

DAWN

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YEAR OF THE WORKER

DAWN

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YEAR OF THE
CHARTER





Editorial Comment

CONSTITUTIONAL CON

The Pretoria boers are faced with a big problem. Only yesterday their old-time ally Smith was pushed off the stage of white minority rule, and they are now gripped by the fear of losing their eldorado in Namibia, not to mention their growing nightmare of losing absolutely everything as the tide of struggle rises in South Africa itself.

It is this imminent doom that is forcing Botha and his henchmen to make changes. But because this Afrikaner clique has for so long lived under the illusion that their illegal rule is god-ordained they are still moving from the premise that grand apartheid cannot be removed since their survival depends on it.

Faced with this gloomy situation the boers are now trying to contrive all sorts of schemes so as to make 'change' without touching apartheid itself. One of the aspects of this plan is that they are taking the demands for real and complete change and distorting them to suit their own ends.

The latest arrangement in this line is the so-called constitutional changes which, according to apartheid spokesmen entail the creation of what they call presidential and black citizens council etc. But this trick, like many before, will not yield the desired results.

We, the people of South Africa, have insistently been hammering into the thick skulls of the boers the simple fact

that we want nothing short of unconditional transfer of power to the people. And since we know the Pretoria clique for what it is we are resolved to seize power with our might born of our unity and organisation, with guns in hand.

This scheme, therefore, is an insult to the dignity of our entire people and the world community. Even a fool can see that this is just another of their manoeuvres to hold on to power. Those who allow themselves to be dragged into this scheme will be showing clearly that they have chosen the side of the oppressor, and that they are being left so far behind by the rising tide of revolution that one wonders whether they will be visible for much longer on the road of our people's inevitable destiny.

COMRADE PRESIDENT O.R. TAMBO ON AFRICA DAY

FROM A RADIO FREEDOM INTERVIEW

Africa Day was observed for the first time in 1958, the proclaimed date being April 15. At that time, following the independence of Ghana, the movement for the decolonisation of the whole continent of Africa was gathering momentum, uniting the people of Africa in a common struggle for freedom and independence from Algiers to Cape Town, from Senegal and Cape Verde to Mogadishu in Somalia.

Always in the fore-front of the struggle for African unity and for the liberation of Africa, the African National Congress marked the first Africa Day with a mammoth open air rally in Alexander township of Johannesburg. Large portraits of Africa's leaders were displayed at the gathering, among them Jomo Kenyatta, Kwame Nkruma, Jarmahl Abdel Nasser, Julius Nyerere and our own Chief Albert Luthuli.

By 1959 the tempo of the struggle had quickened throughout the continent. Colonialism was collapsing in many parts

May 1st and the

South African

Revolution



-Emil Monde

On the 1st of May, the whole of progressive mankind was marking May Day - the International Day of working class solidarity, the day of world-wide demonstrations for working class demands. This is the day when we also in the African National Congress and indeed the majority of the South African working class and the rest of our struggling people re-dedicate ourselves to rid our country of the scourge of apartheid and also expressing our solidarity with the working class of countries under fascist rule like in Chile, Uruguay and many others. This is a day on which we briefly look back at the glorious road that our working people have travelled and also re-affirm our determination to achieve our goals for the future South Africa as laid down in the Freedom Charter.

The discoveries of diamonds and gold in the 1870s and 1880s and the consequent industrialisation process brought about the emergence of the working class in South Africa. These discoveries also influenced the attitude of the British government towards our country and due to its drive for super-profits, Britain waged wars of dispossession on our people with the sole purpose of forcing our people to the mines as source of cheap labour. After the wars which Britain won, not without resistance from our people, heavy taxes were imposed which could be only payable by either selling one's livestock or by selling one's labour power to the mining magnates.

NATIONAL UNITY

The defeat of our people by colonialists brought home to them that unity was necessary to fight their enemy. National consciousness began to flourish and political organisations began to flourish, the first being Imbumba yama-Afrika founded in the Cape in 1882. Similar organisations were founded also in the Transvaal, Natal and the OFS. The treachery of the British of granting self-rule to the minority white section of South Africa with the formation of the Union in 1910, further proved to our people that unity alone could make their voices heard and as a result the ANC was founded on January 8, 1912, a movement that worked and continues to work for the unity of all the oppressed people of our country.

As the mining industry developed, other sections of industry sprung up thus drawing more and more of our people to the labour movement. By 1906 the labour force of the Africans in the mines was 94,000, most of whom having been recruited in Mozambique, the British colonies and within South Africa itself. The mines made the Africans to enter the field of class organisation and struggle, coming on strike for higher wages as early as 1882.

ORGANISATION

With the development of the South African economy, the labour movement also grew in strength and organisation. Inspired by the British Labour Party, the South African Labour Party was formed as the first working class party although it represented only white workers. Later, because of disunity within the Labour Party on the question of the first imperialist war (First World War), progressive leaders within it decided to found the International Socialist League (ISL) in September 1915. The ISL from its very foundation decided to work closely with the African workers and as a result founded the first trade union for Africans, the Industrial Workers' of Africa, which was later absorbed into the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union founded by Clemence Kadalie in Cape Town in 1919 following the dock workers' strike in the Cape.

On July 30 to August 1st 1921, the Communist Party of South Africa was formed by delegates from almost all socialist organisations in the country. This marked an important landmark in the history of the working class struggle and indeed the history of our country itself.

ECONOMIC CRISIS

Because of the post-war economic crisis, the British and South African mine owners resolved upon a policy of lowering labour costs with the purpose of avoiding a fall in their profit. The African workers at that time, as it is still the case now, were the lowest paid miners. The mine industrialists decided therefore to cut the cost of buying the labour power of white workers by reducing the proportion of White to Black workers, transferring some semi-skilled jobs to black workers at lower rates of pay. This resulted in the strike referred to as the "Rand Revolt", involving the entire white working class in the Witwatersrand with far-reaching political demands and consequences. This strike which lasted for three months involving bloody clashes between workers and the army showed the effects of the divide-and-rule tactics employed by the imperialists. The white working class, as their demands showed did not and still do not realise that the black working class are their class brothers and that their interests are common.

In 1924, the Smuts government passed the Industrial Conciliation Act which provided legal recognition of trade unions. The worst provision of this act was its definition of the word 'employee' which excluded 'the pass carrying native' thus making sure that the majority of the population, the black workers, are excluded from the right to form legally recognised trade unions.

POWERFUL INSTRUMENT

The ICU which had flourished mightily during this decade and had become a most powerful instrument of the voiceless African Workers both in town and country, finally disintegrated because of political weakness of its leadership. It had however, awakened revolutionary national and class consciousness among tens of thousands. It had taught them lessons in organisation and unity. It awakened and mobilised many of the working class cadres of the Congress, trade union movements and the Communist Party for the stern struggles ahead. And it was these cadres who set to work to organise industrial trade unions for Africans workers on sound and militant lines.

These were the cadres who founded the Transvaal Council of Non-European Trade Unions in 1941 that enjoyed the membership of the Mine Workers' Union which led the 1946 Miners' Strike with leaders like "Uncle" J.B. Marks at the head of the Union. The ANC and CPSA alliance grew stronger each passing year and in 1957, the then President General of the ANC J.J.

Gumede declared in an annual conference in July that: "Of all political Parties, the Communist Party is the only one that honestly and sincerely fights for the oppressed people". This unity in action grew up to this day.

The "Defend Free Speech" convention which had been called in March 1950 in Johannesburg by the Transvaal branch of the ANC, Transvaal Indian Congress, African People's Organisation and the Johannesburg branch of the CPSA decided on calling a national stay-at-home strike for May 1st 1950 in protest against the arbitrary bans that were being imposed on the leaders of the working class and the national liberation movement. The strike brought the whole of the Reef's industry to a standstill and, angered by the success of the strike and acting on orders from the bosses, the racist police later in the evening shot and killed 18 of our people and wounded more than 30 others.

WAVE OF ANGER

A wave of anger and indignation spread throughout the country. It was against this background that the Malan Government introduced and passed the Suppression of Communism Act whose terms outlawed the Communist Party and made it a crime to defend or advocate "the doctrine of Marxian socialism or any related doctrine" and the definition of communism was so wide that it included "any doctrine or scheme which aimed at bringing about social change by means of unlawful acts".

After the events of May 1st the activists of the CP, ANC and SAIC worked vigorously to campaign for the National Day of Protest against the killings of May 1st. This campaign turned out to be of great success as put clearly by the statement issued by the National Day of Protest Co-ordinating Committee: "Never before had the country witnessed such a demonstration of fraternal solidarity and unity of purpose by all political sections of the Non-European people in the struggle to secure economic and political emancipation".

