to the plight of our people in the hands of the criminal Pretoria regime and its stooges. These are Thozamile Botha, a renowned trade union leader from Port Elizabeth, in the Cape and King Sabata Dalindyebo, head of the Tembus in the Transkei. The latter saw it all in the Bantustans that it was a fraud designed by the racists to rob his people. At the onset King Dalindyebo undertook to fight. He had seen that all this high-blood pressure salesmanship was meant to rule the people and keep them divided. To hypnotise the people by giving them the impression that they are being helped. Where 'leaders' are chosen for the people and groomed to oppress them.

Below we publish extracts from a statement by King Sabata Dalindyebo at a press conference in Zambia on the 3rd of December, 1980.

"When Pretoria decided to introduce the policy of bantustans in which they expected the traditional rulers to play a prominent part, many of us had to ask ourselves the question whether service in these bantustan institutions would be in the people. It is a fact that throughout South Africa, including Transkei, the area I come from, the people rejected this bantustan scheme and demanded freedom and democracy in the country of our birth.

"In this situation my role was clear. It was to speak out against the fragmentation of our country, in favour of liberty. But in the Transkei there were other traditional rulers, in particular Chief Kaizer Matanzima to whom I am related, who decided to go against the will of the people and agreed to serve as Pretoria's tool against the interests of the people. In exchange, Pretoria gave such collaborators fat salaries, posh cars and houses.

"When Matanzima was preparing to accept the fraudulent independence for the Transkei, to break the people's resistance, he offered me the post of president of this non-existing state, hoping that the prospect of ill-gotten wealth would attract me and persuade me to betray the people. I am glad to say that Matanzima failed in his intentions.

"Today the Transkei is ruled over by the cruel, greedy and corrupt Matanzima brothers and their close collaborators, this group is amassing a lot of wealth at the expense of the people. It maintains itself in power through the conduct of a campaign of terror against the people. Nobody in the Transkei feels secure from arbitrary victimisation by Matanzima's police army. This includes Matanzima's own collaborators. The area is under the permanent state of emergency.

"The people are starving. Famine is wide-spread and will become worse. The people have no land. They have no jobs. When they leave the Transkei to look for jobs, the white officials in the labour offices fling their so-called passports straight into their faces and tell them to return to their independent state. In fact one stands a better chance of getting a job if one produces a South African pass, a so-called reference book, than if one produces Transkei papers. On these poverty-stricken people, the Matanzima brothers have imposed heavy taxes to ensure a comfortable life for themselves.

"Ladies and gentlemen, I am also President of the Transkei Democratic Party. The Party was formed in 1963 to unite and mobilise the people of the Transkei against the Bantustan

Cont. on page 3!

OF YOUTH

It is only in the spring time every year, on 9th May, that people stand in a queue to lay flowers on the grave of the Unknown Warrior at the Kremlin wall in Moscow. What do we of Umkhonto we Sizwe do on 16th December every year? We go to the graves of those who fell and remember the part they played in the struggle. We pay respect to the memory of our fallen heroes in the struggle for our freedom and "died for life on earth forever", as Alexander Tvardovsky, a great poet said, and continued:

I know, of course,
No fault lies at my door
That others did not come back from the war...

Why did this poet bring this up after so many years since World War II? Below we publish "Of Youth" by this great poet of the Soviet Union. We do this so that the young men and women who have been swelling our ranks since 1976 should look about themselves and understand this noble cause they are serving. You, young men and women, are the living. We hope you will always remember and take stock of what you are in order to shape your future.

Editors.

We treasure the future
And know youth will win -
But not as young grass wins,
When, pushing up through the snow
at winter's end,
It crowds out the old grass.

No, youth's purpose is different.
Youth steps into our still warm tracks
And takes up our cause,
For it has the same cherished goal in sight.

It is for youth to walk on, down
our chosen road -
To walk farther than we -
And to achieve that
Which we have not had the time to achieve.

From the heights of the Five-Year Plans of the future

It may - who knows! - remember us,
Remember with a smile
Our heroes, our poets, our ministers.
But as it scales those soaring peaks -
And it will scale them swiftly
Let it not be carried away,
Let it not judge us, its fathers, too severely.

Let it instead

Understand,

Let it sense with its heart
That we too did our bit
In helping it reach those coveted peaks
And that we knew years ago
That it would reach them.

We knew and dreamt of the fame and glory.
The youth of our land would attain,
And our fathers before us
Knew and dreamt of it too,
For, like we, they saw far ahead.

The exploit of our fathers, veiled by time,
was o u r exploit
As ours was theirs.

They took the Winter Palace without us,
We took Berlin with them still beside us.

We built Kuzbass - that giant complex -
Without the young of our land,
But it is together with them
That we harness the Volga.

Let our youth not forget
That in its wake
The young of future years will come,
Born to do great things of their own.

We see them coming,
And we welcome them without envy,
For we are no older than they.

- ALEXANDER TVARDOVSKY

OUR PEOPLE'S ARMY IS GROWING

- Amos Aluko

"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".

- COMRADE PRESIDENT O.R. TAMBO -

It is now 19 years since our vanguard movement, the African National Congress and its allies formed our people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, on that memorable December 16 - our Heroes' Day. During this period much has transpired that has had an effect on the unfolding of our revolutionary struggle in general and on the growth of Umkhonto we Sizwe in particular.

Can we, then, at this moment say that our movement has made any progress in fulfilling its aims in building a people's army as set out in the MK Manifesto and reaffirmed by Comrade President O.R. Tambo as quoted above?

To answer this question we need to take a close look at the present state of our army, bearing in mind its past and projecting to the future.

OUR RANKS

Without men to carry out military tasks, there can be no army to speak about. That is why our movement in launching the historic Sabotage Campaign announcing the birth of Umkhonto we Sizwe set as one of its main aims "the need to create a military apparatus and, more particularly to recruit large numbers of professional cadres who were to be trained and who would form the core of future guerrilla bands".

