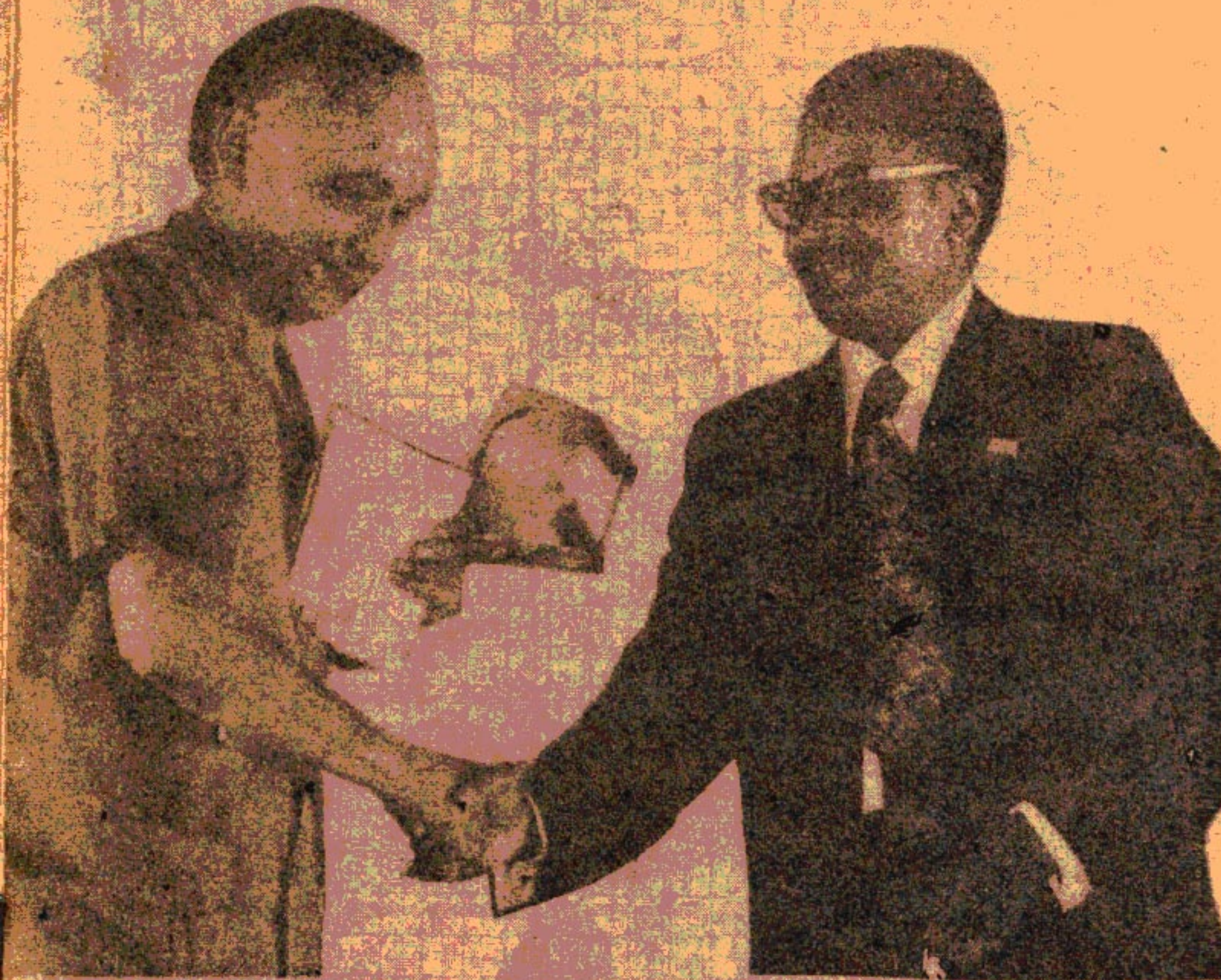


# DAWN

Monthly Journal of  
Umkhonto we Sizwe



**FORWARD TO A PEOPLE'S  
GOVERNMENT!**



# DAWN

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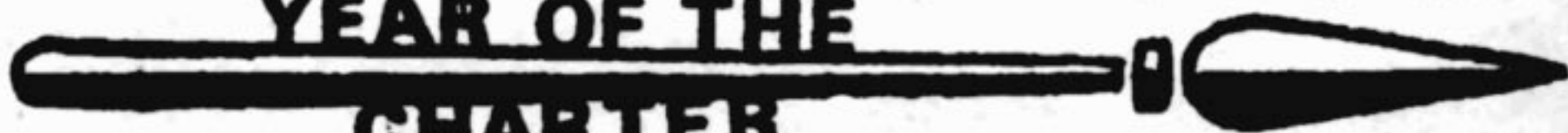
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YEAR OF THE  
CHARTER





## Editorial Comment

# OUR IDEA OF CHANGE

Change will definitely come to South Africa. What this change entails is a question which our people have long answered with the adoption of the Freedom Charter. We are now engaged in a fierce battle to bring about that long cherished change.

How then should we view the current moves by Botha and his racist clique?

In the current session of the United Nations General Assembly we will continue to witness imperialist manoeuvres against positive action by the international community on South Africa. With their catch phrase 'Peaceful Change' they will make every effort to defend their capital in South Africa.

The Botha-Malan regime has been busy throughout this period doing window-dressings that would allow their imperialist masters to defend them. The people of South Africa have never been deceived by these tactics framed in the Goering mould.

The people of South Africa have never been deceived even now as can be witnessed by the continued mass activity. Their rejection of the so-called 'Presidential Council' is a noble act in defence of black unity and mass solidarity.

On their part the racists arrogantly expect the world to believe that there are changes. What changes can there be while they are preparing yet another genocidal dumping ground



in the form of 'C i s k e i 'independence'?

What change can there be while they continue to murder our children and closing black schools?

The racist idea of change is the introduction of Gerrit Viljoen and Magnus Malan into their hierarchy. Is it change when the chairman of the notorious Broederbond becomes a Law-maker? Is it change indeed when the perpetrator of Cassinga and other massacres become a peace-maker? Not while these people believe in baaskap. These people are simply brought in to strengthen the iron hand of the fascists who have been planning the massacring of our people.

Our people's idea of change is the unconditional release of Comrade Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners.

Our people's idea of change is the introduction of an unified system of education free from racist indoctrination. Our people demand equal pay for equal work, free and non-racial trade unions, an end to group areas act, an end to pass laws and an end to exploitation. They want freedom. They demand a people's government, they demand the implementation of the Freedom Charter. That is what they are fighting for.

All these thousand and one v a g u e promises by the Botha-Malan clique are aimed at dissuading us from our road of struggle while the boers themselves are strengthening racist domination.

Let us deny these racists the breathing space they so desperately need. We must continue to rely on our own collective efforts as the only means of bringing about change in our lives, and that can only be achieved through a complete destruction of the entire apartheid system.

As our leader Comrade Nelson Mandela put it:

"Between the anvil of united mass action and the hammer of the armed struggle we shall crush apartheid and white minority racist rule!"

## FORWARD TO A

# PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT!



# THE WORKING CLASS - THE HORSE AND CARRIAGE

-Herman Buti

"THERE CAN BE NO WORKING CLASS VICTORY WITHOUT BLACK LIBERATION AND NO BLACK LIBERATION WITHOUT THE DESTRUCTION OF CAPITALISM IN ALL ITS FORMS".

- COMRADE MOSES KOTANE -

The working class and the struggle for a democratic South Africa which is led by the African National Congress, goes together like a horse and carriage. One cannot do without the other. These two are like husband and wife; to stick together through thick and thin until they have overcome all hardships, and they see the fruits of their labour before them.

The economic and political tasks of national liberation revolutions and the class forces that carry them out are determined both by objective conditions in the given country and by the nature of the epoch in which they take place. Consequently the class content of national liberation changes from one epoch to another and so do the accompanying tasks.

## EPOCH

In the epoch of pre-monopoly capitalism, an element of anti-feudal and bourgeois-democratic transformation of social life characterised national liberation revolutions. Their main social content was the fulfilment of bourgeois and bourgeois-democratic tasks though they have essential distinctions when compared with 'conventional' bourgeois revolutions.

National liberation in our day is not confined to the winning of political independence and the establishment of national states. In our day the very problem of national liberation has been importantly modified to cover a much more extensive range of tasks, including the economic emancipation of the former colonies and semi-colonies. In our contemporary epoch national liberation is part of the world social process of transition from exploitative societies to non-exploitative ones and this is facilitated by the active participation of the working-class in this movement.



## RACISM

In South Africa where racism is the mode of operation of capitalism, national liberation is inconceivable without the smashing of capitalism whose downfall can only come through the maximum mobilisation of the working-class.

This set-up reflects itself in the indissoluble bond between the working class party, trade union and the national liberation movement which developed in struggle. And it is precisely this objective set-up that immediately show up those who are opposed to the genuine liberation of the exploited masses.

Opening its historic document "Strategy and Tactics", the fruit of collectivism and long-drawn experience adopted at Morogoro in 1969, the African National Congress projects its consistency on this approach in the following words:

"The struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa is taking place within an international context of transition to the Socialist system, of the breakdown of the colonial system as a result of national liberation and socialist revolutions, and the fight for social and economic progress by the people of the whole world".

## PROLETARIAT

And under the sub-topic dealing with the working class this document furthers this argument:

"This perspective of a speedy progression from formal liberation to genuine and lasting emancipation is made more real by the existence in our country of a large and growing working class whose class consciousness complements national consciousness".

The proletariat, a class whose aspirations are totally alien to any oppression or exploitation, is capable of consistently giving expression to national goals and of acting as the most steadfast and indomitable fighter against colonialism. Its aims in the national liberation struggle are not self-seeking like in the case of the bourgeoisie but are incompatible with any partial victory over the colonialists or with any substitution of capitalist forms of oppression for colonial and feudal forms. On this score the ANC in the "Strategy and Tactics" has this to say:



"To allow the existing economic forces to retain their interests intact is to feed the root of racial supremacy and does not represent even a shadow of liberation.

