

# **DAWN** Monthly Journal of Umkhonto we Sizwe



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**LONG LIVE THE  
YEAR OF THE YOUTH!**

# DAWN

monthly journal of umkhonto we sizwe

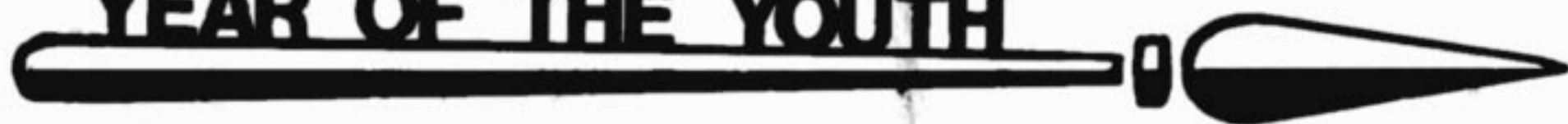
Vol.5 No.1

January 1981

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**YEAR OF THE YOUTH**





## **Editorial Comment**

# **THE DYNAMO OF OUR STRUGGLE**

January the 8th will go down in the annals of our history as a milestone in the struggle; a day of national awakening, a day which gives weight to the black people's quest for liberation and an equitable stake in the wealth of our beloved motherland. For on this day in 1912, the ANC was formed.

This year January the 8th marks the 69th anniversary of the ANC, the authentic vanguard of our struggling people. These 69 years that have elapsed have been years of difficult struggle during which the ANC has acquired a wealth of experience, gathered new strength and ascended from summit to much higher summit. This is the period that saw the development of the ANC into a completely revolutionary organisation, unflinching in its commitment to fight tooth and nail for the genuine national liberation of our people. It remains to this day the custodian of the loftiest of ideals & objectives for a just and democratic South Africa. This is the foundation upon which rests the present inspiring developments that favour the liberation struggle at home and abroad.

The undaunted students of our country whose nation-wide upsurges have sent the Bantu Education 'maintenance team' under Hartzenberg reeling to the trenches, as is the tradition

with all fascists, continue to march proudly. All the sabre-rattling and intimidatory bloodshed by the racists will not cow our people down. Our offensive is like an irresistible sweep of a hurricane. It is this conviction in the inevitable victory of the oppressed that motivates thousands of the youth to be dauntless and daring. It is the self-same spirit that underlies the feats performed by the militants of Umkhonto we Sizwe. The SASOLS speak for themselves!

In the van of the life and death struggles that are presently raging inside the country, is to be found the youth, who are indeed the dynamo of this process that is unfolding. It is with this view in mind that we of the ANC look forward to this as the Year of the Youth. With this, the youth from all sections of our population are being called upon to respond to a national duty. And that duty is for them to take their rightful places in the forefront of the struggle; to more than ever before unleash their efforts sparing no strength in the confrontation of the usurpers, who for centuries now, have ridden on our parents' backs and reduced our next-of-kin and everyone else of our people to a position of drawers of water and hewers of wood. This is the time for the youth of our country to rally behind the slogan; Death to the racist tyrants!

We do not imagine that the enemy will take this lightly. We expect him to unleash intimidatory action, launch ploys and machinations aimed at defeating this patriotic endeavour. Our watch-word is to be vigilant and to beat the enemy by a skillful exercise of tactics. In this way victory will be ensured.

The victories scored by our people during the Year of the Charter & of the South African Worker have demonstrated beyond any doubt that our national liberation movement is directing the struggle in accordance with sound revolutionary principles.

The indomittable spirit of our people, reminiscent of the "roaring fifties" has been amply demonstrated. The enemy was denied peace. Long live our mighty working class whose heroic industrial actions have cast into the doldrums the diabolic designs of the Wiehahn and Riekert Commissions! In this year, which also marks the 60th Anniversary of the South African Communist Party, the rightful vanguard of our working class, we are looking forward to much more incessant struggles by the workers. We are looking forward to the revival of the spirit of the Nkosis, the Kotanes, the Bram Fischers and other towering names within the working class. A situation where the workers will be able to say: "Here at last is a Party of our dreams". "The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains". Come enemy slander and distortion, we have a world to win!

# “The Year of the Youth”

## Statement by Comrade President O.R. Tambo on the 69th Anniversary of the ANC

Comrapatriots and comrades, fellow fighters for the liberation of the Motherland, once more a new year is upon us, and since today is January 8th, we mark also a new anniversary of the African National Congress, the 69th Anniversary. 1980, the initial year of our Decade of Liberation has passed, and with its passing has ushered us into a new time span which will this day next year culminate in the epoch-making 70th Anniversary of the African National Congress.

In our message of January 8 last year, we reviewed some of the challenges that the previous year had posed to us as a people and pointed out some of the main directions that we needed to take if we were to make progress towards our overdue emancipation. The time has come that we address ourselves to the experiences of the year that has just passed so that we are better able to determine what actions we should take to bring closer the realisation of our common aspiration - the restoration of power in the hands of the people and the destruction of the evil and degrading system of apartheid.

### HISTORIC VICTORY

This time last year, we said that victory was within the grasp of the heroic people of Zimbabwe. The historic fact that political power is today so firmly in the hands of the brother people of Zimbabwe, a victory which simultaneously meant the ignominious and well deserved route of the forces of reaction, is not only a tribute but also bears witness to the strength of the movement for national liberation, which is making its own contribution to the triumphant march of the peoples of the world towards a better and happier future. That same movement for national liberation is moving with the fighting people of Namibia to assured victory under the leadership of SWAPO. Once more we can say that the victory that is with-

in the grasp of the people of Namibia, is one which t h i s  
b r o t h e r people share with the progressive forces of the  
world. This victory will also constitute the concrete contri-  
bution of the people of Namibia to our collective advance, in  
one interdependent and world-wide battle fought on many fronts.

Only yesterday the United Nations Conference on Namibia  
opened in Geneva, bringing together for the first time on the  
one hand the authentic representatives of the people of Namibia,  
organised and united in SWAPO and the Pretoria colonial regime  
on the other. As the forces of tyranny had in the end had to  
recognise ZANU and ZAPU in the Patriotic Front as the only  
organisations with whom to negotiate the transition of Zimbabwe  
to independence, so also have these forces been compelled to  
recognise the fact that the same process with regards to Namibia  
must be negotiated with SWAPO.

At this critical stage in the struggle of the Namibian  
people, in the name of the African National Congress and the  
patriotic forces of our country, in their entirety, on your  
behalf compatriots, we send our greetings and our pledge of  
solidarity to SWAPO and the people of Namibia as a whole, con-  
vinced that the political and military victories that they  
have scored within Namibia will be duplicated and reinforced  
at the diplomatic table and fully conscious that their victory  
over the coloniser will drastically shorten the road we our-  
selves have to travel to reach the goal of liberation.

## ENEMY SCHEMES COLLAPSE

Despite its repeated and inevitable defeats at the hands  
of the national liberation movement throughout Southern Africa,  
the Pretoria regime continued during the passed year to enter-  
tain hopes of re-establishing its domination over the indepen-  
dent countries of the sub-continent. It has accordingly con-  
tinued to propagate the counter-revolutionary idea of a  
'Constellation of Southern African States', while persisting  
with its policy of aggression against these states.

The anti-colonial resolve of the peoples and governments  
of our region has ensured the defeats of these policies as well.  
Even for the blindly arrogant authors of the scheme of a  
constellation of puppet states it must by now have become abun-  
dantly clear that the constellation they visualised has been  
transformed by the concrete reality of the balance of forces in  
Southern Africa into an ephemeral mirage, a still-born illusion  
which no amount of propaganda will bring to life. In this con-  
nection we would like to take this opportunity to salute the

nine independent states of Southern Africa which have come together in a determined effort to co-ordinate their economic development and to find and implement ways reducing their dependence on apartheid South Africa. This initiative has finally buried the Pretoria regime's illusion that it could use the wealth we have created with our sweat and blood to enslave anew the African peoples beyond our borders.

Similarly the aggression carried out by the racist forces against independent Africa has not brought the apartheid regime the results it sought to achieve. The coup it tried to foment in Zambia was nibbed in the bud. The mercenaries it has deployed in Mozambique, have only served to strengthen the determination of the people of this sister country to defend their hard-won independence. The People's Republic of Angola remains as firm as a rock in its involvement in the battle for the total liberation of Africa and in the struggle for the consolidation of people's power. Despite its teething problems, the young Republic of Zimbabwe has bravely and unequivocally refused to bow down to the terrorist pressures emanating from Pretoria, which have included the training of yet more bandits for military incursions into Zimbabwe. Quiet clearly therefore in the field of foreign relations particularly in the crucial area of Southern Africa, the decade of the 80s has begun inauspiciously for the Botha-Malan regime.

## NEW ADVANCES

The current year will undoubtedly see new advances made in our region, especially with regards to the issue of Namibia. Indeed as a result of the genuine independence of Namibia, the racist South African soldiers will no longer lose their lives on the Namibian battlefield.

Botha and Malan can only draw cold comfort from such a development, because it will also mean that the Pretoria regime will then become the last and only relic of 500 years of the colonial occupation of the mother continent, a relic soon to be swept away by the people of Africa. If this was the position of the colonial apartheid regime and its external political positions during 1980, what of its positions inside South Africa? Without question, we witness the development which is of crucial importance to the future of our country.

During this past year, the Botha regime has through its own actions conceded the bankruptcy and futility of the brutal policy of apartheid. To put this in other words, the

Year of the Charter marked a collapse of the political strategy of the apartheid regime. You will remember the statement made by Botha that the independence of Zimbabwe under the leadership of our brother and comrade-in-arms, Robert Mugabe, has altered the strategic position of South Africa. As you recall, Botha called for a multiracial conference to discuss the future of South Africa, in the end no conference took place. Why? Because Botha, Malan, Koornhof and others in the general staff of the racist headquarters, soon enough realised that the genuine representatives of the patriotic forces of our country would not attend such an apartheid public relations exercise. This meant that such a conference far from reinforcing the positions of the apartheid regime would expose to the world the utter isolation and unacceptability of this regime. It was therefore decided to allow the idea of a conference to die, killed by the benign neglect of those who have floated the idea in the first instance.

## REVEALING WORDS

P.W. Botha had had to swallow his words and his pride, but in making the call when he did, Botha considered the point that the future of our country could no longer be decided exclusively by the ruling fascist and racist National Party nor indeed by the white minority population of South Africa. Botha let slip the same notion when he told his Party's Transvaal Congress that to pretend that there were no black people in South Africa might in his words, be "a lovely thought", but it was not true. These were revealing words, because they signify that the illusion cultivated by white supremacy for three centuries that the blacks in South Africa were either foreigners or non-persons, had become dangerous to white supremacy. Of course, none of the enemy statements and proposals represented a change of heart, what they signalled was that our strength as an oppressed and fighting people had reached dimensions which gave the enemy increasing cause for concern over his chances of survival.

