

DAWN Monthly Journal of Umkhonto we Sizwe



Walter Sisulu



Nelson Mandela



Ahmed Kathrada



Dennis Goldberg

STAND BY OUR LEADERS IN FASCIST DUNGEONS

DAWN

monthly journal of unkhonto we sizwe

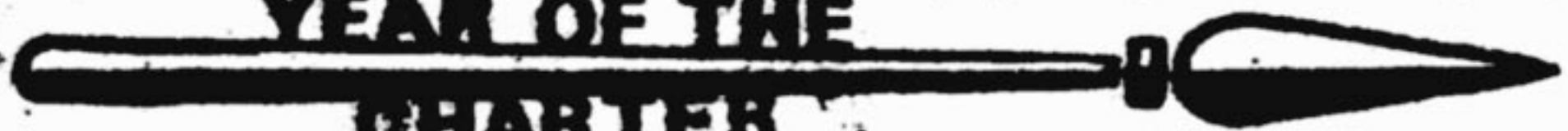
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YEAR OF THE
CHARTER





Editorial Comment

THE GREAT BETRAYAL

It was Comrade Duma Nokwe who first pointed out that Pantustans, with all their trimmings and promises of gold at the end of the rainbow, are a fraud, and those who have sold their souls to apartheid and its Pantustan policy are involved in the greatest betrayal in the history of the South African struggle, since 1912.

These are men who have taken up the position of the oppressor and have sold our people down the river, with the hope of turning them into the "wretched of the earth" and at the same time hope to be "black faces in white masks". But, let them measure the crown of apartheid one hundred times and still it won't fit our tooth.

Do they really believe that the masses are foolish and would never catch up with them? If that be the case, then they are living in a fool's paradise. One day the masses will get them and it will be too late to answer the question: "What did you think you were doing?"

Our people are today fighting for their own freedom inside the country because of their convictions that they must fight in order to liberate themselves, and the will to fight for this freedom is not a gift bestowed upon them by our revolutionary leadership, but a result of their own consciousness; a product of their own sufferings under the yoke of

apartheid which is now trying to spread its claws to the rest of the continent. Our leadership is the guidepost. It is they and all of us; who have the plan for social transformation.

"We have had enough of this", they cried in 1917 as they stormed the Tsar, and we, the toilers of our country under the inhuman system of apartheid today pledge: "Forward to a People's Government". "Power to the People".

These puppet leaders of the Bantustans had become stooges of apartheid with their eyes open and for the love of money - R100-million which Botha dangles before them in the form of what he terms 'development' fund for the 'Constellation of Southern African States'. All this is for the benefit of the oppressor and for the oppressed to take part in their own oppression. Independence is not a gift and there can never be any generosity of the oppressor to the oppressed. It is the oppressed who must stand on their own feet for their freedom so that they must find their manhood which we lost in 1652 when we gave our generosity to thieves and plunderers whom we had mistaken for the destitute and lost shipwrecked; and as our saying goes "generosity killed the river bird", meaning that kindness is a nuisance.

In "The Seeds of Disaster", John Laurence points out that the sudden announcement on 21st March, 1967, that Ovamboland in Namibia is to be given 'independence' was similarly an action carefully timed for maximum propaganda value, and thus not connected with considerations of freedom, justice and genuine autonomy for Namibians. And the type of 'independence' that Ovamboland or any other non-white ghetto in Namibia might ever achieve is shown clearly enough by the fate of the 'independent' Transkei. The Pretoria racist regime's real intentions in the case of the Ciskei, we might point out, can, in fact, be assessed with considerable accuracy from the indisputable facts surrounding the 'self-governing', Transkei, Venda-land and Bophuthatswana. In the same book, "The Seeds of disaster", the writer points out: "For instance, on 7th May, 1965, Mr M.C. Botha, Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration, said in Parliament in Cape Town: "Honourable members opposite must understand that in terms of our policy the Bantu might be present in the white areas to offer his labour but not to enjoy all sorts of privileges such as citizenship rights, political rights, social integration and so on".

As we have pointed out above, these Bantustan 'leaders' have taken up the position of the oppressor, by attempting to

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These Bastilles Must be Smashed

- Kevin Mosepedi

For whom do the bells toll in racist South Africa? These bells are tolling for those fascists who are keeping our leaders in prisons, dungeons which are nothing else but chambers of death and horrors where our leaders are being given slow-poison. They have already done so with Caleb Mayekiso whom they did to death on Robben Island. These Bastilles must be smashed with all our might.

Since the historic Rivonia Trial a campaign for the release of political prisoners was launched by the United Nations on October 11, 1963. The campaign at first demanded the withdrawal of charges against the Rivonia Trialists and their unconditional release and in 1978, October 11 was declared Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners, observed by all peace loving mankind.

In the period since then not only has the racist regime completely ignored the resolution but it has further intensified its fascist rule, with the murder of political detainees, life imprisonment. It has now stooped down to the murder of school-children, and the murder in cold blood of Comrade Solomon Mahlangu.



The racist regime banned the African National Congress in 1960, leaving our people leaderless. Comrade President Tambo was sent out before the state of emergency was declared in 1960 to form and man the external mission into a solid body which it is today.

Despite the banning, humiliations, blackmail and harassment of our tested leadership, the ANC under the hazardous,

clandestine existence in illegality, emerged the unbowed pinnacle of leadership for freedom in our country, much stronger and colossal - maintaining its historical roots in every house in South Africa, where it is now the burning spear where even children who do not know Comrade Mandela are holding the flagstaff of the release of political prisoners of the struggle. They are now deeply involved in emulating the Mandelas, Tambo and Sisulus during their youth days. These are the backbones of our struggle, born of history. Our President, Comrade O.R. Tambo, said:

"In South Africa a campaign of massive dimensions is in progress, in which the masses of the people throughout the country are demanding the release of political leaders, but specifically focussing on the African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela. It is a campaign which is part of the struggle of the people for a popular government; a campaign which is an expression of the demand for a transfer of power to the majority of the people of South Africa".

MANDELA

The fascist radio reported on the 11th April, 1980 that the Stellenbosch University students booted and clashed with the racist Prime Minister, P.W. Botha, where he was addressing a National Party meeting at the campus during a question and answer session when they questioned the tactics of the Prime Minister over the release of Nelson Mandela. One student pointed out to P i e t that Mandela only resorted to violence after a long peaceful struggle had failed.

For many years now, Nelson Mandela, other leaders and political prisoners have been languishing in the notorious Robben Island and will never be able to leave South Africa despite legislation which amended the Prison's Act. Even after sixteen years imprisonment, Mandela's presence still looms large on the South African political landscape. The racist Minister of Prisons in 1976, Jimmy Kruger, explained this when asked whether under the Prisons Amendment Act political prisoners will be allowed to leave South Africa.

Press speculation had it that certain political prisoners would be transferred to 'homelands'. In terms of a provision allowing the Minister to enter into agreement with "other governments in Africa" for prisoners sentenced in South Africa



Billy Nair -



Dorothy Nyembe -



Herman Ja Toive - SWAPO

to be detained in those countries.

The long title of the Act showed that such provision could be sought, but Kruger replied that not in the case of Comrade Mandela and others.

This campaign is part of the huge struggle that is sweeping the whole country in which the whole progressive mankind is taking part. This month it was even highlighted by African writers attending a seminar in Frankfurt.

We maintain that as the struggle develops more sacrifices will be made. The weak will fall aside and traitors will burst out of their shells as history is already forcing them to come out in the open as we have witnessed during this decade of the eighties. The stout hearts are remaining firm.

Secretary-General, Alfred Nzo, made it clear in his June 26 statement:

"Those who place themselves in the path of the struggling masses shall inevitably be swept away together with their racist masters whom they serve. In our region that is a lesson which has been confirmed in the recent past by the victories of FRELIMO, the MPLA and the Patriotic Front alliance in Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe respectively. South Africa will be no exception! Indeed the very same lesson is being confirmed in Namibia today".

MEN OF JUSTICE NOT TO BLAME



(The following statement was issued by Chief Luthuli on June 12, 1964 following the sentencing of the eight Rivonia trialists to life imprisonment. The statement was read at the Security Council of the United Nations meeting.)

Sentences of life imprisonment have been pronounced on Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada, Govan Mbeki, Dennis Goldberg, Raymond Mhlaba, Elias Motsoaledi and Andrew Mlangeni in the "Rivonia trial" in Pretoria.

Over the long years these leaders advocated a policy of racial co-operation, of goodwill, and of peaceful struggle that made the South African liberation movement one of the most ethical and responsible of our time. In the face of the most bitter racial persecution, they resolutely set themselves against racialism; in the face of continued provocation, they consistently chose the path of reason.

The African National Congress, with allied organizations representing all racial sections, sought every possible means of redress for intolerable conditions, and held consistently to a policy of using militant, non-violent means of struggle. Their common aim was to create a South Africa in which all South Africans would live and work together as fellow-citizens.

enjoying equal rights without discrimination on grounds of race, colour or creed.