"Our drive towards national emancipation is therefore in a very real way bound up with economic emancipation".

**Durban Strikers**



Naturally, the bourgeoisie or other bourgeois aspiring elements which in most cases lead national movements, strive from the outset to make use of the upsurge of national sentiments to further its own class interests. It feeds people with the tranquillising drug of national chauvanism and thus prevent the growth of class awareness among the proletariat and sows discord among working people of different nationalities. Logically this bourgeois nationalism conflicts with proletarian internationalism. Nationalism must of course be judged on its merits in each particular case. The nationalism of an oppressed nation fighting against imperialism has a democratic, progressive meaning. In this case nationalistic ideas and sentiments are a form of protest against imperialism. But these progressive features can only be promoted if the interests of the working-class and other sections of the working people, the majority of a nation, are consistently taken into account.



And it is only through the preponderance of the working people that the reactionary intentions of the bourgeoisie can be frustrated and revolutionary nationalism consolidated which is not opposed to the principle of proletarian internationalism.

History testifies that where the proletariat has become an influential factor of national importance and has played a great part in overthrowing the colonial and semi-colonial regimes, in the course of major political action and initiatives, it has decisively shown in practice the potential to secure leadership in the liberation struggle. And it has also taken powerful action, exerting a great influence on their development.

## TESTIMONIES

Among other testimonies, the following examples are widely known:-

- the proletariat action in Congo, Brazzaville in August 1963, put an end to the pro-colonialist government of Fulbert Youlou;
- the strike by the Algerian proletariat in March 1963 blocked the way of the counter-revolutionary forces;
- the National Confederation of the working people of Guinea did much to beat back imperialist aggression against the republic in 1970;
- action by the workers of Madagascar had an outstanding role to play in the events which in 1972 led to the overthrow of the reactionary and pro-colonialist Tsiranana regime;
- the struggle of the Sudanese working-class, under the leadership of the Communist Party, was of great significance in eliminating General Abboud's reactionary dictatorship in the autumn of 1964.

These and other similar examples show very well the social potential of the working-class in Africa and its ability to cope with the tasks which arise at the present phase of the liberation struggle.

In our country the black industrial army is once more flexing its muscle which won it the wage victories of the early



seventies. Notably, this wave of strikes comes in the wake of the cosmetic labour reforms introduced after the Wiehahn report which was conceived as a big confidence t r i c k by those who hatched it, the most 'flexible' Broederbond diehards. Included in this racists' 'calculation' was an attempt to draw the black trade union movement into the draft of their system. However, in this Year of the South African Worker, the workers of our country are asserting to make this year a real success, out-witting the tentacles of the National Manpower Commission (NMC) and rising to the majestic heights, to the solid rock of class-brotherhood.

Of no less importance is that this snowballing workers' actions should reach their logical climax, the demands of the Freedom Charter. This can only come through intensified mobilisation of our working class.

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# THE ANATOMY OF BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS

- Gladstone Moroka

NAIROBI - A meeting of the South African Black Consciousness movement planned to be held in Nairobi had to be cancelled because of the Kenya government's refusal to grant entry visas.

An official of the Christian Council of Kenya revealed here today that the meeting was to have begun on December 28 and more than 100 participants had been expected from South Africa, Britain and other countries.

- "The Star". January 3, 1980 -

The Black Consciousness Movement in our country has passed under the scrutiny of several microscopes of doubtful repute which made attempts to secure a place for its naive overtures under the sun of our revolution as an ideology; without a proper look into its pitfalls which would jeopardise our struggle for a democratic South Africa. These critics are aware of this.

With that I am particularly referring to i t s struggle



against its weakness as a theory of liberation. The experience of other struggles has clearly highlighted that in the general framework of daily struggle this battle is the most difficult since it is the expression of the internal contradictions in the socio-economic and cultural reality of the particular country. Thus it becomes an inevitable truth that any ideology or theory which is not based on a genuine knowledge and understanding of this fundamental reality runs the risk of being waylaid by the enemy in the long run.

## PREMISE

Working from the true premise that the development of a phenomenon in movement in South Africa, whatever its external appearance, depends mainly on its internal characteristics, it is by our own efforts and sacrifices that our political and economic reality can be transformed. But of greater significance is that these efforts and sacrifices should be based on a detailed and true knowledge of our reality. The understanding of this principle will bring home the realisation that however similar our reality might seem to be with other oppressed people, however alike our oppressors, "national liberation and social revolution" remain the result of the particular people's experience, more or less influenced by external factors and still essentially set and formed by that people's reality. It therefore becomes imperative that certainty of successfully carrying out the revolution and attaining liberation lies in the application of the correct solution to the internal contradictions.

The ideological deficiencies of Black Consciousness, which are so profoundly outlined by Toussaint's article - "Fallen Among Liberals" (of AC No. 78, Third Quarter, 1979) and demonstrated still by its lack of appeal to the mass of the oppressed, is basically due to ignorance of the South African historical reality which it claims to transform. Its organisational content of students and intellectuals is the influence of external factors and to a great extent ignores the accumulated experience and methods of movement, the African National Congress, over 68 years of struggle. And, like its American counterpart its advocates show a tendency of falling victims to commercialisation in the form of share-owning 'companies' living in a stage of euphoria.

Careful study of literature dealing with the developments of the Black Consciousness activities in the USA reveals a distinct 'integration-Segregation-integration' movement depending on the prevalent conditions of struggle. The end of World



War II and the UN Declaration of the Human Rights saw an unprecedented impetus being given to the civil rights movement and the late 50s heralded the rise of such leaders as Martin Luther King, jr., championing the integration cause. Non-violence, demonstrations, sit-ins became the main political tactic for integration. The National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (NAACP), Student Action Committees and other non-violent movements joined hands in the fray.

It was not long that shortcomings of this method of struggle, especially its lack of a genuine theory of liberation, took its toll. The lack of understanding that the efforts and sacrifices in a people's struggle would be based on the detailed knowledge of reality i.e. the internal contradictions within American society, made this Black Consciousness or Black Power Movement vulnerable to capital. It proved too weak for "Buy Black", "Black this, Black that and Black Businessmen". Capital had won the fray and it still has no colour. It has drowned all this noble but naive cause "in the icy water of egotistical calculation".

## APEX

The mid 60s saw the apex of the wave of Black Consciousness in the USA and with it emerged supporting literature from the pen of its adherents; Soledad Brothers, Soul on Ice, etc., and Western thinkers who had seen the role of students in America and France (1967-68) as a sign of the new trend of students being the active force, the 'revolutionary class', Herbert Marcuse's writings being prominent among these. Other literary influence on Black Consciousness in South Africa were the writings of Paulo Freire and this trend (Theology of Liberation, Education for Liberation) is prominent in the Western Cape. But all in all what one wants to point out is the emergence of Black Consciousness in South Africa during the 60s was not at all accidental. The trend adopted by the Black bloc of students in the University Christian Movement (UCM) and NUSAS to break away was not by chance; it was in keeping with the trends in other parts of the world.

The latter assertion does not mean that some of the ideological trends do not have their historical basis in the experience of the South African struggle. The realisation of the need to rally together irrespective of language, customs, etc., of Black Consciousness can be traced as far back as the aim and purpose of the formation of the ANC; Seme's statement of



"these aberrations of the Xhosa-Fingo feud, the animosity that exists between the Zulus and the Tongas... we are one people" clearly highlights this fact. Not to mention Lembede's search for an ideology aimed at the psychological liberation of the oppressed from "the crippling complexes of inferiority and dependence imposed... at the hands of the Whites". He believed in the articulation of an ideology to inculcate one's own worth, a p r i d e in their past and a sense of self-reliance. These are the basic tenets of Black Consciousness which have a deep-rooted base in the thorny path of our struggle, but what seem to have taken the primary role in determining its development is the external factor which, of course, found fertile ground in our reality and was able to nurture the element of exclusiveness. The "go it alone" spirit of "Black man you are on your own" illustrates ignorance of our r i c h experience in struggle and lack of knowledge of the detailed knowledge of the basic contradictions of our struggle.

## FAILURE

One does not have to look far in order to find the source of the failure of tactics used by Black Consciousness proponents, for example, failure to determine whether to participate, or not, in government created organs, to reach the masses.

When one looks at the diverse prevalent trends of Black Consciousness and tries at the same time to trace their motive force, what comes to the eye is their failure (both abroad and in South Africa) to see the division, the element of exclusiveness as being one of the factors for the thriving of capitalism and imperialism. The bourgeoisie in America thrives on the division between White and Black, between Puerto Rican and Italo-American, between American-Jew and White Anglo-Saxon Protestant (so-called WASPS) etc. A division which, encouraged through concession allocated to one racial group at the expense of another, is meant to keep the masses in a state of permanent inter-racial turmoil so that bickering at each other, they (the masses) fail to see their historical role as the motive force of history. Concessions given to a few in building a buffer become the dangling carrot, and the bourgeoisie mass media plays a prominent role in this aspect of showing how through hard work (toil?) it is possible 'to make-it'. In this connection Pace in South Africa plays the same role that Ebony and Essence do in the USA.



The inherent ignorance of this principle is seen repeated in the South African context by the Black Consciousness Movements' failure to reconcile itself with historical reality - this forms the dilemma it is faced with in the spectrum of revolution, its nemesis. The correct solution of which depends entirely on its development of revolutionary consciousness, and the same development lies in the casual chain of genuine knowledge based on understanding of reality and the development phenomena in motion's dependence on internal characteristics.

This detailed knowledge is acquired through practice and experience between the various categories characterising this reality.

In that sense it becomes a vital and a matter of principle, knowing and defining who your enemy is, and also a clear understanding of your ally. It is then that the next step of drawing and formulating your tactics; which is crucial and decisive, becomes even simpler, leaving you enough room for adjustment and readjustment, thereby taking a heavy load off your shoulders. You are now left with a clear map of your path.