June 26 has gone down in the history of our people as South Africa's Freedom Day. It is this day that symbolises the development of unity of our national and class struggles. It is also important to note that we in the ANC and all our allies are marking this year as the Year of the Freedom Charter and the Year of the Worker as declared by both the ANC and SACTU respectively. This is so because this year marks the 25th anniversaries of two major events, i.e. the adoption of the Freedom Charter at the historic Congress of the People

on June 26, 1955 and the foundation of the South African Congress of Trade Unions on March 5 of the same year. SACTU was the first trade union federation in South Africa truly to fight both the political and industrial colour bars in word and in deed.

In this year all patriotic South Africans are re-assessing the current phase of the liberation struggle in the light of the ideas of the Freedom Charter, "the beacon to the Congress Movement and an inspiration to the people of South Africa" to quote our leader Comrade Nelson Mandela.

YEAR OF THE WORKER

The fact that SACTU declared 1980 the Year for the mobilisation of Workers is complimentary and essential to the realisation of 1980 as the Year of the Freedom Charter. The Freedom Charter points the way out of the existing system of greed and super-exploitation of our wealth and labour with its bold assertion that "THE PEOPLE SHALL SHARE IN THE COUNTRY'S WEALTH" and "THE LAND SHALL BE SHARED AMONG THOSE WHO WORK IT" so as to uplift the well being of all the people in our country without any discrimination. That is why our document "Strategy and Tactics of the ANC" states that:

"Our drive towards national emancipation is therefore in a very real way bound up with economic emancipation. We have suffered more than just racial humiliation. Our people are deprived of their due in the country's wealth; their skills have been suppressed and poverty and starvation has been their life experience. The correction of these centuries-old injustices lies at the very core of our national aspirations".

BEST GUARANTEE

That is why the best guarantee of the implementation of this aspect of our Freedom Charter, and even other aspects, is the leadership of the working people in the national liberation movement.

Wiehahn and his masters clearly recognising the power of the Black workers and their central role in the National Liberation Movement are trying ceaselessly to avert this role by cocking up petty concessions which at the end of it all turn out to be re-enforcing Apartheid. Again the Freedom Charter comes out against all features of exploitation and

offers a revolutionary alternative to the reactionary strategy of industrial masters and their Apartheid regime.

THERE SHALL BE WORK AND SECURITY. "All who work shall be free to form trade unions, to select their officers and to make wage agreements with their employers; the state shall recognise the right and duty of all to work, and to draw full unemployment benefits".

Botha's national strategy requires us at this phase of our struggle to intensify the political mobilisation of all our oppressed people, especially our working people, to organise workers wherever they may be found to struggle for better working conditions and higher wages, because it is in the struggle that experience will teach our workers that a trade union is an instrument for change, for the overthrow of Apartheid. It is a fact that a withdrawal of the Black labour power can bring the economy of the South African regime to a standstill because South Africa is what it is mainly because of the blood and sweat of the Black workers who constitute the majority of the working class in South Africa.

WORKERS' UNITY

It is therefore necessary that in this Year of the Worker, we also work towards the strengthening of SACTU and the consolidation of workers' unity in our country. In the words of our President Comrade O.R. Tambo:

"As against the Apartheid regime's survival strategy, we have a strategy for victory whose indispensable imperative is unity in action, a sustained and ever-growing attack and resistance on all fronts, and which requires constant consultation among all our patriotic people at national, regional and local levels, to ensure a co-ordinated offensive for the attainment of agreed strategic and tactical goals".

In this Year of the Freedom Charter and the Year of the Worker, let us rededicate ourselves to redoubling our efforts on all fronts so as to ensure the achievement of the aspirations of our people as laid down in the Freedom Charter.

LONG LIVE 1ST OF MAY!

STUDENTS FIGHT APARTHEID

From a Radio Freedom Interview with Comrade Dilinga

Question: The correctness of our position that the racist Pretoria regime is in crisis, is once again vindicated by the current wave of class boycotts by students all over the country. The general demands of the students are: better education, more teachers and generally, an improvement in educational facilities. Do you have a comment on the current situation as manifested through student class boycotts?

Cde Dilinga: The African National Congress has always indicated that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people. We have also repeatedly said that our country will never be prosperous or free until our people live in brotherhood enjoying equal rights and opportunities.

FASCIST REGIME

Basically, the Pretoria regime being a fascist regime cannot accept these basic truths and therefore has to base its authority on force and repression. In the manner of examining the problems of the people, they must of necessity be sectarian in approach and therefore will never come with solutions.

What then constitutes the crisis?

Firstly, the party that is leading our oppression is not agreed on the best way of oppressing us although they agree on us being oppressed.

Secondly, the white community is beginning to ask itself whether the Nationalist Party is leading them to destruction or not?

Thirdly, the instruments of repression and oppression - the army and police - are beginning to have problems of personnel because some of the individuals begin to ask themselves whether it is in their interests to defend apartheid and oppression.

The problem of education is not only a problem of black education. The white children by being separated from their black counter-parts are deprived of education by association

and interaction. They are denied the experience of being taught by black teachers. They are not being prepared to live together with their black countrymen. The approach to education by the South African regime deprives the white parents the right to choose who will teach their children, where and how. South African universities have all been reduced to tribal institutions. A university in the true sense has diversity of peoples and disciplines as its cornerstone. Those who teach are determined by ability and not colour or creed.

The history of South Africa is full of student protest and unrest because of their disagreement with the form and content of education. In these struggles all the sections of our students have taken part. We know of white students who have been baton charged in the 60s. Even during the 1976 Soweto uprising those white students who understand that their interests lie with other students joined them.

The present students boycott of schools which started with Coloured children should not be looked at by other students as a matter between Coloured students and the government or that it is a question of secondary or primary schools. The demands are true for all students, parents and teachers.

BETTER EDUCATION

All South African students need better education. If other students have inferior educational facilities, students of other groups cannot sit and watch.

Question: The student boycott on the other hand, has served as a launching pad for teachers to push forward their demands to the regime, namely an increase in wages, better living conditions for teachers and so forth. How do you view the position of African teachers, vis-a-vis apartheid and racial discrimination in South Africa?

Cde Dilinga: Teachers should not stand by and watch their pupils who are fighting for better education. It is high time that teachers as transmitters of our social values and builders of a future society should stand firm to defend their work. We as teachers let us join the children to demand our own rights. Let all our people irrespective of colour or race join the children who have called for unity of action amongst students in demanding that:

- (a) The doors of learning and culture be opened to all.
- (b) The government discover, develop and encourage national talent for the enhancement

of our cultural life.

- (c) All cultural treasures of mankind be open to all, by free exchange of books, ideas and contact with other lands, the aim of education be to teach the youth to love their people and their culture, to honour human brotherhood, liberty and peace.
- (d) Education be free, universal and equal for all children, adult illiteracy be ended by mass state education plan, teachers have all the rights of other citizens.



COLOUR BAR

Let us demand that colour bar in cultural life, in sport and education be abolished now.

Let the campaign for better education grow. Let everyone examine the above demands and compare these with the fact that that the people who have the least means of living are the ones the wonderful budget for the year allocates only R224-millions, while for the whites it is R404-millions. Whilst the government spends R405 on a white child they spend R56 for a black child. It is obvious these children do not get equal education.

The black teacher is a pathetic person under apartheid and discrimination. He is supposed to develop human dignity in his wards but he is humiliated at every turn by the state that employs him. He is expected to be an example of cleanliness but his salary and the hiking cost of living make it dif-

difficult for him to cope. He is required to produce students who will compare with the best in the world but his classes are crowded and without proper equipment and aids.

Educational crisis in the country is then part of the general crisis of apartheid and fascism in our country. The question of education in any country is one of the pillars of progress. Education produces the most important element, in the development of any country - manpower. The values of any society are inculcated through the educational system. The fact that all governments in South Africa have always looked at the education of the people in terms of colour and apartheid, ideological interests have made it impossible for a correct approach towards education.

The question of equal education for all is not a case of the same syllabi. It entails the proper material conditions in the home, correct food, the ability of the parents to provide the school needs of the children; a home without the constant raids by police.

TEACHER

In the school itself, it entails a teacher who is properly trained to teach, one who enjoys a peace of mind in his home situation and is satisfied about the working conditions. In terms of teaching material and aids, and the number of children per class. If the teacher's salary is not competitive with other professions the tendency will be to gravitate to better prospects.

In the ultimate we shall find that those who are left in our schools are people who feel they cannot make it anywhere else.

Question: Finally, do you have a word or two, to our struggling youth, workers and peasants throughout the country?

Cde Dilinga: The authorities keep on telling us that they are going to introduce changes but what we see is removals, mass arrests for passes, unemployment and the hiking of the cost of living or rather for us blacks the cost of survival.

The attainment of independence by people bordering our land is something that must worry the rulers of our land because they know that we are asking ourselves how long and of what are we made that we should be the only ones on this globe who are destined to remain under the yoke of oppression indefinitely?

The most frustrating phenomena for the Pretoria regime is that in spite of their show of power by bombing neighbouring states, by killing defenceless children in 1976, by banning

organisations that espouse the will of the people. Instead the spirit of resistance continues.