To this end, they used every accepted method: propaganda, public meetings and rallies, petitions, stay-at-home-strikes, appeals, boycotts. So carefully did they educate the people that in the four-year-long Treason Trial, one police witness after another voluntarily testified to this emphasis on non-violent methods of struggle in all aspects of their activities.

AVENUES CLOSED

But finally all avenues of resistance were closed. The African National Congress and other organisations were made illegal; their leaders jailed, exiled or forced underground. The government sharpened its oppression of the peoples of South Africa, using its all-white Parliament as the vehicle for making repression legal, and utilising every weapon of this highly industrialised and modern state to enforce that 'legality'. The stage was even reached where a white spokesman for the disenfranchised Africans was regarded by the Government as a traitor. In addition, sporadic acts of uncontrolled violence were increasing throughout the country. At first in one place, then in another, there were spontaneous eruptions against intolerable conditions; many of these acts increasingly assumed a racial character.

VIOLENT METHODS

The African National Congress never abandoned its method of a militant, non-violent struggle, and of creating in the process a spirit of militancy in the people. However, in the face of the uncompromising white refusal to abandon a policy which denies the African and other oppressed South Africans their rightful heritage - freedom - no one can blame brave just men for seeking justice by the use of violent methods; nor could they be blamed if they tried to create an organised force in order to ultimately establish peace and racial harmony.

For this, they are sentenced to be shut away for long years in the brutal and degrading prisons of South Africa. With them will be interred this country's hopes for racial co-operation. They will leave a vacuum in leadership that may only be filled by bitter hate and racial strife.

They represent the highest in morality and ethics in the South African political struggle; this morality and ethics has been sentenced to an imprisonment it may never survive. Their

policies are in accordance with the deepest international principles of brotherhood and humanity; without their leadership, brotherhood and humanity may be blasted out of existence in South Africa for long decades to come. They believe profoundly in justice and reason; when they are locked away, justice and reason will have departed from the South African scene.

This is an appeal to save these men, not merely as individuals, but for what they stand for. In the name of justice, of hope, of truth and of peace, I appeal to South Africa's strongest allies, Britain and America. In the name of what we have come to believe Britain and America stand for, I appeal to those two powerful countries to take decisive action for full-scale action for sanctions that would precipitate the end of the hateful system of apartheid.

I appeal to all governments throughout the world, to people everywhere, to organisations and institutions in every land and at every level, to act now to impose such sanctions on South Africa that will bring about the vital necessary change and avert what can become the greatest African tragedy of our times.

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have our people in taking part in their own oppression. These ambitious men own mansions and hotels and could even manage to book expensive hotel rooms at the expense of the masses and have the audacity to boast about this as their way of life.

The African National Congress took the initiative in 1912 in acting to transform the society that has denied the people the opportunity of participation.

The formation of the ANC resulted from direct engagement in the struggle to free our people for the creation of a new South Africa. It is a struggle for freedom and justice, fighting to regain our manhood with an art of the people's war as our oppression has been maintained with the barrel of the gun. That is the reason why in 1961 we decided to take to arms - refusing to take part in our own oppression, perpetrated by a society that believes that we are sub-human. We are going to show them that we are human beings by smashing their genocidal system and build a new South Africa along the lines of the Freedom Charter.

A GLANCE AT CISKEI

- Zampi Ntshona

- * The announcement that the Ciskei is to be granted 'independence' by the racist regime of Pretoria is an action carefully timed for maximum propaganda value, and thus little concerned with considerations of freedom in South Africa. And the type of 'independence' that the Ciskei or any other Bantustan might ever achieve is shown clearly enough by the fate of the 'independent' Transkei, Venda and Bophuthatswana.
- * This is part of Botha's 12-point plan which comprises his "Total Strategy", against our liberation struggle, in collaboration with puppets.
- * The preparation of granting 'independence' to the Ciskei Bantustan is done in an atmosphere of massive resistance by the people throughout the country and right in the Ciskei itself. Students and school-children have been boycotting classes for months. In one incident a school-child was murdered by the police and one policeman died.
- * The puppet Chief Lennox Sebe himself was forced to admit: "The situation is escalating".



- * When foreign journalists visited one of the "Settlement Camps" called Dimbaga people said to them: "Go tell the world that we are starving".
- * A report in the "Daily News", 4th September, 1980 states: "The Ciskei is bone dry, almost totally jobless and heart-breakingly poor. It is the saddest place I have visited".
- * During a medical symposium held in Mdantsane Township near East London in July the director of Ciskei Health Services, Dr. Bikitsha, pointed out that while South Africa was celebrating "one of the biggest maize harvests in years, starvation and death of man and beast has struck" the Eastern Cape.
- * Ciskei is a health hazard. Dr. Trudi Thomas, talking in Mdantsane about the condition of children, said: "Most were stunted just like mealie plants in a drought-stricken field. Most children are suffering from diseases caused by malnutrition. The adults too, are hit by diseases like



pellagra. To make matters worse, in most places there is no hospitals or clinics".

- * The bantustans are extensions of the regime's repressive machinery. The Ciskei Intelligence chief, Charles Sebe, brother of Lennox Sebe, was groomed by BOSS which is now National Intelligence Service (NIS). Men from the Ciskei are now serving the racist Defence Force in the 'operation areas', to fight against their countrymen who are fighting for their liberation.

- * Lennox Sebe recently went to Britain where he met members of the Conservative and Labour Parties; bank-

ers and industrialists on a sinister errand designed by his masters. Britain accommodated him. We need not say anything because we know what is being planned.

- * The Bantustan puppets of Ciskei led by Lennox Sebe know very well that the Bantustan fraud is genocidal. It is only to further their selfish interests that they take the orders from their racist masters.
- * Thus we see that the Botha-Malan regime is not at all prepared to pay heed to the plight of the black people which the racists have created themselves. All they are interested in is to see to it that these Bantustans further their aims.

MK Combatant Looks at Oil Sanctions

When DAWN had a surprise interview with MK combatant, Comrade Fanie Tello recently on the prospects of oil sanctions against the Pretoria racist regime, which have now been strengthened by nine OPEC member states, he replied: "Oil is the lifeblood of any industrialised country and South Africa is no exception in this".

Comrade Fanie pointed out that there can be no political power without economic power. That the economy of the racists will come to a standstill and it would be impossible for them to carry on their vicious rule against our people. "Therefore, effective oil sanctions against the regime will contribute much in bringing nearer the day of liberation", he said.

"Yes, our people have been greatly moved by the attack on SASOL Oil plants. The attack itself demonstrated that the racist regime is not invincible as many operations have displayed before and it showed clearly the strength of our People's Army. Through the attack, we have given an impetus to the oil sanctions movement. We have actually imposed our oil sanctions against the Pretoria regime.

"As Comrade President O.R. Tambo called on our people at the beginning of the year to mark the Year of the Freedom Charter through mass actions, developments inside the country

show how much work has been done by our underground machinery to mobilise the people and now we see the people respond to the call by their vanguard, the African National Congress. The fact that our people have begun striking at oil installations after the SASOL attack shows clearly the extent to which our operations mobilise the people. The people now show their understanding of who the enemy is and where his strength lies. Our operations are really a mobilising factor. For instance if we look at the events that were sparked off by the Silverton attack. In the first place, the turn out by people at the funerals of the Silverton heroes was so much that the enemy was thrown into total bewilderment. The people shouted that those Freedom Fighters were not terrorists but heroes. The Silverton Trio sacrificed their lives demanding the release of Comrade Nelson Mandela and all our leaders and political prisoners incarcerated in the racist dungeons and this sparked off the present "RELEASE MANDELA CAMPAIGN."

1980—a giant step forward

This is an extract from an interview given by Comrade President O.R. Tambo to VOW (Voice of Women) - quarterly magazine of the ANC Women's Section.

"Indeed 1980 is the **YEAR OF THE CHARTER**, a Year whose purposes are central to the future of our country. Chief Luthuli once said where there is no vision, the people perish! And perish we would if we had no vision. But we have a vision of all our people, black and white, living together in harmony with one another and working side by side to build what is after all a **c o m m o n** motherland. During the Year of the Charter, we have put forward the call - **Forward to a People's Government!** This is the key and decisive question of our struggle, the translation of the vision into reality contained in the Freedom Charter that: **"THE PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN"**. The Year of the Charter should see all our people uniting around the call - **Forward to a People's Government.** It should there-

fore see our people rejecting in their entirety the oppressive and racist constitutional proposals that have been put forward by the Botha regime. It should see our people engaged in action to demolish the whole so-called separate development programme, including its Bantustans, community councils, advisory councils and so on. It was indeed timely and correct that the masses of the people should, during this year, have taken up with such vigour and determination the call for the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners.