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"WE, THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA, DECLARE FOR ALL OUR COUNTRY AND THE WORLD TO KNOW: THAT SOUTH AFRICA BELONGS TO ALL WHO LIVE IN IT, BLACK AND WHITE, AND THAT NO GOVERNMENT CAN JUSTLY CLAIM AUTHORITY UNLESS IT IS BASED ON THE WILL OF ALL THE PEOPLE..."

- THE FREEDOM CHARTER -



# FRIENDSHIP

- Sonny Gwadela

We all know what friendship is and its prevalence among people; this shows mutual understanding and healthy relations among them. This friendship comes up because of many reasons; it might happen that some people became friends because they were from the same place, or they attended one school, or worked in one factory, etc. This kind of friendship is ordinary friendship.

There is another kind of friendship which is more serious and deeper, this is comradeship. It manifests itself in progressive and revolutionary movements and people fighting against oppression and exploitation of man by man, to ensure freedom and peace. Comradeship prevails because of the realisation of the indispensability of one comrade to the other. It is more important than mere friendship because the goal that binds comrades is supreme and so unity amongst them is indispensable.

The realisation of the importance of comradeship is determined by one's political understanding; to understand the need to strive for unity and comradeship. Surely if one understands the importance of his role in the revolution and the role of his comrade then mutual respect is sure to prevail, and so the ranks are closed and no one can easily drive a wedge between them.

## COMRADESHIP

There is also another kind of friendship which is emphasised at the expense of comradeship. This kind of friendship is dangerous, destructive and misleading. It is blind friendship which cannot be tolerated in our people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe. This friendship makes one fail to see mistakes and wrongs of his 'friend' and as a result fail to correct him, not realising that firstly he is destroying his 'friend' and secondly, the whole collective suffers. It does not end there but one goes to the extent of defending the wrongs of his 'friend'. In doing this he expects the same from his 'friend' so that he may appear good with no mistakes. This tendency is wrong and does not show conscious discipline. To correct this it is necessary for one to understand that no one is



without shortcomings. Stressing this, one comrade said: "The one who does not commit mistakes is one who is dead." It may be added that having committed an error one must acknowledge them and strive not to repeat them in future.

There are natural bonds between people, like relatives, families, friends, lovers, etc. But all these are subordinated to one's prime goal, namely, the discharging of one's revolutionary duties and maintenance of good comradely relations which give no room for blind friendship - tribalism and regionalism. These tendencies are backward and cannot be accepted in our People's Army; they are a crime and are very reactionary. Portraying the healthy unity prevalent in our people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, our people's President, Comrade O.S. Tambo, speaking on the 68th anniversary of the African National Congress in this Year of the Charter said:

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

To maintain this unity and uplift it, let it be everyone's duty to practically strive for it.

### DAWN political word No. 7 - Answers

Across: 1. Manguang 6. Ruy 7. OK 9. Eel  
10. Soweto 11. Tools 13. Nzo  
16. Journalist

Down: 1. Moses 2. NIC 3. Umkhonto 4. Green  
5. Endless 8. Neto 12. Laos 14. Zoo  
15. UN



# FIGHT FROM WHERE YOU ARE

An extract from "Zimbabwe People's Voice"  
interview with Comrade President O.R. Tambo.

"...for some time now the African National Congress has been calling on people, first of all to fight wherever they are, on the issues that immediately confront them, to link up that fight with the overall struggle for liberation. This is a constant basis of organisation and mobilisation of the people. We have addressed ourselves to the youth, to the workers in particular, churches and to people of all social groupings, insisting that it is time to fight and fight from where you are with what you have. There is one enemy which presents itself in different forms. Oppose rents; fight for higher wages; resist the removal of people; pray about the struggle if you believe in Christianity; stand up and be counted among those who seek to ensure justice in the country

"But for some time there have been these actions except that they were not sufficiently co-ordinated, they were not sufficiently simultaneous to assume the character of a general mass offensive by the people. You had the guerrilla actions from time to time, but there are many instances where these were directly related to actions by the masses of the people.

"It is actions of a solidarity character. People realise that they must fight together at the same time against the same enemy. When harassed they must attack together not in isolated groupings at different places and at different times. As far as possible if action starts in one area it spreads throughout, and this has been the character. And everybody comes in again with their own theme.

"Churches will stand up in solidarity, they will not want to see Botha or somebody as churches or necessarily as leaders of the people, but simply because they are churchmen, they have got a role to play, they are involved. So, first of all, it is an expression of the unity of the people, it is an expression of their united determination to ensure victory for the struggle. And the defiant posture towards the forces of the repression and common readiness to sacrifice together in unity, as one people, fighting for the cause to secure the realisation of a new South Africa that is governed in accordance with the will of the black majority. The black majority has come to understand that they carry the responsibility for liberation both black and white in South Africa..."



# Human Touch

## PASS LAWS

Chief Public Prosecutor of Pretoria, A.R. Klein, has resigned from his job in protest against the pass laws, thus swelling the ranks of conscientious objectors who have been resigning as a result of unjust laws which include the Group Areas Act. Yet we have been told by Koornhoff that "Apartheid is dead" and the pass laws would be 'abolished'. All these are the lies of the "new dimensions" of Botha's constellation.

## CONSTELLATION

The concept of a constellation of states, which was dreamed up to hold the exciting possibility of transforming the entire Southern Africa into a power house of economic development and stability now exists in the minds of those whose little world is rounded with a sleep like the latest upstart-in-cheap-tricks, Gatsha Buthelezi. What an exit he has made from those who thought he had something up sleeve!

Those who ignore our call for unity under the umbrella of the Freedom Charter, must know that they are designing their own downfall, because separate salvation is not possible anymore for anybody in our country, which is the product of the common labour of all its peoples. That wealth is not to be utilised by and for the interests of the white minority only.

## JAIL

Life in South Africa for the black man is to jail and back through the pass laws, which since 1963, now affects even African women. At the time of his resignation the Pretoria Attorney-General was in charge of a case involving five young blacks charged with moving from one town to another without the correct pass.

## GENEVA 1963

The International Commission of Jurists in Geneva in 1963 published an illuminating report called **SOUTH AFRICA AND THE RULE OF LAW**, which contains all the relevant information on the subject. General Circular Number 23 of 1954, issued by the Secretary for Native Affairs to subordinate and police departments, and with the agreement of the Secretary for the Justice Department, reads in part:



1. It is common knowledge that large numbers of Natives are daily arrested and prosecuted for contraventions of a purely technical nature.
2. These arrests cause the state large sums of money and serve no useful purpose.
3. The Department of Justice, the South African Police, and this Department have therefore held consultations on the problem and have evolved a scheme, the object of which is to induce unemployed natives now roaming the streets in the various urban areas to accept employment outside such urban areas.

## POLICE REACTION

The result of this circular was that the police immediately went into action against Africans who were assumed to be both 'unemployed' and to be 'roaming the streets' of the city, they 'induced' them to accept employment outside the urban areas. They were sent to prisons and then to farms - for a simple thing like forgetting your Reference Book in the office or your employment place in the jacket a few metres away, like Nelson Langa, who worked for the Johannesburg City Hall as a Street Cleaner, who at the time of his arrest was prominently wearing the Johannesburg Municipality badge CED 10729 and, furthermore, held a broom in his hand, but who, to the members of the South African Police, was notably unemployed (Comrade Ruth First, Farm Labour Scandal).

## MOVEMENT

The right of the African to move freely within South Africa is non-existent, despite the fact that he is a South African national.

The control of the movement of Africans throughout South Africa is effected by the 'pass system'. "A pass is a document required for lawful movement into, out, or within a specified area which must be produced on demand of a specified person, failure of demand constituting an offence". The 'pass system' is of ancient vintage in South Africa and was once described by a Nationalist Party spokesman as being "as old as civilisation in our country". Historically, passes for blacks in South Africa could be traced back as far as 1809, when the Governor of the Cape, Earl Caledon, issued a proclamation pro-



hibiting 'Hottentots' from moving from one district to another without a pass issued by a magistrate.

Pass laws were to be found in the pre-Union legislation of all the colonies and were retained after Union. In 1952 the existing pass laws were replaced by a statute with the misleading title Bantu Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents Act, which did not in fact, repeal the pass laws, but rather co-ordinated them by providing for the carrying of a 'reference book' instead of 'passes' and extended the existing laws by requiring women to carry reference books as well. In terms of this Act every African over the age of sixteen must be finger-printed and furnished with a reference book and failure to produce it on demand constituted a criminal offence, punishable by a fine not exceeding R20 or imprisonment not exceeding one month. In 1975 the Appellate Division held that the law does not require an African to carry his reference book on him all the times, and that he should be given a reasonable opportunity to fetch it when it is demanded, under police escort if necessary. 1974 - 1975 there were 386,414 prosecutions under the pass laws.

1978 there were 26,131 convictions in Johannesburg Pass Courts for offences relating to reference books and influx control.

In an interview with a periodical, the President of SWAPO, Comrade Sam Nujoma said:

"Our moves on the diplomatic front, where we are supported by the socialist countries, the Soviet Union in particular, and the other progressive forces, have led to the isolation of the South African regime in the international arena. However, it is important that the diplomatic pressure against the apartheid regime, including economic sanctions, should be continued.

"It is an open secret that the objective behind the imperialist political intrigues is to delay the Independence Day for Namibia. By refusing to carry out the UN plan for Namibia approved by the Security Council (Resolution 435), the imperialist forces are acting in defiance of world public opinion. Under the circumstances the patriots of Namibia have no alternative other than to intensify the armed struggle.



"To undermine confidence in SWAPO the enemy makes wide use of the following tactics: ~~as per data~~ details of Black South African soldiers and the racists' puppets dressed in SWAPO army uniform break into the homes of 'suspects', mostly after midnight, kill whole families and set their houses on fire.