At first, leading personnel was selected from the ANC and its allies, some of whom had already gone abroad to be trained in the art of guerrilla warfare even before MK was formed. The Sabotage Campaign helped to attract many young men to join MK



and an underground railway had been set up for sending them abroad for training. It was during this period in 1962 when our first Commander-In-Chief, Comrade Nelson Mandela, toured Africa and Europe to obtain international support for the armed struggle and training facilities.

From that time onwards the ranks of our army have been steadily multiplying in spite of the setbacks suffered by our movement following the Rivonia arrests. The painstaking underground political and recruiting work done by our movement and the increasing militancy of our people has led to many people, especially the youth, to join the ANC and MK. The swelling of our ranks following the June 16 Upsurges and the period thereafter are a testimony to this.

It is important to note that the strength of our army lies not so much in numbers - though numbers count - as in that we are an organised force guided by the knowledge of its role in our revolutionary struggle. Also important is the fact that to a certain degree the membership of our army reflects the cross-section of our population.

POLITICAL GROWTH

Our army is not growing in numbers only but in its political consciousness as well. This is so because the approach of our movement in moulding its armed militants is derived from its political line. We understand revolutionary armed struggle, theoretically and practically, as "a political struggle by means which include the use of arms". Hence the emphasis on politics in our education.

Thorough knowledge of our people's history of resistance, the policies of the ANC, our programme, the Freedom Charter, the liberating scientific ideas of the leading force in our national liberation movement, the working class, knowledge of other people's struggles make up the core of our political education. The members of our army are conscious participants in our people's struggle for the transformation of our society, a contribution to the elimination of all forms of oppression and exploitation of man by man throughout the world.

This explains why the African National Congress has been able to make men and women out of us in spite of the fact that the racist oppressor employs every means at his disposal to

turn us into wrecks: racism, tribalism, regionalism, corruption, etc. The moment one joins the ranks of our army, one is overwhelmed by the existing spirit of singleness of purpose, unity and comradeship. An MK cadre fulfils his tasks, aware that they are a necessary contribution towards the fulfilment of our goal - the liberation of our motherland.

An MK cadre has a deep love for his people and all the other peace and freedom loving people of the world. It is from this love that our hatred for the racist enemy and his imperialist allies grows. That is why the Pretoria racists could not break the spirit of our comrades Solomon Mahlangu, whom they murdered, James Mange, whose life was saved by international pressure, our three comrades who fought to death rather than surrender; Johnson Lubisi, Petrus Mashigo and Naph-tali Manana, whom the racists have recently condemned to the g a l l o w s and many other comrades who have fallen and those captured by the enemy. They have not betrayed the cause of our revolution.

COMBAT ABILITY

Emphasising the aims of our movement stated in MK Manifesto and other documents for the creation of a "striking force of the people... for final liberation", Comrade President O.R. Tambo once said:

"Revolution calls for supreme vigilance, organisation and capacity to sacrifice. The movement needs men and women willing to fight and perform all the tasks of war".

With the assistance of our friends, the socialist community, led by the Soviet Union, and our friends in Africa, who offer us equipment and facilities, we have been able to acquire training in modern warfare, a process which has been taking place since the formation of MK.

It is not surprising that the racist enemy has had to swallow his boastful words that he has "broken the backbone" of our liberation movement and admit to the high level of MK's combat ability. Recently small units of MK have proved themselves worthy of battle with outstanding acts of valour at Rustenburg, where a unit of MK, whose presence had been discovered by racist troops and Mangope's puppet soldiers, turned the situation to their advantage by killing 10 racist boer soldiers; the lightning attacks by small units on Orlando, Moroka, Booyens and Soekmekaar police stations has introduced



a new element in our actions - the offensive. Even before the boers could recover from their shock following these attacks on police stations, another unit of MK struck heavily. This time it was on SASOL I Natref and Secunda. The racist Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs, de Klerk, was forced to admit to the superiority of MK combatants saying: "It is clear that we are faced with a sophisticated attack, which is evidenced by the fact that there were attacks on three separate installations almost simultaneously".

Thorough planning, timing, excellent choice of targets, swiftness and precision in action are the characteristic features of our combat units. All these are a living evidence of the growing combat ability of MK.

LEADERSHIP

To achieve all this has not been an easy and smooth process. It is thanks to the tried and tested leadership of our movement who have in the course of the past years ensured the continued existence and growth of our army, surmounting many obstacles.

The ever intensifying militancy of our people to which our movement provides leadership, in turn serves as a source of inspiration for our movement and army. Our people have a rich fighting tradition and we are a product of that centuries-old tradition.

We shall never forget the invaluable contribution of our comrades of the Luthuli Detachment, the first detachment of our army to have a baptism of fire during the historic Wankie and Sipolilo Campaigns when the racist soldiers of Smith and Vorster had to run for their lives. These are the comrades who have kept the banner of the ANC and its allies high at a time when the imperialists wanted to finish off with our entire movement and army.

The brotherly support we receive from the socialist countries, progressive African states and the revolutionary working class movement and progressive organisations in the developed capitalist countries make us even stronger.

It is the duty of each and everyone of us to safeguard what we have achieved. It is on this basis that we shall proceed, together with the entire masses of our people, led by

the African National Congress, with the fulfilment of our historic mission - the liberation of our motherland. We must not relax in raising the level of discipline, vigilance and combat readiness of our army. This is a necessary contribution towards the attainment of our certain victory whose defence shall be the responsibility of our People's Army.