Repeatedly the racist rulers have tried to convince us that they have destroyed our organisation, the ANC and our army Umkhonto we Sizwe. Instead during the funeral of our leader, Lilian Ngoyi, we demonstrated our support for our organisation by hoisting the people's flag - Black for us the black people of this country, Green for the agricultural wealth and Gold for the mineral wealth. We have seen the courage and determination of our heroes in the persons of Solomon Mahlangu, the Silverton group and the Maritzburg Twelve which included James Mange. The superiority of our army in tactics has been demonstrated in the attack of the symbols of oppression and repression - the police stations. We have in mind Moroka, Orlando, Soekmekear and Booysens police stations. It is better that the racist regime take heed of what their then Minister of Justice, Jimmy Kruger, said when he stated that: "It is not possible to destroy the ANC but to contain it". Although even to contain it will become more difficult because the people will see to it that our instrument of change and freedom should never be contained. Our organisation, the African National Congress, is the main generator of the crisis of the Pretoria regime.

We are clear that the solutions to the problems of our country will be solved by the ANC led by our authentic leaders like Tambo, Mandela, Sisulu and Mbeki. That is why we are demanding and will continue to demand the release of our leaders from Robben Island. That is why we are prepared to support the Free Mandela Campaign and call on more of our people to express themselves. In this way we are clearly demonstrating who are our true leaders and which is our organisation.

Document / CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE, 1955.

CALL TO THE CONGRESS

Leaflet issued by the National Action Council of the Congress of the People. The idea for the Congress of the people had been proposed by the venerated ANC leader Prof. Z.K. Matthews and sponsored by the ANC, SAIC, COD and Coloured People's Organisation. The National Action Council was composed of eight members from each organisation and was responsible for producing and distributing this call in several languages.

WE CALL THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA BLACK AND WHITE. LET US SPEAK TOGETHER OF FREEDOM!

WE CALL THE FARMERS OF THE RESERVES AND TRUSTLANDS.

Let us speak of the wide land, and the narrow strips on which we toil.

Let us speak of brothers without land, and of children without schooling.

Let us speak of taxes and of cattle, and of famine.

LET US SPEAK OF FREEDOM

WE CALL THE MINERS OF COAL, GOLD AND DIAMONDS

Let us speak of the dark shafts, and the cold compounds far from our families.

Let us speak of heavy labour and long hours, and of men sent home to die.

Let us speak of rich masters and poor wages.

LET US SPEAK OF FREEDOM.

WE CALL THE WORKERS OF FARMS AND FORESTS

Let us speak of the rich foods we grow, and the laws that keep us poor.

Let us speak of harsh treatment and of children and women forced to work.

Let us speak of private prisons, and beatings and of passes.

LET US SPEAK OF FREEDOM.

WE CALL THE WORKERS OF FACTORIES AND SHOPS

Let us speak of the good things we make, and the bad conditions of our work.

Let us speak of the many passes and the few jobs.

Let us speak of foremen and of transport and of trade unions; of holidays and of houses.

LET US SPEAK OF FREEDOM.

WE CALL THE TEACHERS, STUDENTS AND THE PREACHERS

Let us speak of the light that comes with learning, and the ways we are kept in darkness.

Let us speak of great services we can render, and of the narrow ways that are open to us.

Let us speak of laws, and government, and rights.

LET US SPEAK OF FREEDOM.

WE CALL THE HOUSEWIVES AND THE MOTHERS

Let us speak of the fine children that we bear, and of their stunted lives.

Let us speak of the many illnesses and deaths, and of the few clinics and schools.

Let us speak of high prices and of shanty towns.

LET US SPEAK OF FREEDOM.

ALL OF US TOGETHER - African and European, Indian and Coloured. Voter and voteless. Privileged and rightless. The happy and the homeless. All the people of South Africa; of the towns and of the countryside.

LET US SPEAK TOGETHER OF FREEDOM. And of the happiness that can come to men and women if they live in a land that is free.

LET US SPEAK TOGETHER OF FREEDOM. And of how to get it for ourselves, and for our children.

LET THE VOICE OF ALL THE PEOPLE BE HEARD. AND LET THE DEMANDS OF ALL THE PEOPLE FOR THE THINGS THAT WILL MAKE US FREE BE RECORDED. LET THE DEMANDS BE GATHERED TOGETHER IN A GREAT CHARTER OF FREEDOM.

WE CALL ON ALL GOOD MEN AND TRUE, to speak now of freedom, and to write their own demands into the Charter of Freedom.

WE CALL ALL WHO LOVE LIBERTY to pledge their lives from here on to win the Freedoms set out in the Charter.

WE CALL ALL THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA TO PREPARE FOR:

THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE - Where representatives of the people, everywhere in the land, will meet together in a great assembly, to discuss and adopt the Charter of Freedom.

Let us organise together for the Congress of the People.

Let us speak together of Freedom.

Let us work together for the Freedom Charter.

LET US GO FORWARD TOGETHER TO FREEDOM!

THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE

DAWN Interview with Comrade Joe Modise



Dawn: The convening of the Congress of the People (COP) at which our people adopted their programme, the Freedom Charter on June 26, 1955 at Kliptown was the most representative congress ever held in our country. Would you give us an account of how preparations for this tremendously successful congress were made?

Cde Joe Modise: Naturally, the convening of the Congress of the People in South Africa was one of the most important events that has taken place during that period of our struggle in our country.

It came shortly after the Defiance Campaign which was also another very important event in the history of our struggle. The African National Congress together with its allies decided that the people of South Africa should be consulted in the type of government they would like to have. This included all the people of South Africa. Even the ruling circles were invited. The invitation was not only confined to the oppressed groups in our country. It was extended to all our people. Guidance was given to the members of our organisation and members of the allied organisations. At the time the allies of the ANC were South African Indian Congress, Coloured People's Congress, Congress of Democrats, South African Congress of Trade Unions and the South African Communist Party.

All these bodies formed what was then and what is still regarded as the allied movement of the people of South Africa.

These Congresses were under the leadership of the ANC, and the ANC together with its allies decided that a Congress of the People should be convened where the demands of the people should be put forward and then once those demands have been put forward, the people led by the organisations must struggle to make these demands a reality. In other words to attain a situation where these demands could be implemented.

The directives that were given by the ANC and its allies to all its supporters were to the effect that people in all corners of South Africa must organise themselves into groups, collect the demands of the people throughout the country and explain to the people what the aims and objectives of the COP were.

AIMS

Firstly, these aims are, as I have already discussed to you: to collect the demands of the people, to find out from the people exactly how do they want to be governed in the land of their birth. The directives were that in the urban areas people should divide themselves into various groups, for instance, I will give you an example about the area where I was and where I participated. At the time of this campaign I was in a place called Sophiatown which has now been demolished having been declared a black spot and Africans having been removed and it was set aside for whites. But at the time we were still there and our directives were to the effect that we should divide the whole of Sophiatown into blocks. A number of streets comprised a block. In our area for instance, three streets comprised a block and the streets ran throughout the township. The number of families in that block was well over 600. We were to go from house to house meeting the people, explaining to the people what the campaign was all about and collecting the demands of the people, instructing the people, after we had collected the demands, that the same demands that they had given to us they will give to their delegates. We told the people the methods of electing a delegate that was going to represent them at the COP. So the procedure was as follows: that this block will then come together, convene a meeting and at that meeting they will elect their delegate and their delegate will be provided with their demands and these demands were to be forwarded to the Congress which was going to take place on June 26, at a place called Kliptown, in 1955.

This method of organising the people was employed in the whole of Sophiatown which was New Clare at the time and New Clare proper, a place beyond Western Native Township. Those were the western areas. We also know that the same methods were employed in all the other urban areas, places like Alexander township, Orlando East, Orlando West, Pheseni, Pinville and places like Kliptown itself. The same method was employed throughout the country, Cape, Natal, Orange Free State and the Transvaal. We were also told that in the rural areas people on the farms were brought together and there the ideas of the convenors of the COP were put forward to the people. People were told to organise themselves and that they had to put forward their demands and elect their own representatives who were going to be sent to the COP to present demands. In short, this process was carried out throughout the country.

Dawn: What was the response of the Pretoria racists and their coercive apparatus, the police for instance?

Cde Joe Modise: I must point out here that this process did not go unhampered. In various areas there was police harassment. In the rural areas, particularly, where our people are working under Afrikaner farmers, there was a certain amount of intimidation. But in spite of this people did organise themselves. They did put their demands on paper and presented them to their delegates whom they had elected and who in turn brought them to the COP which was convened in Kliptown. The number of delegates who managed to arrive at this Congress amounted to 3,000. It is evident that much more would have come to the COP.

