

DAWN



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DAWN

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**TO MOVE FORWARD WE MUST
ATTACK, ACT IN UNITY AND UNITE
IN ACTION.**

PREFACE

It is in recognition of a blazing trail of resistance, courage and unflinching dedication to both the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party, the two unshakeable pillars of our revolution, that DAWN dedicates this supplement to the great stalwart of our revolution, Dr. Yusuf 'Mota' Dadoo.

DAWN attempts to recapture these living moments, an inspiration necessary to every revolutionary for mounting the struggle to ever greater heights.

Doc's legacy spans a life-time of resistance, from the Non-European Unity Front to the birth of the UDF his memory abounds with feats of selfless sacrifice. He is one of the few leaders to be honoured Isitwalandwe, the highest award bestowed by the African National Congress to our heroes.

In 1979 the ANC and the SACP were joined by the international community to mark the 70th Birthday Anniversary of Doc. In honour of the occasion he was awarded with the Order of Dimitrov by Bulgaria, the Order of Karl Marx by the German Democratic Republic, the Order of Friendship of the People's by the Soviet Union, the Gold Medal of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organisation, the Scroll of Honour of the World Peace Council, the Decoration of the Hungarian Peace Movement and the 'Wielki Proletariat' from Poland.

As we dip our revolutionary banner in his memory we pledge in the name of all our fallen heroes and our leaders and patriots in racist dungeons:

*To spare neither strength nor courage
for the liberation of South Africa.*

HAMBA KAHLE DOC!

A PROFILE

HE LIVED

A FULL LIFE

To say Doctor Dadoo was one of the most outstanding among those who struggled all their life is no praise. It is a simple statement of fact, the fact of the full life that he lived.

He was born on the 5th of September, 1909, in Krugersdorp. His father, Mohamed, came to South Africa in the 1880's along with other hundreds of Indian people brought to the Natal sugarcane fields as indentured labourers by the British imperialists. Thus Yusuf Dadoo grew up in the oppressive environment of colonial domination to which the Indian community, like their African and so-called Coloured brothers, were subjected to. Yet it was the liberation struggle of the Indian people and of his countrymen in South Africa and especially the working class, that was to shape his life.

He was still a schoolboy when, together with his contemporaries like Molvi A.J. Cachalia, he attended meetings held by Ghandi. He also took part in the All-Indian Congress campaigns to mobilise support against British colonialism. In 1929 after matriculating in Aligarh, India, he went to study medicine in England. There, too he participated in a variety of political activities. Within months he was among six people arrested for demonstrating against the imperialist Simons Commission. With his parents' insistence he had to change to Edingurgh. But nothing could dissuade the young Yusuf from political action; it was already becoming part of his life.



"There are those who struggle for a day and that is good; and there are those who struggle for a year and that is better; there are those who struggle for twenty years and that is better still; and there are those who struggle all their life and they are the ones we cannot do without." — BERTOLT BRECHT —

This was when he read for the first time in his life Karl Marx and Frederick Engels' Communist Manifesto, the death-certificate of capitalism.

WAR YEARS

In 1936, after qualifying as a medical doctor in Edinburgh, Yusuf Dadoo returned to practice his profession among his down-trodden countrymen. As soon as he returned to South Africa, Dr. Dadoo decided to throw himself heart and soul into the liberation struggle instead of concentrating on his profession. The first battle he got involved in was that of transforming the Transvaal Indian Congress from a toothless body controlled by conciliatory businessmen into a militant people's organisation. The battle was won.

In 1939 he joined the Communist Party of South Africa. This was an event of great historic significance in his life. Not only did it mean even more testing responsibilities on his shoulders but also being best armed, with Marxist-Leninist theory, to grapple with them. At this moment our people were engaged in anti-fascist mass campaigns of the war years. With other leaders of our people like Moses Kotane, J.B. Marks, Alpheus Maliba and many others he was in the front ranks of these battles, speaking at meetings, preparing and publishing articles, pamphlets and leaflets. In 1940, two years after the formation of the Non-European Front which he was also a founder-member of, Dr. Dadoo was arrested for issuing its (NEUF's) anti-war pamphlets which called on our people to demand:

"The right to live as human beings, the right to work in skilled trades, recognition of African trade unions, the abolition of white labour policy, the abolition of all anti-

colour legislation, full citizenship rights" and concluded, *"Don't support this war, where the rich get richer and the poor get killed"*.