"These killings are in fact a daily occurrence. Here is a recent instance. A police squad broke into the house of a petty trader who was very much respected by his fellow villagers and known for his pro-SWAPO sympathies. They shot him dead and then fired at his wife who was holding a baby in her arms. The baby was killed and the mother badly wounded. They thought her dead too and left after thoroughly searching the house for money".

## CHIEF LUTHULI

In the words of our leader, Chief Luthuli, who became the President of the African National Congress in 1952, and who was later awarded the Nobel Peace Prize:

"Who will deny the fact that thirty years of my life have been spent knocking in vain, patiently, moderately and modestly at a closed and barred door?

"What have been the fruits of moderation? The past thirty years have seen the greatest number of laws restricting our rights and progress, until today we have reached a stage where we have almost no rights at all..."

What do you think?

1. When writing for DAWN avoid foreign language phrases.
2. Put statements in positive form.
3. You must realise that we are fighting for national democracy in South Africa, for which we have adopted the Freedom Charter.
4. Use simple language so that we too, with little education must understand what you have written. You must talk to us like one of us, which you are.



# Dawnlight... starring Piet Botha and his stooges

● WELL GENTLEMEN  
SOUTH AFRICA IS  
THREATENED BY A  
REVOLUTION. WE  
MUST AVOID  
THAT.



● NOW YOU HAVE  
YOUR BLACK COUNCIL,  
THAT'S WHERE YOU  
MUST PLAY YOUR  
CARDS. OK!



● NOW WHAT CAN  
I DO ?





# SOUTH AFRICAN-LATIN AMERICAN CONNECTION

-Duncan Mahlo

During the last ten years the world has been witness to furtive attempts by USA and North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) circles to form a new military bloc complementary to it in the form of the South Atlantic Treaty Organisation (SATO) in which South Africa, Argentina and Brazil would play an important role. This is envisaged in the endeavours to expand the Rio de Janeiro Treaty (Inter-American Mutual Assistance Treaty of 1947) to include South Africa thus bringing into existence another aggressive military bloc. At this stage we cannot underrate this danger threatening both the peoples of Africa and Latin America.

In practice this means the pooling of efforts by reactionary states in defence of Western imperialism, especially threatened by the revolutionary take-over by the peoples of Southern Africa. In spite of the fact that such a treaty does not yet exist, the imperialist efforts have already born fruit in the form of the presence of Chilean officers with the racist army in Namibia. This has been achieved through the use of the politico-economic lever for military purposes.

The recent changes in Southern Africa coupled with the progress of the liberation movement in recent years render South Africa the weak-link in imperialism's strategy. In response, imperialism has tremendously increased South Africa's role as a junior-partner, militarily as well as economically.

South African trading partners are also to serve as arms re-routing agents in order to circumspect the international ban on arms sales to South Africa. The case of the US company, Space Research Corporation which has developed an advanced 155 mm artillery system and has test bases in Antigua and Barbados, aptly illustrates the point. "The Star" of the 16th November, 1978 reported Antigua's Premier, Mr Vere Bird, as having said there was definite evidence that the Corporation had shipped arms to South Africa via Antigua.

This calls in response for the closest co-operation between the national liberation movements in Southern Africa and various national democratic and liberation movements in Latin



America, to vigorously expose these odious attempts at strengthening and prolonging the life of fascism and oppression in both our continents and specific regions. Through co-ordinated effort the liberation movement can reverse and off-set these imperialist gains as it has been able to in the past, and strengthen the struggles of the African and Latin American peoples for genuine liberation, progress and world peace.

The past twenty years have seen the historic and resounding victory of the Cuban revolution and the firm forward march by forces of peace, progress and socialism across Latin America.

In response, US imperialism, continuing to regard Latin America as its own back yard because of its multimillion dollar investments there, has taken steps to repress and intimidate the social forces that rose across the length and breadth of South America demanding freedom, the right to eat, land reforms and a foreign policy to safeguard their national interests.

At the Afro-Latin American meeting Against Apartheid and Racism in Southern Africa, Fascism in Uruguay and other Latin American Countries, held in Luanda, our National Commissar, Comrade Andrew Masondo, put the cards of the African National Congress on the table and left no one in doubt when he pointed out that efforts are now being made to consolidate the fascist-racist alliance on both continents at a higher level, through an aggressive military pact, the long-planned South Atlantic Treaty Organisation, frequently condemned as an attempt to destabilize world peace.

Despite the counter-offensive, the anti-imperialist consciousness of the peoples of Latin America has been deepened and strengthened and in a number of countries, through varying wars and forms of struggle, the people have taken the victory road.

Latin America is today entering upon a new phase, lit by a broad revolutionary and democratic future. The triumph of Sandino's heroic people symbolised this earlier growth of strength and is the fruit of the selfless struggle of generations of Nicaraguans who refused to bow to imperialist intervention in their country and kept alive the great Sandinist tradition.

The struggling people of South Africa and their vanguard movement, the African National Congress, are demonstrating their growing militancy in the fight against the oppressive apartheid regime, for political power.



# THE FRUITS OF



## DR AGOSTINHO NETO

-Dipuo Mokoena

"HE WAS ONE OF THOSE WHO WOULD NOT WAIT UNTILL THE TIMES SHOULD ALTER... WHO BELIEVED THAT MEN MUST MAKE THEIR OWN HISTORY".

- BASIL DAVIDSON -

The life of Dr. Agostinho Neto has left footprints which the continent must emulate to find its bearings.

On the occasion of the 1st Anniversary of the death of Dr. Agostinho Neto, who fell on September 10th, we find ourselves victims of patience. Patiently awaiting the publication of the collected works of this Great Son of Africa, who



has turned the tables in our beloved continent - for our own good. He turned the People's Republic of Angola into the Voluntary Firm Trench of Revolution in Africa, by making liberation a reality in this part of Africa from which racism with the backing of imperialism is threatening our continent with the flames of war. The collected works of this poet and leader of Africa are definitely a spring which had cost him a veil of trials and tribulations to purify. We are about to drink from this spring.

The great writer Maxim Gorky puts it this way:

"Active romanticism strives to strengthen man's will to live and raise him up against the life around him, against any yoke it would impose".

And when we return from the Soviet Union where the fire of the heart of the poet was blown out by the "icy hand of death", and come to Angola, we find Helder Neto saying in Dar-Es-Salaam at MPLA's Youth Day in 1970:

"The liberation of the Motherland  
Requires blood;  
The blood of her best sons".

The people of Angola have paid in torrents of blood for their freedom; and even today, they are still laying the foundation of the new People's Republic of Angola with blood, through the racist interventionists from South Africa.

Dr. Agostinho Neto was a giant amongst giants.

During his years in the trenches he was surrounded by young men whose future he had to chart. And that he did.

He made sure that he was not the one in all and the all in one. With his political acumen, he gave political knowledge to youth. We see the fruits of his efforts in the short span of life he spent in the independent Angola in which he laid foundations of the new man.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ANGOLA, THE CHAIRMAN OF THE MPLA WORKERS' PARTY AND COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF FAPLA, COMRADE JOSE EDUARDO DOS SANTOS, 36 YEARS OLD, IS THE PRODUCT OF DR. AGOSTINHO NETO.

Dr. Agostinho Neto was a poet. Perhaps it is through that power, that he did not wait until the times altered. He put his scientific world outlook into practice and



emerged the victor against the racist imperialist forces which sought to throttle this country in its infancy. He was traveling a chartered road mended by the brotherhood of socialism which knew that "all good men must come to the aid of their party".

Today we are having Zimbabwe under our microscope. Which way? The shadows of the People's Republic of Angola are growing taller.

A new wind of national unity was demonstrated at May Day rallies in Luanda, which showed us the spirit sweeping through the Firm Trench of Revolution from Cabinda to Cunene.

We of the African National Congress and the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) of Namibia are in our "liberated zone of the struggle in Southern Africa". We are at home.