"By so doing we are in fact saying we are committed to the formation, in our country and in our lifetime, of a genuinely popular government. Who else should serve in such a government but Nelson, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Ahmed Kathrada, Elias Motsoaledi, Dorothy Nyembe, Dennis Goldberg, Theophilus Cholo and others! Who else but they because they are where they are today, in prison, because their patriotism drove them to struggle exactly for the birth of a genuine government of the people. It is an unquestionable fact that today the one vision that has gripped the minds and hearts of our people is the vision projected by the Freedom Charter.

"Botha knows this. So do others such as the defenders of the Bantustan system and the proponents of reformism. This is precisely what has led to all the talk you see in South Africa today of new dispensations, multi-national conferences and what have you. In terms of our struggle the Year of the Charter therefore means that through our actions we must ensure that the initiative passes into our hands, the hands of the masses of our people, of the broad movement for national emancipation. This is happening already with regard to the question - what kind of South Africa do we want? It is happening also with regard to the question what battles we must fight, where, when and with what means, to bring about the kind of South Africa for which Nelson Mandela and all our leaders and comrades were and are prepared to sacrifice their lives.

"The Year of the Charter marks a watershed in the development of our struggle and our country, the period during which

for the first time since we were colonised, the principal element of the South African reality is not what the racist white minority says or does but what the democratic majority says and does. This means that during the Year of the Charter, having built on the advances we have scored in previous years, we have taken a giant step forward which has brought us closer than ever before to the day when the Freedom Charter will constitute the programme of the government of the day".

SILVERTON TRIO

Was it not love
For the people
For the motherland
Impelling these men
So young, so daring
To pay with their all
A price for liberty
A price for the motherland?
That crimson jewel of youth
To forfeit for freedom's cause
For peace, for People's Power!
Their blood precious
In that fortress of racism -
A thunderous roar
The harbinger of flames
Of fire and lightning -
The might of the People's War.

They knew the cruel pangs
Of fascist colonial slavery,
And,
They knew the glorious meaning
Concealed by blatant vice and cowardice
To those that betray the people's cause!
The meaning of the motherland usurped.
The cause of the oppressed
For whose sake
Man, woman and child
In the thickets of this crucible
Have lived and died.
This trio

The generation of Isandlwana
Minds red to retrieve
The birthright so heinously usurped
By those alien to freedom and peace.

These the children of the Spear
Rising from the abyss of June 16 genocide
Rising to the summits of Ukhahlamba
Beckoning all
M o t h e r s
F a t h e r s
C h i l d r e n

Beckoning all patriots of the motherland
To the morrow bright
Where birds chirp
Anthems for the liberated land,
The flora crowned
With sparkling rays
Of the rising sun
The sound of the tom-tom drums
Children dance to freedom song
The Government of the People
The liberated South Africa.

These the gallant three
Peers of Mahlangu, Mange
Whom Mini, February, Mdluli
Forbear.

These the martyrs of the motherland
Nourishing this tree
Palpable, young and pure
This spring surging up with force
To that inevitable summer blossom
The consummation of this struggle
This revolution for the toiling many
Our fathers - the workers - the people
Who shall share in the country's wealth,
The heritage of the people.

Woe unto the vultures!
The jackals with sharp teeth
That dared to trample upon
The yearnings and hopes
Of the people who freedom adore.

That dared to spill our blood
To rend the heart which
For centuries peace has not known!
For now the Spear has struck the knell:
Those that rule by the gun
Must so be vanquished!

The People shall Govern!

- Johannes Molefe

Human Touch

- Sunrise

**ALEX LA GUMA -
SOUTH AFRICAN WRITER**

The Great October Socialist Revolution crumpled the clay foundations of an old empire to dust and the waves created by its collapse spread far and wide, touching and changing the lives of millions all over the world. For the first time in history the oppressed classes of a country seized power to build a new kind of state.

The shock waves of this Revolution did not fail to stir those who inhabited the colonial countries. The first demonstrations of support for the actions of the revolutionaries were made by the Senegalese troops of the French Army stationed in Rumania. Units among them refused to take part in suppressing Soviet power in Russia.

AN APPEAL FOR REASON

Our action at Sasolburg on June 1 this year was an appeal for reason and not bloodshed. It was an appeal to the international community to see the light in our struggle and carry out sanctions against South Africa to bring that regime to its knees so that mankind should not have another war on its hands. We are still calling upon these countries to stop supporting the Pretoria regime.

As the President of our people's organisation, the African National Congress, Comrade O.R. Tambo put it at Ikr-Es-Salaam at the time: "Such operations could not have been carried out from outside. It was by our people inside the country". So

why did they put the blame on Zambia and Maputo? Such are the acts of desperate men. Bitten by mosquitos inside their own house, they blame a camel which is far away.

GEORGE BERNARD SHAW 1856 - 1950

ENGLISH PLAYWRIGHT

But in 1917 an astonishing thing happened. The Russian soldiers said: "we have had enough of this", and came straight home. They formed bodies of workmen and soldiers called Soviets; and they raised the cry of "All Power to the Soviets". The government of the Tsar, which was as rotten as it was abominably tyrannical, collapsed like a house of cards.

Lenin was at their head together with others who had a plan of social reconstruction.

ONE RACE - THE HUMAN RACE

Kay Beauchamp tells us that West Indian Kelso Cochrane was killed in 1958 in Notting Hill, England, when violent attacks on black people took place, "some of us, Black and White, stood in Portobello Market with placards which read, "One Race - The Human Race". That slogan has been used thousands of times since. Is it just a pleasant-sounding slogan to which we attach little meaning? For many who think they are anti-racists it may be just that. To us it is much more. "Racism is one of the most explosive factors in the world today. The whole of Southern Africa is rent by efforts of white people to maintain their position of white domination and privilege over the majority who are black".

Race in Human Society.
Liberation - London.

CHIEF LUTHULI

"The length of term of slavery depends largely on the oppressed themselves and not the oppressor... We have the key to freedom - not the oppressor. It all depends on how much we sacrifice ourselves for freedom. We determine the pace not the oppressor".

MENGISTU HAILE MARIAM

There has not been, nor can there be, anything more dear for the Ethiopian revolutionaries than the interests of the broad masses. The sacrifices they made to the altar of the revolution are nothing compared with the age-old sufferings and

misfortunes borne by the people during the epoch of feudal-landowners' domination.

We believe that our revolution, based on Marx's theory and guided by Lenin's theoretical and practical ideas, has made its small contribution to the creative development of Leninism. The Ethiopian revolution, following the path of the national democratic revolution scientifically substantiated in Lenin's works, develops and deepens, to the point of its conversion into a socialist revolution. This means that in the course of time communism will become a reality in our country. A guarantee of this is the support given to the Ethiopian revolutionaries by the masses of the toiling people.

1933 AND FASCISM

Things began to change the British outlook in the spring of the year 1933. Costly change. There occurred an event which profoundly altered the whole situation of the civilised world. Fascism was given power in Germany: was given power, that is to say, in the heart of Europe, in one of the great, advanced, industrial nations of the world.

Fascism proclaims a society rigidly and eternally divided into social classes, the one governing, educated, economically secure, with all the resources of civilisation at its command; the other, governed, poor and dedicated to a life of unthinking and unhoping toil.

The masses must at all costs be driven to the unquestioning acceptance of lives of unrelieved drudgery - to that slumber out of which the thunder of the great machines awake the peoples of the world. The first characteristic to catch the eye of the fascist observer is beyond doubt its extreme nationalism.

DIE BURGER 8 APRIL 1965

"South Africa's ultimate strength lies in her ability to unleash international difficulties of which the end cannot be foreseen"

WRITING FOR DAWN

The ability to write an article which could be published in DAWN can only come from practice. If you read and write and work hard at it. The sooner the practice begins, therefore, the better.

The essence of English work consist not so much in reading from a textbook on how to write, as in practice in writing. As one English writer puts it: "True ease in writing comes from

art, not chance".

The article for DAWN should form a unity, each idea leading clearly and logically to the next in continuous sequence.

Everything in the article must be to the point; there must be nothing irrelevant to the main conception. The article should be properly proportioned, each topic receiving its due share of attention and no more. We are delighted by a 500-word article and also give first preference to a 1,000-word article. If you can give us this; what a good Comrade you would be!

NINETY DAYS

"For the first fifty-six days of my detention in solitary I changed from a mainly vertical to a mainly horizontal creature. A black iron bedstead became my world. It was too cold to sit, so I lay extended on the bed, trying to measure the hours, the days and the weeks, yet pretending to myself that I was not. The mattress was lumpy; the grey prison blankets were heavy as tarpaulins and smelt of mouldy potatoes. I learned to ignore the swell and to wriggle round the bumps in the mattress. Seen from the door the cell had been catacomblike, claustrophobic. Concrete-cold. Without the naked electric bulb burning, a single yellow eye in the centre of the ceiling, the cell would have been totally black; the bulb illuminated the grey dirt on the walls which were painted black two-thirds of the way up. The remaining third of the cell wall had been white once; the dust was a dirty film over the original surface. The window, high in the wall above the bedstead, triple thick barred, again and meshed, with a sticky black soot on top of all three protective layers, was a closing, not an opening. Three paces from the door and I was already at the bed.