TIES OF UNITY

The racist regime of Smuts declared Dr. Dadoo 'Public Enemy No. 1' But this did not deter him. With the formation of the National Anti-Pass Council in 1941 he was elected its vice-Chairman while Dr. Xuma, then the President of the ANC was elected the chairman. During the 1944 Alexandra bus boycott Dr. Dadoo could be seen marching from the township alongside the residents.

Together with Dr. Naicker he was among the first group to be arrested on 27 June 1946 in the wake of Massive Passive resistance of the Indian community supported by the Africans and so-called Coloureds against Smuts' Ghetto Bill. In the same year Dr. Dadoo was arrested with other Communist Party leaders following the great African mineworkers' strike.

The year 1947 saw the laying of the historic steppingstone to forge unbreakable ties of unity between the Africans and Indians. Years of tireless efforts by our people's leaders like Yusuf Dadoo to forge the greatest unity of all the oppressed was beginning to bear fruit with the Dadoo-Xuma-Naicker Pact.

In 1948 he (Dadoo) was once more arrested in connection with the passive resistance campaign. Two years later he was elected the President of the South African Indian Congress.

Cont. on Page 10.



DADOO'S MESSAGE TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Dear Comrades and Colleagues,

It is with deep sorrow and great personal regret that I inform you of my inability to attend this most important meeting. It will be the first time since the reconstitution of our Party that I have been absent from ordinary or plenary sessions of the Central Committee. Furthermore, since my election as chairman in 1972, this will be the first time I will be deprived of the honour and privilege of presiding over the deliberations of the Central Committee. I am sure you will all understand that my absence is due entirely to my present poor state of health.

It is now, reflecting on events from my hospital bed, that I fully realise the faith, confidence, loyalty and dedication that comrades of the Party, at all levels, have shown to me, particularly over the last difficult months. The high standing our Party enjoys has also been demonstrated by the fact that messages of support during my illness have come from many fraternal parties, governments, liberation movements, cadres in the front-line at home, and, not least, from individuals throughout the world. This depth of concern and love so freely expressed has touched me deeply. I would like to say to all of you whom I have come to know and love over the many difficult years we have worked together, that your support and caring is what has sustained me. I am humbled to be the recipient of such devotion.

Our Party, whatever its weaknesses over the years, has also consistently been a great source of strength and power. This strength is rooted in the firm foundations laid, from the very beginning, by the emphasis placed on a correct understanding of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism by all cadres; on the emphasis of education classes and the correct teaching of Marxism-Leninism to cadres; on the unqualified discipline and high level of commitment demanded of cadres; and in the unswerving loyalty and respect our Party has for the CPSU.

At this juncture in history, when the Reagan Administration is threatening the world with nuclear destruction, it is the fundamental task of communist parties and the international communist movement as a whole to awaken world public opinion and bring all their force to bear in the struggle to ensure people understand that the defence of peace lies in support for the Soviet Union and the world socialist move-

ment. The unity of communist parties is vital to counteract the propaganda efforts and disinformation of world imperialism, which is attempting to brand the Soviet Union as the enemy of humankind.

The years of painstaking work by the Party and the ANC are showing results. There is the continued tremendous growth of internal, organised opposition exemplified by, among other events, the momentous gathering in Cape Town in August which launched the United Democratic Front. At the same time; this growth of resistance imposes its own exacting demands on our Party. The gains achieved must be consolidated. The mass of our people are united as never before to engage in all-out battle for the overthrow of the apartheid regime. It is our task and our revolutionary duty to ensure that our proud history of struggle bears fruit; that guidance and direction is clearly given; that the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism are correctly understood in the context of our struggle.

Our strength in the past has been built upon the depth of our Party and cadres' ideological knowledge and understanding. The fierce ideological battle being waged on many fronts must not find our Party wanting. It is in this context that we need to assess here today, and in our forthcoming deliberations, our weaknesses and strengths, our successes and failures. We must frankly, honestly and realistically provide direction for enhancing our work in the testing time that lies ahead.