## YEAR OF THE CHARTER

During the Year of the Charter, the apartheid regime was to witness fresh evidence of the rise of the oppressed millions and the succession of defeats for its apartheid strategy. As is well-known, the enemy set out to constitute what it calls a 'President's Council', in the hope that it would attract to



this advisory council popular leaders of the so-called Coloured and Indian people. In the event, not a single patriot agreed to serve on this party, even the so-called official opposition, the Progressive Federal Party, refused to be drawn into this meaningless venture. In the end what do we have? A council composed of white appointees of the fascist party and a coterie of black stooges. The overwhelming majority of whom are not even known to the communities whose aspirations they are supposed to represent. In brief, Botha's 'President's Council' was a stillborn as were his scheme to turn Zimbabwe into a client state and as moribund as his plan for a 'Constellation of Southern Africa'. What Botha has created is at best the President's circus.

Another of his schemes that suffered a similar fate was a proposed 'black council' which was meant to group together the so-called non-independent bantustans and representatives of the urban African communities. This attempts to resurrect the old toy telephone, the dead and unlamented native representative council, was abandoned by the regime as a doomed venture, having been dismissed out of hand in the open contempt by the entire black population. Botha, Malan and Koornhof had had to retreat to their lairs to lick their wounds and to cook up more hair-brained schemes which will similarly perish in the face of our determination to secure for ourselves genuine liberation.

## DUMMY INSTITUTIONS

The fate of the so-called Coloured Persons Representative Council', the CRC, is a matter of common knowledge in this country and abroad. This enemy-imposed institution was destroyed by the Labour Party, expressing the people's mass rejection of the institution and in the process winning a victory of strategic importance for our liberation struggle. In a bid to replace the CRC, the apartheid regime took measures to introduce what is called the Coloured Persons Council, a mass denunciation of this CPC by the people as being yet another dummy institution compelled Botha to abandon its establishment.

The Indian section of the Black population had been informed that during 1980, there will be elections to the enemy created institution, the South African Indian Council. Knowing that such an exercise would in fact result in the destruction of the South African Indian Council through its mass rejection by the people, the Botha regime decided not to have this elec-

tions after all. Any hope of ever being able to breath life into the inert carcass of the South African Indian Council vanished when the very stooges who had accepted to serve on it no longer able to withstand popular pressure themselves demanded the dissolution of the SAIC. The cumulative effect of this aggressive mass opposition to dummy councils was a collapse of a grandiose scheme the apartheid regime had thought up, namely the much trumpeted 'Three-tier Parliament'. The fate of this infamous plan is to take the subject of deathening silence on the part of the regime.

## CONSTITUTIONAL SCHEME

In July, the apartheid state President, Marais Viljoen, made bold to suggest that 1980 should be known as the year of the constitution. That rather incongruous proposal was met with stony silence by the rest of the racist ruling clique, who were by that time aware of the wholesale collapse of all constitutional schemes the regime had tried to formulate. In any case, 1980 was already known by the people of South Africa as the Year of the Charter. The Freedom Charter which defines the basis of a true constitution for South Africa. This clique also knew that the central purpose of this constitutional schemes had failed with the collapse of each one of the convoy of councils it had lined up. That central purpose had been the preparations of the elements of what in the politics of Southern Africa has come to be known as an internal settlement. As Z i m b a b w e and Namibia have demonstrated, this so-called internal settlement, is in fact no settlement at all. It is but an arrangement to consolidate the collusion between the colonial regime and its p u p p e t s for the perpetuation of white minority rule.

Marais Viljoen had expected that during 1980, the component parts of such an oppressive scheme would have been prepared and ready for presentation to us and to the people of the world as a settlement of the South African problem. What he and his fellow racists failed to understand was that the mass commitment to genuine liberation permits no settlement which falls short to the transfer of power to the people of South Africa.

## MILITARISTS

The failure of these apartheid schemes points to the people's refusal to be ruled. It reflects their determination to terminate their colonial status. It is a great step for-

ward to a new and democratic South Africa. Botha knows that there is nothing left in his bag of apartheid separate development tricks that can so much reduce the rejection of the regime by the majority or save it from ultimate destruction by the rising people.

In the result, having exhausted all these political options such as they are, Botha has had to fall back on the only option now left to him, which is direct and open military rule. Hence, 1980 saw the appointment of Magnus Malan into the apartheid cabinet as racist Defence Minister. And the deployment of military personnel into other leading state committees including the all important national Security Council. It is this development which we must serve notice that far from being a somewhat kind hearted reformer of apartheid, Botha for all his torrent of words remains a racist and fascist tyrant, for he is committed to the survival of the apartheid system, the permanance of white minority rule at all costs.

## FREEDOM CHARTER

It will be recalled that this day last year, we said that it was a task of all patriotic and democratic forces of our country to observe the 25th Anniversary of the great Freedom Charter in a fitting manner. Their militant resistance to the internal settlement scheme was an act in observance of this great anniversary. A reaffirmation of our pledge to fight together in unison and on all fronts for the realisation of a government of the people. We can all be justly proud of this spirit of dedication to our noble and invincible cause.

As at no time since the Treason Trial of the 50s, the Freedom Charter last year took the centre of the stage as a document of reference in the raging debate generated by our advancing liberation struggle over the crucial issue of a future South Africa and a viable alternative to the apartheid system. We would like to commend the patriots who made certain that during the Year of the Charter, the Freedom Charter was available in large numbers to the people. We salute all comrades and friends in the broad movement for national liberation who ensured that the Charter was once more discussed and its correctness reaffirmed by the masses of the people. In this connection the launching of the "Free Mandela Campaign" was enormously timely and appropriate.

The interests of our common future as the South African people, demand the immediate release from prison of the nation-

al leaders and political activists who are where they are because they loved their country and their people and willing to die for both. As the "Sunday Post" explained, the people demanded the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners because they wanted to place their country, South Africa, under the authority of a truly popular government without any accompanying bloodshed. In their support of this campaign, the people of South Africa spoke with a unity rallying note and strikingly non-racial. The international community is equally unanimous in making the same demand, but not uncharacteristically, the apartheid regime's response to this demand shows suicidal insensitivity. Nevertheless, the campaign must be continued.

## ENEMY CONTRADICTIONS

Last year on January the 8th, we said because of our victories during the decade of the 70s, the enemy was trying to regroup and strengthen his forces in preparation for an intensified counter-offensive. This as we have seen, he tried to do and he failed. That failure has deepened the political crisis which is greeping the apartheid regime. Intense conflicts are raging within the ruling Party, great doubts have infected the white population as a whole as to the ability of the ruling clique to guarantee the security of this population.

Malan and his fellow generals have had to quell localised mutinies that have broken out within their racist army. Young Afrikaners at the University of Stellenbosch, the training centre of many racist leaders, have directly confronted fascist Prime Minister, P.W. Botha, with the demand for the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, and completely rejected his programme of reforms. This deepening crisis of the apartheid regime has reached levels that it has, not because P.W. Botha, Malan, Koornhof and others are less competent than their predecessors, but because our level of struggle has during the Year of the Charter attained new heights and greater effectiveness.

## MASS STRUGGLE

Dear compatriots, last year again on January 8th, we issued a call for mass struggles everywhere and around all issues that both agitate us and are reflected in the Freedom Charter. Your response was magnificent, you did indeed confront the enemy on all fronts. The enemy himself admits that during the Year of the Charter which SACTU has also proclaimed

the Year of the Worker, the strike movement among the black workers for higher pay and better working conditions, for recognition of our unions and the reinstatement of sacked workers drew in at least four times more workers than in the year 1979. Mighty struggles have raged around the issue of rent increases, highlighted by the militant and united rent strike at Zwile, in Port Elizabeth, and the anti-rent increase demonstrations and the stay-at-home in Soweto. Once more the youth abandoned their classrooms in continuation of the struggle for an equal, non-racial, free and compulsory system of education. The apartheid regime tried to defeat the schools boycott by resorting to its tried method of violent repression and the killing of our people in cold blood. When the campaign of terror failed to achieve its objective, the enemy decided to close down nearly one hundred schools.

The people in the countryside were not dormant either during the Year of the Charter. The Batlokwa in the north of the country continued with their heroic struggle against removals from their ancestral lands. In the south, the overwhelming majority of the residents of the Ciskei region told the Quail Commission fiercely and unequivocally that not only are they against the so-called independence of the Ciskei, but they are also in favour of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

After a lull of many years, the struggle resumed in the Orange Free State and continues. An important additional feature to all this campaigns was the growth of the level of unity in action amongst the fighting contingents. The necessity for all of us to build on this achievement cannot be over-emphasised. When striking workers, boycotting students, bus boycotters and others all come together to reinforce one another, when there is solidarity through action, then we can confidently say that we are using our united mass strength properly and effectively.

## **MK STRIKES**

In this connection the attack by a unit of Umkhonto we Sizwe on the enemy's railway communications which was timed to reinforce the Soweto campaign against rent increases was highly commendable. Even more so, were the heroic and daring armed operations carried by Umkhonto we Sizwe during the Year of the Charter and the Year of the Worker. Once more our combatants reaffirmed in action that they remain true to the tradition of combat established by our forefathers at Isandlwana and else-

where. Silverton, Booyens, SASOL and Chiawelo will go down in the history of our struggle as glorious forerunners of the people's war that has already started.

A vitally important feature of these actions is that they were an integral part of a militant country-wide struggle by the people fighting on all fronts. They had to raise the level of the overall struggle and heighten it. In addition against the background of industrial strikes, school boycotts, the arrest of church leaders and numerous forms of resistance against the notorious apartheid regime, the armed actions by Umkhonto we Sizwe gave a new dimension to the solidarity of the people of the world with the oppressed, the exploited, the democratic and fighting people of South Africa. We congratulate our people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe. But, if in 1980 our struggle developed into a multi-pronged and effective onslaught upon the racist regime and its structures, we were far less successful, in fact we failed on what must be regarded as a major front, the bantustan front.

## SMASH ENEMY CREATIONS

In observing the 67th Anniversary of the ANC in 1979, the Year of the Spear, we called for a determined assault on the artificial political, economic and racist barriers which go under the term apartheid or separate development. We invited all true patriots to join in this effort. Last year, launching the Year of the Charter, we renewed our call to all opponents of racial arrogance, domination and white supremacy to unleash this determined mass assault. The reality we face however is that the so-called community councils continue to exist. Not a single of the bantustans has been destroyed as a result of mass pressure.