DELEGATE

At the time of the Congress delegates coming from Natal, from the Eastern Cape, the Western Cape and some from the Orange Free State were stopped on the way by the police and prevented from coming to the COP. We received telegrams and some managed to send individual representatives who came to the COP. Some of them arrived late but they came to report that their delegations were stopped en route to the COP and they in turn were sent to forward these reports to the COP, and to report that people in their areas were prepared to come and forward their demands to the COP. Unfortunately this could not be achieved because of the activities of the police. But the COP which lasted 5 days where these demands were put forward was representative of all the people of South Africa. At

this Congress you found African people, White people, Indian people, the Coloured community, including a sprinkling of members of the Chinese community, which is a very small community in South Africa. In short all our people were represented at this Congress except the ruling circles which deliberately stayed away from this Congress, because they were aware of the fact that the demands that were going to be put forward by the people were demands which were not going to be in their interests because we all know that their interest is to exclude the people from the organs of power and obviously at the Congress where people are asked to put forward their demands those demands will definitely go against their interests. In spite of their absence the COP proceeded and it was a success.

POLICE

One fact has got to be pointed out here, that although this Congress was a success it was not easy, it was not smooth-going all along the way. The whole area was surrounded by police, some of them mounted on horses, some of them on foot, some of them on troop-carriers, all armed to the teeth. There was a lot of provocation on the part of the police. In fact the intention was to provoke the people at this Congress into acts of violence. A few people were violently manhandled by the police themselves and by so doing they hoped that the people would retaliate violently and if this had happened at such a Congress it would have given them an opportunity of breaking up this Congress and drowning the entire Congress in a blood-bath. This was the aim of the police. Fortunately for us, our people saw the intentions of the police and they responded very well to the instructions of the leadership. I must say we owe this success, in so far as the conduct of our people is concerned, to the campaigns that preceded the COP. Our people had gone through the Defiance Campaign which was a non-violent campaign and throughout these campaigns a lot of acts of provocation had been carried out against our people. During those campaigns and when those acts of provocation were carried out our movement educated our people never to allow themselves to be diverted from their objective by these acts of provocation. Our movement spent hours educating our people on the tactics employed by the enemy, particularly when the enemy realises that it is at a disadvantage and that the people are making determined progress. This process assisted us in having an orderly Congress in spite of the provocations.

ARGUMENTS

I have said to you earlier on that these demands were then put forward. They were not accepted automatically. After all these demands had been put forward to the Congress, delegates started discussing them. Arguments were put forward in favour of people's demands. There were counter-arguments from various circles within the delegates. At the end of the three-day Congress, people then agreed unanimously to adopt the demands that they had put forward. In short, these demands ran into thousands from various areas. In the final analysis the Congress arrived at a conclusion and all the demands were formulated into ten points that you see in the Freedom Charter. This conclusion was arrived at after a very strenuous debate, people putting forward certain demands which they thought should come into the Freedom Charter. Some positions were not really in the interests of all the people but after lengthy debates they themselves came round to accept the position that in some cases their positions were wrong. The positions that were in the interests of all the people were those which were eventually adopted. This is how the Congress of the People was convened and how the Freedom Charter was formulated.

Dawn: What kind of response did you get from the people when you were going from house to house collecting their demands in the campaign leading up to the Congress of the People?

Cde Joe Modise: It is true that members of the ANC played an important role in this campaign, that is, going from house to house and getting the people's demands, but I must also point out that it was not only confined to members of the ANC nor the allies. People who were not affiliated to the organisation also took part in this campaign because there were street committees, and block committees which took part in this campaign, but there were certain homes where we went and found a negative response. Sometimes out of fear people would not respond favourably, sometimes these were homes of people who were connected with the authorities, homes of policemen, and so forth. But on the whole the majority of the people, after the aims and objectives of the Congress of the People were explained to them, responded very enthusiastically. But the point I want to underline is this that it would be incorrect for anybody to say that that task was easy. It was not, because here we were going among the people some of whom were not associated at all with the ANC. In some instances we came across certain people who had affiliated to other organisations, obviously

some of them did not respond positively but it suffices to say that the majority of the people responded very well.

PEOPLE'S MOOD

Dawn: Finally, what was the mood of the people after they had adopted their programme - the Freedom Charter?

Cde Joe Modise: I have said to you that when this campaign was conducted we went to all our people, not necessarily members of the ANC and some of them asked us: "How do you hope to achieve these demands because those who are denying us participation in the affairs of our own country are armed, they are an armed force and are using that armed force to prevent us from participation and you don't have an armed force? How do you hope to achieve these objectives?" Our response to these questions was that we have got to unite and that the process of our going to the people asking for their demands and to participate in putting forward these demands, and struggling for them, is a process that covers the entire country and if we can achieve this unity, we will succeed in forcing the enemy to accept our demands. We explained to the people that it's not a struggle that begins today and ends tomorrow and that it is going to be a struggle that will continue for a long time.

Immediately after these campaigns were carried out and people were persuaded to participate in presenting their demands, the mood of expectation rose among the people. The people felt that time had come for change in the affairs of our country and naturally by going to them and asking them to make these demands, we had provoked that feeling among the people.

In 1960 the pass campaign was decided upon by the ANC. This was scheduled to be sparked on the 31st March. This was still one of the ANC's campaigns to mobilise the people, to get the people united and to get the people to use their united force in order to bring about change in that country. I think what the ANC had in mind was the fact that if we had achieved maximum unity among the people, non-violent resistance would be used to force the government to make change, for instance, questions of withholding their labour was one of the methods of struggle envisaged. The Defiance Campaign had already taken place and immediately after the convening of the Congress of the People, strike action was in the minds of the people and a

Continued on Page 40

OBITUARY

Comrade Peter Sithole a stalwart of our people's organisation, the African National Congress, a distinguished fighter in the ranks of our people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, a son of our fighting people, a comrade, passed away on the 3rd May.

He is one of those young comrades, who having responded to the call of taking up arms to fight against the Pretoria fascist regime, were assigned a mission by the ANC and our people to leave the country and prepare themselves in the art of revolutionary warfare. At the time the conditions of leaving the country, passing through the countries bordering on South Africa and beyond were extremely hazardous. Young as he was, Comrade Peter stood his ground.

Throughout his life he has defended the policies of the African National Congress under all circumstances and carried out whatever mission assigned to him. During the 1967-68 Wankie Campaign, Comrade Peter, together with comrades like Benny Masimba, Charles Sishuba, Robert Baloyi, Basil February who courageously fell in battle and many others who survived and are continuing to fight, distinguished himself as a courageous fighter. These comrades of the Luthuli Detachment have made an invaluable contribution to our people's struggle for national liberation.

When we left the country in hundreds to join Umkhonto we Sizwe after the June 16 Upsurge, Comrade Peter and other members of the Luthuli Detachment eagerly introduced us into army life, preparing us not only militarily but also explaining to us what our revolutionary struggle entails, instilling in us love for our organisation, the ANC, and the determination to fight for our people's cause until final victory.

Comrade Peter possessed the best qualities of an ANC militant - love for labour, honesty, loyalty, courage and determination.

PICK UP HIS WEAPON!

OBITUARY

The untimely death of Comrade Kate Molale on the 9th May, has robbed us of a dedicated leader of the Women's Section of our movement, the African National Congress. "Mae Kate", as she was affectionately known by all members of our movement and people, is one of those heroic mothers of ours who gallantly responded to the call of the Congress movement during the 50s when high pitched battles like the Defiance Campaign were fought between the masses of our people and the oppressors.

Her determination as a fighter saw her through such heroic and memorable battles as the famous march to the Union Buildings on the 9th August, 1956. Like all South African mothers, Comrade Kate has known harassment and persecution as she knew the pain a mother had to bear witnessing children dying of hunger.

With the beginning of armed struggle and the establishment of the external mission of the ANC, Comrade Kate was amongst those of our gallant fighters, who left their families to come and further strengthen the movement's external mission.

Throughout the difficult years of exile she had remained a fine example of motherly love, dedication and staunchness. The last time she visited us last year, she reminded us of the appalling conditions at home, bringing to our minds the starvation conditions of children, cases of malnutrition and other diseases. She pointed out that in order to defeat the system that compels our people to live under such conditions, it was of primary importance for us to be disciplined. These words were from a mother, freedom-fighter and a leader.

The lessons that we draw from her conviction, devotion, selflessness and love for the people will continue to serve as an inspiration and lodestar in our future battles.

The worthiest homage we can pay to our beloved mother is the liberation of our motherland, an ideal for which she sacrificed all her life.

ROBALA KA KGOTSO MMA RONA



Culture and Society

Bongani Matwa

As people fighting for national and social liberation from the system of apartheid and colonialism in South Africa, it becomes necessary to understand that we are also fighting to liberate ourselves culturally.

Culture has become our battleground, our resistance to oppression and exploitation. How then do we view culture and what does it encompass? Culture encompasses the material and spiritual values and the means of creating, and passing them on, created by society in the course of history. On this basis we distinguish between material culture, that is, machinery, experience in the field of production and other material wealth, and spiritual culture consisting of science, art, literature, philosophy, education, religion, customs and traditions etc.