Of prime importance is ideological work at every level. We need to critically assess our effectiveness in this key area. To what extent have we taken our policy and programme to the masses? To what extent has it become understood by the people as their own policy? Have we made sufficient efforts to ensure our own cadres understand the Party's policy in present-day conditions, and, with such an understanding, do our cadres have a clear idea as to his or her duty in carrying out allocated tasks?

Today, almost as never before, the South African workers are on the march. In this field a great responsibility rests on our Party. We are the revolutionary Party of the working class, whose clear role is that of the vanguard in the fight for socialism. The working class, in essence the black working class in our country, is the pivotal force in the struggle for a revolutionary overthrow of the entire apartheid system. As such our Party must place its main focus and emphasis in organising, uniting and giving clear guidance to this class, which forms the backbone of our struggle. Included in this task, is assessing our strength and weakness in the trade union movement as a whole, assessing (re-defining if necessary) the role of SACTU, and ensuring our future working in this vital field meets the demands of the time.

The Botha regime, fighting for the very survival of Nationalist rule, has launched an offensive spearheaded by the creation of a President's Council, backed-up by the constitutional proposals, the Koornhof Bills, and an all-out effort at the creation of a black middle class. It is our urgent task to ensure all-out mobilisation to defeat this new enemy manoeuvre.

In his "*Analysis of the Existing Situation and Land-marks for the Future*", given in an address to the Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the CPSU on June 15th, 1983, Comrade Andropov, General-Secretary of the CPSU, said:

"In politics one pays for one's errors. When the guiding role of a Communist Party weakens, there arises the danger of sliding back to a bourgeois-reformist way of development. If a Party loses touch with the people, self-proclaimed aspirants to the role of those who express the interests of the working people emerge in the ensuing vacuum".

We have witnessed the consequences of such developments in Poland. We, working in underground conditions of the harshest nature, must ensure that we leave no stone unturned in our efforts to create the conditions whereby our Party, the working class and the liberation struggle are one and the same thing.

I have every confidence that this meeting will correctly analyse the present developments in our country and will establish guidelines and directives for our future effective working; will accurately assess the workings of our Party in keeping with the strengthening of our deep-rooted alliance with the African National Congress and the armed-wing of the liberation movement, Umkhonto we Sizwe; will look at the role of the Party in the present-day heightened imperialist offensive and ensure we continue to play our part in defending and strengthening the world socialist community, and, above all, will produce a programme of action that will enable our Party, our cadres and our people to be more than equal to the challenge that lies ahead.

I would like to say that throughout my life I have tried to serve my people, my country and the cause for which I have lived. There are many individuals who have greatly influenced me. Many incidents have contributed to my development as a communist and freedom fighter. Figures such as Malume, JB and Mick stand out as beacons, while over the years my thoughts never strayed far from those entombed, tragically for so long, on Robben Island and Pretoria Central, now Pollsmoor or even "whereabouts unknown". Our duty, in paying tribute to their selfless courage, is to go forward with renewed vigour, rededication and self-sacrifice, characteristics which have consistently been our hallmarks.

Finally, to all of you I hold so dear, I would like to express my heartfelt thanks and appreciation for the years of true comradeship and love we have shared. I have indeed been privileged to know you.

I wish this meeting every success in its deliberations.

**LONG LIVE THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY!
LONG LIVE THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS!
FORWARD TO FREEDOM!**



Yusuf Dadoo

Chairman, South African Communist Party

19th September, 1983

CENTRAL COMMITTEE STATEMENT**»WE PLEDGE TO FULFILL HIS LAST WISH
TO CARRY ON THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM».**

The Central Committee of the South African Communist Party regrets to announce the death on September 19 of its national chairman, Dr Yusuf Mohamed Dadoo, a major leader of the national liberation movement, at the age of 74.

The oppressed peoples of South Africa, and in particular the working class, as well as the international communist movement, have lost the services of an outstanding leader who devoted his entire life to the cause of national liberation, socialism and world peace.

Whilst still in his 20's he found himself in the leadership of campaigns to unite the Indian, African and Coloured people in the fight against white domination. He joined the Communist Party of South Africa in 1939 and found in Marxism-Leninism the theoretical foundation for his life-long struggle to the cause of proletarian internationalism.