Indeed the arch collaborator, Sebe, is bent on pursuing his treachery by dragging the unwilling people of the Ciskei to bantustan 'independence', having worked with Pretoria's Minister of Information to stage-manage what purported to be a referendum. Within each one of these bantustans, and in all of them without exception the life of the people has worsened. The Matanzimas, the Sebes, Mphephus and others have continued to carry out instructions of their masters to police these vast deserted camps of corruption, unemployment, landlessness, hunger and starvation. We have failed, although we have it in our power to smash these institutions of oppression. But this situation cannot be allowed to continue. We therefore yet

again call for resolute action against the bantustan and bantu councils, whatever are their new names.

## PATRIOTIC PATH

Last year in our address to the nation, we sought to define a path of honour for those who, as we said, while working within a separate development institution, defend their role as being one of patriotic participation and not a betrayal calculated to condemn our people to permanent domination. We offered a path of honour to such among our people as claimed to be patriots working within the enemy institutions, with the sole object of destroying them or transforming them into instruments of struggle, weapons in the hands of the fighting masses. And yet what has happened? There is no evidence anywhere that any of these bantustans and councils have become or are becoming useless or dangerous to the enemy. Thanks to the dedication and commitment of those who have been very vocal in proclaiming their patriotism, it is a sharp rebuke genuine patriots serving within the separate development institutions that so many white South Africans are beginning to see it as their patriotic duty to abolish the Apartheid system and dismiss its perpetrators.

The one redeeming development in this situation of continuing fail has been the great victory won by our Coloured and Indian compatriots who have successfully attacked and destroyed the enemy's creations. Given that the vast majority of our people stand in deadly opposition to the separate development programme, especially responsibility falls on the masses of the African people - the worst victims of separate development, to play their historic role by being their own liberators.

The Bantustans and community councils stand between us and a government of the people. They must be attacked from within and from without.

## FASCIST REPUBLIC

On May 31st this year, the racist regime will be celebrating the 20th anniversary of the fascist republic imposed on us in 1961, in the face of our determined opposition under the leadership of Comrade Nelson Mandela. Undoubtedly, the oppressor regime will try to embroil us in activities organised to mark this occasion. But racist republic day cannot by any stretch of imagination be a day for the oppressed, for the black people of South Africa or for any democrat. Like

the racist constitution of the Union of South Africa, the constitution which created the so-called republic was the exclusive work of whites only for whites only. We have our national days and our anniversaries; January 8, March 5, March 21, June 16, June 26, August 9, December 16. We can have nothing to do with May 31.

We refused to recognise the legitimacy of the apartheid republic in 1961. We have much less reason to recognise it today when the burning demand is for a people's government. Indeed to reinforce this demand we need to initiate a campaign against Republic Day. Over the years, many of our people, fellow fighters for the liberation of the Motherland have been demanding the calling of a national convention to draw up a democratic constitution for our country. As we all remember this call was first made by the All-in African Conference which met in Pietermaritzburg on the 25th and 26th of March, 1961, attended by 1,500 delegates from town and country representing 145 religious, social, cultural, sporting and political bodies, and called to discuss amongst other things the intended proclamation of the fascist republic in our country on May 31 that year, in circumstances which presumed our non-existence. The conference decided to demand a sovereign national convention representative of all South Africans to draw up a new non-racial and democratic constitution for our country. The racist regime ignored the demand. Consequently the people embarked on mass struggle commencing with the wide-spread national stay-at-home at the end of May through to the commencement of armed struggle for the seizure of power. It will be noted therefore that the call for the national convention was essentially a call to action.

Secondly, once the apartheid regime refused to summon the convention, then the demand for a national convention became inextricably bound up with the demand for the destruction of the regime itself. The national convention we are talking about therefore, is one which would be a democratic forum vested with sovereign powers. It would bring together the leaders and representatives of the people of South Africa and would produce a blue-print of the kind of South Africa that would meet the aspirations of the majority. Such a convention can only come about as a consequent and result of struggle, bitter struggle.

## UNITY

Our unity is and will always be one of the principal fountains of strength in our march to victory. The high level



of unity generated by the struggle waged last year itself became a mighty weapon in our hands. We need further to expand on this basis to ensure that we actually act together as one people with one destiny. For this reason the proliferation of centres in the democratic trade union movement should be a matter of serious concern to all of us. Equally worrying is the fact that we have waged the continuing struggle for a democratic system of education as different contingents, separated one from another for geographic or other reasons. In particular, we have not yet succeeded to bring together in common and simultaneous action all the black students, teachers and parents. By large we left the red meat workers to fight their battles alone when we did not respond sufficiently to their appeal for a nation-wide boycott of red meat, in solidarity with them. We have allowed the Ndebele people to fall victim to Mangope's machinations in the same way as we have not come to the aid of our brave Batlokwa people.

To remedy this national failure, we should adopt as our battle-cry, the motto of our Trade Union movement and of SACTU; "AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL".

The kind of unity we must seek therefore is unity in action, unity for common action against the common enemy, unity for victorious struggle. As we prepare for the observance of the 70th Anniversary of the formation of the ANC next year, a proud moment for the people of South Africa, we must give organisational priority to the issue of unity. The unity of the African people who constitute the principal motive force of our revolution must develop to firmly embrace all blacks and all democrats and aim to engage all the forces for democracy, freedom and anti-racism in the struggle against white minority colonial domination.

## **JOINT RESPONSIBILITY**

On the other hand, South Africa does belong to all who live in it, black and white. Today this country is an outcast amongst the nations. It is the scene of a heinous crime against humanity perpetrated by the racist regime in the name of the white South Africans. The number of people the regime sends to the gallows each year is higher than all the hangings in all the countries of the world put together. More than 700,000 blacks are arrested for petty offences each year - nearly 2,000 daily. Thousands are pushed through the law courts as political offenders, among them hundreds of black children. The regime is notorious throughout Southern Africa

# SA ATTACKS



Children slaughtered in South African attacks on Angola

for its massacres and other atrocities, bombings, subversion harassment and racial hatred. The important point we are emphasising is that the regime's authority for these crimes derives from the white section of the South African population. We, the daily victims of this crime, have dedicated ourselves to the task of turning South Africa into an African country amongst African countries, a nation amongst the world nations ruled by a government which derives its authority from the majority of its people and living in peace and harmony with its neighbours. Employing every conceivable means at our disposal, we shall achieve this goal. We shall surely bleed in the process, but we shall bleed together, black and white, oppressed and oppressor alike. Even at this late hour therefore, we say to the whites of our country that they have a joint responsibility with the rest of the population of South Africa to take our country out of the ruins of the colonial era and place it in the 1980s as an African country sharing the aspirations of the people of Southern Africa and not seek-

ing to thwart the realisation of those aspirations by terrorising the people of this region.

History is not waiting for the whites of South Africa to realise the folly of their ways and to turn away from the suicidal path on which they are set. South Africa will be liberated as Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe were, despite any fortresses the majority of white South Africa may conceivably but quite erroneously believe to be impregnable.

## ANNIVERSARIES

The year 1980 was a historic year, so is 1981. It is the year when we shall be observing very important days. First of these which falls on June 16, is the 5th Anniversary of the heroic Soweto Uprisings, the second which falls on December 16, is the 20th Anniversary of Umkhonto we Sizwe. What is common to these anniversaries is that they focus on the role of the youth of our country. In observance of these anniversaries we need to accomplish a number of tasks. We need to ensure that the millions of our youth inside the country, students, working youth, the youth in the rural areas, young women, young Christians, these millions must be mobilised into the appropriate organisational formations for the intensification of the mass struggle. The youth must be drawn in even greater numbers into the African National Congress and Umkhonto we Sizwe inside the country and outside the country, to become part of the disciplined vanguard forces of our revolution. Those young people, both black and white who have been and are being drawn into the enemy forces of repression, the army and police, must realise that to dedicate their young lives to a lost and hopeless cause is to refuse to contribute in bringing into being a country which they can truly call theirs, a country in which they can mature & pass away in peace and happiness. We call on these to guarantee their future by coming over to the side of freedom, equality and democracy.

## YOUTH

The youth already in the ranks of the ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe must use the occasion of these two anniversaries to improve their level of competence in all fields in which they are involved whether political, military, academic or adminstry. They must seek to raise their level of political understanding and their discipline to become better cadres for the victory of the people's cause. They must use their enormous talent and

creative intelligence to formulate and propose new initiatives for the advancement of the struggle, and actively participate in the solution of all problems facing the revolution. The youth at Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College, which must develop into a prototype of the new school that we will construct in a liberated South Africa, must carry out their responsibilities in a manner befitting the pioneering role in which history has thrust them. The children at the Charlotte Maxeke creche, must be brought up to play their role as the new men and women that a free South Africa will need. It is our hope that the international democratic youth and student movement will also use the occasion of these anniversaries to strengthen links of comradeship and solidarity with the embattled youth and students of our country, and take new initiatives to intensify the campaign for the total isolation of the apartheid regime.

We are confident that our youth will accomplish the tasks we have assigned them. It has taken many generations of selfless struggle to reach a point where we can say victory is truly in sight as we do today. History has imposed an obligation on the youth of today to occupy the forward trenches in the final onslaught on the bastions of racism, apartheid and colonialism. As the late "Malomo" Moses Kotane said in 1968 in a statement to the youth of South Africa and I quote him:

"At this hour of destiny, your country and your people need you. The future of South Africa is yours and it will be what you make of it".

That is what he said. On the other hand a people, a country, a movement that does not value its youth, does not deserve its future.

## YEAR OF THE YOUTH

The youth of our country especially in recent times, have already won international recognition as dedicated and gallant fighters in the leading ranks of our revolutionary struggle. Their contribution is already manifest in the changed and changing fortunes of apartheid rule within South Africa. They are already playing their part in giving shape to the South Africa of the future. Already they have produced an impressive galaxy of young heroes such as Basil February, who fell valiantly in Zimbabwe in 1967 after killing 15 enemy soldiers; Hector Petersen, the first martyr of the Soweto Uprisings; Solomon Mahlangu, whose name still strikes fear in the hearts of our enemies; the "Silverton Three", Thami Makhubo, Samele Madela

and Fanie Mafoko. There are hundreds of other young martyrs. There are the thousands, among them many whites who have confronted and continue to confront the enemy on a wide range of many fronts. Hundreds have been tortured, tried in the racist courts and imprisoned but they persist in the struggle. To honour our youth, to salute their heroism and their dedication to the revolution, to provide them with better possibilities to accomplish their tasks for the year, the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress has decided to dedicate this year to our youth. I therefore declare 1981 **THE YEAR OF THE YOUTH**. Let us all join together to achieve its objectives. We further charge the African National Congress, Umkhonto we Sizwe and all other patriotic and democratic formations of our country with the task of doing their best to assist in the accomplishment of these missions.