Every society has its culture which is erected upon its economic base. This therefore shows that culture is social and at the same time political. In exploitative and oppressive societies, there exist the culture of the exploiter and oppressor and on the other hand that of the exploited and oppressed. The exploiter and oppressor's culture is the one that dominates and it is they that determine the cultural development of society.

INHERITANCE

Cultural development shows that society passes its created ideals and material values to the new society which is brought to the fore, through education and narratives etc. In this way one generation learns, shares and inherits the previous generation's culture. The pattern of inheritance of culture is intergrated and includes various uses of environmental backgrounds implements, attitudes, inter personal relations, religious beliefs and practices and moral values. When society passes from one phase of culture to another, it must be pictured as establishing each new level of achievement on the foundation of older ones rather than starting afresh each time. In class divided society a clash of cultures continues between the oppressor and the oppressed, with the former through its machinery of mass propaganda and system of education always aiming to idolise its system of oppression and exploitation. Truth is distorted and the people's minds is manipulated so as to support the rotten system of oppression. These oppressors of the people usurp culture for themselves in order to serve their selfish interests. Science is used to make weapons of mass destruction while hundreds starve to death. People need electricity while the oppressor uses atomic energy for destruction purposes.

DEPRIVATIONS

Taking culture and society in our country, South Africa, the above is clearly seen. The oppressed people themselves are resisting their cultural deprivations. For centuries now, our people have resisted imperialism and its apartheid monster and clearly see that only with the destruction of imperialism can the obstacles to the progress of culture be removed. In the beginning these oppressors tried to eliminate these traditional values and preserve that which furthers their interests. They tried to turn art from its social and economic base through such empty slogans like, "Art for art's sake" and "Pure art" and so forth. They have tried to make art as apolitical as ever, with the US imperialists flooding the cultural scene with rotten and escapist so-called "Western Cultural Values" and the American way of life. Their films glorify rape, murder and the killing of oppressed Black Americans. Our people have stood up to all these machinations. The racists failed with their Muldergate affair to splash a coat of glamorous paint over that rotten society. Some of its paid agents in sport, drama and music have failed dismally to

hoodwink the international community.

Our oppressed masses led by the African National Congress are daily scoring victories. People's Patriotic culture is taking shape, assimilating our traditional values and international world culture, its aim being to seek the truth and, expose the enemy. It is connected with the objective reality and our people's daily life struggle. It has become more and more scientific. Our cultural fighters have grasped that culture has tendencies; it either supports the oppressor or the oppressed. In great numbers they have adopted the stand of the revolution and opposed every form of reactionary, decadent and obscurantist racist culture.

Our culture is made more and more national, scientific and popular. Folk culture has been revitalised with our songs depicting not only our suffering but a bright future.

Today a great wave against illiteracy has been initiated. Our people know that the aim of culture is to boost their morale, unity and also highlight their great achievements for the whole world to know.

RESTORATION OF WEALTH

In the words of the Freedom Charter we maintain that, with the restoration of the wealth of the country to the people, we will be able to open all doors of learning and culture to the people. Our people's culture is guided by objective trends of the historical process of social development depicting their struggle and dreams of a bright future. In the words of Amilcar Cabral, we say: "In the beginning it is culture and in the end it is Culture". Like in the old days our young people are being told tales of the old days. Among those tales related are those of wars fought by our ancestors in defence of our country. Names of heroes are being praised as the glory of the entire nation.

Our Umkhonto combatants have also realised the importance of carrying out research and holding discussions on these wars of resistance. This is an important milestone on the road to the complete restoration of cultural pride and self-assertiveness. Identification with this heritage becomes a valuable factor in the moulding of committed patriots capable of performing feats.

**THE DOORS OF LEARNING AND OF
CULTURE SHALL BE OPENED TO ALL**

THE WORKER

Class so majestic
Born in the brunt
Of life-sapping labour
And the key to a bright future
In its artistic hands lies
The creators of all treasures.

Nothing under the system
of torturous bourgeois rule
But a decisive link
In the chains of history
That rids the world
Of exploitative regimes.

Marching in unison
To the goals that lie ahead
Outstanding internationalists
In word and indeed
Worried continuously
By the fate
Of brothers in chains.

Arise workers of all nations
Strike now to render useless
The coalition of all fascists
For your power
Knows no restraint
Rush forward
In everlasting unity.



— NATHANIEL MTSALL —

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC FRONT

-Oupa Mashigo

A front is an association of patriotic forces and organisations irrespective of ideological differences or differences on a particular objective. All differences between affiliates are buried and any differences on a particular point must be settled by negotiations and democracy. There should be mutual respect, sincere co-operation and mutual assistance to progress together. Coercion and authoritarianism are to be ruled out of the front and when facing problems, front members must freely discuss and frankly express their opinions, make criticism and self-criticism to help one another to discern right from wrong.

CORRECT IDEOLOGY

The front is characterised by a correct ideology of progressive forces who will tower as a symbol of dedication and revolutionary zeal, who will blaze a trail of example for all patriotic forces and who will shoulder the main burden of the revolution. This will of necessity require a hard core of revolutionaries, steeled and tempered in the struggle. A front is an organisation of a double character. The question of nation and democracy plays an important role and it always has a class content. Only a class that best represents the national democratic interests of the popular masses can lead the people's National Democratic Revolution and the democratic front. In the epoch of the transition from capitalism to socialism, the working class stands unchallenged as the best representative of the popular masses. Therefore the working class in alliance with the peasantry forms the backbone of the front. Other classes, strata and social groups can join the front i.e. the students, intelligentsia, the petty-bourgeoisie etc., and their interests are secured by this mass movement led by the working class - the most revolutionary class.

The front is further characterised by having a centralised leadership that will abide by established rules and regulations and a common programme. The programme must guide the strategy and tactics that will be employed in achieving the set goals, embracing the interests of all affiliates of the front. The programme that will guide the front will have to be an all embracing programme that will include and guarantee the inte-

rests of all affiliate parties and organisations. However, the affiliate organisations do not renounce their programmes, but retain them and their autonomy whilst at the same time fulfilling the aims of their undersigned obligations in the front.

The closer the harmony and spirit of collectivism in the front, the greater and consolidated becomes the unity of the members and influence of the leading body, the more progressive it becomes. If the front is founded on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance and the working class party, the front can ultimately, with the increase of the consciousness of the masses and the class consciousness of the workers, become socialist orientated. However, the concrete conditions of the struggle and the experience of the masses play a large role in this transition. The imperialist aggression in Vietnam and the strength of the party of Ho Chi Minh influenced greatly the tasks of the Vietnam fatherland front. Ultimately the front decided on the peaceful unification of Vietnam and the transformation of the Vietnamese society into a socialist one as the ultimate goal. These were the goals of the most bombed country ever to be aggressed by the USA, the leader of all war hawks in the imperialist world.

LEADERSHIP

On the leadership of the front, President Ho Chi Minh, the unparalleled people's leader said: "The party cannot demand that the front recognise its leadership. It must instead show itself to be the most loyal, active and dedicated member of the front. It is only through daily struggle and only after the masses have recognised the correctness of the policies and the leading capacity of the party that the party can win the leading position." It is on this basis that all front members join hands as equal partners, but it is only dedication, correct policies, loyalty and a high revolutionary zeal that make the hallmarks of leadership of the front.

A front can operate either legally or illegally. Depending on the prevailing concrete conditions. Alternatively a front can combine both methods of struggle - legal and illegal methods of struggle as was the case in the anti-Nazi front in Europe in all German occupied territories, bringing together all partisan groups and organised masses in occupied territories. The anti-Hitler front was also international, embracing all anti-fascist forces in Europe.

Legal and semi-legal members of the front will concentrate on mobilising active participation of the masses, leading

them in their daily struggles against the oppressor, activate united action and co-ordinate efforts with illegal members. All members of the front must work towards strengthening the unity of the front, encourage the entire people to bring into full play their revolutionary heroism, their determination to fight and win, to persevere and step up their resistance till final victory. The front must mobilise people and all strata to actively take part in building a new culture, to actively participate in education and building and consolidating people's power.

The front must be closely linked with the masses in order to express their profound interests. Leading member organisation of the front must work out the correct line of policies for the masses to follow. The revolution can succeed when it is carried out by the masses consciously, voluntarily and enthusiastically. The leading party and the front must learn from the creative experience of the masses. It must check on its line and policies thereby setting straight in time the shortcomings of the scientific character of its line. The party and the front should sum up their experience and through their activities complement and readjust its own line and policies. It is only then that the front will reflect the profound interests of the broad masses of the people, put forward adequate slogans to mobilise them. This will bring them combat position and help them to realise more and more clearly through their experience that the party's line and policies are correct, thereby enhancing their confidence in the party and inspiring them to participate more actively in the revolution under the party's leadership.