"Yet, I told myself, I was subjected to no beating, no physical pain. The passage of time in anxiety was painful, and my ulcer was the recording instrument of that discomfort. But theoretically one could endure for years like this, in cold storage, with the pulse reduced. I was determined to endure the first spell of ninety days, and then make a further adjustment to whatever came after that. It would be ignominious to be defeated by enforced solitude and those inept, boorish inquisitors of the Nationalists. Any weakening to them would be a waste of the unending days spent holding out against them. I would accommodate myself to life in the Pretoria cell as I had done in Marshall Square, now John Vorster Square."

FOR BRAM FISCHER

(ON RECEIVING THE LENIN PEACE PRIZE)

This time has known no peace, not yet
e x c e p t
the final brutal unsought peace of death
the pulsing city
changed to silent catacomb
the breathing country
sterile, ploughed
by whining bombs -
which smear the name of peace
and till a soil of blood and shattered bone.
Is there no rest or brotherhood this side of the endless graves
- those monuments to love too slowly felt?

Or is there peace
within the bloody womb of war
waiting to be born?

We know your creed
- that you believe in man
in man who struggled from the primal slime
a n d f e l l
and struggled up again...
in man whose anger is the other part of love
who smashes what he builds
to build again...
w h o f a l l s
because he climbs
w h o d i e s
that men might live

This is your fight:
that other men might have the right to peace.

For this belief in man
men have honoured you.

We t o o .

-David Evans.

ARGENTINA-UNITY IS THE KEY

Juan Carlos

Argentina's 26 million people live in a huge country stretching from the arid northern Andes mountains, through tropical forests to southern-most Antarctica: wide plains and snow y mountain peaks. It is a country with vast natural resources: oil in Patagonia, rich fishing, well developed agriculture and livestock, a strong mining sector and considerable industrialisation employing millions of workers. But all the wealth is only going to fatten the imperialist monopolies, particularly yankee firms. Why? We must go back to the colonial period when Spain, in search of new markets, discovered huge resources of raw materials in America. The Spanish Vice Roy established his bloody rule over the Rio de la Plata (Plate River) by savage massacres of the indigenous peoples who waged heroic struggles against the invaders. Examples are the heroic wars of resistance by the enslaved: the Tupac Amaru uprising in present day Peru and the Campolican revolt in present day Chile.

INDEPENDENCE WON

With the construction of ports to encourage trade a class of Creole traders gradually emerged with interests conflicting with those of Spain and after the outbreak of the French Revolution the Creole traders turned to revolutionary ideas. At the same time, the British tried to seize Buenos Aires, the Argentinian capital in 1806 as part of the Napoleonic wars underway in Europe. The people resisted fiercely while the Spanish Vice Roy fled, but the British advance was defeated. Four years later, on May 25th, 1810 independence from Spain was declared. Thereafter a fierce war raged against the royalists who were finally defeated by an alliance between patriotic progressive forces and the liberal bourgeoisie plus a small oligarchy which today has become the nation's main enemy.

BIRTH OF PROLETARIAT

Throughout the 19th century the country experienced bloody wars in which thousands of peasants died, in unconscious defence of their bosses' interests - their bosses' lands. But from the

second half of the 19th century onwards, English capital began flowing into the country bringing industrialisation and the emergence of a proletariat, struggling under conditions of harsh exploitation of their labour. By the end of the century workers' struggles had begun with the forming of trade unions.

The First of May was duly celebrated in 1905 and the savage repression of the workers' May Day Parades signalled the start of a long history of persecution of the people's movement in our country. The First World War saw a flood of immigrants entering the cities and the countryside, strengthening the proletariat.

REFORMS

Major social reforms were won at this stage and the turn of the century major political parties were formed. From the Socialist Party the Communist Party was founded on the 5th January, 1918. During the twenties the Radical Party was launched by strong petty-bourgeoisie. In 1930 came the first of a series of military coups, "smelling of oil and Yankee kais". And from then onwards, Yankee imperialism took over from the British and embarked on the most barefaced exploitation of our country's wealth in the whole course of our history. The people reacted by taking to the streets organised in their vanguard movement, in their trade unions and in their political parties; and there was fierce repression. People's resistance against their exploitation grew.

PERONISM

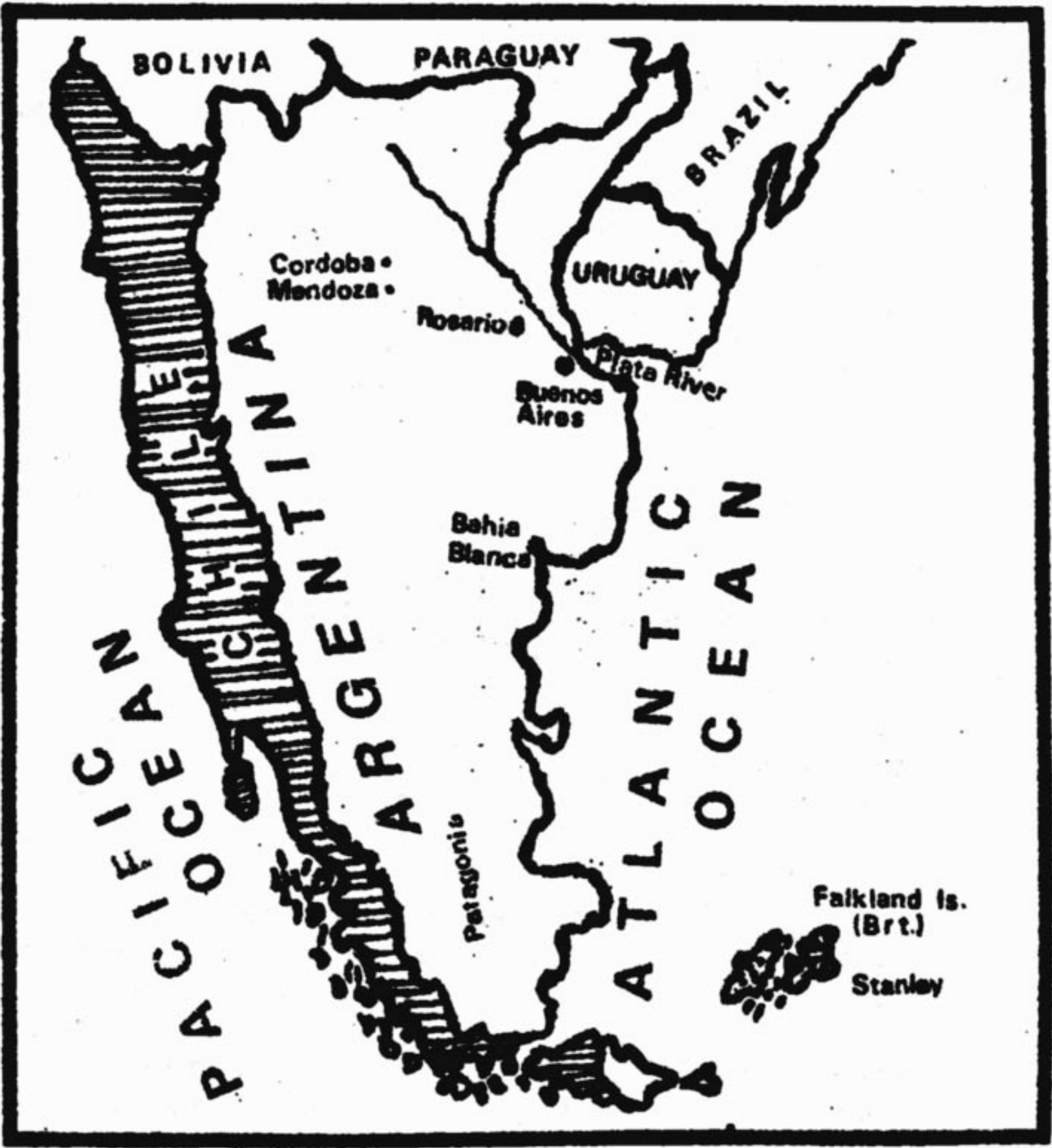
In 1945 a new political movement was born - Peronism - the expression of nationalist but vacillating bourgeoisie, scared by the advance of the mass struggle, but equally impatient with imperialist domination: they wanted more for themselves. Peronism rose in the midst of new inflows of European immigrants, and an exodus from the countryside to the towns. His government set about reinforcing trade union structures and creating a strong labour bureaucracy which has survived to defend the bosses' interests to this day. The Peron government then turned to increasing state control over national life (but not over the means of production) and finally turned savagely against all types of mass struggle engaged in fighting for better standards of living. Thousands of peronists, communists and others ended up in jail for defending the workers' interests.