Human Touch

- Sunrise

NEWSWRITING

The principle of factual presentation is reflected in accurately listing the names and positions of persons who appear in the article. It is also reflected in the listing of accurate figures and other essential data and in an accurate reproduction of formulations of important statements quoted in the article. Your reader must always know that the Freedom Charter was adopted by 3,000 delegates from all walks of life at the Congress of the People at Kliptown, near Johannesburg, on June 26, 1955. It is not polite just to write: "The Freedom Charter was adopted by thousands of people in 1955". What does the Freedom Charter stand for? Go ahead. Write all the facts and don't leave your reader hanging on the air guessing. See how wonderful it is to write simply and straight forward:

"John Mathongo, aged 26 years and father of two children, both girls, stood next to a drum full of benzine. He struck a match to light a cigarette. There was a huge burst of fire, and he was turned into a human torch. He died on the spot".

WORLD OUTLOOK

People who are inclined to the idealist world outlook often give prominence in their lives to god, or some other supernatural forces. They are prone to rely on fate, rather than knowledge of the laws governing changes in their environment. In contrast, people with a Marxist world outlook rely on their activities guided by knowledge of the objective

laws of reality. Their main objective is continuous transformation and improvement of the conditions of life, rather than adaptation to them, as is the goal of people sharing a religious, idealistic world outlook.

AFRICAN COMMUNIST

The fact that each generation learnt from the other and that there was a mutual interaction of experience, leadership, guidance, enthusiasm and dedication is vividly portrayed in a letter written to the press by a "concerned mother".

"As a parent I am very worried about my child who is boycotting about the conditions at school.

"My son tells me that they have no books, that the classrooms are cold, that they are being trained for a cheap labour market.

"What is this all about?

"I am very tired when I get home at night, there is so much to do and then I must still go to the mass meeting.

"What do these children know about suffering? So many people have tried to change things before but nothing has happened.

"What if they get shot or are put in jail? I work hard to give them their schooling, that is all that I can give them.

"My son says if we had tried in the past to change the conditions in our country, they would not be doing so today. I feel guilty about this, perhaps we did not try hard enough.

"He says that we must sacrifice, they sing "Freedom isn't free" at the meetings. My son gets up, he is only in Standard 8 and he speaks to hundreds of people at the meeting, he is so confident of himself. I see him through tears in my eyes telling the audience about the problems at school, how education is not separate from the struggle for freedom. That we do not have political rights and that our bosses underpay us and treat us badly, I begin to understand what he is talking about.

"They say that we must stay together in our communities, that a people united will not be defeated. that we should talk to other people about these things.

"I can understand it all, but I feel scared. My neighbour did not want to come tonight. The people are clapping, they are calling for nominations for a parent-student committee. I want to volunteer, I see my son's big black eyes are looking at me. He is trying to tell me to put up my hand. I find my

hand being raised slowly, his face lights up into a broad smile, the people are clapping".

THIS IS APARTHEID

The Interior Minister, Schlebusch, amended the racial classification of 152 people last year. One hundred and one Cape Coloureds became Whites. One Chinese went White. Two Whites became Coloureds. Six Whites went Chinese. Two Whites became Indian. Ten Malays were switched to Indian. Eleven Indians became Coloured. Four Indians went Malay. Three Coloureds became Chinese and two Chinese became Coloured. Eighty-one other applications for re-classification were turned down.

DAWN *politiXword* No.10 Answers

ACROSS: 1. Apartheid 6. Gem 7. Lot 8. Babla
10. Cool 12. Dig 13. Bambatha 16. Pie
17. Sabotage

DOWN: 1. Angola 2. AAM 3. Tamayo 4. Island
5. Struggle 9. ICBM 11. Lit 13. Bus
14. Art 15. Ape

scheme and lead them in the struggle for a free and united South Africa. Matanzima is very much afraid of the Democratic Party because he knows that it represents the opinion of the vast majority of the people of the Transkei. Therefore he consistently bans our meetings, arrests and tortures our activists and intimidates our followers. But because it represents the truth, Matanzima has failed to destroy the Democratic Party.

"As for myself, last year Matanzima arrested me and had me charged with insulting the office of 'President' of 'Transkei' - that is, himself. All I had done was to ask the question. What kind of passport is this? Namely the 'Transkei' passport, which nobody in the world is prepared to recognise? In order to travel, Matanzima himself has to ask Pretoria to issue him travel papers, otherwise all he can do is to shuttle between the 'Transkei' and Pretoria. I had also asked the question. What kind of government is this whose ministers have pockets full of money when the ordinary people had to search garbage dumps for food? Matanzima did not like this. Therefore he dragged me to court and had me fined and later dethroned as King.

"At the beginning of August, Matanzima once more sent his police to arrest me. Fortunately, sources close to Matanzima had already warned me that I was going to be arrested again. They had also informed me that I would not come out of prison alive. I therefore decided to evade the police and like my cousin, Nelson Mandela, twenty years ago, live the life of a fugitive.

"I am now here and will continue the struggle for the liberation of South Africa from outside. But I would like to get this message to the people of the Transkei that they must continue the struggle and must refuse to submit to the terrorism of the Matanzima brothers. The struggle has to be conducted in the Transkei and knowing the people of this area, I am convinced that they will stand on their feet in their millions and, together with the rest of the people of the Transkei sweep away the Matanzimas and their bosses in Pretoria.

"Finally, I would like to assure the people of South Africa, including those of the Transkei, that my presence outside the borders of our country is only a temporary retreat to ensure that I am able to continue the fight for our liberty. I will continue the struggle until our country is free. As long as I live, as long as I have so much strength as to lift my little finger. I will dedicate all my existence to the destruction of the apartheid system and its bantustan offshoot..."

DAWNLIGHT... Starring Lennox Sebe



EL SALVADOR

- Reginald Mpongo

PART I



El Salvador is a small country situated in Central America. The size of this country is approximately 21,400 sq km and her capital city is San Salvador. The population of this state is 5-million, of whom 89% are mestizos (mixed blood), 10% Indians and 1% whites.

The ruling military junta of El Salvador perpetuate national genocide on the people who have been living virtually under the state of siege for almost 50 years. Today their revolutionary struggle is on the verge of victory. But, first let us look at the background of this country and history of their struggle.