Yusuf Dadoo was inspired above all by his great humanity and love of people. As the foremost leader of the Indian people in their resistance to the apartheid laws, he worked tirelessly for unity of action with the African majority whose liberation he saw clearly opening the way for true freedom and democracy for all South Africans irrespective of race, creed or colour. He was a life-long friend of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, whose unity he regarded as indispensable for the defeat of imperialism, the establishment and preservation of the independence of nations, and the defence of world peace.

Yusuf Dadoo, on the last day of his life, made a declaration in which he summed up the three motivating ideas of struggle which had guided him throughout his life:

"Firstly, the generation of the militancy of political struggle among the Indian people in the period after my return from London; secondly, as part of this process, the growth of consciousness for the urgent need for unity with the majority of the oppressed, the African people, which led to the unity in action of all oppressed and democratic forces; and thirdly, the development of class consciousness as an integral part, in fact the key, to creating a free, socialist South Africa."

But there were other factors which raised Comrade Dadoo to the greatest heights of leadership, and they were his enormous courage and determination, loyalty to his ideals and his comrades, party and people, and to the Soviet Union as the main bastion of revolutionary power and world transformation. Comrade Dadoo went to jail many times in his life. He never flinched and he never wavered. He was ready to give his life at any time. He was prepared for any sacrifice and indeed made many sacrifices for the cause he held most dear - the liberation of mankind. In his last moments he called on all his comrades to carry on where he was being forced to leave off and expressed his complete confidence in final victory.

We South African communists mourn the departure of our comrade chairman, a great leader and friend. We shall remember him with love. We shall never forget his example, We shall try to live up to the high standards of dedication, discipline and drive he has set. We pledge to fulfill his last wish to carry on the struggle for freedom and socialism in South Africa - for freedom, socialism and peace in the whole world. Like him we are convinced of final victory.



RED OUR COLOUR

*Let's have poems
blood-red in colour
ringing like damn bells*

*Poems
that tear at the oppressor's face
and his grip.*

*Poems that awaken man:
Life not death
Hope not despair
Dawn not dusk
New not old
Struggle not submission.*

*Poet
let the people know
that dreams become
reality.*

*Talk of freedom
and let the plutocrat
decorate his parlour walls
with the perfumed scrawls of dilettantes*

*Talk of freedom
and touch people's eyes
with the knowledge of the power
of multitudes
that twist prison bars like grass
and flattens granite walls like putty.*

*Poet
find the people
help forge the key
before the decade*

*eats decade
eats decade.*

- ANC KHUMALO

Cont. from Page 4

These were the years of the full-scale launching of the Hitler-style campaign to crush all militant opposition to brutal domination and exploitation. The Communist Party of South Africa was the first target of the hurriedly passed Suppression of Communism Act of 1950. The Party was forced to continue the struggle underground.

A conference was held in 1953 to mark the reconstitution of the CPSA as the South African Communist Party (SACP). Yusuf Dadoo was one of the delegates to this conference and was elected to the Central Committee. Moses Kotane was elected General-Secretary. This was no isolated event but a vital link in the chain of events which marked this decade as the fighting fifties. Its highlights, in which Dr. Dadoo featured prominently as a leader and activist were, among others: the 1950 May Day demonstration; the June 26, 1950 demonstration against state repression as manifested in the murder of 18 workers on May 1 and the banning of the CPSA. the 1952 Defiance Campaign against Unjust Laws; the setting up of the Congress Alliance which brought together the ANC, South African Coloured People's Congress, South African Indian Congress, Congress of Democrats (and SACTU joined in 1955) into united action against oppression; the historic Congress of the people which adopted the Freedom Charter on June 26, 1955. It was not by chance that the Congress of the People awarded Dr. Dadoo together with Chief Albert Luthuli and Trevor Huddleston the order of *Isitwalandwe/Seaparankoe*. Our people recognised and honoured the heroic contribution he had already made in our liberation struggle.

HAMBA KAHLE

ISITWALANDWE SEAPARANKOE

1909-1983



THE



»LET NO QUARTER BE GIVEN. WE MUST CONTINUE THE STRUGGLE TO THE BITTER END. VICTORY IS OURS!

THE ENEMY WILL BE CRUSHED».