REVOLUTION

In any revolution, certain quarters can use the struggle as a vehicle to acquire prestige and popularity. Some individuals can resort to ultra-revolutionism and opportunism with high phraseology in an attempt to poison or hi-jack the leadership of the front. All front members must in such an event expose all opportunists to the masses. The front must unceasingly uncover enemy agents and provocateurs in their midst, expose them to the masses and frustrate all enemy efforts to halt the revolution. The front must of necessity fight both left and right opportunism, educate the masses on vigilance. The masses must be able to understand the stage of the revolution and the right time and action under the guidance of the front. The front must develop the revolutionary initiative of

the masses, to be able to move in one step in a united action. The masses can take an initiative in dealing with opportunists to keep the ranks of the front pure and ready to intensify its blows against the enemy.

Since the advent of socialism in the world and the defeat of the dark clouds of nazism, national liberation movements have received an unparalleled impetus and imperialism lost considerable ground. It is inconceivable to think of a national democratic front that will not clearly have a principled anti-imperialist stand, a front that will flirt with all reactionary circles of the world, from the Peking Maoist betrayers to US war-hawks and 'human rights' gospel preachers. The front must of necessity, in order to express the most profound interests and demands of the national democratic revolution be anti-imperialist and align itself with the three main streams of revolution, i.e. the socialist camp, the international working class and the national liberation movement. The economic aim of the front will express a secured economic policy regarding the dark forces of multinational monopolies, work out a policy that will put people's power on the commanding heights of the economy and with the material being of the masses secured the masses will rise to greater heroism in defending the revolution.

POLITICAL WEAPON

A front as a political weapon of struggle is a very sophisticated phenomenon. It demands a lot of grass-root work and thorough preparation and planning before launching a front. It is necessary to prepare a hard-core of revolutionaries, dedicated comrades of unbending principles, who will sustain the work of the front and be able to stand the thorny road of revolution, a nucleus that will activate revolutionary zeal of affiliate members, a nucleus of revolutionaries tempered in the struggle. The front must prepare in advance for possible enemy reaction especially in regard to switching methods of struggle from legal to illegal and that transition must be swift to be able to sustain the tempo of the revolution.

Before launching a front, there should be a thorough search of genuine forces that qualify for membership. This of necessity demands an inside knowledge of all organisations and parties to join the front. The internal mechanism of these possible associates must be thoroughly studied, influential figures known and understood to enable a genuinely patriotic coming together of bodies to end the oppression and humili-

liation. This demands men-on-the-spot who will put everything in their power to distinguish people's friends from foes, who will give a proper analysis of the nature of the enemy and the way of defeating him, form of synchronised work and how it can be achieved.

What then are the possibilities of creating such a front in our situation? This is a question that demands our collective discussion.

The Rise and Fall of Nito Alves

Part 2

-Khamalo Migwe

Nito Alves as the Minister of Interior

For the Angolan masses in 1975, it was not easy to differentiate ideological differences between President Agostinho Neto and together with all consistent members of the MPLA on the one hand and the ultra-leftist spellbinding demagogue called Nito Alves on the other hand. During this time, however, one of the immediate main aims of the MPLA was to expel the FNLA bandits from Luanda, and the organisational abilities of Nito Alves particularly in the ghettos of Luanda were indispensable. As a result of his success in securing Luanda as a stable MPLA base, Nito Alves became the Minister of the Interior in the first government of the People's Republic of Angola. The failure of the masses to see the essence of Nito Alves and not only to judge him by his appearance, is common in many revolutions, more so because counter-revolutionaries have learnt through history and experience that it is only when they utter revolutionary phrases that they can attract the people, even though they repeat them in parrot fashion. Nevertheless, the people must learn to separate the essence from phenomenon, the real from what appear to be. It is under this consideration that the Strategy and Tactics of the African National Congress says:

"The revolutionary-sounding phrase does not always reflect revolutionary policy, and revolutionary-sounding policy is not always the

springboard for revolutionary advance. Indeed, what appears to be 'militant' and 'revolutionary' can often be counter-revolutionary".

Declaring himself an unflinching partisan of class struggle, Alves' politics was at this time highly influenced by the works of the Albanian leader, Enver Hoxha (whose works were being distributed in Angola by small bands of Portuguese Maoists) as well as influenced by Mao Tse-tung's early writings of Chinese class structure. Moving from this pseudo-scientific analysis, Alves failed to define the classes within the Angolan social structure and thus found himself exploiting the sentiments of the people in their response to the racism of the Portuguese colonialists who had just been defeated. It is hard for one not to see a simile in the present trend in the leadership of the withering Pan Africanist Congress which now claims to be guided by Marxist-Leninist-Mao Tse-tung thought. His attendance of the 25th Congress of the CPSU on behalf of the MPLA was because he was verbally a partisan of the Soviet Union.

His position as Interior Minister gave him wide powers to appoint his stooges as Provincial and District Commissars, and thus entrench himself in power. The real reason for his close association with the Ministry of Internal Trade as well as the very Minister responsible, became apparent when after he had infiltrated it with his own supporters, goods started to fail to arrive at their destination and when attempts were made to pin down responsibilities a cunning system of shoving the problem over to a different sector was employed and certain documents were mysteriously destroyed by fire. In this way the actual cause of the problem was hidden. All this was a deliberate economic sabotage.

When the majority of the members of the MPLA leadership worried seriously about Nito Alves' behaviour as the Minister of the Interior, a Plenary meeting of the Central Committee was called from the 23rd to the 29th of October 1976, in which Nito Alves was accused of factionalism. Although he denied the accusation, a Commission of Enquiry was set up to investigate his activities - a Commission that finally recommended that his own Ministry be abolished since there was no longer any necessity for the Provincial Commissars to be co-ordinated by the Ministry of the Interior since there is in the Government structure a Council of Ministers. Nito Alves remained being a member of the Central Committee but no longer of Political Bureau. Following this demotion Nito Alves and his lieutenants hastened to carry out his coup d'Etat plan. It still

remains a vital test of the genuineness of a revolutionary to serve the revolution in any capacity.

The attempted coup and its aftermath

Alves' attempted coup was a carefully planned operation. He withheld food supplies, arranged for one FAPLA Officer in the Ministry of Defence to hoard five month's salary of FAPLA who would be agitated to blame the Ministry of Defence and as a result commit acts of insubordination and mutiny. More than that, he planned that when the artificial people's grievances are worsened, he would then woo them into a mass demonstration in the streets. The aim of the demonstration was to present President Neto with so-called people's demands. Should he 'reject' them, it was planned that he would be arrested. As for the other MPLA leaders like Lucio Lara (Secretary-General of MPLA), Iko Carreira (Minister of Defence) and so on, they were to be killed with immediate effect of the order. Then a Government would be formed with Nito Alves as President and Van Dunem as Prime Minister, then the Central Committee would be replaced by a "Politico-Military Revolutionary Committee".

Because Nito Alves was still a Member of the Central Committee, a special meeting of the Committee was called on the weekend of 20-21 May 1977 to consider the further worsening of events. In this meeting Nito Alves, using Lenin's quotations out of context, attempted to prove that Angola was being led by the incompetent leaders to class collaboration. Attempts were made in this meeting to dissuade him from factionalism. Infact, during a lunch time break. President Neto took Nito Alves and Van Dunem aside for a private discussion. He asked them to do honest self-criticism and to consider the continuing imperialist threat to Angola and the need to hold MPLA together on the basis of national unity - all this to no avail, for the factionalists had already decided to go ahead with their plans. The discussions, however, continued until the following day when the Central Committee resolved to expell them from the Committee. This, of course, added more fuel to the fire.

The date of the coup was finally set for the 27th of May. The aim was to capture the Radio Station while the 'masses' would be demonstrating, and 'discontented' FAPLA would march with the demonstration on the pretext of protecting the masses and the revolution. Alves would then address the people over the Radio and announce that the Government has been overthrown, and recite his accusations of hunger, poverty, etc., to just-

ify the counter-revolution. According to the final plans Neto would then be killed.

Early in the morning of the 27th May Alves' men attacked the Sao Paulo Prison and released there hundreds of common criminals together with UNITA and FNLA bandits as well as the British and American mercenaries who had been imprisoned by FAPLA. At about 08,00 am they had seized the Radio Station and they began broadcasting attacks on the Government and appealed to the masses to demonstrate outside the Presidential Palace. Seven members of the Central Committee were treacherously murdered by the factionalists. The plan, however, turned sour and the whole scheme met with dismal failure because the demonstration was able to attract only about 500 people. The overwhelming majority of FAPLA combatants and DISA (the security services) stood on the side of the Government. By 11,00 am FAPLA had dispersed the small crowd outside the palace. About an hour after that the People's Army stormed the Radio Station building and recaptured the transmitter.