Before the arrival of the Spanish conquistadores in 1524, the Indian tribes of Maya, Lenca and Pipil inhabited what today is El Salvador. These aborigines heroically resisted the intrusion of the colonisers until they were subjugated through the well-known colonial tactics of setting one tribe against the other. The country proclaimed its independence in 1841.

RESOURCES AND ECONOMY

Despite the fact that the country has deposits of gold, silver, lead, zinc, copper and sulphur, it is a backward agrarian country. Coffee, which accounts for 50% of foreign exchange and cotton are the major crop. Maize, millet, rice, horicots, sugar cane, tobacco, fruits and vegetables are grown for internal consumption, but they never satisfy the

market, resulting in dependence on imported foodstuffs. Over 60% of the population are engaged in agriculture.

The economy of El Salvador is dependent of foreign capital, especially on United States capital. Industries which are found are mostly agricultural processing enterprises (textiles, footwear and food). There are small scale oil refineries, iron and steel and cement plants and several electrical power stations.

SOCIAL INEQUALITY

Social life is characterised by inequality with 14 families controlling 80% of all arable land and the rest of the population living in absolute poverty and deprivation. Their living standard is continuously falling - over 70% of the children are undernourished, over half of the population is illiterate and in 1979, the rate of unemployment rose by 40% and yet millions of dollars are filling the coffers of US multinationals who had made deep ingrowth in the industry and agriculture of the country.

During the second half of the decade of the twenties sporadic revolts began in the country especially by peasant and agricultural workers in the countryside. These revolts reached the climax with the 1932 Popular Uprisings (the first of its kind since the anti-colonial struggle) and were led by the Communist Party. The uprising was brutally suppressed at the cost of 30,000 lives. The National Guard was unleashed against the people - army posts spread all over the countryside. Workers' and peasants' organisations were harassed and finally disbanded. A military junta under General Maximilian Hernandez took power and consolidated the hegemonistic absolute power of the coffee agro-export oligarchy. Since then the Salvadoreans have never known any happiness and respect of basic human rights. Patriots who are calling for genuine independence for the homeland of Farabundu Marti are ruthlessly suppressed - either killed or made to 'disappear'.

LEGAL POLITICAL PARTIES

The political parties found in the country reflect the existent social relations and alignment of forces. The legal parties are as follows:

- (a) National Conciliation Party (pro-American party of commercial and industrial bourgeoisie, land-owners, military and priesthood.

- (b) The Christian Democratic Party (enjoys support of part of land-owners and the Catholic Church).
- (c) The National Democratic Union (represents petty and middle bourgeoisie, students and intellectuals).
- (d) The National Revolutionary Movement which is primarily a party of democratic intellectuals and has sympathisers from part of workers, peasants and students.

Government control exchanges hands between the conservatives and liberals which are always linked with certain sectors in the army - hence the frequent coups d'etat.

COMMUNIST PARTY'S NEW STRATEGY

Under the impact of the historic victory of the Cuban Revolution, a big upsurge in the struggle emerged in El Salvador, in reality the whole of Latin American continent. The underground Communist Party of El Salvador began to build a broad popular movement, the United Front for Revolutionary Action with an aim of turning to armed struggle.

The new strategy was never implemented due to a new objective situation which emerged at the time.

1. Successful launching of dependent industrialisation process based on the Central American Commonmarket in 1962. As a result the industrial and commercial growth indicates increased, together with the gross national product (GNP);
2. Foreign capital, especially United States, began penetrating the countryside resulting in relative prosperity and the proletarianisation of the rural workers.
3. The regime consolidated itself - limited democratic and electoral reforms were introduced.

TACTICAL CHANGES AND REACTION

The Communist Party; without casting aside the thesis of armed struggle; introduced tactical changes, that is, participation in the legal forms of struggle. It had to work hard to win the people from the reformist road and expose to the people that the so-called 'elections' are only a manoeuvre by the enemy to gain time. Parallel, but closely linked to the inflow of foreign capital to boost the dependent

capitalist development, was the emergence of reformist and ultra-leftist ideological and political shades, a feature of Latin American revolutionary movements.

From 1966 to 1977 the Communist Party, in alliance with other democratic organisations, took part in the presidential, mayoral and deputies elections. Throughout these eleven years the pro-imperialist and pro-oligarchy military regimes never respected the elections; ballot-rigging of elections became the order of the day. The candidates of the democratic forces grouped under the banner of the National Opposition Union were intimidated and terrorised, and some of them 'disappeared'. The perpetrators of these acts were the members of Order and White Hand Fascist organisations (both CIA creations). However, the deepening crisis in the country, increasing enemy brutality, and the growing mass popular resistance gave rise to a new situation. The Secretary-General of the Communist Party, Comrade Schafik Jorge Handal, characterise the alignment of forces at the time as follows:

- (a) There appeared popular movements of peasants and rural workers hitherto unknown since the January/February 1932 killings, in short, emergence of various organisations in the countryside.
- (b) The majority of the catholic clergy (the main religion in the country) gravitated to the left and began an active 'conscientising' work, especially in the countryside.
- (c) A configuration of progressive trends in military ranks;
- (d) Proliferation of actions of various guerrilla groups of the ultra-left, a phenomenon belonging to the decade of the 60s for most Latin American countries. These groups concentrated their armed actions in the cities; and
- (e) Regrouping of the rightist forces into new organisations with clear and pragmatic tendencies towards the fascism of Mussolini corporative state type, amongst them FARO (Front of the Farmers of the Eastern Region) the largest grouping of the oligarchical circles. (First QRT 1978 issue of America Latina). The regime and its National Reconciliation Party was effectively isolated from the masses.

The question of armed struggle once more came to the fore.
To be continued
in the next issue

NOTES FROM THE GALLOWES

by

JULIUS FUCHIK

Chapter 8

A BIT OF HISTORY

June 9th, 1943.