**A LUTA CONTINUA!**

**A VITORIA E CERTA!**

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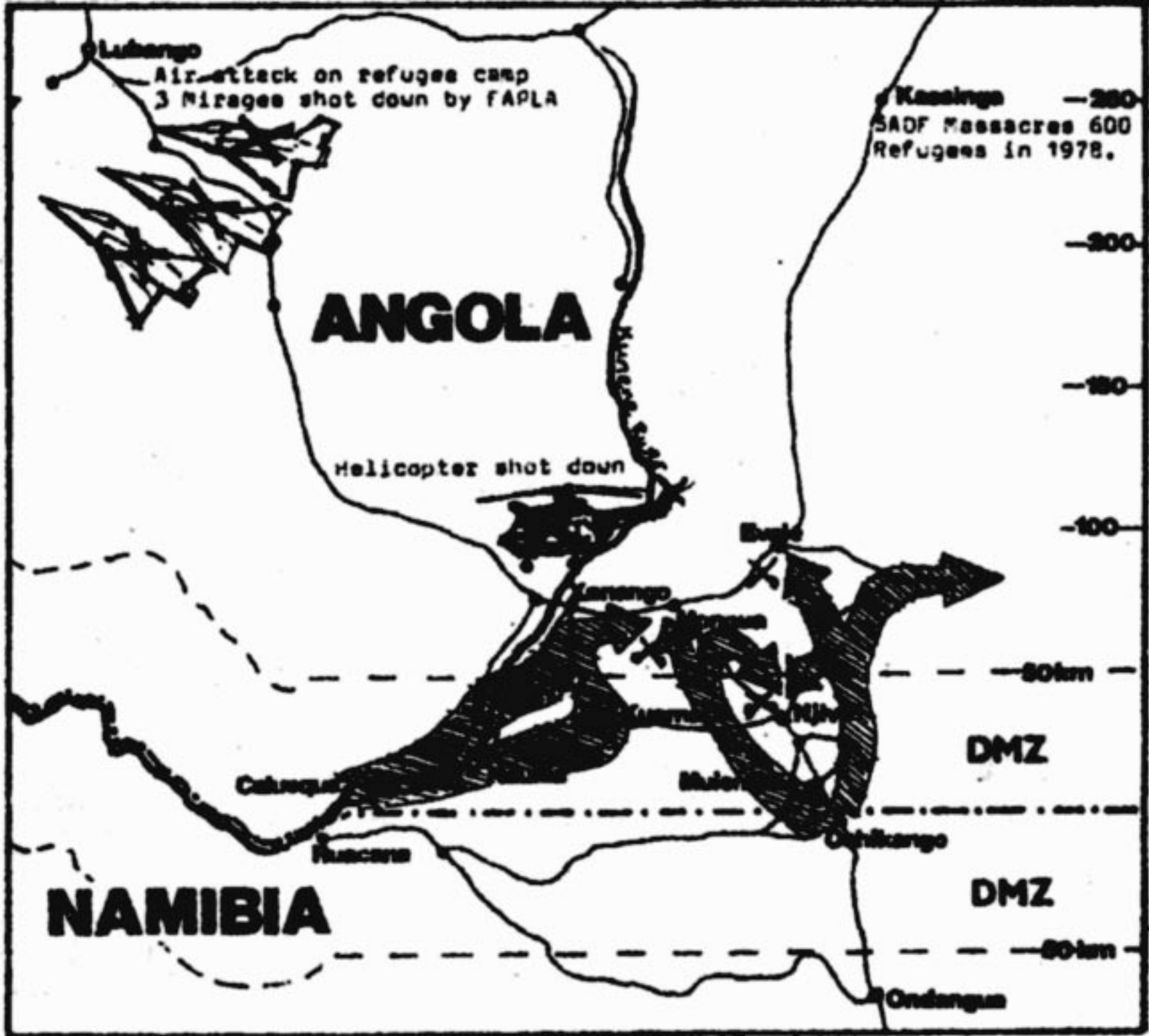
# Fascist Last Kicks in Angola

**-Diliza Dumakude**

The People's Republic of Angola saw the beginnings of the last kicks of the racist dying war horse when South Africa launched another major invasion into the country on June 7, following more than 500 separate acts of naked aggression into Angola this year alone. The invasion involved the largest deployment of the South African troops since World War Two.

When it ended the attack already involved eight battalions of infantry, 34 long range heavy artillery pieces, 2 Hercules transport planes with paratroopers, 20 helicopter gunships, 3 Squadrons of Mirage fighter-bombers and a battalion of tankers. More than 300 Angolan civilians were slaughtered and hundreds of wounded or abducted. The racists also retreated with thousands of cattle to Namibia. The invasion thus ended without achieving its strategic goals.





This invasion of the Firm Trench of Revolution in Africa had several objectives, none of which was achieved. It happened at a time when SWAPO was attaining ever stronger positions, both inside Namibia and in the international arena. It was also at a time when the gallant FAPLA combatants had rendered UNITA bandits harmless from Central to the Southern tip of Angola. The attack thus aimed at capturing towns and installing these puppets in them, the deranged Savimbi, an enemy of the Angolan people who had sold his body and soul to imperialism would then be party to negotiations on the United Nations Settlement plan for Namibia. It also aimed at dislodging SWAPO and make it unable to play its role effectively inside and outside Namibia. Finally, the attack was also aimed at re-assuring the sceptical racist backers inside South Africa itself about the power of her armed forces and the myth of her invincibility.

Though during the attack a number of towns were occupied the racists failed to capture Njiva, the capital of Kunene province, which would enable UNITA to claim control of it. As Savimbi went to London in July he had nothing to report to



his imperialist masters. The attack was also characterised by the destruction of economic installations which the racists did with utmost ruthlessness. On their side the racists admitted the loss of seventeen soldiers, 3 Mirages and a helicopter gunship. However, observers noted that they lost far beyond what they could afford to report.

From its very birth, the People's Republic of Angola has had to fight a permanent undeclared war in defence of her territory from the racist occupationist force in Namibia. The aim of this was to reverse the Angolan revolution or if that cannot be realised to make it impossible for Angola to stand for her political commitments. South Africa knew very well what it means that Angola is the Firm Trench of Revolution in Africa. The war against her then began and has since been conducted in many ways. After her defeat in 1976, racist South Africa decided to prop up UNITA bandits and make them able to conduct sustained acts of banditry against the young People's Republic. Furthermore South Africa does not hesitate to come herself to massacre innocent defenceless civilians and conduct acts of sabotage in the southern part of the country. The object of these attacks is to destabilise Angola & weaken her by forcing the government to divert its resources and cadres to military defence. But the resilience of the Angolan government, the intensification of the struggle by SWAPO in Namibia and the situation inside South Africa itself have finally forced Botha to take desperate measures.

## DOOM'S DAY

It is true that the emergence of the new independent state of Zimbabwe completely changed the strategic situation in Southern Africa in favour of the liberation forces. It signalled the end of Front-line Zambezi and it became clear enough for the racists that their days, both in South Africa and Namibia, are numbered. The intensification of the struggle by SWAPO and the present political situation with flames of the SASOL type in South Africa are enough testimony to this effect. But the fascists in Pretoria and international imperialism on their back are no observers. They are certainly not prepared to accept defeat and wait for doom's day in the southern tip of Africa. Instead they are busy formulating strategies with which they hope to buy time and postpone the inevitable victory of the oppressed masses. Hence the infamous Botha's total strategy.



This strategy is intent on weaving the racist economy into the economies of the Front-Line States and make them dependent on South Africa. In such an eventuality Pretoria would then be in a position to blackmail them and force them to renounce their support for the liberation movements. Furthermore the strategy also suggests the physical elimination of the national liberation forces and the extinguishing of internal fires by the creation of dummy institutions and the imposition of puppets on the masses. But the present political situation in the region makes it impossible for Botha to achieve this. The Front-Line States have categorically rejected his concept of 'Constellation of Southern African States' and instead they are taking steps to end their dependence on South Africa.

### LIQUIDATION

At the same time they are speedily advancing towards economic stability, and this will make them even firmer on their political commitments. The impetus of the liberation struggle also renders every political endeavour by the racists abortive. Therefore, the only remaining option for the racists becomes blackmailing these states by military aggression, something that has become the order of the day in Southern Africa, especially against the People's Republic of Angola.

In spite of all the atrocities committed by the racist aggressors, the Angolan people's support for SWAPO and the African National Congress is unshakeable, and that the people of Angola under the leadership of the MPLA Party of Labour are prepared to sacrifice for the cause of freedom. As stated above, none of the objectives of the invasion was achieved. The gallant combatants of FAPLA once more rebuffed the racist aggressors. Yet the Pretoria racists continue to massacre innocent civilians, destruction of economic installations and committing acts of sabotage against the People's Republic of Angola. This must be stopped. There is only one way of stopping them and that it is the liquidation of the Pretoria boer regime. The people of Namibia led by their vanguard movement, SWAPO, and our people led by our ANC, are displaying with their actions - politically and militarily - that they are committed to their historic mission. The unity of all progressive and peace-loving mankind with the Front-Line States and the liberation movements fighting against the racist regime becomes crucial. The isolation of the racists on all spheres in the international arena and the increasing of material assistance to the liberation movements and the Front-Line States assume urgent necessity.



It is noteworthy that during these p u n i t i v e invasions, which Zambia also faces, hardly a word of condemnation is ever heard from the Western so-called Contact Group. In August, South Africa again attacked and destroyed a town in the Kunene province and intermittent strikes with specific objectives are continuing. Therefore, tight vigilance and combat readiness on our part will always be decisive. Let all who stand opposed to racism and reaction close ranks and strike in unison to crush once and for all to ensure undisturbed progress and peace on the African continent.

Recent history of the liberation struggle in Africa, and Southern Africa in particular has recorded the most resolute revolutionary drive sweeping through the colonial regimes, resulting in the emergence of new independent African states and people's republics. It has in no uncertain terms granted viability to the prospects of armed struggle and further proved the invincibility of united and determined people. More than ever before we have seen reactionary forces forced to withdraw from positions in which they had pledged to fight to the last man. Today South Africa remains the only colonial and racist base and there is no doubt that not long the sun will set never to rise again for imperialism in Africa.

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## THESE BIRDS OF EVIL

To the memory of 11 African miners shot at  
City Deep levels, 11th September, 1973.

They came like  
shadows in the night  
and drowned my  
father in the river  
three months before  
I was born.

I shared the sorrow  
with my mother  
by crying from her womb.



My mother had a  
heart of gold and  
when there was no food  
in the house she  
gave me a farthing.

They came  
in the night  
and in the morning  
our land was gone.

These birds of evil  
which have rot all  
human worth

We cannot rest  
while these men  
walk our land.

These monsters  
these butchers  
who stole our land  
in the blue of the day  
before the gold of the night.

Only yesterday  
in the mine of gold  
that "yellow glittering gold"  
they brought death  
to the salt of Africa.

These birds of evil  
which have rot all  
human worth

They are monsters  
these birds of evil

Who stole our land  
in the blue of the day  
before the gold of the night.

-Jimmy Pitse



# South African Coloured Corps

## Part 2

-Langile Mqoma

With the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939, the Nationalists had to relinquish power because of their opposition to participation on the side of the allied forces. The Coloureds were again mobilised under the Cape Corps. Thousands enlisted but the government was not prepared to arm them all; placed most in non-combat positions in the Essential Services Protection Corps at the Cape. However, many saw action in East and North Africa and were represented in famous battles like the Tobruk, El Alamein and the Battle of Square Hill where they emerged heroes. The Coloured people as part and parcel of the world's people waging a titanic battle against fascism, served with distinction. After the war, the Cape Corps, the pride of the Coloured community were demobilised. Their interests were thereafter to be looked after by the British Commonwealth Ex-Servicemen's League (BCESL).