In 1960 the SACP assigned Dr. Dadoo the task of creating an external apparatus and representing our struggling people internationally. By then the Pretoria fascist regime had also banned the ANC. Almost the entire leadership of our movement who also constituted the National High Command of Umkhonto we Sizwe, were arrested at Rivonia and sentenced to life imprisonment. Scores of other cadres were served with long prison terms.

Our movement was forced into a painful retreat. It was stalwarts like Bram Fischer, J.B. Marks, Moses Kotane, O.R. Tambo, Duma Nokwe and Yusuf Dadoo who continued to show the way forward and inspire our movement and people to fight on even during the dark moments.

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DEFIANCE CAMPAIGN





EXTRACTS FROM

COMRADE PRESIDENT

O.R. TAMBO'S ADDRESS

"HE DIED SPEAR IN HAND"

We are gathered here to pay homage to an outstanding leader of the African liberatory struggle, a comrade and friend who devoted most of his life in the service of his people, a communist of world prominence. A dedicated and convinced internationalist who has played an effective role in the anti-imperialist movement for world peace and security and for social progress of mankind.

He turned his abundant talents and inexhaustible energies to the arena of political action, to the struggle to resolve the fundamental question of political power and social justice in our country. With characteristic singleness of purpose, he pursued the question of struggle of all down-trodden to its logical conclusion. He worked tirelessly to get the Indian people to see the solution to their problem within the context of a broader national struggle involving Africans, so-called Coloureds and progressive whites.

It would be wrong to conceive Comrade Dadoo only as a leader of the Indian community of our population. He was one of the foremost national leaders of our country, of the stature of Chief Luthuli, Moses Kotane, J.B. Marks, Bram Fischer, Nelson Mandela and others. Equally it would be wrong to see him only in the context of political giants, for "Doc" was at home with the younger generation of comrades like Solomon Mahlangu, Simon Mogoerane and other youth militants, some of whom, like Mahlangu have already paid the supreme sacrifice for the just cause of our entire people. This accessibility flowed from his friendly nature and simple disposition.

His contribution as a member of the Revolutionary Council of the African National Congress cannot possibly be overstated. As chairman I make this vehemently without the slightest hesitation, without any reservation whatsoever. At the time of his death, Comrade Dadoo was serving as one of the vice-chairman of the ANC Politico-Military Council and has a distinct share in the escalating advances being scored by our struggle today. We can truly say of him: **He died spear in hand - like a true warrior.**

We owe it to stalwarts like him that today our vanguard liberation movement, the African National Congress, enjoys high international prestige as a genuine spokesman and leader of our people. It is against this background that Mota, characteristically devoted and dedicated his life to the revolutionary cause. Confident as ever of our inevitable victory he gave us all his farewell message: **The struggle must go on.**

We assure you Comrade Yusuf, the struggle will go on. Victory shall be ours. This grievous occasion brings us together less to mourn your tragic departure than to close ranks and advance united, to the completion of your unfinished task. We pledge this in the name of all the leaders of our movement including those incarcerated in enemy prisons. The entire fighting people, our country, our allies, and fellow combatants, our youth and Mk; the peoples of Southern Africa fighting in defence of their independence and sovereignty against Pretoria; our friends - the friends and supporters of our struggle. To his family and relations we express our sincerest condolences. The memory and example of Yusuf Mota Dadoo will continue to inspire us till final victory and beyond.

TSAMAEA HANTLE NGOANESO – QHAWE LAMAQHAWE, SEAPARANKOE!

»WE ARE INSPIRED...»

– LINDA LEWUSHANE

(MONCADA DETACHMENT)

To us young militants of the African National Congress and combatants of our people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and young fighting women, the memory of Doctor Yusuf Dadoo will always be a living symbol of our people's unity in the struggle for liberation. His call for unity has now spread inside our country.

Our leader has left us at a crucial time when our people are mobilising their forces to fight against the enemy's desperate attempts to divide and dominate us. We are inspired to witness how our people are grasping the lesson of Doctor Dadoo's life of striving for unity in action. We cannot fail to see that the sacrifices which our people's leaders like Doc have been making as far back as the 30's when the Non-European United Front was created, through the days of the 1947 *Dadoo-Xuma-Naicker Pact*, the 1952 Defiance Campaign against unjust laws are the foundation on which our people are building their unity today.