In front of my cell there hangs a belt. My belt. The sign of a transport in the near future. Some time in the night they will take me off to the Reich for trial - and so forth. From the last crust of my life, time bites off the final mouthful. The four hundred and eleven days in Pankrats have passed surprisingly fast. How many days remain? What sort of days? And where will I spend them?

I shall hardly have the opportunity to write, however, anywhere else. So this is my last testimony. A bit of history of which I am apparently the last living witness.

In February, 1941, they arrested the whole Central Committee of the Communist Party in Czechoslovakia - and also the second group of leaders, who had prepared to take over when we should fall. How it happened that such an extremely hard blow fell on us all at once has never been fully explained. Perhaps it will be explained some day, when the Gestapo commissars are caught and made to talk. I tried in vain to learn that secret as a trusty in Petchek Building. There was certainly some spy-work in it, and a lot of carelessness. Two years of successful work underground had dulled the alertness of the comrades. Our illegal organisation grew too widespread; new workers were constantly drawn in - even many who ought to have been held in reserve to succeed the first set if anything happened. Our network of cells became too complex to control precisely. The blow at our party Central was evidently prepared long and carefully, and fell just when the enemy was ready for his attack on the Soviet Union.

I did not know at first how many of us they had trapped, I waited for the rest to contact me according to the normal plan, but I waited in vain. After a month, it was plain to see that something pretty far-reaching had happened, and that I must not merely wait for a contact from outside. Thus I

began to look for contacts from inside, and others began the search also.

The first member whom I found was Honza Vyskochil, chief of the Central Bohemia section. He had plenty of initiative and already had some material ready to renew publication of Red Rights, so that the party should not be left without a newspaper. I wrote a leading editorial, but then we agreed that the material, the rest of which I had not yet seen, should be published as a May Paper, not under the name of Red Rights. Other parties had put out similar one-shot papers instead of trying to maintain regular editions.

The next months were devoted to partisan work. The blow, severe as it was, could not kill the party. Hundreds of new workers took up the tasks left by leaders who had been struck down. Their fresh energy and devotion prevented any deterioration in the basic organisation or any feeling of defeatism or passivity creeping into it. But the central organism was missing, and the danger of partisan group work was that there would not be unity and well-knit leadership at the most important moment, the expected assault of the enemy on Soviet Russia.

I saw that an experienced political hand was at work in a copy of Red Rights, which was published by a partisan cell. Our single May Paper was not particularly successful, I am sorry to say, but others saw in it proof that there was someone to cooperate with. So we two groups searched for contact.

It was like looking for someone in a deep forest. We would hear a voice and start out to find it. Then the right voice sounded ever so quietly from an entirely different direction. Our heavy losses made everybody in the party extremely cautious and alert to prevent falling into a trap. Two members of the former Central who wished to find each other had to pass through all sorts of tests and overcome many obstacles set up by those they trusted in order to make doubly sure that neither had turned traitor and was trying to play a trick. The greatest handicap was that I did not know who it was I was looking for - nor did he know the member was trying to contact him.

We finally found a man who knew and could vouch for us both. That was a fine young fellow, Dr. Milosh Nedved, who became our first courier. I found him by pure chance. In the middle of June, 1941, I fell ill and sent Lida to find Dr. Nedved and bring him to the Baxa home, where I was hiding. He came at once, and in our talk he let me know very, very cautiously that he had been asked to find the fellow who wrote that editorial in May Paper. He had no suspicion that it was

I, for all the members on the other side were sure that I had been arrested and probably executed.

Hitler attacked the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941. That very evening Honza Cherny and I put out a leaflet showing what that meant for us in Czechoslovakia. He was a strapping elegant chap with a wonderful attitude to people. He had fought in Spain, from where he had come home after the war broke out, crossing Nazi Germany with a lung wound. He always remained something of a soldier, with a rich underground experience, talented, always taking the initiative.