Reactionary forces saw the rising tide of workers' organisation as the main danger and unleashed the bloody coup of

1955 when the masses gathered to demand weapons to defend the government and were bombed and shelled by war-planes and tanks while the President fled to neighbouring Paraguay. Coup after coup followed during which imperialism tightened its hold over the country, particularly over its petroleum resources while occasionally democratic governments came to power they failed to deal with the CIA or with its civilian and military stooges.

CORDOBA UPRISING

Meanwhile anti-imperialist mobilisation was growing and the mass of peronist supporters became increasingly radical and left-wing. With mass struggle advancing, came the 1966



coup against a hopelessly weak and ineffective but radical government. The new rulers immediately launched a wave

of repression but in spite of these savage methods the masses rose and in May, 1969, launched the largest mass uprising in our history, in the city of Cordoba. Genuine working class leaders led the revolt which saw Peronists, radicals, christians and communists join the mass of working people showing that unity in struggle is a concrete possibility. Hundreds of officers and soldiers were arrested for refusing to obey orders and put down the uprising, proof of the contradictions that existed within the ranks of the armed forces.

Uprisings spread to all major cities in the country and just as it seemed that unity was to be won, the government declared elections would be held, promising Peron could return from his eighteen years of enforced exile in Spain.

CIA INVOLVEMENT

On May 25, 1973, a Peron government once again took power but the people had known eighteen years of struggle in the meantime. A progressive electoral platform was only beginning to be put into practice when reactionary forces both inside and outside the government went into action. Prime Minister, Campora was sacked and the electoral platform sabotaged, while the first of a wave of secret kidnappings of workers' leaders and politicians began. Almost immediately guerrilla groups formed to counter these kidnappings and only succeeded in increasing the confusion and thrusting the armed forces into a more repressive role, isolating the working masses who stood by and watched group warfare in which they had no role to play. Assassinations increased, as did arrests, kidnappings and there was growing paralysis on the side of the mass of workers, which tragically cut short the growth of the democratic movement that had been pushing the country towards a more democratic future.

The main responsibility lies with the CIA which had been busily working to destabilise the popular government. The CIA was aided by its fascist allies inside and outside the armed forces, faithful stooges for the foreign monopolies and the national oligarchy, the country's main enemy.

With Peron's death, violence, economic crisis, unemployment and inflation all soared. Isabel Peron (Peron's wife), her 'Prime Minister' Lopez Rega turned against the remnants of the more democratic forces in the government. Assassinations and violence increased both from the extreme right (paramilitary and parapolice forces) and from the extreme left (Montoneros, ERP), isolated from the mainstream of political struggle and simply producing ever greater repression. Attacks against military figures became a daily event whether or not

they had identified with repression, and kidnappings of politicians, trade unionists and clergy grew. In the midst of this, the working masses, isolated and neglected, saw the Prime Minister flee the country. Isabel's government fell without resistance on March 24, 1976. What has happened since is the consequence of the taking of power by an army whose only unity lay in overthrowing her government.

It was impossible to have avoided a coup since there was no popular support for Isabel's government and the political parties were strongly divided. Under the military government, the fascists once again went into action with thousands of people mysteriously 'disappearing': nothing is known of them even today. Some have reappeared and some political prisoners have been freed thanks to pressure from political parties, unions, churches and international solidarity. Today workers' action against the government's economic policies is growing. But until now, despite frequent promises of political reforms no conditions have been created for democratising the country, reappearance of the kidnapped, a change in economic policy which is just bringing hunger to the poor, the end of restrictions on trade union and political activities, etc.

The political parties are working increasingly towards a united front while contradictions within the armed forces are growing (there have been a number of abortive fascist coups).

UNITED FRONT

This is the complex position: imperialist and reactionary forces see the writing on the wall, and fear they may lose their dominant positions because of the rising tide of workers' struggle for better living standards and for democracy.

Only united action on a truly national platform against the fascists can turn the present situation in a positive direction. Civilians and military patriots together can thrust the country onto the progressive course that will open the way to democracy, full development so long denied our exploited country. There must be dialogue and unity between the civilians and the military in struggle against the people's enemy.

MOTHER OF VICTORY

One of the crucial issues discussed by our youth and students during the ANC Summer School was the question of fostering revolutionary discipline among our youth as an important fact in our struggle for national and social liberation. We publish an extract of a paper headed "DISCIPLINE IS THE MOTHER OF VICTORY", presented at the Summer School on behalf of the African National Congress unit in Algeria.

If the development of revolutionary political consciousness determines the form and organisation of our political choice and revolutionary morality gives it its intellectual and 'spiritual' content, then revolutionary discipline is what determines the behaviour of the revolutionary in his quest for the realisation of this political choice.

REGULATOR

Discipline is the regulator of human behaviour. The revolutionary's moral self-consciousness or his awareness of personal responsibility for his behaviour and his course of action in the struggle is what we can call revolutionary discipline. It depends upon the awareness of the revolutionary of his/her personal obligations and personal responsibilities in the attainment of a just society, to the extent to which it is related to social life, in work and everyday relations.

It is in the exercise of revolutionary discipline that one is able to maintain a spirit of initiative and independence. This is so because revolutionary discipline implies 'auto' or 'self' discipline that one finds necessary to impose on oneself in the pursuit of a higher goal. In the case of a revolutionary this 'auto-discipline' derives from the sum total of his experiences as an oppressed being, having acquired a political consciousness, and now engaged in revolutionary activity to bring about liberation. Consequently we find that revolutionary discipline is determined by concrete material and historical criteria on one hand, and by a revolutionary programme of a given organisation on the other hand. As opposed to mystically and irrationally motivated disciplines, revolutionary

discipline is the subverting of the interests of the individual to the interests of the oppressed masses, in their struggle for a just society. In one of his first speeches to the Youth League after the Great October Socialist Revolution, Lenin said:

"We are replacing the old drill-sergeant methods practised in bourgeois society, against the will of the majority, with the class-conscious discipline of the workers and peasants, who combine hatred of the old society with a determination, ability and readiness to unite and organise their forces for this struggle so as to forge the will of millions of people-disunited, and scattered over territory of a huge country- into a single will, without which defeat is inevitable. Without this solidarity, without this conscious discipline of the workers and peasants, our cause is hopeless".

MEASURE

Revolutionary discipline for us differs from the fascist 'drill-sergeant' methods practised in South African society because it is not imposed from the outside. It is the self-imposed discipline of the militant determined by the height of his political consciousness and the extent to which he is committed to the overthrow of the oppressor. There is only one criterion by which one can measure the commitment of a militant in a revolutionary movement, and that is sacrifice in the broader interests of the revolution, of the demands of the revolutionary struggle. This sacrifice can only be based on revolutionary theory. "Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary practice."

In revolutionary practice this 'regiment' type of discipline cannot be relevant for us because in our struggle it is the "political and not /the/ military leadership that must remain supreme. This political predominance finds its expression in a revolutionary movement that gives direction for action. We are not blind followers of the chauvinistic doctrine of 'my country first'; right or wrong" which is so typical of so-called western democracies. Our analysis is based on the economic, political and historical realities of the two fundamental features of the socio-economic structures of South Africa - race and class, that we are able to see in the growth of the ANC and the SACP the manifestations and link of the national aspira-

rations of the black working class.

The revolutionary process taking place in our country will therefore entail a qualitative leap forward. But this leap forward "is fraught with many dangers for the revolutionary. In this regard Lenin sounds an important note of caution.

"... in our present life reckless audacity goes hand in hand, to an astonishing degree, with timidity or thought even where it comes to very minor changes. I think that this has happened in all really great revolutions, between the old, and the very abstract striving for the new, which must be so new as not to contain the tiniest particle of the old. And the more abrupt the revolution; the longer will many of these contradictions last".

CONTRADICTION

This type of contradiction is felt most strongly in the individual personality of the young revolutionary who finds it hard to reconcile his new-found revolutionary consciousness with all that he has inherited from the old society. There is no more clearer illustration of this than within the content of male/female relationships. How often have we seen male comrades who fulminate the loudest about revolutionary consciousness, being the last ones to wash a plate or cook a meal; or female comrades who find it difficult to relinquish some of the 'comforts' that result from exploitative male/female relationships, in that they are prepared to sacrifice their militant independence in exchange for a sense of domestic security.

Unity and solidarity are the weapons against such subversion. We have to be vigilant. The only guarantee against the enemy is to keep in close contact with the people and to have a clear analysis of the line-up of class forces at home and abroad. Comrade President G.R. Tambo expressed these sentiments when he said:

"Revolution calls for supreme vigilance, organization and capacity to sacrifice. The movement needs men and women willing to fight..."

"Special responsibility in the revolution will rest on our splendid youth who have already shown that they are capable of great deeds".