We fully realise that our goal of freedom will be won only when our people are united in action against our common enemy, the racist Pretoria regime.

We Mk combatants pledge that the spear which you died holding firmly will never fall. We have already seized it.

What you believed in, a new and peaceful South Africa; a world free from all forms of exploitation of man by man is what some young combatants of our army like Linda Jobane (Gordon Dikebu) have already died for.

He, (Linda) a young ANC and SACP militant fell in a single-handed battle against the racist enemy on the 21st of November, 1980. He is lovingly known in our ranks as the *Lion of Chiawelo*.

We Mk combatants assure you Doctor Dadoo that we will never rest until victory is ours.

AMANDLA! MAATLA!

JOE



SLOVO

“... HE COMFORTED US IN HIS VERY LAST HOUR”.

I became acquainted with Yusuf in the early Forties. But it is in the last twenty years of exile that I could claim not only his comradeship but also his friendship. And everything I learnt about the man in these twenty years emerged with such poignancy and vividness in a rare twenty minutes just a few hours before he died. I want you to share something of these moments.

Earlier he had lapsed into a coma from which it seemed he would not emerge. But clearly he had not finished what he had to do. Suddenly and unexpectedly the life in Yusuf started fighting back. He opened his eyes and started moving his head, looking at each of us in turn with a growing smile on his lips.

When he looked at me I raised my fist. His smile deepened and he began raising his own fist to each of us in turn. He then signalled with his hand that he wanted to write. He was to have attended the meeting of his Central Committee and he had, the previous day, dictated an apology and a most inspiring message of optimism to the meeting. He signed the message with a hand which was steady and flowing.

And then the words came back to him. He selected each of us in turn to say farewell and to inject us with the strength of commitment and struggle. Over and over again he said: “*You must never give up. You must fight to the end*”. And like the chairman that he was, he then looked at us and said: “*Any questions?*”

He called his daughter Roshan. He told her that death is part of life and that if you have fought until the end you can accept death; that others who continue with the struggle will continue with your life. He spoke to his wife Winnie about their companionship and good life together. In between he raised his fist with the words “*Amandla!*” on his lips. He spoke to his brother, sisters and sister-in-law in Gujarati. He clearly knew that he was in his last hour, and in that short rally everything we knew about Yusuf which made him into such a great figure and a warm, generous human being showed itself; his courage, his modesty, his humour, his sensitivity and, above all, his dedication to the revolutionary cause.

Yusuf then asked everyone to leave the room except his brother and me. And he talked to us about his funeral. He said ideally he would like to be buried in South Africa. He knew the authorities would not permit it, but he had the visions of his body being carried over the border as a last gesture of defiance. We must fight, even with our dead bodies, he said.

But he explained that such a course would be practically impossible and that he did not want to impose the burden of such a task on the movement. So, what he was telling us was the expression of his dream, his last blow at racism.

When the others came back the air was filled with laughter and relaxed communication. He seemed so much with us that I said: "Yusuf, what about a little Scotch?" With that shy, naughty smiling face he turned to the doctor who thought it was a wonderful idea.

Yusuf loved to hear singing and it was the regret of his life that he felt quite incapable of holding a tune. He suddenly said: "What about a song - Amajoni". We tried our tuneless best but he thought it was great and moved his hand with the rhythm.

And soon thereafter, as if he had done everything he wanted to do, he slowly relapsed into a coma and passed away a few hours later.

Who but Yusuf could have turned this moment of irreversible defeat into a victory of pure will? Who else could have turned such a moment of immense sadness into laughter, inspiration and song? We were there to comfort him and instead he comforted us in his very last hour.

HAMBA KAHLE, COMRADE DOC!

»... IN THE FORE-FRONT OF OUR BATTLE FOR FREEDOM».

— ZENZILE MEHLO

(MADINQGA DETACHMENT)

History would not regret if Reagan, Thatcher, Botha and Pinochet had died twenty years ago. But it is the wish of mankind that Karl Marx, Frederick Engels and Vladimir Ilyich Lenin lived to this day to witness the fruition of their work. Be it the Soviet people and the entire socialist community, the embattled working class in the capitalist countries, the toiling masses in the developing countries or those who are still fighting for national independence, the loss of these three great liberators of mankind is still felt with grief.