## **TASKS AND SALUTATIONS**

As we begin a new year on the occasion of the 69th Anniversary of the African National Congress, we charge the youth with the work of carrying out the tasks we have already mentioned. We urge the workers to reach out to organise the unorganised, to bring about the unity of the democratic trade union movement and to intensify the struggle for a just wage and for freedom. We urge all the black people to smash the institutions of separate development including the community councils and the local management committees, and to thwart the attempts to revive the South African Indian Council. We call on all the women to build on the advances they have made during the Year of the Charter, to strengthen their organisation, to draw the millions of our women folk into the struggle and in the year of the 25th Anniversary of the famous Women's March on Pretoria, steadfastly to follow the example set by the leader and heroine, Lilian Ngoyi. We call on all black professionals; teachers and lecturers, journalists, medical practitioners and nurses, lawyers, social workers, office workers and others, to resist and thwart the attempts of the enemy to turn them into a collaborationist middle class and to stand firmly with the majority of the people for liberation. We call on our people in the countryside to unite themselves into popular organisations and join in the fight against the balkanisation and fragmentation of our country and people. The churches, mosques, religious organisations and Christians and Moslems at large should further enhance the dynamic role they have begun to play in moving the Christian and Moslem masses of our coun-

try into the forefront of the battle for a free and humane society. Workers in the field of culture and sport are urged to make greater use of their skill and talent to promote the people's cause. To honour our heroes and heroines, to inspire all of us into great feats of revolutionary daring and sacrifice, the black business community has a duty among other things to help by providing financial and material means, without which no struggle can be conducted.

Our special salutations this Year of the Youth must go specially to the combatants who laid down their lives heroically at Silverton and Chiawelo and to the three Comrades, Ncimbithi Lubisi, Tshepo Mashigo and Naphtalie Manana, over whose heads dangles the hangman's noose. We pledge to stand by these combatants at all times. Special salutations must also go to all the comrades who are in prison. Thanks are due to them, for the stirring message of struggle they have sent out in the name of Comrade Nelson Mandela which was able to reach all of us during the Year of the Charter. We greet also those who are detained, banned and banished, including the most recent victims of fascist tyranny, the leaders of Media Workers' Association of South Africa (MWASA). We pay homage to the families which have lost their loved ones during the cause of the struggle this past year. We salute the new Isithwalandwe-Seaparakwe, Govan Mbeki, who was elevated to this rank on June 26 in the Year of the Charter. We also take this opportunity to bow our heads in respectful memory of the late Bishop Reeves, who was also elevated to the rank of Isithwalandwe-Seaparakwe, on June 26 in the Year of the Charter.

## FRATERNAL ALLIES AND FRIENDS

We sent special greetings to the heroic people of Zimbabwe whose victory during the Year of the Charter, brought our own liberation that much near. Similarly we reiterate our pledge of solidarity and comradeship to the people of Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO. Their victory is certain. We greet all the friends and supporters of our struggle throughout the world; PLO, POLISARIO, FRETELIN and other liberation movements, the peoples of Africa, the socialist countries, the Asian and Latin American countries, the Scandinavian peoples and governments who share with us the common burden of struggle for liberty and the progressive peoples and governments of the West, with whom during this past year the bonds of cooperation amongst ourselves grew stronger. It is our wish that in

the new year we should further advance our level of cooperation.

As we prepare to observe the 5th Anniversary of the Soweto Uprisings, the 20th Anniversary of Umkhonto we Sizwe and our Year of the Youth, we turn our minds on the countries and brother peoples of Southern Africa, who have kept their borders, their houses and lands as well as their hearts open to our youth during these past twenty years. We salute them with abounding warmth today specially recalling what they have suffered and knowing what they have yet to suffer before the complete collapse of the apartheid system in South Africa. We greet all our people at home and abroad, we salute the militants of the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe and as we said last year all the other fighting patriotic forces of our country on whom the burden rests to organise and lead our people in the intense battles that lie ahead. We wish you all and all our friends and fellow combatants in Southern Africa and throughout the world a great year and continued forward march to liberation.

## COUNT-DOWN

Finally today we begin the count-down through 52 weeks to January 8th, 1982, the 70th Anniversary of the ANC. As we observe that national and international occasion next year, what progress shall we have made in uniting the majority of the people and the liberation forces against the apartheid colonial regime? What mighty blows will Umkhonto we Sizwe have delivered against the enemy? How far shall our struggle have advanced towards the goal of liberation? How far shall we by our own struggle have advanced the progress of peoples fighting against fascism, racism, colonialism and imperialism in other parts of the world? What concrete support shall we have given to SWAPO and the Namibian people? What shall we have done about the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners? In particular, what shall the ANC show for its 70 years of continued struggle for unity and liberation?

The answers to all these questions and more lie in the battlefield immediately ahead of us. Let us go forth and find them. But we must be under no illusions, the forces of international reaction have been regrouping determined to retrieve some of their losses. We face a very hard year of struggle. We shall need one another and all our allies and friends the world over. We shall need to fight for unity and

**fight in unity for victory. The struggle must continue at all costs! Victory is inevitable!**

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

**LONG LIVE THE YEAR OF THE YOUTH!**

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# **HEROES OF OUR REVOLUTION**

**- TNT Explosion**

It was on January 25, a year ago, when three of our patriots Wilfred Madela, Fanie Mafoko and Humphrey Makhubu took an eleventh hour decision of sieging a bank and demanded the release of Comrade Nelson Mandela, our leaders and other political prisoners and thus sparked off the present "Release Mandela Campaign" launched by "Post" during the beginning of February 1980. This month, in this Year of the Youth, in this Decade of Liberation, our oppressed and exploited people are marking the first anniversary of the heroic deeds performed by the Silverton Trio.

The three youths of Isandlwana were forced by the prevailing conditions of an encirclement by the enemy and rather than surrender to the already sinking boat of apartheid, they decided to hold hostages and politicise their captives and tell them about what the African National Congress is fighting for. Besides demanding the release of Comrade Mandela, the three patriots made other political demands which the Pretoria boers tried to suppress at all costs. Even the racist Commissioner of Police, General Mike Geldenhuys, was forced to admit that: "They are the South Africans who left the country in the vicinity of 1977... in any case, I don't want to say anything that will advertise the cause of the ANC", (Rand Daily Mail 28/1/80).



## TRIBUTE

Therefore, we of the African National Congress and its allies, pay tribute to the valiant immortal spirit of the three patriotic sons of the working-class of our country, for heroically taking part in the last battle for the destruction of the last bastion of imperialism in Africa, the Botha-Malan fascist boer regime. Their political conviction enabled them to accept d e a t h for the sake of life, hence they fought to their last cartridge. An age-old Russian saying goes thus: "The glory of heroes gives birth to new heroes". Therefore Makana, Shaka, Cetshwayo, Sekhukhuni, Maqed'indaba, Dingane, etc., gave birth to these Heroes of our Revolution. They are an inspiring source of courage and staunchness to the militant youth of our homeland who are presently defying oppression in all its camouflaged racist forms.

The cowardly action taken by the fascists to shoot it out with our three comrades was simply another way of endeavouring to put fear in the minds of our youth who are defying oppression and apartheid in all its manifestations. Instead of submitting to the lethal fascist last kicks of the Pretoria boers, the militant sons and daughters of Ngoyi and Luthuli are swelling the ranks of the ANC and its military-wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, daily. We need not look too far to prove this truth. To name but a few activities; Moroka, Oriando, Soekmekaar and Booyens police stations are a fine example of what love for one's motherland is. The words fear, death, prison, etc., do not exist in the daily vocabulary of the patriotically-minded youth of our country. But if one speaks to them about the Freedom Charter, strikes, boycotts, AK-47, RPG-7 (Bazooka), PKM, Makarov, etc., then surely to them you will be a f r i e n d, brother and finally a comrade-in-arms.

## HEROES

Surely our three comrades had the same thoughts a Czechoslovakian communist, Julius Fuchik, expressed prior to his execution by the nazis in 1943:

"In these hours of today millions of people are fighting in the last battle for the freedom of men, and thousands die in the struggle. I am one of them. And to be one of them is beautiful, one of the soldiers of the last battle".

More than 2,000 mourners who attended the funeral of Wilfred Madela, declared that: "... he was not a terrorist but a hero", (RDM 7/2/80). 'The attendance of o u r people at the funeral of Madela, showed that united and determined people's actions in the battlefield with the enemy shall never be deterred, however well-armed the enemy might be. The other two patriots, Makhubu and Mafoko, also received a tremendous burial attendance from our fighting people who also declared them heroes. This therefore proves practically that the December 16, 1961, MK declaration re-affirmed by our schooling and working youth since June 16, 1976, that: "The people's patience is not endless", is what makes Botha to camouflage apartheid with so many decaying flowers. He and his racist clique are aware that their Waterloo is at hand. It's only a matter of time before they are trapped in the closing net-work of our people's war.

It is of paramount importance, in this Year of the Youth, to our working youth and all the democratically-minded youth of our country to show the Pretoria rulers that the spirit of the Silverton Trio lives on, that they together with the entire fighting masses (working-class) are the major revolutionary force which will certainly crush racist domination and exploitation in our country and implement the beacon of our people, the Freedom Charter. This is an ideal for which our three combatants gallantly fought and fearlessly sacrificed their lives.

Telling our youth of their important role in our revolutionary armed struggle, our leader, Comrade Moses Kotane, had this to say:

"... at this hour of destiny your country and your people need you. The future of South Africa is yours and it will be what you make of it. Remember our heroes who are today sacrificing their lives for freedom of their persecuted; terrorised and tortured people. Our gallant and heroic fighters expect every young South African to join the struggle for freedom of the fatherland a n d our people..."

## YOUTH

Indeed it is up to our youth to pick up the fallen AKs, TTs, F1s, etc., of the Makhubus, Madelas, Mafokos, Mahlangus, Timols, Petersens, and many other freedom fighters of our country who

are incarcerated in the notorious dungeons of the fascist Piet "Wapen" Botha and his henchmen. We must not let the enemy to rest, we must strike, demonstrate, boycott and sabotage his military and economic installations. We must also work inside his military ranks so that his troops should see and refuse to die for an unjust cause of defending this monster which is a crime against humanity - apartheid.

Our three partisans died for what the youth of the USSR, Cuba, Vietnam, Mozambique, Angola and only yesterday Zimbabwe fought for and achieved - the liberation of their countries.