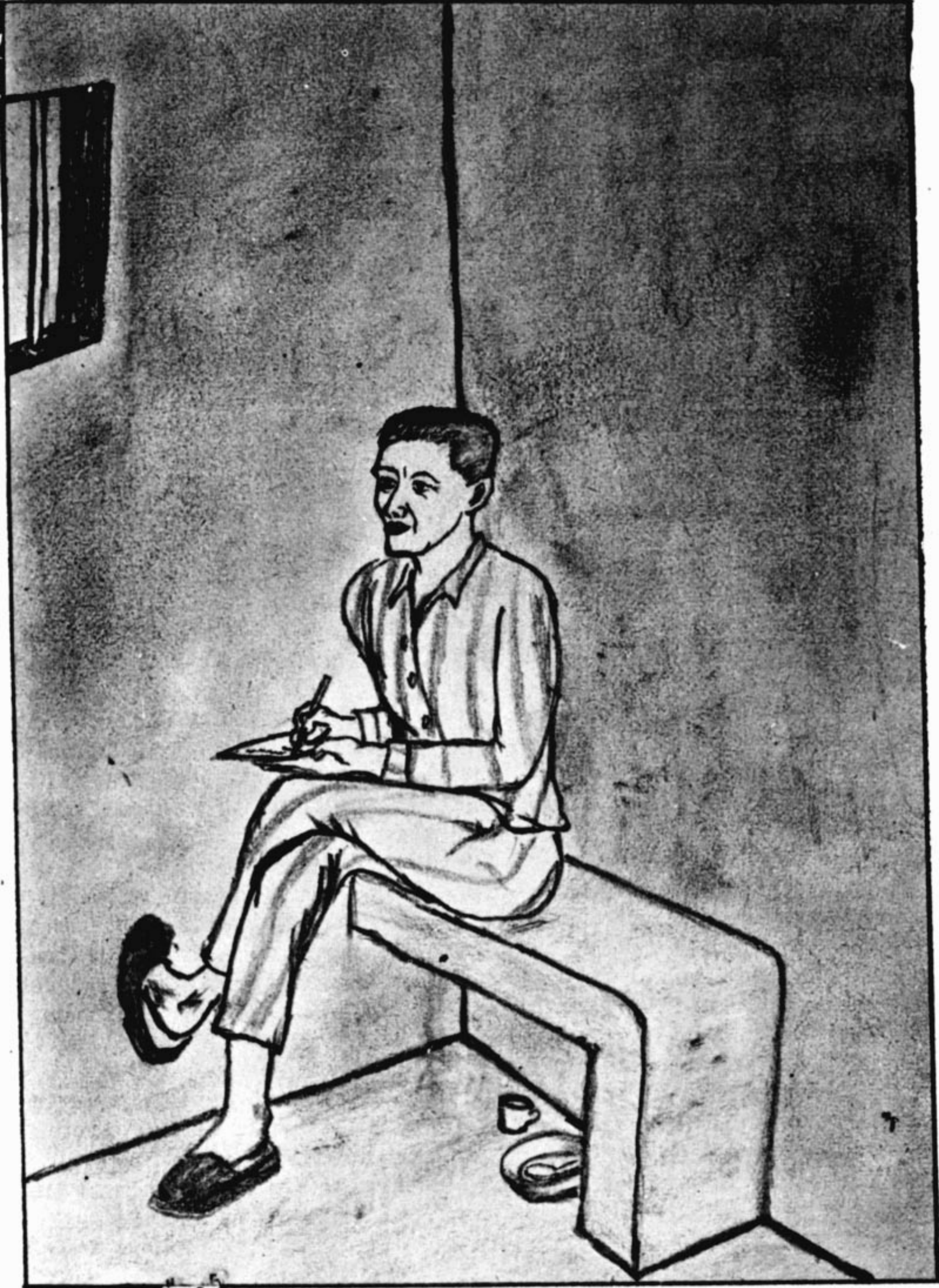
Months of stubborn fighting made us excellent comrades. We seemed to complement each other well, both in temperament and in our special training. Zika was the organiser, realistic, vexingly precise, never misled by high-sounding phrases. He bored into every report until he knew its full significance, tested every proposal from every possible side and then kindly, but firmly, carried out every decision of the group.

Cherny was in charge of sabotage and preparations for armed revolt. He thought in military language, was inventive, planned in broad terms, on a grand scale, was tireless and successful in searching for new people and new resources.

I was the journalist, the political agitator, relying on my nose. A little fantastic at times, a stickler for balance and unity.

Our division of functions was a division of responsibility, not of work. We all had to take a hand and accept responsibility in each other's branches whenever independent action or decision was called for, since it was hard to meet and discuss everything. The blow which struck the party in February, had cut all our contacts and they could never be entirely repaired. Certain whole sections of the organisation had been crushed; others had been rebuilt, but it proved impossible to contact them. The cells in many factories, even the organisation in whole regions, worked in isolation for months before we could communicate with them. We could only hope that they received our central newspaper and count on their following the general line it indicated.

It was hard to work, when we did not even have places to live. We could not use former apartments because they were probably under constant watch by the enemy. At first we had no money, even, and it was hard to secure food without ration cards, which would have given away our identity. All these obstacles had to be overcome at a time when it was too late to prepare and build, when we had to take an active hand in the



battle, for the Soviet Union had been attacked.

It is our job to fight on the internal front against the invaders, fight the miniature battles of sabotage. Not with our own forces only, but so far as possible to bring to bear the strength of the whole Czech nation. During the preparatory years from 1939 to 1941 the party was in underground activity, not only against the German police, but in relation to the nation. In spite of bloody suppression, the party had to harden and perfect its organisation against the invaders and at the same time win the confidence of the nation. That meant approaching people who belonged to no party, dealing with anyone who was determined to fight for liberty, calling upon the whole people to struggle, and dealing directly with those who continued to hesitate.

By the beginning of September, 1941, we could not say that we had rebuilt our crippled organisation, but we could say we had at least firmly organised core, capable of taking on considerable tasks. Party campaigns began to attract attention. Sabotage spread, there were strikes in factories everywhere. At the end of September they sent Heydrich after us.

The first period of martial law did not break our increasingly active resistance. It did slow us down, however, and inflicted new wounds on the party. The worst hit were the Prague district and youth organisation. More of our leaders fell, so valuable to the party - Jan Kreychi, Shtanzl, Milosh Krasny, and many others.

After each blow, however, you saw how indestructible the party was. Even if he seemed irreplaceable, each worker who fell was replaced by two or three new ones. By the new year we again had a strong organisation built. If it was not as far-reaching as that we had in February, 1941, still it was fully capable of meeting the challenge to decisive battle. We all took a hand in the work, but the major credit goes to Honza Zika.

Proofs of our publication work are to be found in attics and cellars, in the hidden files of comrades, and it is unnecessary to speak of that here.

Our newspapers were widely circulated and read, not only by members of the party, but throughout the land. They were published in printed or mimeographed form in considerable numbers by many 'technical centres', all secret and strictly isolated from each other. No publishing group knew who worked in any other, nor where they worked. None knew where their instructions or articles came from. They all worked as fast as humanly possible, as the battle situation demanded. For instan-

nce we put out the Army General Order of Comrade Stalin of February 23, 1942, and had it in the hands of readers on the evening of the 24th. The printers worked splendidly, as did the technical group of doctors and that called Fuchs-Lorenz, which also issued its own paper named **The World Against Hitler**. Most of the material of the other papers I produced myself, so as not to endanger others. My substitute was prepared long in advance in case I should fall. He took over immediately I was arrested, and is still doing his job.