South Africa, too, has produced heroes in the likes of Comrade Yusuf Dadoo, fighters for freedom whom our fighting people cannot do without. From his youthful days till his heart ceased to beat, he was in the forefront of our battle for freedom. His contribution is immeasurably great.

Comrade Mota, as patriots and revolutionaries we are fully aware that the higher we advance the more difficult will be the way forward. But we shall not waver. As you once said when addressing the June 16 Detachment of our people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe six years ago: "We can see freedom over the horizon".

To emulate you Comrade Chairman, we the youth of the ANC, combatants of Umkhonto we Sizwe vow that nothing will stop the revolutionary advance in South Africa while we are still alive. Our Black, Green and Gold hoisted in various parts of South Africa in the face of fascist bullets will in the near future be raised forever in the land of our birth.

MAYIBUYE! i-AFRIKA!

Cont. from Page 11.

The 1962 Programme of the SACP which was adopted at an underground conference held in Johannesburg bears the imprint of Dr. Dadoo's valuable contribution. This programme is a giant step in the development and understanding of our liberation struggle and a reliable guide to action for all genuine patriots. It states in part:



Dr. Dadoo

“As its immediate and foremost task, the South African Communist Party works for a united front of national liberation. It strives to unite all sections and classes of oppressed and exploited people for a national democratic revolution to destroy white domination.

»THIS IS THE WAY...»

— OSBOURNE MALELE

(MONCADA DETACHMENT)

Our people's heroic leader has shown us through his life-struggle what it means to combine revolutionary ideas with practice. He gave himself heart and soul to the cause of his people and of the freedom and peace-loving mankind the world over. As a leader and fighter he was respected not only by the struggling people of South Africa but also by the international working class movement and the whole of progressive mankind.

We the youth in the fighting ranks of the African National Congress and Umkhonto we Sizwe are fortunate to have the opportunity of receiving comradely and fatherly guidance produced by the rich historical experience of the struggle of our people at home from such great leaders and heroes like Doctor Dadoo.

As we bid farewell to Doctor Dadoo, a big question confronts us: *How much advantage are we taking of the presence and nearness of our leadership?*

This is no question to be answered with good speeches. It is now high time that we account individually as to how far we are practically turning the teachings we receive from our leadership into action to ensure the liberation of our people. This is the way to pay tribute to our leader, Comrade Yusuf Dadoo.

**AMANDLA! MAATLA!
ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!**

The main content of this Revolution will be the national liberation of the African people. Carried to its fulfilment, this revolution will at the same time put an end to every sort of race discrimination and privilege. The revolution will restore the land and the wealth of the country to the people and guarantee democracy, freedom and equality of rights and opportunities to all."

At the historic 1969 Morogoro Conference of the ANC which, among other vital tasks, formulated and adopted our basic document, Strategy and Tactics of the ANC, adopted a comprehensive ana-

lysis of the Freedom Charter, decided upon the intergration of revolutionaries from the Indian, so-called Coloureds and white communities into the external mission of the ANC and reorganised the ANC. Dr. Dadoo was elected the Vice-chairman of the Revolutionary Council of the ANC. The main task of this council was to plan, organise and direct the intensification of our liberation struggle inside South Africa. In this sphere, too, Yusuf Dadoo selflessly served the cause of his people. This has become particularly clear in the post-Soweto period.

The SACP in its assessment of the situation following this great event pointed out that:

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»... IS NOT DEAD AND WILL NEVER DIE».

(JUNE 16 DETACHMENT)

— MINUS KGOSILE

I wish I had the fitting words to clearly express my feelings about the meaning of the life of Doctor Dadoo to the struggling millions of our people and their vanguard movement, the African National Congress, its allies and our people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe. He was an honest, simple and modest man who was not only our leader but also a loving father and friend. He was a great son of our people and internationalist, a true revolutionary who tirelessly fought all his life for the victory of the cause of the liberation of mankind.