In summing up, we the youth of South Africa, black and white (democrats) together, true to the living spirit of our Comrades Makhubu, Madela and Mafoko, united and guided by the Freedom Charter, declare that: "... WE WILL FIGHT SIDE BY SIDE, THROUGHOUT OUR LIVES, UNTIL WE HAVE WON OUR LIBERTY".

**LONG LIVE THE SPIRIT OF THE SILVERTON TRIO!**

**LONG LIVE THE YEAR OF THE YOUTH!**

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## ***DAWN politiXword No.11 Answers***

**ACROSS:** 1. Pravda 4. Sac 6. Nkosi 7. Tram 9. Ta  
10. Govern 12. JB 13. Toss 15. Maxeke 16. Vo

**DOWN:** 1. Prone 2. Aurora 3. Aim 4. S t a r  
5. Communist 8. Ho 9. TAB 10. G u m  
11. Vote 12. Jam 14. MX

# A LETTER TO A COMRADE

You too  
my brother  
I heard  
you wore your smile like a general  
I heard from the chirping birds  
high up in the trees  
that witnessed your march.

You too  
my comrade  
pledged to pick up the spear  
Those present to join in the common resolve  
recall the moment with jubilant gestures  
they smile as if to say;  
Like the gallant warriors of old  
his weapon will never touch the ground.

I too  
my comrade  
will take your patriotism  
to be my lodestar in this march  
For I have drank your brotherhood  
There where the bush shields you  
my heart lies with you  
When your turn comes  
to taste the blood of the enemy  
I bid you courage.

The poems we recited  
together chorusing in unison  
The tears we have seen trickle  
as we simultaneously cried vengeance  
The path we have taken  
balancing on each other's shoulders  
let it not be betrayed  
To the finish!  
let the bond further tie and seal  
our brotherhood has beckoned us  
to the front ranks of our people's war

Edwin Mabits

# NAMIBIA

## VICTORY IS INEVITABLE

As we go to press, the United Nations sponsored Geneva Talks on Namibia have ground to a halt. Needless to say, the Pretoria racists are responsible for the deadlock. The racists went to Geneva well intent on employing a pack of trick-cards calculated to delay the independence of Namibia. These soulless perpetrators of the heinous crime, that is apartheid, have had the nerve once more to accuse the UN of 'impartiality', a lie which we need not even have to waste our time in exposing. They also tried without success to present the DTA as a party worth recognition and above all could not agree to the terms of the most crucial issue for the future of Namibia, the ceasefire. It therefore becomes very clear as to who is for the ending of strife in Namibia. The boers are for bloodshed. They want to keep Namibia by force.

Below we publish excerpts from a RADIO FREEDOM interview with Comrade Moses Garoeb, the Administrative Secretary of SWAPO, which gives us the psychology of the talks. The interview, though conducted before the deadlock, is a categorical exposure of the manoeuvres and unpreparedness of the fascists to leave the people of Namibia to decide their destiny. On the other hand it is an evidence of the indomitable spirit of the Namibian people under the committed leadership of SWAPO to crush racist tyranny.

Question: Comrade Garoeb, Geneva is presently the centre of world focus. Talks are presently going on whose outcome will determine the destiny of the Namibian people of which you are a leader. The opening session of the present United Nations sponsored Geneva Talks, was delayed by the question whether SWAPO should talk to the racists, who are directly responsible for Namibia or its hand-picked puppets who are said to be representing the Namibian people. Why is it that the racists are so interested in pushing forward their puppets in such crucial talks on the future of Namibia?

de. Moses Garoeb: There is one thing that I would like to make

clear before I come to that question and that is that when these talks were initiated by the Secretary-General it was with the view to bring SWAPO and South Africa together, that is to say the two parties in conflict are the two parties who are fighting each other at the battle front now. This was the original intention. Now while the boers themselves had agreed to this, they were of course fighting very hard and its only natural to have their puppets given equal status with SWAPO, that is the so-called Democratic Turnhalle Alliance.

We have insisted and we still insist that the so-called internal leaders as constituted in the DTA, are not representative of the people of Namibia. Not only that we are not fighting against them, they are a creation of South Africa and consequently they are part and parcel of the South African oppression and South Africa's illegal presence in Namibia. So the point is that, if we talk to them what do we talk to them? There's nothing that we can talk to them about. In the event of a ceasefire being signed we can't possibly sign it with them because they haven't got an army. Presently the army that is fighting us is the South African army. If we go to elections we say they are free to come and contest the elections. But when it comes to the actual talks in an attempt to find a solution to the Namibia problem, there are only two parties to that conflict, that is, South Africa and SWAPO. So the puppets are really irrelevant. That is why we have insisted that we are not going to talk to them and that's why we have rejected them to be pushed forward in Geneva. As a matter of fact I might point out that we have won that round. Yesterday it was made very clear that the South African delegation is the delegation to which we are talking, and talks are continuing at this point in time because we have stuck to our point and the Secretary-General as well as the Five Western Countries & the Frontline States have supported our view and now yesterday the boers, i.e. Hoech, the so-called Administrator-General, conceded that point. So in fact the conference is continuing and the two parties to the conflict, that is, South Africa and SWAPO are currently facing each other.

Question: As the person directly in touch with the situation, can you briefly tell our people about the most crucial issues on the agenda of the present Geneva Talks?

Cde. Moses Garoeb: The agenda of the Geneva Talks of course is Resolution 435, that is the United Nations' plan for the independence of Namibia. The point being that how do we go about implementing this. As you know this plan calls for free and fair elections in Namibia under the control of the UN, and that

is the primary thing. But the crucial issue before that is to be implemented, is the question of the ceasefire - we could not possibly go to the implementation of Resolution 435 until we have got a ceasefire. So one of the major issues will be the terms of the ceasefire, what-terms do we agree upon? If and when we have agreed on a ceasefire which is one of the most difficult points, then we'll move on to other issues. The other issues for instance will be the composition of UNTAG, that is, the United Nations Transitional Assistance Group. We have our own proposals as to who should constitute the UNTAG and the UNTAG is to be constituted at two levels, that is the military component and the civilian component. So far there has been no agreement on that, but we are hopeful that perhaps an agreement will be reached on that...

Question: As per previous UN proposals, where are SWAPO forces supposed to be based in the event of a ceasefire?

Cde. Moses Garoeb: First of all the UN proposals provides for the confinement to base of both SWAPO and South African troops. This is after a ceasefire has been signed. The purpose of this confinement is to avoid any possible conflicts between the two forces during the transitional period, to avoid possible conflicts as a consequence of the forces not being confined. Now, it is strictly provided for in the plan and we insist that the plan should be implemented to the letter, and in this context the SWAPO forces are to be based, confined to bases inside Namibia. Now there has been a lot of controversy around this question. The boers first of all have claimed that SWAPO has not got any troops inside Namibia because we are allegedly stationed here in Angola and in Zambia, but subsequently of course, they have conceded that we are there. But then they are insisting that the UN is creating conditions which otherwise wouldn't have been there, that is to create bases for SWAPO and they are making this as a point that the moment we have SWAPO bases inside the country even if our troops are confined, then the element of so-called intimidation comes about. They are particularly referring in this particular point to what happened in Zimbabwe, which of course is not what in essence happened...

So now we have not reached any particular agreement on that point and that is going to be one of the most crucial issues in Geneva - the question of SWAPO troops. Now there have been other views and that is that to solve that problem, some have proposed that SWAPO troops be disarmed inside Namibia and then become civilians, and that is to say, we have to shed our uniform and submit our weapons to the United Nations

and then we are to declare ourselves civilians to participate in the political process. Now that we have rejected completely. Others have suggested that we can retain our weapons and in uniform be escorted out of Namibia into neighbouring states to the People's Republic of Angola and Zambia, to be confined in bases outside our country as opposed to being confined inside. Now this we have also rejected because the people who should actually be leaving Namibia are the South African troops and not us. We are the native sons, that is why we are fighting for that country and we have also rejected this point of view.

I think I have to be very very clear on this one that no matter what the pressures are and from what quarters, we are never ever going to submit to our army, the People's Army for the Liberation of Namibia being either disarmed or escorted out. If anybody attempts it, be it the UN or the South Africans, we'll shoot first and then ask questions afterwards.

Question: Our people in South Africa are also interested in knowing SWAPO's pre-conditions for the holding of the UN elections in Namibia.

Cde. Moses Garoseb: Of course there are a number of pre-conditions which we have tabulated and which are also provided for in the UN plan. I have already mentioned the ceasefire, I have already mentioned the confinement of troops to base, I have already mentioned the composition of UNTAG, I could mention for instance one of the main ones - I could add, the release of political prisoners is a very fundamental one, the return of those who are in exile that is a very fundamental one and of course, when the political process itself starts, the right to free campaigning throughout without hindrance by the racist forces who are still presently in Namibia. So these are some of the pre-conditions that we have put and which as a matter of fact are part and parcel of the UN plan. We feel that unless these pre-conditions are met it will be very difficult for the political process to take its normal course.

The political process is supposed to take about eight months. During these eight months we are supposed to be campaigning, addressing meetings, of course, each party explaining its programme and objectives to the electorate, i.e. to the people of Namibia. We do not know at this stage whether the plan will succeed as it is drawn up, but we are confident that if all concerned are convinced and have the political will that it could be realised.



**Question:** We, the people of South Africa, like the people of Namibia, whose freedom struggle is led by our brother organisation, SWAPO, face the future with optimism and hope. What's your comment?

**Cde. Moses Garoeb:** I am extremely confident that the decade of the 80s and we are now in 1981, will definitely bring about a solution in South Africa in one way or another, perhaps in one more way than any other, that is, the victory of the people of South Africa defeating the racist forces. Now the ANC, our sister organisation with whom we have been working together for a very long time, of course is spearheading the struggle of the people of South Africa and the ANC is observing this year its 69th Anniversary, and from that point of view it is a very mature organisation, committed to the struggle for the liberation of South Africa and we have absolutely no doubt that in due course the people of South Africa will emerge free and victorious under a government of the ANC.

We also, on SWAPO's part will continue the co-operation that we have got. If Namibia does become independent there is absolutely no question of SWAPO not assisting the ANC. That is automatic that a SWAPO government will provide all the assistance that is necessary for the people of South Africa through their authentic representative, the African national Congress.

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" We feel that the world as a whole has a special responsibility towards us. This is because the land of our fathers was handed over to South Africa by a world body. It is a divided world, but it is a matter of hope for us that it at least agrees about one thing - that we are entitled to freedom and justice.

Other mandated territories have received their freedom. The judgement of the World Court was a bitter disappointment to us. We felt betrayed and we believed that South Africa would never fulfil its trust. Some felt that we would secure our freedom only by fighting for it. We knew that the power of South Africa is overwhelming, but we also knew that our case is a just one and our situation intolerable - why should we not receive our freedom?