Not only is the role of the youth decisive in the armed strug-

gle, it is also important in the post-independence reconstruction. A young revolutionary steeled by revolutionary discipline will be prepared to tackle the hazardous and dangerous tasks of reconstruction when he will have to face the resistance of class enemies, ignorance and religious prejudices. Recent examples of this type of challenges for the youth are many. We only have to look at Iran, Afghanistan, Angola, Ethiopia and Kampuchea to name but a few. But at this stage our participation in the struggle must be "defence of the true interests of our people, particularly the most oppressed section - the African - and their movement the ANC".

This task is not a single task. As our society develops each new generation will be faced with new specific tasks around the same goal because the revolutionary process consists of a number of different problems all linked together in an historical chain. In our country the youth are part and parcel of the black people. They have no interests separate from the people. In essence most of them emanate from the working class "which is destined by history to liberate mankind". As each new generation of youth develops it guarantees the continuation of the struggle for liberation and as each new generation makes the extreme sacrifice its blood will nourish the tree from which freedom will grow.

DEMANDS

Today the demands of the present calls on us to be professional revolutionaries. This means the inculcation of revolutionary theory and practice, but above all, revolutionary discipline.

To conclude, we must remark that this paper is not an exhaustive and definitive study on this subject. A lot more needs to be done. Lenin once said that the task of the youth is to learn - and we have a lot more to learn. "If I know little, I shall strive to learn more". But let us close with the words of one of South Africa's greatest revolutionaries - Uncle Moses Kotane. Many of us have never had the honour of knowing him, but his appeal to the youth in 1968 is loaded with meaning for us today.

"... at this hour of destiny your country and your people need you. The future of South Africa is yours and it will be what you make of it. Remember our heroes who are today sacrificing their lives for freedom of their country and for the freedom of their persecu-

ted; terrorised and tortured people. Our gallant and heroic fighters expect every young South Africa to join the struggle for freedom of the fatherland and our people..."

It is only through a grim and bitter struggle that the system of apartheid can be overthrown by the oppressed people of South Africa. We must fight!

Liberation Movement as a Jetty

-Duncan Mahlo

We have seen from the moving scenes at the burials of the Silverton Trio at different times, that the national liberation movement in our country is the jetty which is holding the people of South Africa together in the process of the struggle of achieving freedom. Liberation is a childbirth and a very painful one.

The more than 2,000 mourners at the funeral of martyr, Wilfred Madela, where "... thousands sang freedom songs during the procession to the cemetery and shouted 'AMANDLA', he was not a terrorist but a hero" (RDM 7/2/80) and the Saturday funeral of Thami Mafoko where 10,000 turned out is irrefutable evidence of the mobilising and integrating force of our combat actions. The RDM (12/2/80) reported that: "Several opposition members of Parliament noted that the most serious effect of the funerals was to expose the vast difference between the way whites and a large number of blacks view events such as the Silverton siege... while almost all whites viewed the event as 'terrorism that could not be condoned', many blacks regarded the three men killed in the siege as heroes who died for their freedom".

POLITICAL AND MORAL SUPERIORITY

An important indice of the general and particular state of the opposed forces within the country is the indomitable spirit, steadfastness, conviction, singleness of purpose and iron-will of our combatants. This attests to the political

and moral superiority of our people over the enemy. The seven weeks court-take-over by twelve of our comrades in a treason trial in the College Road Supreme Court, Pietermaritzburg, represented a mini-insurrection. It was a temporary capture by the guerrillas of an important arm of the regime's repressive machinery. It undermined racist 'law and order', exposing it for what it is - an instrument of repression.

Commenting on the battle comprehensively followed by the broad South African public with bated breath the Sunday Express (18/11/79) wrote: "Never before in South African legal history can there have been such prolonged and steadfast defiance of both the political and judicial system from those arraigned before the court. Throughout the seven weeks the twelve accused constantly disrupted the proceedings by singing and chanting freedom songs and slogans. And, after dismissing their defence council, the men steadfastly refused to take part in the proceedings. The twelve men openly defied Mr. Justice Hefer in a tense and unyielding clash of wills that completely overshadowed the evidence that emerged at the trial. The twelve men were defiant to the last... After being sentenced to death, Mange gave the... salute and yelled out 'AMANDLA'!"

BREADTH AND DEPTH OF ACTION

The mass movement throughout the country is in general in a virtual state of ferment. The general state of the mass movement, reactivation of mass organisations, the offensive stand and the definitive drive towards the achievement of political goals - the liberation of the broad masses - spell out the breadth and depth of our combat actions and the broad area of activity of our liberation movement.

It is no accident that the campaign for the release of political prisoners especially Comrade Nelson Mandela launched by "Post" at the beginning of the year, motivated by the demands made by the Silverton Trio, has within a relatively short period grown to massive proportions. It enjoys the support of the broad masses with city and provincial coordinating committees. The church, sports organisations and clubs, social and political associations, Black and White students at universities, colleges and high schools have all come out in support. It is an objective product of the joint efforts of our masses and the liberation movement. The triumph of a policy is measurable only by its ability to translate into mass action and - as experience has shown - exert a revolutionising effect on reality.

CLEAR POLITICAL OBJECTIVES

Over the last few months more than 100,000 students throughout the country boycotted the country's education institutions. The Cape Peninsula, the Border area, and the major industrial centres were rigged by countless industrial strikes. The rural workers have also continued their struggles against mass removals, starvation wages and the indiscriminate destruction of life. Guerrilla action in town and countryside has helped maintain close contact between the urban masses for their political and economic demands. It is undeniable that the growing unity of action among all sectors of the population attests to the growing successes of the armed struggle, the broad and progressive intergration of the masses with clear political objectives and an understanding of their participation in the struggle. It is now abundantly clear that our armed struggle has become powerful enough and firmly rooted in the masses to accelerate the development of a revolutionary situation - and to place the proletariat in a position to play a decisive role in determining the outcome of the struggle. It is well known that guerrilla actions help to create some of the essential subjective factors for turning a revolutionary situation into a victorious revolution.

ADVANCE TO HIGHER LEVELS

It is in this context that the armed attack on South Africa's most strategic industries - the oil from coal production plants - SASOL, MAREF and SASOL II - a vast complex still under construction and the world's most expensive industrial complex (cost R6-billion) should be seen. Mr de Klerk, Minister of Energy Affairs was forced to concede that: "It was clear that the attack had been of a sophisticated nature. It was evident by the fact that there were three separate attacks on three separate installations almost simultaneously". This successful operation was followed by a massive strike of 15,000 workers at the Secunda construction site a week later.

The significance of the operation is that:

- it occurs when the masses are in the offensive;
- demonstrates the vulnerability of the South African economy;
- displays the high skill and organisational ability of Umkhonto we Sizwe.
- the press black-out on guerrilla activity was permanently undermined by fires visible 50 km away.

That such an operation was possible is because the armed struggle has not remained at a standstill. It has been constantly changing its content, advancing to higher levels of political understanding and combat ability and undergoing constant transformation moving from the simple to the complex.

Our armed actions while linked to the masses and progressively intergrating them into the liberation movement enabling us to gather political and military strength, permit us to gradually wear away our enemy's forces and strength, thus achieving much with little.

The struggling masses of our country and their army, Umkhonto we Sizwe under the political leadership of the African National Congress, reaffirm the pledge:

"We face the future with confidence. For the guns that serve apartheid cannot render it unconquerable. Those who live by the gun shall perish by the gun. Between the anvil of united mass action and the hammer of the armed struggle we shall crush apartheid and white minority racist rule", as

expressed by comrade Nelson Mandela.



DAWNLIGHT... Featuring Le Grange on Duty

...LATER



...IMMEDIATELY

...I DON'T LIKE PEOPLE WHO DISTURB PEACE THAT'S WHY I ARREST QUICKLY DO YOU UNDERSTAND?

STRIKE AGAINST PETITIONS

WE ARE MEN OF PEACE THAT'S WHY WE HAVE BROUGHT PETITIONERS FOR THE RELEASE OF OUR MEMBERS

NOTES FROM THE GALLOWS

by

JULIUS FUCHIK

Chapter

CHARACTERS AND PROFILES II

PANKRATS

Prison has two lives. One is locked in the cells, sternly isolated from all the world - and yet related to the world in the closest bonds in the case of political prisoners. The other life is in the long corridors before the cells, a uniformed life in the oppressive half-dust - a life more isolated than that in the cells, in spite of the figures and little fellows who fill it. That is the life I wish now to describe.

It has fauna of its own, and its own history. If it had not, I could not have made any study of it. I would have known only the front of the stage-setting turned toward us, only its superficially hard and unyielding surface which pressed like a constant weight upon the occupants of the cells. That is how it seemed a year ago, even half a year ago. But now I can see that the surface is full of cracks large enough for faces to look through - poor inquisitive faces, or worried funny faces. All kinds of faces, but each belongs to some human being. The strain of the regime presses on each member of that dim world like a vise, which brings to light whatever he has of human feelings. That is often extremely little; some have perceptibly more humanity than others. The amount forms distinctions and creates types among them. You even find a few whole people here, of course. But these did not require the stress of this regime in order to be helpful to others.