### Nationalist Government

When the present government, the very disciples of Hitler, came to power in 1948 the military establishment was reorganised and defence became the exclusive responsibility of the whites. The government hounded the Coloured people and the meagre rights which they had were further eroded. In 1948 Coloured administration was decentralised with the passing of the Coloured Affairs Council Act. This council was the forerunner to the bogus institutions created later, the Coloured Affairs Department (CAD) and CRC. In terms of the Group Areas Act the Coloured people were evicted in 1966 from areas they had occupied for decades. The glaring injustice of this act was demonstrated when tens of thousands of Coloured people were evicted from District Six, once the traditional home of the Cape Coloured community, and dumped on the sand-dunes of the Cape Flats.

The demand by extreme racists for the political separation of the Cape Coloured community was met in 1956 with the passing of the Separate Representation of Voters Act and Coloured Persons Education Act of 1963. Far from lapsing into despair



and inactivity, the Coloured people resisted. The BCESL now played a political role as part of this resistance. Leading ex-servicemen registered their protest against the injustice meted out to their people and the BCESL was represented at Malmesbury Convention of 1961.

Despite relegating them to the status of second-class in the country which they and their ancestors helped to build, the Boers tried to impress upon them that they have nothing in common with other oppressed people. Allowed certain minimal privileges and concessions within the South African economy they were expected to believe that their salvation lies in accepting and defending the vacuum which the white supremacists created for them. This false belief coupled with the growing manpower shortage and the increasing strength of the national liberation movement led to the establishment of the South African Coloured Corps (SACC) in 1963.

## SACC

Initially they served in non-combat roles. Various schemes are used to recruit, giving the impression of voluntary enlisting. A SADF document revealed in February, 1980, that recruiting is not as successful as should be, publications are encouraged to run articles of such nature as to glamourise the life of African, Indian and Coloured servicemen. Recruits are thoroughly screened politically besides being vetted by psychologists and ethnologists to check their personalities and backgrounds.

The type of man needed is one with a low level of education who will be easily susceptible to brainwashing. The rural area with high unemployment rate and low level of political awareness presents fertile ground for such recruitment. Inducements like job advancement and 'social security' are used to attract recruits mostly from the North-West Cape, Kango and Namaqualand. To facilitate this, the training of Coloured Cadets Act was passed in 1967. The act makes provision for the compulsory training of unemployed men between the ages 18 and 24 for 'useful employment'. The Cadet Camp was strategically erected next to the SACC base. First and foremost it serves as a recruiting ground for the SACC, SAP and Prison Services. Circumstances force them to 'volunteer'; this can be borne out by the fact that the majority of the SACC are former Cadets. Secondly, it is intended for the creation of a stable and subservient labour force which can be used for scabbing in times of crisis. Recently the take-over



of the Cadet centre by the SADF was announced. (Sunday Times 17.02.80).

Restrictions on the advancement of the SACC were lifted in 1973. In 1974 it was reported that a total of 224 SACC soldiers completed training as 'anti-guerrilla' fighters. Some members were commissioned in 1975 and presently four hold the rank of major. There are seventeen Coloured officers serving in the Coloured component of the SADF with an Operations Infantry Battalion, Maintenance Battalion and Officer Training School, the first of its kind for black soldiers.

Since 1978 Coloured Infantry soldiers have been trained as paratroopers. In 1979 the strength of the SACC stood at 4,000 men. The navy has also been recruiting Coloured men since 1963, chiefly in service capacities and Coloureds serve in the South African Air Force (SAAF) in maintenance sections.

### **Attitude of The Community**

Since its establishment, the SACC has evoked increasing rejection from the Coloured community. The Coloured people as part of the oppressed are opposed to the regime, hence their interests cannot be served by defending the system. The SACC, an ally of the SADF against the national liberation movement, is therefore diametrically opposed to the interests of the Coloured people. The absolute hostility with which the Coloured people regard any participation or actions condoning the existence of the SACC can be vividly demonstrated by the case of Sonny Leon, Chairman of the Labour Party after he had visited the 'operational area' in the company of some parliamentarians. He was dismissed as Chairman and resigned from the party, his political career ruined and his credibility in the eyes of the people destroyed.

Various Coloured community leaders and Labour Party have persistently called for the closure of the Cadet Camp. They exposed the nature of the Camp and pointed out that the training is of a military nature with recruits who do not comply with the serious and prolonged punishment. Government plans to introduce cadet training in Coloured high schools was rejected by the Labour Party as well as the Cape Teachers' Professional Association (CPTA).

Individual members of the SACC are completely ostracised and alienated from the community. The base situated at Pauc/Herete River is a few kilometres from the townships of the Cape Flats. It is no exaggeration that no known or uniformed member of the SACC can easily venture into any of these town-



ships without being subjected to insults and possible assault. This ostracisation is clearly seen if we look into their relations with the neighbouring communities as far as sport, a major activity in the SACC, is concerned.

The huge sports complex at the base has been turned into a white elephant. All major sports codes in the Western Cape's Coloured communities adhere to the non-racial principles of the South African Council on Sports (SACOS). The SACC because of its very nature is not acceptable in these leagues. Instead they are affiliated to the racial unions. In rugby, the major sport in that region, the SACC is openly working against the interests of the community. The rugby fields at the base are used by the racial South African Rugby Federation (SARF) to conduct secret trial matches and practices for selection against the touring sides. It is from amongst these ranks that Coloured players included in the recent Barbarian side that toured England came. Players from the non-racial South African Rugby Union (SARU) are enticed with money offers.

When the Coloured community of Bellville objected to the use of their tennis courts for an exhibition match featuring an Australian aboriginal, Yvonne Goolagong, and other white professionals, the match was played at the base after an urgent application to the Cape Town Supreme Court succeeded in favour of the Bellville Sport Board which controls the courts.

The strengthening of the SACC despite its rejection by the Coloured community should be seen as part of the enemy's reaction to the growing tide of revolution within the country and the rising actions of the masses under the guidance of the African National Congress and its allies. This makes it imperative that we should respond to these actions of the enemy. There is a need to do political work within the rural areas which are the prime target for recruitment and strengthening of such forces. Wide-spread propaganda about the SACC, its nature and social implications will serve to deter prospective recruits to a certain degree. The Bonteheuwels and Mannenberg of 1976 and the Elsie Rivers of 1980 have destroyed the myth that the Coloured people will side with the regime in times of crisis. As is well reflected in the Strategy and Tactics of the ANC, the Coloured people are an integral part of the liberation movement. The President of our people's organisation, Comrade Oliver Tambo, once said that:

"As our forces drive deeper into the south, we have no doubt that they will be joined not by some but by the whole African nation; by



the oppressed minorities, the Indian and Coloured people, and by an increasing number of White democrats".

It is a matter of proud record that among our first gallant fighters and martyrs of our revolution to engage the enemy forces of Smith and Vorster during the historic Wankie Campaigns was Basil February (Paul Petersen), a comrade from the Coloured community.

THE FREEDOM OF OUR PEOPLE IS INDIVISIBLE!

FORWARD TO A PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT!

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# What I Did Was Right

This is an extract from the historic speech made by Comrade Bram Fischer to the racist Pretoria Supreme Court on 28th March, 1966, in defence of our freedom struggle to which he had devoted his life.



"I am on trial for my political beliefs and for the conduct to which those beliefs drove me. Whatever labels may be attached to the fifteen charges brought against me, they all arise from my having been a member of the Communist Party and from my activities as a member. I engaged upon those activities because I believed that, in the dangerous circumstances which have been created in South Africa, it was my duty to do so.

"When a man is on trial for his political beliefs and actions, two courses are open to him. He can either confess to his transgressions and plead for mercy or he can justify his beliefs and explain why he acted as he did. Were I to ask forgiveness today I would betray my cause. That course is not open to me. I believe that what I did was right...

"My belief, moreover, is one reason why I have pleaded not guilty to all the charges brought against me. Though I shall deny a number of important allegations made, this Court is aware of the fact that there is much in the State case which has not been contested. Yet, if I am to explain my motives and my actions as clearly as I am able, then this Court was entitled to have had before it the witnesses who testified in chief and under cross-examination against me. Some of these, I believe, were fine and loyal persons who have now turned traitors to their cause and to their country because of the methods used against them by the State - vicious and inhuman methods. Their evidence may, therefore, in important respects be unreliable.

"There is another and more compelling reason for my plea and why I persist in it. I accept the general rule that for the protection of a society laws should be obeyed. But when laws themselves become immoral and require the citizen to take part in an organised system of oppression - if only by his silence or apathy - then I believe that a higher duty arises. This compels one to refuse to recognise such laws. The laws under which I am being prosecuted were enacted by a wholly unrepresentative body, a body in which three-quarters of the people of this country have no voice whatever. These laws were enacted, not to prevent the spread of communism, but for the purpose of silencing the opposition of the large majority of our citizens to a Government intent upon depriving them, solely on account of their colour, of the most elementary human rights: of the right to freedom and happiness, the right to live together with their families wherever they might choose, to earn their livelihoods to the best of their abilities, to rear and educate their children in a civilised fashion, to take part in the administration of their country and obtain a fair share of the wealth



they produce; in short, to live as human beings...

"I hold and have for many years held the view that politics can only be properly understood and that our immediate political problems can only be satisfactorily solved without violence and civil war by the application of that scientific system of political knowledge known as Marxism...

"When I consider what it was that moved me to join the Communist Party, I have to cast my mind back for more than a quarter of a century to try and ascertain what precisely my motives at that time were... In my mind there remain two clear reasons... The one is the glaring injustice which exists and has existed for a long time in South African society, the other, a gradual realisation as I became more and more deeply involved with the Congress Movement of those years, that is, the movement for freedom and equal human rights for all, that it was always members of the Communist Party who seemed prepared, regardless of cost, to sacrifice most; to give of the best, to face the greatest dangers, in the struggle against poverty and discrimination...