We are sure that the world's efforts to help us in our plight will continue, whatever South Africans may call us.

We do not expect that independence will end our troubles, but we do believe that our people are entitled - as are all peoples - to rule themselves".

- Cde. Herman ja Toivo

DAWNLIGHT ... Starring PIET'S LATEST  
"Promises" Koornhof TROPHY.

TROPHY ROOM

FREEDOM OF SOWETO



LOOK PIET! I SOMMER GRABBED MY OWN  
AWARD!

# EL SALVADOR

- Reginald Mpongo

## PART II

Organised armed struggle with clear political goals began in 1970. The situation in Salvador was unbearable at the time as a result of the Honduras-Salvador War in 1969 and the crisis in the country's dependent capitalism which was characterised by the stagnation in the industrial and agro-export production; low prices internationally; increase in the unemployment and inflation; and a deficit in the balance of payment. The emergent politico-military organisations were directly or indirectly off shoots of the Communist Party. Salvador Cayetano Carpio, the then Secretary-General of the Party, resigned from his post and the Party to dedicate himself to the formation of the Farabundu Marti Popular Liberation Movement. The armed struggle achieved some notable successes mainly in the countryside but was somehow isolated from the working class and the urban population up to 1977, February.

The lack of nation-wide support was caused by the prevalent belief in the possibility of toppling the dictatorship through the elections. A common view existed that guerrilla actions were organised by the enemy to justify repression against the opposition forces. But following the rigging of the 1977 Presidential Elections won by the National Opposition candidate, Colonel Ernesto Claramount and the massacre of people who had gathered at the city square, Plaza de Libertad, to protest on the 28th February, the nation began to support the armed struggle whole-heartedly. The dictator, General Carlos Humberto Romero, assumed power following these fraudulent elections. On April, 1977, the Communist Party resolved to join armed struggle, however, the eleven years of legal struggle and election participation left their mark. It was not until April, 1978, at the Seventh Congress that concrete practical steps were taken in this direction.

## CHANGES

The victory of the Nicaraguan Revolution in July, 1979, brought significant changes in Central America - the repressive Central American Mutual Defence System (CONDECA) lost a

strategic member. Against the background of increased mass political activities, the armed liberation struggle scored victories throughout El Salvador. The military junta of General Romero plunged into structural and political crisis; and a popular uprising became imminent. The most reactionary elements in the national army under direct orders of the US imperialists and the oligarchy, carried out the coup de grace against General Romero on October 15, 1979 - the dictator was sent into exile in neighbouring Guatemala. The Washington rulers received the fall of General Romero and the assumption of power by Col. Antonio Majono without too many regrets.

US military and economic 'aid' flooded into Salvador so as to 'stabilise' the country. Military 'advisers' were also sent in. At the advice of the new US ambassador Robert E. White the progressive young officers who took part in the October coup were replaced. The democratic and the liberation forces which had joined the military junta withdrew their co-operation and support when the regime failed to implement a programmatic platform which called for political and structural changes in keeping with the popular interests. Repression continued; order and other para-military fascist organisations were not liquidated as earlier promised. The Christian Democratic Party remained collaborating with the Junta in the running of the country.

The withdrawal of the democratic forces became a blow to US imperialism and the local oligarchy- between democracy and fascism they opted for the latter. Popular mass strikes and demonstrations flared throughout the country demanding the transference of power to the revolutionary forces. The regime responded with violent repression - killing of people, raping of women in the presence of their husbands and official 'disappearance' of people became common once more. Against this background of mass denunciation of the regime, the question of the vanguard was posed in Salvador more especially since the failure to wrestle power in September/October, 1979, was attributed to lack of unity and co-ordination amongst the revolutionary forces - the existing situation was not properly exploited. The people knew that Somoza was defeated because of unity and a single front in Nicaragua.

## UNITY

• Towards the end of the year a process of unity amongst the politico-military organisations and amongst the mass organisations - a new stage in the struggle for a society which will

allow the broad democratic freedom and control over the national wealth was reached. A Front was announced by the Communist Party, Farabundi Marti Popular Liberation Front and the National Resistance. This was followed by the formation of the Broad Revolutionary Mass B o d y composed of the following: Democratic National Union, 28 February People's League, Unitary Popular Action Front (FAPU) and the Popular Revolutionary Bloc.

The combined and patient efforts of the revolutionaries led to the formation of the Revolutionary Democratic Front under the leadership of Enrique Alvarez Cordoba. It is composed of the country's Trade Unions, peasants organisations, National University of Salvador, National Federation of Small Businessmen, the Revolutionary Mass Co-ordinating Body and other armed organisations. Enrique Alvarez described the Front as "a political instrument formed by Salvadorean people to promote their liberation struggle and build a new and just, human, democratic and independent society".

Today the Salvadorean revolution is on the threshold of victory. The military junta is pinned against the wall. Even the US intervention will not save it. The h o m e l a n d of Farabundi Marti will win.



# OBITUARY

## Bishop Ambrose Reeves

On the night of Tuesday December 23, 1980, the lights of Bishop Ambrose Reeves went off in England, his homeland to which he was deported by the racist South African regime in September 1960. He was 81 years old.

The death of "Our Bishop", as as he was humbly called by our people, does not bring the sunset to the struggle against apartheid. It is a milepost of the journey to a democratic South Africa in which he has also left his mark. "Our Bishop", to repeat, is the deepest affection in our dictionary

Dr. Ambrose Reeves is the symbol of a man who did not fool with the Bible but took part in the cause he served by preaching the Sermon on the Mount and also taking part in carrying the cross of freedom. With this in mind we shall always carry his burning spirit in our hearts until freedom is won and the happiness he helped in creating flourishes in our country. Where fascism tried to sow the seeds of hatred, human dignity and love shall be the order of the day

His very life bears witness to his spiritual activities which must have kindled in him the Marxist reflections that one cannot "pull down the tent of heaven if one is up in the clouds". One has to be down on earth. The roots of religion are 'earthly' in origin. "Our Bishop" must have had a formula for just how he had to tussle with the equations of the real life that surrounded him, and at the same time managed to preach the Sermon on the Mount with an honest mind, also carried the flaming torch of justice with the same hand that took the Bible to the church, which to him was not just a shrine but the power that spurred him to the just cause.

On Monday December 10, 1979 - a day which coincided with the 31st anniversary of the Declaration of Human Rights - the British Anti-Apartheid Movement organised a meeting to celebrate the 80th birthday of Dr. Ambrose Reeves.

Messages from all over the world - from organisations of a diverse nature - were read. Comrade Oliver Tambo, the President of the African National Congress, delivered the main speech. He reviewed with a concentrated passion in the justice of the struggle against apartheid, oppression and inhumanity; a man so sensitive and perceptive, a man who dedicated all his energy with a great measure of sacrifice, to the cause of our people. Dr. Ambrose Reeves personified the principles of the United Nations.

Giving evidence to a commission of inquiry into riots at Dube Township in Johannesburg, Bishop Ambrose Reeves said: "There is a rising tide of hatred, resentment, bitterness and frustrations" among Africans. Parents resented what was happening to their children under Bantu Education, African leaders had no voice in the affairs of their people and workers resented the unsatisfactory conditions of work.

"Visiting Lichtenburg after one faithful member of our congregation had been killed in the riots there, I expressed my regret that this man has been killed, only to be told that

**Continued on page 47**

# The Heroes of "Notes from the Gallows"

VICTOR ANDRIYANOV and ZDENEK HRABICA

There are books we rightly call sagas. Julius Fuchik's "Notes From the Gallows" is one. Written in a Gestapo prison, it has been translated into almost 100 languages, and continues to inspire freedom fighters to this day.

"Notes From the Gallows" is about dozens of people, named and nameless. Some may think they are literary characters, though there is not one single fictitious being among them. They are people with their own names, their own past and future. The reader parts with them at the same time as their life ending in Fuchik's book. Fighting to the last, he asked only one thing of us: "Never forget the people who take part in this struggle... Collect all the evidence you can get on those people who fell both for you and for themselves".

How did the life of Fuchik's book in which he moves us with his sincere descriptions of his comrades-in-arms move on with the years to come and affect us who are also grappling with fascism in our country in such clear terms which even children can understand? From the next page you can move on to see how it took two writers to delve into the past to bring out reality to our very eyes. This is the result of two years painstaking work of interviews, visiting archives and museums, meetings with relatives and friends of the heroes of "Notes From the Gallows".

## TRAITOR NO. 26

An order to stand by was issued at the Prague Gestapo in the morning of April 24, 1942: the "big hunt", detective Böhm boasted; was nearing its end. At a meeting arranged with agent-provocateur Dvorak outside the Na Micankach cinema at 10 pm., the SS-men expected to arrest a man they knew under the name of Honza. They claimed he was one of the leaders of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, then operating underground. On that evening it was also planned to arrest the members of the underground group at the Junkers aircraft factory betrayed by the same Dvorak. He re-established contact with Honza at the factory.

It had all started a few months earlier, when some informer found a communist leaflet in the cloakroom of the aircraft

plant's assembly shop and gave it to the Germans. The leaflet called on the assemblyman to "go slow" and hamper fulfilment of the Wehrmacht's orders.

The signal from Junkers was not the first one, and the Gestapo anti-communist section (II-AI) decided that there was an underground communist group operating at the factory. The SS-men sent Informer No. 26 Vaclav Dvorak, a mechanic by profession and traitor by vocation, to the assembly shop.

The newcomer knew his work, a thing that always commands respect. He boldly criticised the new order and incited workers to sabotage.

"Are you in a hurry to get home today?" fitter Barton once asked him.

What took place after that was revealed by SS-man Böhm when he was interrogated after the liberation in 1945. (The examination records are kept in the archives of the Czechoslovak Ministry of the Interior, Case No. 305-445-4, Sheets 1-21).

"With the consent of the II-AI Section Dvorak joined the underground communist group and began to pay membership fees to Barton", Böhm said. "He gave me the leaflets he received from Barton, and they were photographed and returned.

"In February 1942, Barton introduced Dvorak to other members of his factory group. After work, Barton, Dvorak and others met outside the plant or in nearby streets. I kept an eye on these meetings.

"At the end of February or the beginning of March 1942 Barton told Dvorak to drop in at Jelinek's in Pankrac on a certain day and establish contact with the local organisation. Barton said he had no time for that, and since Dvorak lived in Pankrac, he must take on the job of maintaining contact with this organisation. I would like to stress that Dvorak was completely trusted by Barton."