Prison is not a happy institution, but the world in front of the cells is gloomier than that in the cells. Friendship dwells in the cells - and what friendship! The kind which one meets at the front during long-sustained danger, when your life may be in my hands today, and mine in yours tomorrow. There is extremely little friendship among the guards of this regime, however. There cannot be. They are surrounded with the atmosphere of petty spying, they squeal on each other, and always have to be on guard with those whom they officially call 'comrades'. The best of them, who cannot live without companionship, find it in the cells.

For a long while we did not know each others' names. That didn't matter, for we thought up nicknames for them among ourselves. Some names we gave them, others had been invented by our predecessors and were inherited with the cell. Some of them were called by a different nickname in each cell - that was the mediocre type, neither fish nor fowl, who gave a little extra in one cell but struck them in the face in the next. Such are the seconds of contact with the prisoners which make a permanent impression on the inmates of a cell, one-sided impressions which give rise to nicknames. Sometimes all the cells invent the same nick-names, however, in the case of guards with more marked and consistent characteristics, either good or bad.

Let us take a look at these characters. Take a look at these little figures! They are not an accidental collection; they are part of the political army of Nazism. They have been carefully selected, the pillars of the regime, the supports on which their society rests - -

"THE FIRST-AID MAN"

The tall, fat SS reservist with the weak tenor voice is Rheuss, a school janitor from Cologne on the Rhine. Like all German school janitors, he had taken a course in first-aid and often substituted for the prison medic. He was the first man I had contact with in this place. He dragged me into the cell, laid me out on the bunk, took care of my wounds, laid on my first compresses. Perhaps he really helped to save my life. What was that an expression of? His humanity, or his first-aid course? I don't know. But it was certainly an expression of Nazism when he knocked the teeth out of arrested Jews, or gave them the heaping spoonful of salts or sand which was their universal medicine for all ailments.

"SMARTY"

The talkative, kindhearted Fabian was a driver from the brewery in Ceska Budejovitz. He entered the cell with a broad smile when he brought our food, and never made trouble for us. You would never believe that he could stand outside the cell door for hours listening for some silly little thing with which he could run to his superiors.

"EOKLAR"

Was also a workman from the brewery in Budejovitz. There are plenty of them here, German workers from the Sudeten.

region. Marx once wrote: "It is not important what the worker as an individual thinks or does, but what labour as a class must do to fulfill its historic task". The ones we see here know absolutely nothing about the task of their class. Torn out of their class and placed in opposition to it, they hang in the air ideologically - and will probably in their end hang physically, too.

He joined the Nazis in order to earn an easy living. It turns out to be more complicated than he imagined, however. He has lost his smile since then. He bet on a Nazi victory, but it appears that he bet on a dead horse. He has lost his nerve. As he paced the corridors at night in noiseless slippers, he unconsciously left traces of his dreary thoughts in the dust of the lamp shades.

"Everything stinks", he wrote poetically on one of them, and thought of suicide.

During the day he drives both prisoners and guards with shouts in a hasty, wheezy voice - just to keep up his courage.

R O S S L E R

Tall and thin, with a coarse bass voice, Rossler is one of the few here who are able to laugh sincerely. A textile worker from Jablonetz who comes into the cell and discusses for hours.

"How did I get into this? For t e n years I hadn't had any regular work, and you know what kind of a life you can have on twenty crowns a week for a whole family. Then they come along and say: We'll give you work, come along with us. I go and they give me work, me and all the others, we can eat at least, and can have a home. We can live again. Socialism? Well, it isn't much good. I imagined it differently but it is better than what we had before.

"It isn't? The W a r? Oh, I didn't want war. I don't other people to die; I only wanted to live myself.

"What? That I am helping the war whether I wish to or not? What shall I do? Have I hurt anyone here? If I go, others will come in my place, perhaps worse people. Would that help anybody? After the war I'll go back to the factory....

"Who do you think is going to win? Not us? You? Then what will become of us?

"The end of us? That's too bad. I imagined it differently".

And he leaves the cell with long listless strides.

Half an hour later he comes back with a question on what it is really like in the Soviet Union.

One morning we were waiting down in the main corridor of Pankrats for them to take us off to hearings in Petchek Building. We had to stand here every day with our foreheads close against the wall so that none could see what went on behind us. That morning I heard a new voice:

"I don't want to see anything. I don't want to hear anything! You don't know me, but you will get acquainted with me!"

I laughed. In this drill that quotation from the poor fool Lt. Doob in Good Soldier Schweik was really quite in place. Up to now nobody had yet had the courage to use that joke quite so loudly. A distinct poke from my more experienced neighbour in the line told me to stop laughing, that I might be wrong, that it was not meant as a joke. And it wasn't.

The figure whose voice we heard behind us was a tiny creature in an SS uniform, who very evidently had no knowledge of Schweik whatever. It talked like Lt. Doob because it was spiritually related to him. It answered to the name of Withan, and had long served as a top sergeant in the Czechoslovak army under the name of Vitan. He was right, we got to know him quite thoroughly, and we never spoke of him otherwise than in the third person singular - It. To tell the truth, our inventiveness failed when we tried to find a pat nickname for that mixture of stupidity, meanness, superiority and plain badness, who was one of the chief pillars of the regime at Pankrats.

"He doesn't reach to a pig's knee", was our expression for those diminutive puffers and climbers when we wished to wound them in the most sensitive spot. How small a person must be mentally to suffer for his small stature. Withan suffered, all right, and took revenge on everybody who was larger physically or mentally - that means on everybody.

Not with blows. He didn't have enough courage for that. But by spying and denouncing. How many prisoners paid with their health for Withan's tattling tales. How many of them paid with their lives - for it makes all the difference in the world what note is written on your card when you leave Pankrats for a concentration camp - or whether you ever get out of Pankrats at all.

He is extremely comical, as he struts down the corridor all alone, greatly impressed with his own importance. He struts even when there is no one to see him. Whenever he meets a person, he feels the need to climb up somewhere. While he is

questioning one of us, he sits on the arm of a chair, and can sit there uncomfortably for an hour simply because in that position he is a head taller than you are. When he is on duty while we s h a v e , he stands on a step or parades up and down a bench pronouncing his favourite phrases:

"I don't want to see anything; I don't want to hear anything. You don't know me...."

At morning exercises he takes his position on the little plot of grass which raises him all of four inches higher than the rest of the court-yard. He enters a cell as augustly as your royal majesty, and immediately mounts a chair in order to make his inspection from a suitable elevation.

He is extremely comical, but - like every dunce in public office - extremely dangerous when it comes to human l i v e s . Within his stupidity is hidden one talent - that of making a camel out of a mosquito. He knows nothing but the job of a watch-dog, and therefore any inconsequential deviation from regulations becomes something big, something to match his own self-importance. He construes every infraction of prison rules and orders in a way to cater to his consciousness that he is Somebody. And who is there to investigate how much truth there is to his accusations?

S M E T O N Z

The hulking figure, dull face and expressionless eyes of Smetonz are the personification of Grosz's cartoons of the Nazi stormtrooper. He was a cow-milker up near the Lithuanian border of East Prussia, but it is queer that the gentle cattle left none of their characteristics on him. Upstairs he is considered the embodiment of German virtues - he is hard, brisk, unbribable. One of the few who does not demand extra food from the trusties whom he passes in the corridor, but....

Some German scientist, I do not recall which, once measured the intelligence of creatures by the number of "words" which they are able to form. On this basis he decided that the domestic cat is the least intelligent of creatures - being able, it seems, to form only 128 "words". Oh, what a genius is the cat compared to Smetonz, from whom Panikrats never heard more than four words:

"Pass bloss auf, Mensch!" "Just look out, you!"

Twice or three times a week he was relieved on duty. Each time he tormented himself, but always bungled the little ceremony hopelessly. I happened to see him when the prison superintendent criticised him for not having any windows open. That mass of flesh rocked back and forth on his stumpy legs, his

stupid head leaned a little further forward, the corners of his stupid head leaned a little further forward, the corners of his mouth dropped in the stubborn effort to repeat the order which his ears had just heard... and then suddenly that mountain of matter roared like a siren, spreading alarm along all the corridors. Few people knew what it was all about, the windows remained closed, and two prisoners who happened to be nearest Smetonz began to bleed at the nose. That was his solution.

That is the way he was. He beat whomever he met, beat them even to death. That is all he understood. Nothing else. He entered a cell once and struck one of the occupants. The prisoner, a sick man, fell to the floor in convulsions. Smetonz made all the others do a squatting exercise in time to the poor man's contortions. The cramps died down as the invalid lost strength and became exhausted. And Smetonz placed his hands on his hips with an imbecile smile, as he surveyed his success in solving such a complicated situation.