The attempted coup took a very short time and it was foiled by the MPLA. Many of its leaders were captured almost immediately. Van Dunem was able to hide for only two weeks. Nito Alves thought that by running to his hometown, Piri, in the North, he would be safe - but after six weeks of wandering, already tired and hungry, the peasants took him and handed him to FAPLA to meet revolutionary justice.

It is only those who identify themselves with history and not history with themselves that are truly revolutionary. Factionalism is an evil that can occur in all revolutionary organisations, and our ANC is no exception. Factionalism often manifests itself in the appearance of small groups of ambitious opportunists, attempting under various pretexts, to undermine the confidence of the army or members in their leaders, using slander or exploiting the difficulties that still exist. Our people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, should never fall victim of pseudo-revolutionary verbosity, tribalistic or regionalistic sentiments in attempts by the counter-revolutionaries to provoke discontent against the revolution.

The argument is still that there is no effect without a cause. Counter-revolutionaries do not come out of the blue. The catch word is: BE VIGILANT AGAINST APPEARANCE, LOOK FOR THE ESSENCE, which can only be proved by time and consistency - for all revolutionaries shall be absolved by history.

NOTES FROM THE GALLOWES

by

JULIUS FUCHIK

Chapter 4 — 'Number 400' (Cont.)

Imprisonment and solitude are two thoughts often confused in people's minds, but that is a great mistake. A prisoner is not alone. A prison is a community, and even the strictest confinement cannot tear one from the group - unless he excludes himself. The brotherhood of the enslaved is subjected to pressure which strengthens, concentrates it, and makes it more sensitive. It penetrates walls, which live, speak and tap out signals. Brotherhood embraces the cells of each corridor, which are related in common duties, common worries, have same guards and exercise periods together in the fresh air. When they meet outdoors, one word or gesture is sufficient to pass on news or sometimes to save a human life. Brotherhood unites the prisoners who go to hearings, in groups, sit together in the Cinema and return together. It is a brotherhood of very few words and immense services, for the grasp of a hand or the gift of a cigarette can crack the cage you have been placed in and liberate you from the solitude which was intended to break you. Cells have hands; you feel how they hold you from falling when you return tortured from a grilling. They feed you when others are driving you to death by hunger. Cells have eyes which watch you as you leave for the execution, and you know that you must walk erect because you are their brother and must not weaken them with a wavering step. This is a brotherhood bleeding at many wounds, but unconquerable. Without its support you could not bear one-tenth of your fated burden. Neither you nor man.

If I am able to continue this tale (for we know not the day nor the hour) Number 400 will appear frequently, as it does at the head of this chapter. I thought of it first as a room, and my first meditation there was far from happy. It is not a room, however, but a collective, a purposeful and fighting group, even a happy group.

It started in 1940, as the work of the Gestapo anti-Communist unit increased. It was a branch for Communists of the Domestic Imprisonment Department, a waiting room for Communists in order to avoid their having to be led up from the

first floor to the fourth every time the Gestapo officials wished to ask them another question. They thought this made their work easier; that was their idea in opening this branch Cinema.

If you put two prisoners together, however, especially if they are Communists, you have an organisation in five minutes, which sets out to upset all your plans. In 1942 the Cinema received the name Communist Central, and went through many changes. Thousands and thousands of comrades, men and women, took their seats in turn on its benches. But one thing never changed - the spirit of a collective, devoted to battle and convinced of final victory.

Number 400 was a very advanced trench on the battle-field, completely surrounded by the enemy, under an avalanche of fire from all sides, but never for a moment dreaming of surrender. The red flag flies high here. The absolute unity of the whole nation fighting for its liberty is expressed in this collective solidarity.

Down in the main Cinema paced guards of the SS in high boots; they shouted at you every time you winked your eyes. Up in Number 400 Czech inspectors and agents from the police department were on duty, men who entered Gestapo service as interpreters, either voluntarily or on orders from their superiors, and did their duty as Gestapo henchmen - or as Czechs. Sometimes a mixture of both. It was not necessary to sit at attention here with your hands on your knees and your eyes staring straight ahead. You could sit easily, look around, move your hands. You could do even more, depending on which of the three sorts of guards were on duty.

In Number 400 you made profound studies of the human animal. The nearness of death stripped each of us naked. Even those who wore the red arm-bands as Communists under investigation or suspected of cooperation with the Communists, and those who were set here to guard us and who helped in the investigations in a nearby room. In the other room words were your shield or your weapon during the grilling; here in Number 400 you could not hide behind words. Here they do not weigh your words, but what is in you, what you are made of. By this time there was left in you only what is most important in life. By this time all that tempered, weakened or beautified your fundamental personality had been blasted away by the storms which come before death. Only the subject and predicates remained; the loyal resist, the traitor betrays, the hero struggles, the weakling gives up. In each of us



there is strength and weakness, courage and fear, firmness and wavering, purity and dirt. Here only one or the other remains. Yes - or no. If anyone tried to dance adroitly between the two extremes, he was as conspicuous as if he had put a yellow feather in his hat or danced in a funeral procession with cymbals in his hands.

There were men like that, of course, among both the prisoners and the Czech inspectors and agents. During investigations they burned a candle to their god in the Reich, and in Number 400 burned another to the bolshevik devil. In the presence of the German commissar they could knock your teeth out trying to make you confess the name of your courier; in Number 400 they would give you a hunk of bread to ease the hunger. In a search unit they would steal everything of value in your home; in Number 400 they would give you half a cigarette from their booty to show how they sympathised with you. There were others - a slightly different variety from the first - who never hurt you on their own initiative, but still less offered you any help. They always had their own skins in mind, and proved extremely sensitive barometers of the political weather. When they were tense and very officious, you could tell that the Germans were making progress toward Stalingrad. When they were affable enough to start a conversation with a prisoner, you knew that the Germans had been beaten back in Stalingrad. If they begin to tell you about their ancient Czech forebears or that they had been forced into service with Gestapo - excellent: the Red Army is certainly marching on Rostov. Still a other sort of creature sticks his hands in his pockets while you are drowning, and lends you a hand after you have pulled yourself out on the bank.

That sort instinctively felt the strength of the collective in Number 400 and tried to draw close to it because of that strength. But they never belonged to it. There was another sort who never even guessed there was such a collective. I would call them the murderers, but murderers are of the human race. They were the Czech-speaking beasts, with sticks and irons in their hands, who tortured us so that many a German commissar fled from the sight. They hadn't even enough hypocrisy to control their passions, for the sake of either their own nation or the Reich. They tortured and murdered for pleasure, knocked out our teeth, burst our eardrums, gouged out our eyes, kicked us in the groin, or beat our brains out for no reason but to satisfy the cruelty within themselves. You saw them every day and had to bear their

presence, which filled the air with croaking and blood. The only defence you had against them was the firm faith that they would not escape justice in the end, even if they murdered every last witness to their crimes.

At the same table with these types sat men who sought in justice to be written with a capital M - Men. Those who used prison rules to protect the prisoners, who helped build the prison collective in Number 400 and belonged to it with all the more, since they were not Communists; on the contrary, they may have worked against the Communists as agents of the Czech police. But they realised the significance of the Communists for the whole nation when they saw us battle against the invader, and from that moment assisted each of us who held true and loyal even on those prison benches.