#### THE JELINEKS AND THE VESUSILS

Before the war people in Prague thought Pankrac was well-nigh at the edge of the world. Even trams, it seemed were out of breath by the time they got there, winding



Julius Fuchik



their way there, up and down the gradients. The outskirts, separated from the centre of the city by a deep ravine, were inhabited by petty traders, artisans and workers. People who came from the same places or were relatives found lodging near each other. And so it happened that Josef Jelinek and Josef Vysusil, whose wives were both named Marie and were distant relatives, lived on the same floor of a new building.

You probably remember these names from "Notes from the Gallows". Here is what Fuchik wrote about these people:

**The Jelineks.** "Josef and Marie. He is a tram conductor and she a domestic servant. You should see their apartment. Smooth, simple, modern furniture, a bookcase, a statuette, pictures on the walls - and clean, clean beyond belief. You would say that Marie's whole being is enclosed in that home and that she knows nothing of the rest of the world. But she has worked long in the Communist Party, and dreamed her own dreams of social justice. They both worked devotedly quietly - and never drew back when the invasion made heavy demands on them".

**The Vysusils.** "Lived in the same building, right next to the Jelineks. They were also named Josef and Marie. A minor official's family, a little older than their neighbours.... They were both not from proletarian families, and their family was not proletarian either. Their way to the Party was somewhat more tortuous, more difficult, but they found it. As in many such cases, it lay through the Soviet Union. They had known even before the occupation what they were striving for, and had given shelter to German anti-fascists in their flat.

"Members of the Central Committee met in their home in the most difficult times, after Germany's attack on the Soviet Union and in the period of the first state of siege in 1941".

Seeing a stranger at the door, Josef Jelinek automatically barred his way into the flat.

"I am from Barton", Dvorak said. Jelinek's start did not escape his attention and he decided there was probably someone else in the flat. He mentioned it in his report that same evening, and the house in Pankrac was placed under surveil-

lance. No. 26 added that they talked in the hall - he was not allowed any farther - and that Jelinek was composed and suggested that they meet at 9 pm., the following Monday at the Tram No. 1 stop at the beginning of Ruska Avenue. He warned him to come with Barton.

Böhm, as the record of his examination shows, said he watched this meeting with two other detectives.

"On the appointed day Dvorak and Barton waited at the appointed place. Dvorak was at the Tram No. 1 stop and Barton on the opposite side of the street. They waited for twenty minutes and then left. I spoke to Dvorak at 11 pm and he said Barton was very angry.

"After that Barton wrote a letter to Jelinek and asked Dvorak to take it to him. In this letter Barton reproved Jelinek for failing to come to the rendezvous. He affirmed that Dvorak, Vasek, was trustworthy and insisted that he arrange a meeting between him and Honza from Pankrats.

"After I had photographed the letter, Dvorak took it to Jelinek. The latter said that this time the rendezvous would take place... Twenty minutes after the appointed time a man I did not know approached Dvorak. He was lean and tall. What struck me was that he kept his right hand in his trousers pocket. I was sure that this man did not trust Dvorak and consequently was keeping his hand on a pistol.

"Note: It was later established that the unknown Honza mentioned here was Jan Vyskosil, a regional functionary of the outlawed Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. At that time he was in charge of the CPC printing plant.

"I met Dvorak at midnight on the same day. He told me that Vyskosil had given him the latest issue of Rude Pravo and instructed him how to go about his conspiratorial job. Vyskosil warned that he would settle scores with all traitors, and showed his pistol. He further said that this was an informatory meeting and that he would keep Dvorak in view and give him a serious job to do".

The next meeting with Vyskosil was to take place outside the Na Micankach cinema at 10 pm on April 24.

At 9 pm sharp on April 24 three Opels left the Gestapo building in Bredovska Street (now Politických Veznu, or Political Prisoners Street) one after another, passed the New German Theatre (now the Smetana Theatre) with its entrance brightly lit up, and turned into Schwerinova Avenue which the people of Prague, out of their alleged devotion to the past, preferred to call by its old name - Vinohrady.

## SECRET RENDEZVOUS

There was another meeting in Prague appointed for 10 pm of that same day. "Notes From the Gallows" starts with it. Julius Fuchik - Professor Horak by the identity card - was to meet with his contact Mirek in tram conductor Jelinek's home in Pankrats. Crossing a grass-covered vacant lot, he came to the familiar dark four-storey house and looked about, as was his custom, before entering the yard. It seemed to be quiet and peaceful.

This house on the outskirts was considered one of the most reliable rendezvous. It has not been found out for more than three years. There was a whole network of secret rendezvous and printing shops in Fuchik's memory. They seemed to have dissolved in a big city which outwardly had not changed. As usual, trams slowly ran from one end of Prague to another. As usual, people gathered in Staromestske Square to hear the City Hall chimes and see the little figures of apostles appear in the little windows of the clock tower. And just as usual, lovers of Prazdroj, Prazan and Budvar filled their favourite beer halls.

They were waiting for him in that house. He knocked at the door, as agreed, and it was immediately opened.

Those who knew Josef Jelinek and his wife Marie recall that they too had the same sense of comradeship, justice and concern for others. This is recalled by old tram workers, Jelinek's colleagues, and by peasants in the picturesque villages in Southern Czechia, the native parts of Josef and Marie. Together with local historian Miroslav Tuma, one of the many people who so generously helped us, we went from village to village and from house to house, restoring time-effaced portraits.

There was Vojnice, Marie's native village, with eight farmsteads and amid well-tended fields and a forest in the background. Beyond the hills was Miladotice, Josef's native village. In their minds they probably time and again returned to these villages with their dreamy ponds and pine groves, returned to that merry village wedding which had so happily brought them - the groom's best man and the bride's maid - together. And that is about all Marie cared to remember about Vojnice. Her father slaved from sunrise to sunset in a rich peasant's fields. Her mother died when she was twelve and left her, a frail girl, to look after four men - her father and three brothers. Later her father married again a woman as unfortunate as he himself, a widow with three boys.

When Marie Jelinkova was asked what brought her to the Communist Party, she apparently could not find the suitable words to reply with and instead showed her gnarled hands with fingernails eroded by caustic soda. Let this question be answered by the eyes of the hungry people whom the rich robbed of their wheat which they dumped into the Vltava. Let the answer be rustled by the red flags which she sewed at night for May Day demonstrations. Let the answer be hooted from the screen by the immortal "Chelyuskin" which had broken through the police cordon to reach Prague.

The film "Chelyuskin" was shown one morning in a tiny hall. It was followed by a talk by Josef Vysusil, chairman of a district group of the Union of Friendship with the USSR. He spoke of the land of Budyonny's legendary Cavalry Army, shock workers and courageous Polar explorers, and said the Union was preparing a Golden Book of Friendship as a gift to the Soviet people for the twentieth anniversary of the October Revolution. Each could write a few words of greetings in it, expressing his or her feelings, or simply sign it.

And then with the pages of this future book Josef Vysusil and Marie Vysusil, Josef Jelinek and Marie Jelinkova, teachers Josefa Haxova and Max Kozak, and their comrades went from house to house collecting signatures. By far not all the doors were opened to them. Sometimes people threatened to let loose their dogs on them and slammed the doors without hearing them out. And yet, from day to day, more pages were filled. By choosing friendship with the Soviet Union, people chose their place on the barricades of the class-divided world.

"Those were the years of resolute and uncompromising differentiation of views, of people unmasking themselves as they do at midnight at a big carnival", recalled A. Tichy, a colleague of Vysusil's. "The nazi tanks were already on the frontier. There was a danger of civil war breaking out at any moment between those ready to capitulate and those prepared to defend the republic. The latter included Josef Vysusil. We worked in the same railway department. Members of the Communist Party were debarred from the civil service and officially Josef did not admit his membership of the Party. But he never concealed his views. He was convinced that he would have to fight fascism and was prepared for it. And he believed that together with the Soviet Union we were invincible".

Many years after those events, at the USSR Central Museum of the Revolution, we were shown a historical relic - the greetings the Union of Friendship with the USSR sent to Presi-

dent Mikhail Kalinin together with the Golden Book of Friendship.

"The Union of Friendship with the USSR in Czechoslovakia", we read, "wishes the Soviet people further economic and cultural progress on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the USSR.

"promises to remain a true friend of the Soviet people and to fight for peace with them;

"dedicates to M.I. Kalinin, Chairman of the Central Executive Committee, and the people of the Soviet Union the Golden Book with best wishes from millions of citizens of the Republic of Czechoslovakia".

Among those millions were Josef Jelinek, Marie Jelinkova, Josef Vysusil and Marie Vysusilova.

### THE ARREST

On their way, the SS-men debated on where to leave their cars. Some proposed going all the way to the place of their rendezvous. Others objected, saying the cars would frighten Honza off and, consequently, it would be better to leave them some distance away. That is exactly what they did. And once again, as it sometimes happens, fate intervened.

The cars pulled up exactly at the house where Jan Vyskosil had been hiding in the attic for already half a year. The SS-men were right thinking that he was one of the underground leaders. Before the arrest of the Party's first illegal Central Committee he was an executive of the Prague underground organisation and now was a member of the second Central Committee headed by Jan Zika. Hearing the purr or the motors, Vyskosil looked out of the window, saw the Opels parking outside the house, and cocked his gun. But the men who had got out on to the pavement were obviously not interested in the house.

They - Vyskosil counted eight of them - held a brief powwow and divided into two groups. One immediately disappeared in a dark lane and the other went down the avenue. "They are surrounding the cinema", he decided.

"It was so dark one could not see much around", Böhm later testified.

"The meeting place could be observed only from the entrance to the cinema. Dvorak appeared at five minutes to ten and began walking up and down before the entrance which was lit up because the picture was still on. The show ended at 10,15 and before that he was not approached either by Vyskosil or anyone else. We left at 10,40 and gathered in the Petschek Palace. As agreed, Dvorak came there at 11 pm.

"When I asked him why the meeting had not taken place,

Dvorak said we had probably blundered somewhere and he was no longer trusted. In my opinion, Dvorak got cold feet and gave us the wrong place of the meeting or the wrong time. Defending himself, Dvorak said the best thing was immediately to arrest Jelinek. After a heated argument it was decided to arrest the man.

"I would like to add something here.

"When Dvorak first gave me Jelinek's address in Prague - Pankrac, we went to take a look at this house and the place around it. It was a new residential district. The house had two entrances and there were about sixty families living in it. On one side there was a vacant lot... When we go to arrest Jelinek, we decided, we shall have to guard the house from outside too".

Let us return to "Notes From the Gallows". Here is how Fuchik described the subsequent events:

"Open up! The police!"

"Quick through the window. Escape. I have a pistol; I'll hold them back. Too late. Gestapo men under the windows, aiming pistols into the room. Detectives have forced the door, rush into the room through the kitchen".