At this moment one is inspired to repeat the touching words of one revolutionary character in Maxim Gorky's celebrated novel, *Mother*, who upon realising the death of a great comrade, the hero of the novel said:

"He is dead! What does it mean — 'dead'? What is dead? Is my respect for Yegor dead, or my love for him as a comrade, or my understanding of his ideas? Is the feeling he rouses in my heart disappeared, or my knowledge of him as an honest, courageous man? Is all that dead? For me it can never die".

Likewise all that Doctor Dadoo said and in the name of our cause of freedom is not dead and will never die. It will always inspire us all to battle till victory.

We in Umkhonto we Sizwe vow never to forget what Doctor Dadoo taught us throughout his life: *"You must never give up, you must fight to the end"*.

DON'T MOURN, MOBILISE, ORGANISE, FIGHT BACK!



AGAINST IMPERIALISM

An undeviating communist, Dr. Dadoo was a true internationalist. As his political activities show, he was a convinced fighter for a world free from all forms of exploitation of man by man, a new world of peace and prosperity for the whole of mankind.

As far back as the grim days of Nazi-Germany atrocities, represented in South Africa by degenerates like Malan and Oswald Pirow, Dr. Dadoo worked hand in hand with other leaders of our people to mobilise support for the Ethiopians who were attacked by the fascist Mussolini. They also rallied support for the Soviet Union which spear-headed the world progressive forces against the imperialist-bred Nazi barbarism. They organised strikes, demonstrations, protest meetings and wrote articles through fighting papers like the Guardian.

"Failure on the part of our liberation movement to respond effectively during the coming period will put at risk the high mood of militancy and lead to a demoralisation which will make it easier for the imperialist alliance to implement its plans for Southern Africa and for Vorster to successfully divert the formidable pressures which have built up inside our country.

Our liberation front clearly faces a historic challenge, and our Party, as part of this front, is called upon — as never before — to mobilise all its strength to help meet it."

The heightened fighting mood of our people and their tremendously growing level of political consciousness is to a certain extent, a measure of success made by our liberation movement both in the political and military fields of our struggle. This is also a testimony of the inexhaustible capacity of fighters for freedom like Dr. Dadoo to lead our people in action.

With the recent restructuring of the ANC to ensure the raising of the pace of our struggle, Yusuf Dadoo was elected one of the vice-chairmen of the politico-Military Council of the ANC.



Dr. Dadoo has also contributed in the gigantic effort to unite the world democratic forces in the struggle against imperialist domination. Some of these instances were during the Zionist imperialist aggression; the French colonial war against the people of Algeria; the CIA inspired murder of Patrice Lumumba; the massacres committed by Portuguese

colonialists against the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde; the genocidal war waged by the US against the Vietnamese people and the fight for world peace and disarmament.

In the process of such solidarity actions, leaders like Dadoo, Kotane, Marks, Mandela, Mbeki, Fischer, Tambo and many others helped to cultivate and develop a broad anti-imperialist outlook in our national liberation movement.



In the course of fulfilling his political tasks in the international arena, Dr. Dadoo has met and discussed with world acclaimed leaders such as Nheru, Nkrumar, Nasser, Marian Ngouabi, Mondlane, Cabral, Neto and Machel.

AN INTERNATIONALIST

He played an active role in the crucial activities of the international communist movement in which world peace occupies a special place. He visited a number of socialist countries, met and discussed with Party and State leaders including Georgi Dimitrov, Fidel Castro, Todor Zhivkov and Vo Nguyen Giap. On behalf of the SACP, he has also attended the Congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Socialist Unity Party of the German Democratic Republic, the Vietnam Workers' Party and other socialist countries.



These lines are only a glimpse of the life struggle of Dr. Dadoo. But they certainly show us what a rich and inspiring life he led. He now lies buried at the Highgate cemetery, a few metres from the greatest revolutionary thinker and politician of all times, Karl Marx, whose ideas inspired and guided Dr. Dadoo's life. Yet the story of his life continues to be told by the struggle of millions of the peace and freedom-loving people of our country.

Dadoo and Mandela in the Defiance Campaign.

Dadoo with the late Angolan President, Dr. Agostinho Neto.

Dadoo with the late Indian leader, Nehru.

Carrying a wreath with J.B. Marks in the Soviet Union

**DISCIPLINE IS
THE MOTHER
OF VICTORY**