He was a real primitive, who remembered only one thing out of all they tried to teach him - that beating solved most problems.

Finally something broke even in this creature. It was about a month ago that he and K - were sitting in the reception office of the prison. K - was explaining the situation, explained long and tediously before Smetonz even began to understand. Then he stood up, opened the door of the office, looked carefully down the corridor. Not a sound, the prison slept in the dead of night. He closed the door, carefully locked it and slowly collapsed on a chair:

"Then you think...?"

He rested his chin in his hand. A terrible burden settled on the tiny soul in that huge body. Long he sat before raising his head and saying hopelessly:

"You are right. We can't win...."

For the past month Pankrats has not heard the war-cry of Smetonz. The new prisoners do not know the weight of his fist.

THE PRISON DIRECTOR

A small Untersturmführer, sub-platoon leader, always elegantly dressed, whether in uniform or not, prosperous-looking he was very satisfied with himself. He was a lover of dogs, the hunt and of women - but that is a matter which does not concern us.

The other sides of his character - which do concern Pankrats - are his coarseness, his unlettered roughness. A typical-



al Nazi upstart, willing to sacrifice anybody to hold his own position. He came from Poland and is named S o p p a, if the name means anything. They say he was an apprentice blacksmith but that honest trade left no marks on him. It was long ago that he entered Hitler's service and won his present position by flattery and intrigue. He protects his job with every possible trick. He is without regard or feeling for any of the prisoners or his own staff, for children or for elders. There is not much feeling for Nazism among the personnel of Pankrats, but none of them is quite so completely without a shadow of feeling as Soppa. The only man whom he values at all, with whom he often talks, is the prison medic, police-master Weisner. But the relation does not seem to be mutual.

Soppa thinks only of himself. He earned his ruling position only for himself, and only for himself will he remain loyal to the regime till the last moment. He is about the only one who ever considered some other means of salvation, but now knows that there is none. The fall of Nazism will be his own fall, will put an end to his prosperous life, to his splendid apartment, an end to his own elegance - which has never hesitated to make use of the clothes of executed Czechs.

Yes, that will be the end of him.

THE PRISON MEDIC

Policemaster Weisner - what a peculiar figure on the Pankrats stage. You often feel that he is out of place here but then you can't imagine Pankrats without him. When he is not in the infirmary, you find him gliding down the corridors with his short, rocking steps - talking to himself and observing everything about him, always observing. He is like some foreigner who wandered in here and wished to carry away with him the most possible details. But he is able to stick a key in a lock and open a cell as quietly and fast as any stool-pigeon. He has a dry humour which permits him to say things with hidden meanings, but without giving away anything on which you can trip him up. He makes up to people, but never permits anyone to make up to him. He sees a great deal, but does not carry tales and does not accuse others. If he enters a cell full of smoke, he s n i f f s audibly and say:

"Well", and smacks his lips, "there is smoking in the cells". Smacks his lips again and says, "Strictly forbidden".

But he won't report it. His face is always wrinkled and worried, as though some great torment were troubling him. It is apparent he wishes to have nothing to do with the regime he serves, and whose victims he cares for all day. He does not

believe in this regime, does not believe it will be permanent, and never did believe it. That is why he did not move his family from Breslau to P r a g u e, although very few of the officials from the Reich passes up that opportunity to gorge in an occupied country. But he is equally incapable of having anything in common with the people who struggle against the regime. He does not lean to either side.

He took care of me dutifully and honestly. He does so with most of his patients, and often stubbornly forbids prisoners who have been tortured too much to be carted down for further grilling. Perhaps that quiets his conscience. Sometimes, however, he refuses his help where it is most needed. Perhaps when he is gripped with fear.

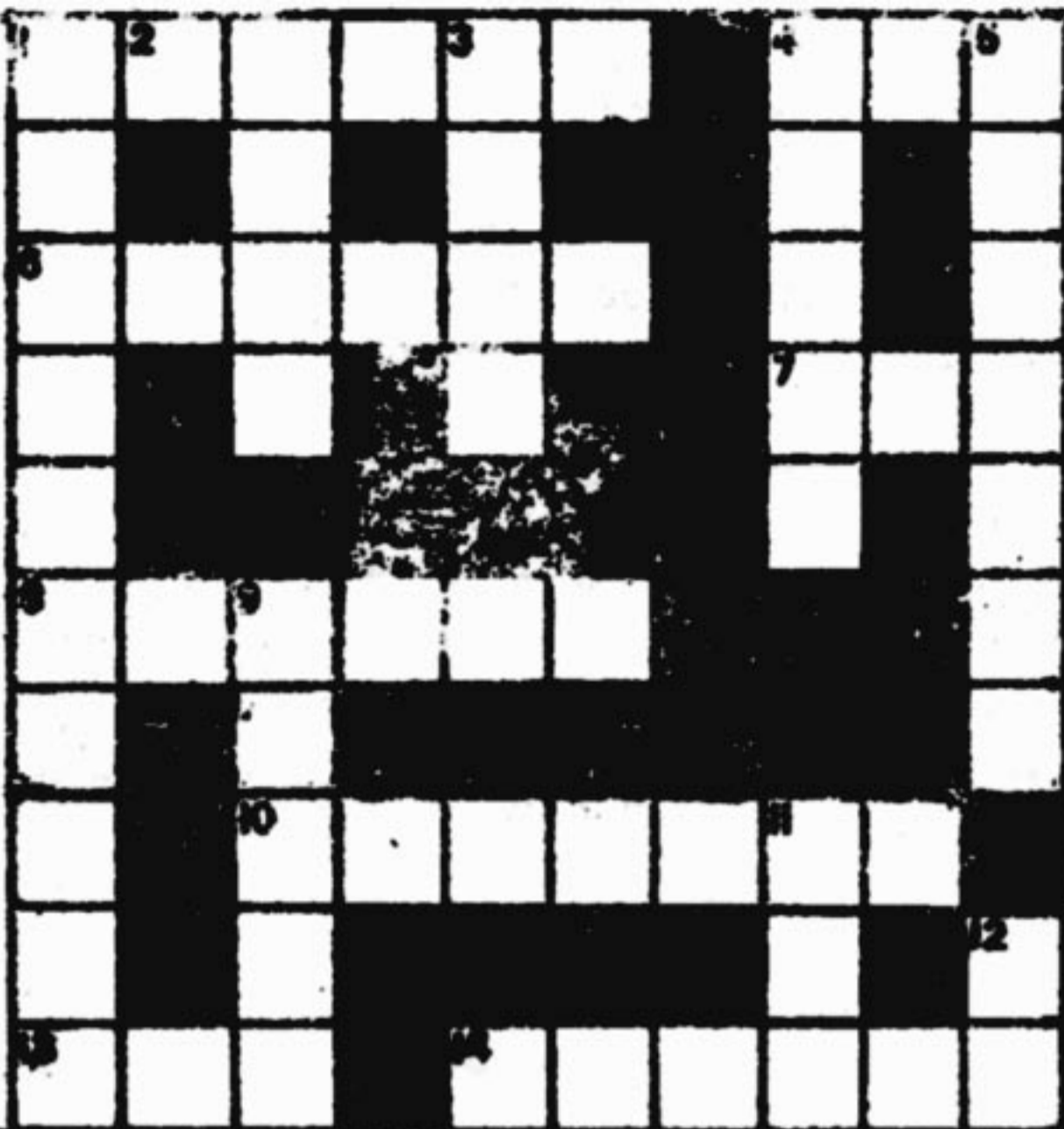
He is a typical little citizen, standing alone between his fear of the powers that be and his fear of what will happen next. He looks everywhere for a solution, but finds none. Not a rat, but a r e a l little mouse caught in a trap.

Hopelessly caught.

DAWN politiXword No.8 Answers

Across: 1. War 3. Ogaden 7. Acne 9. Radio 10. EG
11. Politics 14. Libya 15. CMEA 16. Dob
17. Kate

Down: 1. Whale 2. Ran 4. Guerrilla 5. Deed 6. NATO
8. Echo 11. Peace 12. State 13. Gold



CLUES

Across

1. Best form of defence.
4. Highest body of our movement.
6. Capital city of Czechoslovakia.
7. Nocturnal bird.
8. A road-side pauper.
10. Heroic Guerrilla.
13. Past tense of sit.
14. Organ of the Communist Party of Cuba.

Down

1. Fights both on land and water.
2. An arrangement for detecting a person unawares.
3. Fact or idea leading to a solution.
4. Treasurer-General of our people's organisation.
5. "The doors of learning and of ... shall be opened".
9. The ... October Socialist Revolution.
11. Number of Freedom Charter clauses.
12. M o t h e r .

See answers in DAWN Vol. 8. No. 11

**DISCIPLINE IS THE
MOTHER OF VICTORY**

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

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

**WE DEMAND
THE RELEASE**



OF OUR LEADERS

AND ALL

POLITICAL PRISONERS