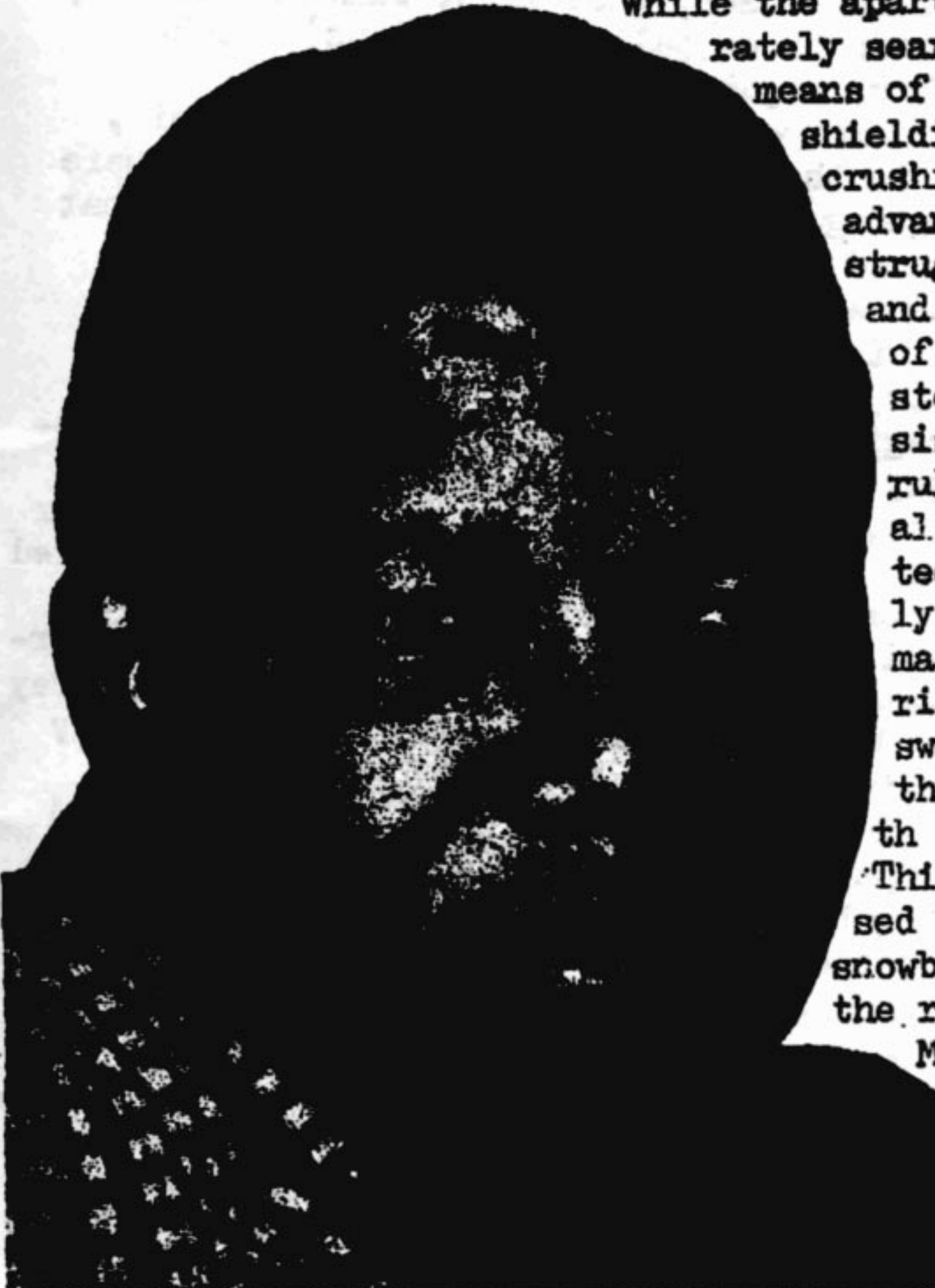
Many of our soliders outside would have wavered had they had any conception of what awaited them once they fell into the hands of the Gestapo. These loyal men inside had the horrors before their eyes every day, every hour. Every hour they lived with the expectation of being set among the prisoners and being tested worse than they. But they didn't waver. They helped save the lives of thousands and tempered the suffering of those whose lives they couldn't save. The name of hero belongs to them. Without them Number 400 could never have become what it was to thousands of Communists: a spot of light in a black building, a trench in the rear of the enemy, the centre of the battle for freedom right in the den of the invader.

Continued from Page 21

number of people were basing the future struggle and campaigns on this kind of actions.

It is true that at the time, the people had made their demands and said they would struggle for their realisation. A number of people even at that time were already talking of a violent struggle against the enemy but then at the time it was not possible for the ANC to entertain this kind of thinking, but the fact of the matter is that the people's expectations were sparked off by the Congress of the People and the people expected more. It was now for the African National Congress to chart the way forward.

NELSON MANDELA



While the apartheid regime desperately searches for ways and means of strengthening and shielding itself from the crushing blows of the advancing liberation struggle, the oppressed and democratic forces of our country are stepping up mass resistance to racist rule. As the National Executive Committee of the ANC recently stated: "On a mass level the spirit of revolt is sweeping throughout the length and breadth of our country ... This has been emphasised during the current snowballing campaign for the release of Nelson

Mandela". The demand for the release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners symbolises our people's total rejection of Botha's fraudulent manoeuvres aimed at lending legitimacy to apartheid tyranny - especially his so-called conference to 'deliberate matters affecting South Africa'. THE ANC CALLS ON DEMOCRATIC FORCES WORLD-WIDE TO SUPPORT THE MASSIVE CAMPAIGN LAUNCHED BY THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA FOR THE UNCONDITIONAL RELEASE OF NELSON MANDELA AND ALL OTHER POLITICAL PRISONERS...

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of Africa. In South Africa itself the great Treason Trial was in progress in which the regime sought death sentences against leaders who had waged struggle for a new democratic South Africa based on the demands set out in the Freedom Charter. In that year our women throughout the country were on the offensive, resisting passes for women, pass laws, Bantu Education, Bantu authorities (later to be called Bantustans) stock-calling, removals, slave wages.

But not only the women - the youth, the intelligensia, the peasantry, people in the cities and the countryside were united in this great struggle. So it was not surprising that in 1959 the regime banned the demonstrations intended for Africa Day. The regime anticipated an attendance numbering hundreds of thousands of ANC militants in Johannesburg. By April 15, Africa Day in 1960, the situation had got out of hand for the racist regime and not merely rallies and demonstrations and gatherings, but the ANC itself had been banned.

Equally, of course, the situation had got out of hand for colonialism in Africa. The great decade of the 60s had started bringing with it the momentous day, May 25, 1963 when the people of Africa consolidated their unity in action in the formation of the Organisation of African Unity. That historic day was proclaimed Africa Day and is now observed internationally by the entire progressive world.

In the 17 years since its formation the OAU has survived many imperialist attempts to break it up. It has faced internal problems, including border conflicts. It has been confronted with external aggression against member states, such as the invasion of Guinea by fascist Portugal in the 70s and the invasions of Angola, Mozambique, Zambia and Botswana by South African and Rhodesian racist troops in more recent times.

Africa has waged a persistent struggle for political and economic independence on the continent. As part of the non-aligned movement it has worked for the liberation of the third world from poverty and starvation and economic domination. Africa has been a vital contingent of the world anti-imperialist forces and in the process has contributed to the cause of world peace. Indeed over these 17 years Africa has many, many victories to her credit. It has demonstrated its commitment to independence, independence of action, independence of decision-making, especially in international affairs. For example, Africa refused to heed the demands by the imperialist

powers for the expulsion of Soviet and Cuban personnel in Africa and latterly Africa has refused to impose sanctions on Iran or boycott this year's Olympic Games at the crack of the Washington whip, and this is regardless of their views about hostages in Teheran, of the situation in Afghanistan.

And yet, without any reservation whatsoever, the OAU has consistently fought for the political and cultural isolation, economic isolation of the South African regime because the South African system represents denial of everything Africa and the progressive world have fought and continue to fight for. The South African system is compounded of colonialism, oppression, exploitation, racism, fascism and imperialism.

The African struggle for liberation directs itself to South Africa because this part of the continent is under white settler domination now as it was in the 19th century. It is in this country where racism assumes its worst form. It is in South Africa where the exploitation of the working people is absolutely ferocious. The South African system seeks to reduce the majority of the people into inferiors in the world to keep them in a state of inferiority. By various devices the system imposes this inferiority. We can contrast the South African black to people in the rest of Africa. Thus where Salim Salim, a Tanzanian, is President of the United Nations General Assembly; Adam Kodjo, a Togolese, heads the OAU, where Mr Mba, of Senegal runs UNESCO and Dr Austin Zulu is in charge of the African division of IMF. The black man in South Africa lives in a mini world where his highest political achievement under that system is participation (and perhaps being elected) in Bantu Community Councils elections in Bantu townships, or Bantustan elections in purely tribal settings, and in the world of Coloured Councils, Indian Councils and Chinese Community Councils, all of them the creation of a supreme, superior and almighty whites only parliament.

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DAWN politiXword No.3 - Answers

Across: 1. Discipline 6. Prisoner 7. Guns 9. Cut
11. Pat 12. Energy 15. On 16. Freedom

Down: 1. Deploy 2. Science 3. Isolate 4. Lee
5. Evolution 8. Spy 10. Unite 13. Gram
14. GDR 15. OP

POLITIXWORD

No.4

1	E	X	P	L	O	I	T	E	R		
2	A				A				E		
3	U	N	J	U	S	T		E	B	B	
4	A								E		
5	L	I	B	E	R	A	L		L		
6	I						E				
7	T	O	T	A	L		A		L	I	
8	Y		A			I	S	K	R	A	
			L			F				N	
9	C	H	E			E			F	A	J

CLUES

Across

- Oppenheimer is one.
- War waged by Boers.
- Low tide.
- Bourgeois political party.
- Racist Piet Botha's strategy.

- Cde Brezhnev's initials.
- Newspaper founded by Lenin.
- Heroic guerrilla.
- GDR Komsomol.

Down

- We are fighting for it in SA.
- Organisation of American States.
- Resist authority.
- Disclose secret information.

- Story.
- "Man's dearest possession is"
- Shall be shared amongst its tillers.

See answers in DAWN Vol. 4 No. 6.

**DISCIPLINE IS THE
MOTHER OF VICTORY.**

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

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

**SOLIDARITY WITH
COMRADE JAMES MANGE**



**STOP
THE EXECUTION**