"Though nearly forty years have passed, I can remember vividly the experience which brought home to me exactly what this 'White' attitude is and also how artificial and unreal it is. Like many young Afrikaners I grew up on a farm. Between the ages of eight and twelve my daily companions were two young Africans of my own age. I can still remember their names. For four years we were, when I was not at school, always in each other's company. We roamed the farm together, we hunted and played together, we modelled clay oxen and swam. And never can I remember that the colour of our skins affected our fun, or our quarrels or our close friendship in any way.

"Then my family moved to town and I moved back to the normal White South African mode of life where the only relationship with Africans was that of master to servant. I finished my schooling and went to University. There one of my first interests became a study of the theory of segregation, then beginning to blossom. This seemed to me to provide the solution to South Africa's problems and I became an earnest believer in it. A year later to help in a small way to put this theory into practice, because I do not believe that theory and practice can or should be separated, I joined the Bloemfontein Joint Council of Europeans and Africans, a body devoted largely to trying to induce various authorities to provide proper (and separate) amenities for Africans. I arrived for my first meeting with other newcomers. I found myself being



introduced to leading members of the African community. I found I had to shake hands with them. This, I found required an enormous effort of will on my part. Could I really, as a White adult touch the hand of a Black man in friendship?

"That night I spent many hours in thought trying to account for my strange revulsion when I remembered I had never had any such feelings towards my boyhood friends. What became abundantly clear was that it was I and not the Black man who had changed; that despite my growing interest in him, I had developed an antagonism for which I could find no rational basis whatsoever...

"The result of all this was that and in succeeding years when some of us ran literacy classes in the old Waaihoek location at Bloemfontein, I came to understand that colour prejudice was a wholly irrational phenomenon and that true human friendship could extend across the colour bar once the initial prejudice was overcome. And that I think was lesson No. 1 on my way to the Communist Party which has always refused to accept any colour bar and has always stood firm on the belief itself 2,000 years old, of the eventual brotherhood of all men.

"The other reason for my attraction to the Communist Party, the willingness to sacrifice, was a matter of personal observation... The Communist Party had already for two decades stood avowedly and unconditionally for political rights for non-Whites and its White members were, save for a handful of courageous individuals, the only Whites who showed complete disregard for the hatred which this attitude attracted from their fellow White South Africans. These members, I found, were Whites who could have taken full advantage of all the privileges open to them and their families because of their colour, who could have obtained lucrative employment and social position, but who, instead, were prepared for the sake of their consciences, to perform the most menial and unpopular work at little or sometimes no remuneration... But apart from the example of the White members, it was always the communists of all races who were at all times prepared to give of their time and their energy and such means as they had, to help those in need and those most deeply affected by discrimination;... who helped with night schools and feeding schemes, who assisted trade unions fighting desperately to preserve standards of living and who threw themselves into the work of the national movements. It was African communists who constantly risked arrest or the loss of their jobs or even their homes in locations, in order to gain or retain some rights..."



# NOTES FROM THE GALLOWES

by

JULIUS FUCHIK

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## Chapter 6

# Martial Law 1942

May 27th, 1943.

It was just a year ago.

They led me from another grilling down to the Cinema. That was our daily route: from Number 400 down stairs for the dinner which they brought from Pankrats, then back up to the fourth floor. But that day they did not take us back up after noon.

You sit and eat. The benches full of prisoners, busy with their spoons and chewing. It looks almost human. If all of us who will be dead tomorrow should all of a sudden turn into skeletons, the ring of spoons on our earthenware bowls would change into the grating of bones and clapping of jaws. Only nobody thought of that, and no one suspected. Each of us was stoking his body in order to live another week, a month or years.

One could almost say: Good weather. Then suddenly a strange wind struck us, and it was oppressively quiet. Only by the faces of the guards could you guess that something unusual was going on. The proof was that they called us out and lined us up and took us off to Pankrats. Back to Pankrats at noon! That has never happened before. Half a day without any grilling; we are all worn out with questions for which we find no answers. It sounds like a gift from God. But it is not.

In the corridor we meet General Eliash (former Prime Minister under the Protectorate, later executed). Excitement in his eyes, he catches sight of me through the hedge of guards, moves over and whispers:

"It's martial law".

He had no chance to reply to my mute question. Prisoners have only split seconds for the most important communications.

The guards at Pankrats were very much surprised at our early return from Petchek's. The one who led me to my cell gave me enough confidence to tell him what I had heard. I don't know who he is, but he merely shook his head. He knew nothing about martial law - or perhaps he didn't hear



my question. Yet, perhaps - and that quiets my anxiety at having asked.

That evening, however, he came and looked into the cell:

"You were right. There has been an attempt to assassinate Heydrich. He is badly wounded. Martial law in Prague".

The next day they line us up down in the corridor to take us for another grilling. Among us is Comrade Victor Synek, the last living member of the Central Committee of the party, who was arrested in February, 1941. A long slim turnkey in an SS uniform waves a piece of white paper before his eyes, on which you can see in bold print:

"Entlassunge befehl". "Discharge Order".

He is laughing crudely:

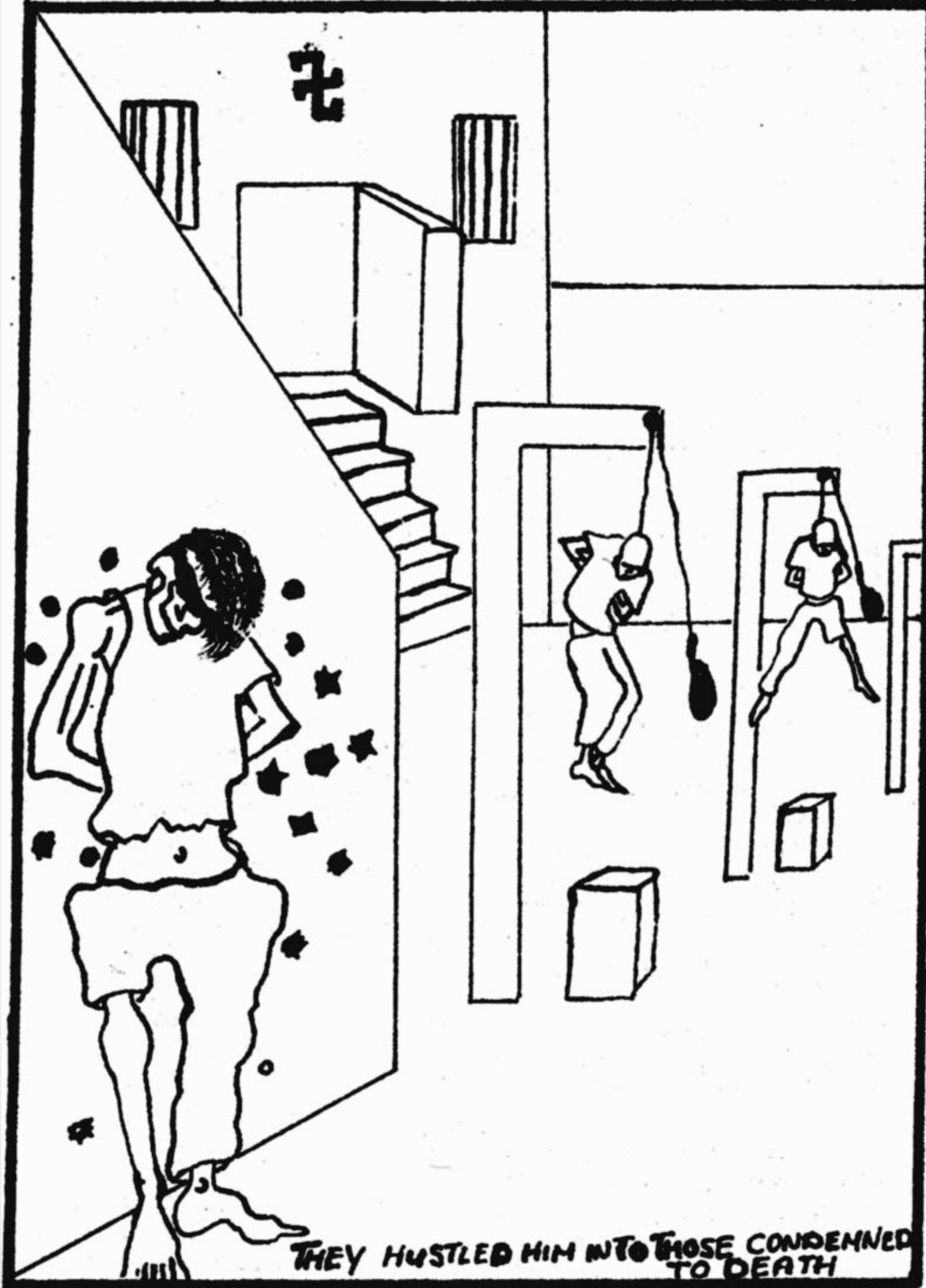
"So you see, you Jew, you did live through it. Your discharge order! Figs..." At that he draws his finger around his neck in the sign that Victor's head will fly off. Otto Synek was the first to be executed under martial law in 1941. His brother Victor is the first victim of martial law in 1942. They take him to Mauthausen for the bump-off, as their elegant expression is.

The route from Pankrats to Petchek building and back now becomes the daily calvary for thousands of prisoners. The SS guards in buses take revenge for Heydrich. Before they have gone half a mile, blood flows from the faces and mouths of dozens of prisoners beaten with pistol butts. Those who happen to ride with me usually have it easier because my beard is the object of a great many practical jokes, and there is less time for beating the rest of the passengers. As the car jerks along, the guards like to hang onto my whiskers as to a strap in a car, one of their favourite pastimes. That is good preparation for my grillings, which change routine according to the political situation, but invariably end with:

"If you don't come to your senses by tomorrow, you will be shot".