Fuchik described the arrest in detail in his book. The record of Böhm's examination, and he was interrogated before the publication of the book, re-creates the scene of the arrest, confirming once again the documentary precision of Fuchik's description.

What happened then? According to Böhm, no sooner were Fuchik and his contact Mirek brought to the Gestapo headquarters than Mirek said he was ready to give evidence and revealed his real name.

"Moreover", Böhm went on, he suddenly said that the bearded man was Fuchik, member of the Central Committee of the illegal Communist Party and that he, K., did only what Fuchik had told him to do.

"When Fuchik heard K. betraying him, he looked at his former contact sadly and at the same time with contempt, and said: "Well, now that you know that I am Fuchik, go ahead!" He looked dignified. From that moment on he did not utter a word.

"In the meantime the Jelineks and a relative of theirs and then the Fried couple were brought in. Another group of ours was making a search in the Jelineks' flat, where they found a great deal of communist literature. In their cellar they discovered crates with leaflets for May Day 1942, as well as many forms, filled and unfilled, forged documents, and a counterfeit

seal of the Prague Police Headquarters. The Jelineks also refused to speak and admit that all these things belonged to them".

The Jelineks' relative Böhmi mentioned was Marie's 17-year-old brother Vojtisek Pavlic. We do not know whether he was helping the underground organisation or had simply dropped in to see his sister that evening. But he too was taken away by the SS-men and disappeared without trace.

"I began to describe the Jelinek couple, simple people in whom you would not have seen heroes in normal times", Fuchik wrote. And further: "I cannot say what happened to them during the time that I lay in my cell unfit for a hearing, but I do know that they told nothing in all that time... One day they took the Jelineks away, each to a different place. I searched in vain for any trace of their fate, for people have a way of disappearing utterly after Gestapo handling - scattered in a thousand cemeteries. Oh, what a crop will rise one day from that frightful seeding.

"Her last message was:

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

After the raid on the Jelineks' flat, the Vysusils continued to work. It was in the flat of Anna Brozikova, Marie's sister who also perished later, that Jan Cerny, political commissar of an international brigade in Spain and member of the second underground Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, was hiding. Josef Vysusil was arrested a month later. "I was horrified the first time I saw him here", Fuchik wrote. "How much would be lost if he talked! But he didn't. He was brought here because of a few political leaflets". He was brutally tortured, but he kept quiet. When he again came into No. 400, Fuchik said, he declared "in the forthright Nusle manner: 'When I refuse, they get nothing for all their work on my backside'."

The SS-men never learned that Zika and Cerny hid in the Vysusils' flat, that, after the arrest of the first underground Central Committee, Fuchik and Cerny met there to set up the second CC, and that the illegal newspaper Rude Pravo was prepared for publication there.

Time and again we went to Pankrats, to the house from which Julius Fuchik, Josef Jelinek, Marie Jalinkova and Vojtisek were taken away forever on the night of April 24. And later Josef Vysusil and Marie Vysusilova. We did not feel

like entering the house: there were other people living there and another life in which there was little place for the past.

But whose past is it? Isn't it ours? Could the present be possible without the past? Our last hope to find a photograph of Jelinek brought us to the archives of the Prague City Transport Administration, but without success.

Josef Vysusil became a railway-man at the beginning of the first world war, at the age of sixteen, and worked as one until his arrest - almost three decades. Perhaps there was something about him?

From the railway archives we received Vysusil's service record and a postwar letter from his parents asking to be paid a pension for their son because "our widowed daughter makes 840 crowns a month and cannot support us".

Judging by the postmark, the letter was mailed in Turice, a place we did not know, on March 4, 1946. Although we did not entertain much hope, we wrote there. Who knows but that some relatives might still be alive. A few days later there was an unexpected phone call to Milada Fronta. The person on the other side of the line introduced himself as Pavel Jarosil, an employee of a research institute.

"My grandmother, Vysusil's sister, has received your letter and asked me to find out when you can come".

Turice is less than an hour's drive from downtown Prague. It is almost a suburb, with wheat fields and high-voltage transmission lines all around. The first house from the road was the one we needed.

Leaning on a stick, Grandmother Marie met us at the gate and invited us in. Despite her advanced years, she has a good memory and remembers the occupation and the parcel she received from the nazis from Auschwitz - it contained a shoe, all that was left after her brother's death.

"We cannot find a photograph of him or of Marie anywhere", we said.

Grandmother Marie showed us all she had saved. The family archive was not rich. Nevertheless, it was priceless: a large group photograph with Josef and his Marie on the right.

"I knew the couple well - how much they loved each other and how lonesome they were whenever they were separated for a day or two", Fuchik wrote. "Months passed now... How many plots she must have invented to bring her husband back.... But she found only one way to get along - to keep the underground job, to do the work of two".

After the war someone made a copy of Vysusil's photo-



graph, enlarged it and stuck it on a cardboard adorned with a red star and crossed flags. Who did it and when, where this home-made poster hung is something Grandmother Marie does not know. But thank her we must just the same for preserving it.

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## Continued from page 36

I was not to regret his death 'because he died for us!' We shall soon face a martyr complex of Africans going to their heroes, this would be a serious thing in any society. For not a sten-gun can hold back in such a condition".

Dr. Ambrose Reeves denounced Bantu Education, "Whatever the cost, we must make it clear and plain to the Government, the members of the church and all the African people that we disagree so profoundly with the policy.... that we cannot be a party to it in any shape or form".

When he awarded "Our Bishop" the Isithwalandwe, our Secretary-General, Comrade Alfred Nzo said:

"Dr. Ambrose Reeves held his head very high refusing to be daunted by the savage barbarity of the reign of terror in our country.

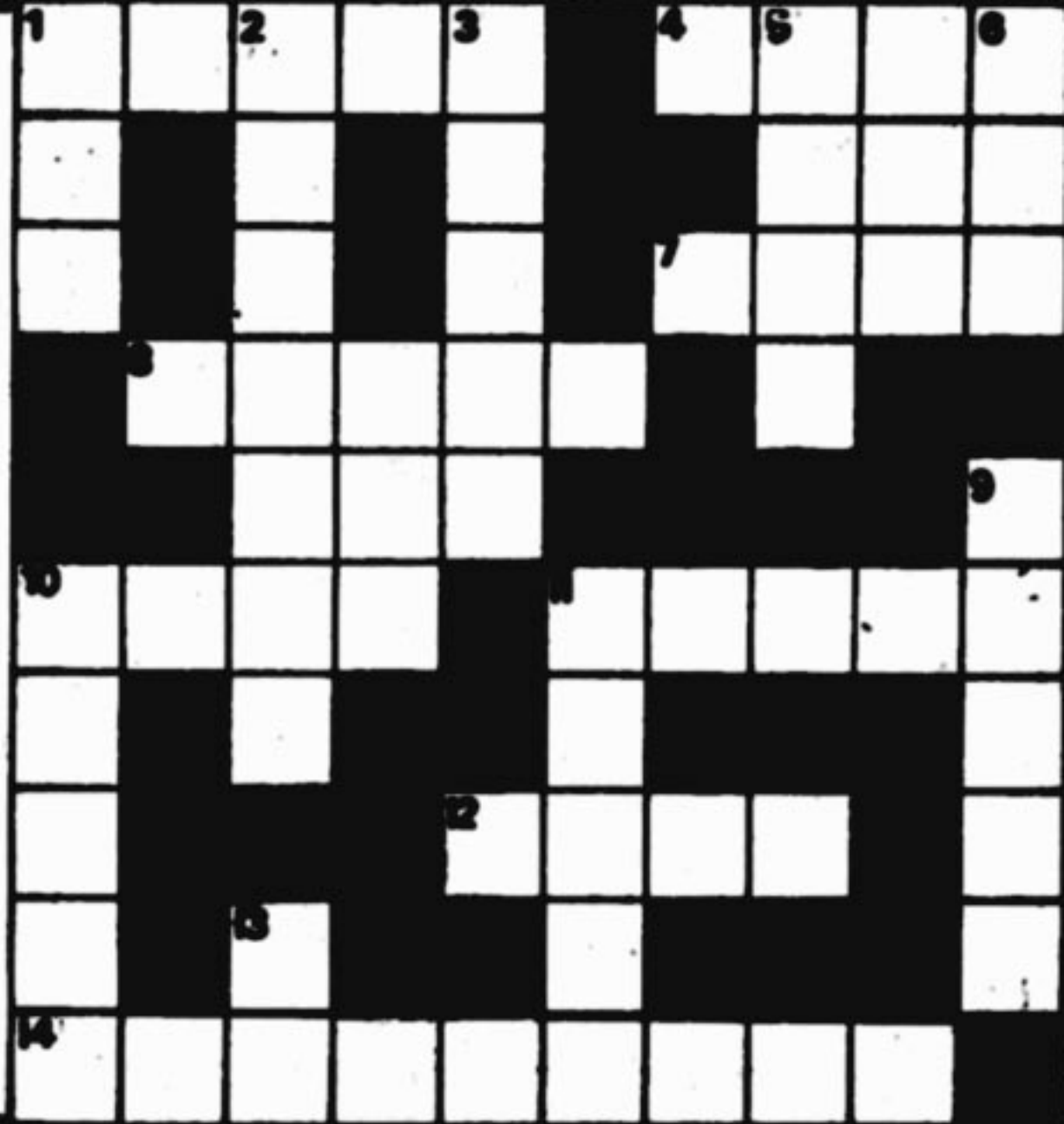
"Bishop Ambrose Reeves is well-known not only to our people, among whom he had lived and worked until the regime of terror could not tolerate his presence in South Africa, but we are certain that the progressive and democratic forces in the United Kingdom amongst whom he had continued to work for our cause ever since he left South Africa, hold him in very high esteem indeed. We highly value his contribution as one of the architects of the powerful solidarity movement that has been built in this country in support of the heroic struggle of our people. He deserves the high award of ISITHWALANDWE which is a symbol of the undaunted heroes of our struggle and people".

# Hamba kahle

# Sithwalandwe!

## PolitiXword

No. 1



### Clues

#### Across

1. This is their Year.
4. Organised force equipped with arms.
7. SWAPO's military-wing.
8. Our President.
10. Animal excrement.
11. Author of "No Middle Road".
13. Warsaw is a defensive one.
15. Should be galore before waging war.

#### Down

1. FDJ is one.
2. Province in the USSR.
3. Plants or roots used as medicine.
5. Boers ... our country illegally.
6. Japanese currency.
9. One of Ghana's main riches.
10. Training in military exercises.
11. Divide into hostile groups.
14. One thousand grams.

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!

**ACT NOW!!**

**STOP THE RACIST MURDER**



**Johnson Lubisi**



**Petrus Mashigo**



**Naphtalie Manana**

**FIGHT FOR THEIR RELEASE**