We built as simple a machine as we could, to involve as few people as possible in any one task. We dropped the system of complicated chains for deliberating messages, which did not save the committee in February, 1941, but actually increased the danger of betrayal. That left each of us more exposed individually, but put the whole apparatus in a safer position. No future blow could cripple the party again, as happened in February.

Thus the Central Committee continued working normally when I was arrested. My substitute stepped into my place and even my closest collaborators noticed no difference.

Honza Zika was arrested on the night of May 27, 1942. That was also by pure chance. It was the night after the assassination of Heydrich, when the whole enemy machine was afoot conducting raids all over Prague. They walked into the apartment in Streshovice, where Zika lived illegally. His documents were in order with a false name, and they might never have noticed him if he had kept calm. Not wishing to risk the lives of the good family who had sheltered him, however, he tried to escape from a second-story window. He fell, mortally injured his spine and was taken to a prison hospital. They had no idea whom they had laid hands on. Only after eighteen days of search and comparison of files of photographs, did they prove who he was and took him dying to Petchek Building for a grilling. We met there for the last time, when they led me in to see him. We shook hands, and he beamed that broad kind smile at me, saying:

"Take care of yourself, Julo!"

That was all they ever heard out of him. He never said another word to them. After a few blows in the face he fainted, and died in a couple of hours.

I had learned of his arrest by May 29. Our feelers were working well. Through them we had agreed on our next steps as best we could, and they were later approved by Honza Chorny. That was our last decision together for the party.

Honza Cherny was arrested in the summer of 1942. This time it was not by chance, but due to a flagrant breach of discipline by Jan Pokorny, who had direct contact with him. Pokorny did not behave like a responsible officer of the group. After several hours of grilling - pretty severe grilling, to be sure, but what else had he expected? - after several hours of grilling he grew panicky and told them the address of the apartment where he had met Cherny. From there they traced Honza; and Gestapo had him a few days later.

They dragged me in to identify him the moment they brought him in.

"Do you know him?"

"No, I don't".

Nor did he admit knowing me. He refused to answer any more questions whatever. His old wound saved him from long torture. He soon fainted. Before they could take him for a second grilling, we carefully informed him about the situation and he was guided accordingly.

They never got anything out of him. They held him in prison a long time, waiting for some new evidence to break down his silence. But they never broke Honza Cherny.

Imprisonment did not change him. He was always courageous, sprightly, cheerful - always pointing others into the future, when his own future pointed straight toward death.

They took him away from Pankrats suddenly, the end of April. I don't know where. This sudden disappearance of people from here always means something ominous. I may be wrong, but I never expect to see Honza Cherny again.

We always reckoned with death. We knew that falling into Gestapo hands meant the end. And we acted accordingly, both in our own souls and in relation to others, even after being caught.

My own play draw near its end. I can't write that end, for I don't yet know what it will be. This is no longer a play. This is life.

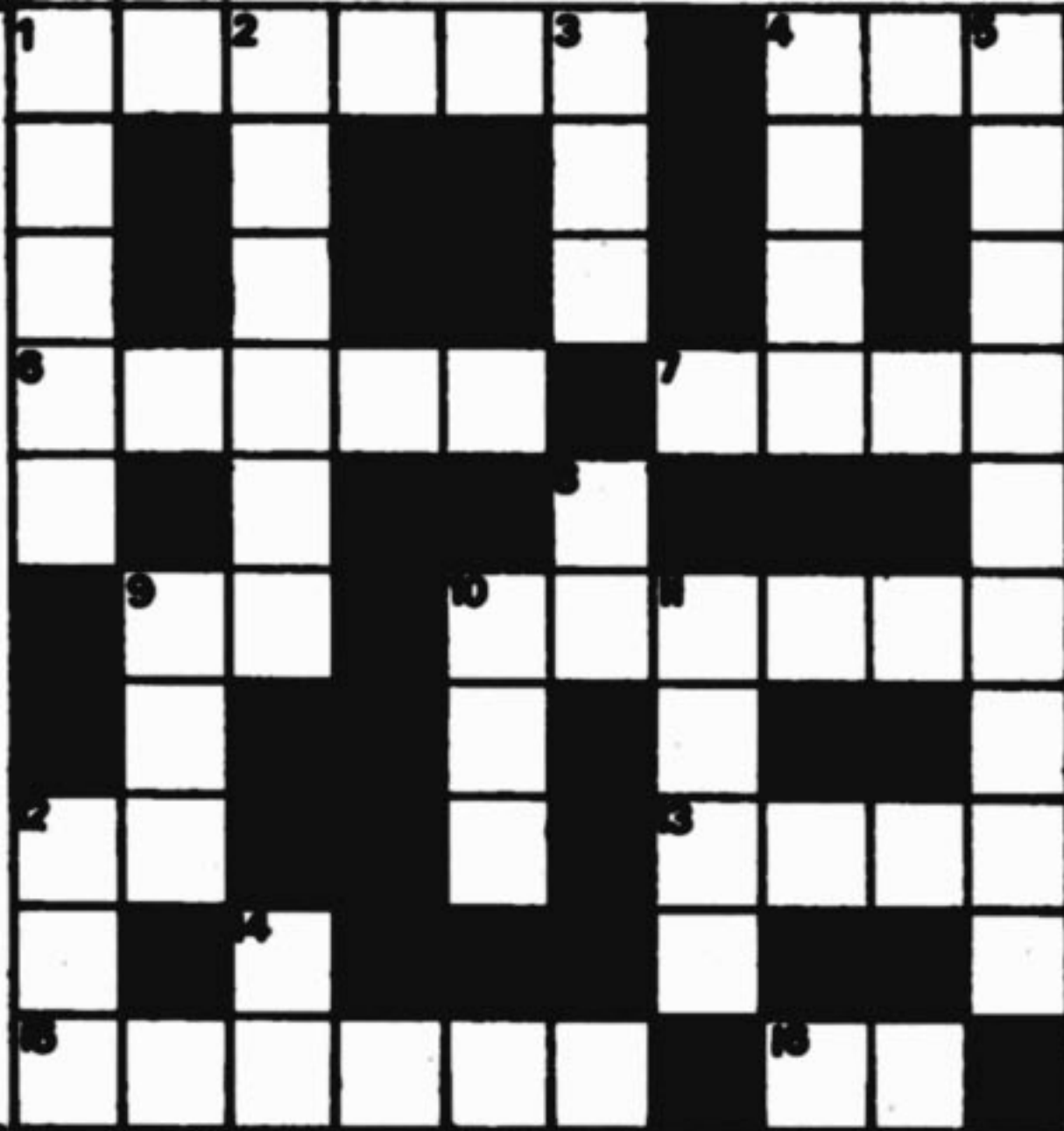
In real life there are no spectators: you all participate in life.