There is nothing very terrifying in that any more. Evening after evening you hear them calling out names down in the corridor. Fifty, a hundred, two hundred people will in a moment be bound hand and foot, laid in autos and carted like slaughter-house cattle to mass execution at Kobylisy. What is the charge against them? First of all that nothing has been proved against them. They were arrested, no connection has been found with any of the major cases, they are unnecessary for further investigation, so they can be used for executions. A satirical lyric which one comrade read to nine others caused







the arrest of all of them two months before the assassination. Now they are in death-cells - 'for approving the assassination'. A woman was arrested six months ago on suspicion that she was circulating underground leaflets. She has never admitted it, nor have they any proof. Nevertheless they have arrested her brothers and sisters, her brothers' wives and sisters' husbands & are going to murder them all because wiping out whole families of 'suspicious persons' is the motto of this martial law. A post-office messenger, who had been arrested by mistake, is standing down in the corridor waiting to be set free. He hears his name called, and they hustle him into the line of those condemned to death, cart him off and shoot him. Only the next day they discover that it was a mistake; someone else with the same name was to have been shot. So they execute the other man, too, and everything is set right. Who can take time to make sure that the people they execute are the right ones? And what is the use, anyway, when their purpose is to kill off the whole nation?

That night I come back very late from my 'hearing'. Down by the wall stands Vladimir Vanchura with a little bundle of his things at his feet (one of the most talented Czech novelists). I know very well what that means, and he knows also. We grip hands for a moment. I can still see him from the upper corridor, standing with his head slightly bowed and his eyes gazing far, far across our lives. A half hour later they called out his name...

A few days later Milosh Krasny stands facing that same wall, a brave soldier of the revolution, who was arrested in October last year. Unbroken by torture or by solitary confinement. Half turned away from the wall, he is calmly explaining something to the guard standing behind him. He sees me suddenly, smiles, throws up his head in farewell and goes on talking to the guard:

"This will not help you at all. A lot more of us are going to fall, but you will be defeated in the end..."

Then again one noon, we are standing downstairs in the Petchek building waiting for dinner. They bring in Eliash, with a newspaper under his arm. He points at it and smiles, for he had just read that they proved he had some connection with the assassination (although he had been in prison for the past eight months).

"Bunk!" he said and started on his food.

While returning with the rest of us to Pankrats that evening, he talks about it jokingly. But an hour later they take



him from his cell and cart him off to Kobylisy.

The corpses are piling up. They no longer count them in tens, nor in hundreds, but in thousands. The smell of fresh blood tingles in the nostrils of the beasts. They 'work' late into the night and on Sundays. They all wear SS uniforms now; this is their celebration, their festival of slaughter. They send to death workers, teachers, farmers, writers, officials; they slaughter men, women and children; murder whole families, exterminate and burn whole villages. Death by lead stalks the land like the plague, and makes no distinction among its victims.

But even in this h o r r o r, people still live.

It is unbelievable, but people still live, eat, sleep, make love, work and think about a thousand things which have no connection with death. Back in their minds there is a terrific tension, but they bear it. They do not bow their heads nor fall beneath it.

In the middle of martial law, my commissar took me out to Branik. The beautiful June was heavy with the sweet of the lindens and late acacia blossoms. A Sunday evening, and the street out to the end of the car-line was not wide enough to hold the stream of returning excursionists. They were cheerful and noisy, delightfully tired, having spent the day in the embrace of the sun and water and of the arms of their lovers. Only death was not visible on their faces, though it walked among them and occasionally aimed his bolt at one of their number. They flop and tumble like rabbits, and are just as cute. Like rabbits! Reach in among them and grab one for your dinner. They huddle together in a corner for a moment, but are soon swarming about again, with their pleasures and worries, full of the joy of life.

I was suddenly transplanted from the walled-up life of prison into this bursting stream of humanity, and the first taste of its sweet bliss was bitter to me.

It should not have been however.

What I see here is life, and what I have just come from is life. No matter what terrific pressure is applied, life is indestructible. It may be beaten out at one point but bursts forth at a hundred others. It is life, and remains stronger than death. Should that be bitter?

And are we who live in cells, right in the midst of horror, of any different metal than the rest of the nation?

Occasionally I went to my hearings in a police car, in which the guard was quite well-behaved. I could look out the window at the street, at the show-windows, at a flower-stand,



at crowds of passer-by, at women. I once told myself that whenever I was able to count nine pairs of pretty legs I wouldn't be executed that day. Then I began to look them over, to compare their lines carefully, selected and rejected with interest in legs - quite regardless that my life depended upon it, as though just lines and not a life were involved.

They usually brought me back to the cell quite late. Dad Peshek always worried whether I would return at all. He embraced me and I told him whatever news I had heard, who fell at Kobylisy last night. Then we were driven by hunger to eat the disgusting mash of dehydrated vegetables. We sang a cheerful song or, if angry and depressed, played a game of dice which diverted our attention completely for a while. That was the way we spent the evening hours when the door of our cell might open at any moment and the death order sound for one of us.

"You, or you, get downstairs. Take everything with you! Quick!"

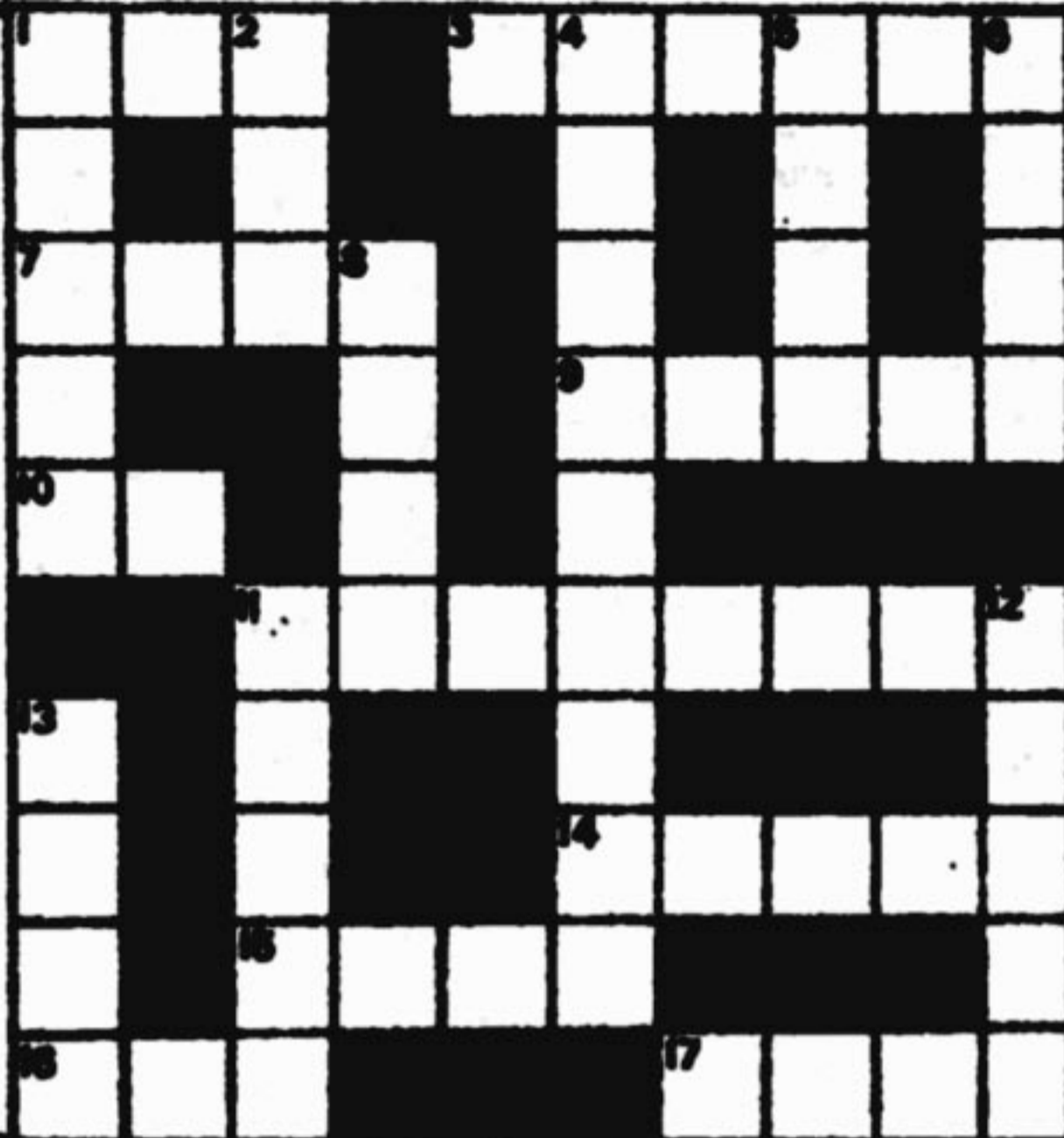
But neither of us was called in that period. We lived through that time of horror. We think of it now with surprise at our own feelings. How strangely people are built - we can bear the unbearable.

It is impossible, however, to prevent such times from leaving deep traces on our lives. They lie in little rolls of film under the membrane of our brain, and unroll in the form of insanity some time later in real life - if we ever live that long. Or perhaps they will unfold later in the form of great cemeteries, or green gardens planted with the most precious seed of human lives.

The most precious seed, which will germinate and spring to life one day.

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### CLUES

#### Across

1. Ours is just.
3. Province in Ethiopia.
7. Skin disease.
9. "This is ... Freedom".
10. For example.
11. Concentrated expression of economics.
14. OPEC member.
15. Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.
16. Youngest leader in Africa.
17. Our late mother.

#### Down

1. Gigantic fish.
2. Past tense of run.
4. Comrade James Mange is one.
5. An act.
6. Aggressive military bloc.
8. Repeated sound.
11. "There Shall be ... and Friendship".
12. An instrument of rule.
13. Highest medal in Olympic games.

See answers in DAWN Vol. 7 No. 10



**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!



**WE DEMAND  
THE RELEASE**



**Nelson Mandela**

**OF OUR LEADERS**

**AND ALL**

**POLITICAL PRISONERS**