The curtain rises on the last act.

I loved you all, friends. Be on guard!

JULIUS FUCHIK.

June 9, 1943.



CLUES

Across

1. Official organ of the CPSU.
4. Bag-like part in a kangaroo.
6. "... sikelel' i-Afrika".
7. Old vehicle running on rail laid on road.
9. Thank you.
10. "The People Shall ..."
12. Our late Uncle.
13. To spin a coin deciding on something.
15. Founder of the African Women's League.
16. General Giap's surname.

Down

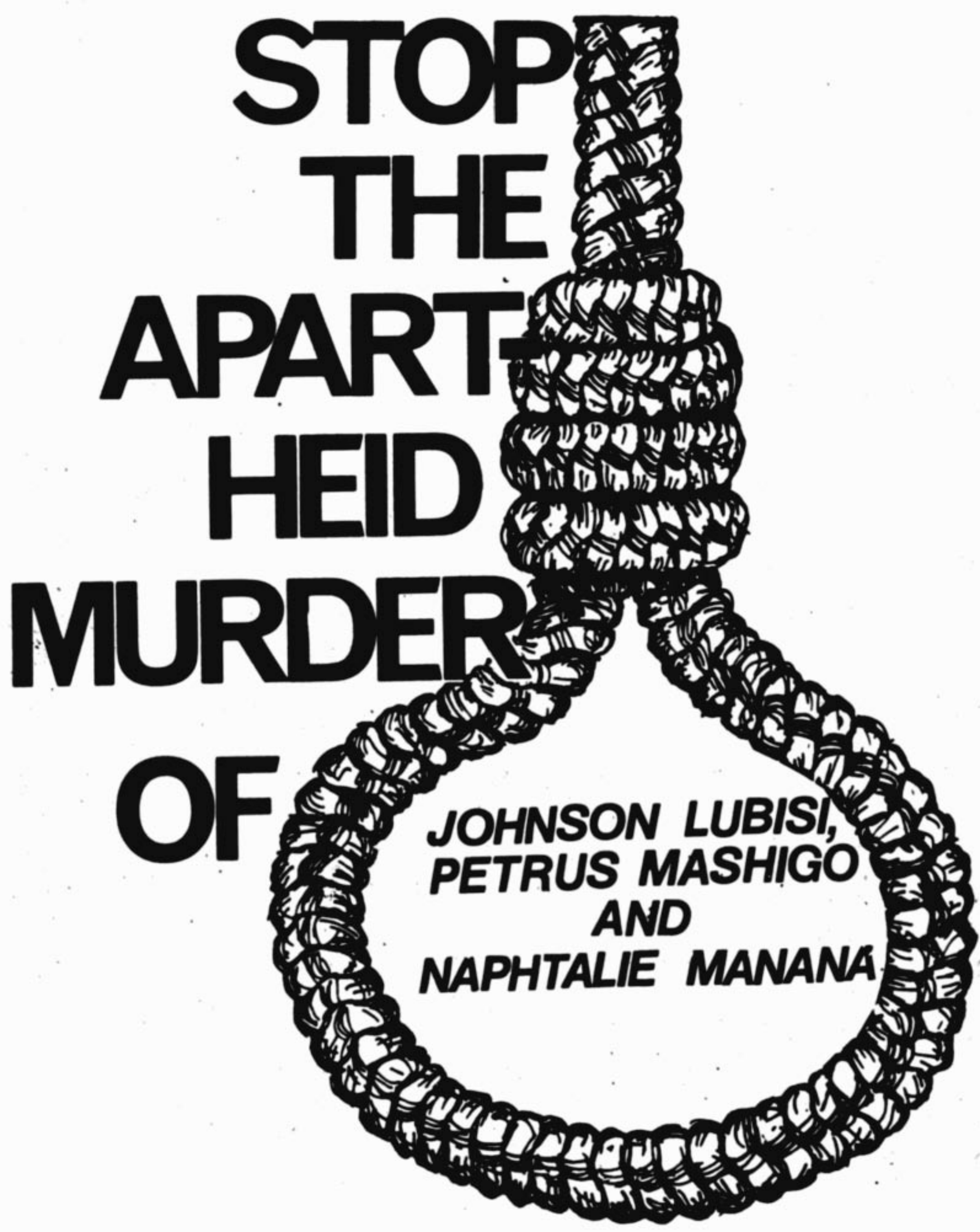
1. One of the three positions when shooting.
2. Signalled the attack on Tsar in old Russia.
3. Put inside the sighting devices.
4. It twinkles at night.
5. Cde Dadoo is Chairman of this Party.
8. Vietnames children's uncle.
9. Typhoid-paratyphoid A & B
10. Protects a boxer's teeth when fighting.
11. One's choice on something under discussion.
12. Sweet substance made with fruit and sugar.
14. The Pentagon's new ICBMs installed in Western Europe.

See answers in DAWN Vol. 5 No. 2

**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!



**STOP
THE
APART
HEID
MURDER
OF**

**JOHNSON LUBISI,
PETRUS MASHIGO
AND
NAPHTALIE MANANA**