CONTENTS

5 Death of Dr Yusuf Mohamed Dadoo, National Chairman of the South African Communist Party
   • • •
   Speeches at funeral — Reactions in South Africa and India — Statement by the
   Central Committee of the SACP — Messages — Landmarks in a life of
   Struggle.

19 Dr Dadoo's Farewell to his Comrades
   Message to a meeting of the Central Committee of the SACP written and
   signed hours before his death.

23 Editorial Notes
   After the referendum; US Warmongers Must be Stopped! A People’s Leader
   Passes; Moses Mabhida Honoured on his 60th Birthday.

35 A United People will Defeat the Enemy
   Statement Adopted by the Central Committee of the South African Commun­
   ist Party, September 1983

59 The Most Pressing Duty Before all Mankind is to Avert the
   Danger of a Nuclear Holocaust
   International resolution adopted by the Central Committee of the SACP, Sep­
   tember 1983.

67 T Singh
   It is Time for France to get out of Africa
   French military intervention in Africa is aimed at preserving the interests of
   imperialism and neocolonialism, as proved by the events in Chad.

71 Du Bois
   Africa Notes and Comment

86 Book Reviews
   Volkskapitalisme: Class, Capital and Ideology in the Development of Afrikaner National­
   ism 1934-1948, by Dan O’Meara; The Political Economy of Underdevelopment, by
   Tamas Szentgyorgyi; Proletarianisation and Class Struggle in Africa, ed. by Bernard
   Magubane and Nzunzula-Nkabi; Death is Part of the Process, by Hilda Bern­
   stein; Black Gold, the Mozambican Miner, proletarian and peasant, by Ruth First;
   Angola in the Frontline, by Michael Wolfers and Jane Bergerol; Class and Colour in
   South Africa 1850-1950 by Jack and Ray Simons.

106 A Freedom Fighter
   • Why I Like Communists and their Ideas

108 Letter to the Editor
   On Education, from Boy Moremi in Bulgaria

111 The African Communist: List of Contents, 1983
It is with profound sorrow that we record the death of the national chairman of the South African Communist Party, Dr Yusuf Mohamed Dadoo, on September 19, 1983, only a few days after his 74th birthday. He died in the Whittington Hospital, London, after fighting bravely for many months against the ravages of cancer.

Yusuf Dadoo and Moses Mabhida at Dadoo’s 70th birthday celebration in September 1979
THE FUNERAL

Relatives, comrades and friends came from all corners of the globe to support Yusuf Dadoo's widow Winnie and children Shireen and Roshan at the funeral ceremony and to honour the memory of an outstanding political leader. Messages of condolence poured in from all quarters.

The funeral ceremony, performed at the Central Methodist Hall, Archway, London, on September 24, was a most impressive and moving occasion. Speeches were delivered to a tense crowd of more than 700 by ANC President Oliver Tambo, SACP general secretary Moses Mabhida and Joe Slovo, for many years one of his closest political collaborators. The ANC's chief representative in London, Ruth Mompati, was in the chair. The speeches were interspersed with freedom songs beautifully rendered by the ANC choir.

Afterwards the coffin was conveyed to Highgate Cemetery where Yusuf Dadoo was buried just across the pathway from his ideological mentor Karl Marx. Among the wreaths placed on the grave were those from the United Democratic Front of South Africa, the Natal Indian Congress, the Release Mandela Committee of South Africa, the SACP, ANC, the communist parties of the socialist countries, fraternal parties and liberation movements. On October 9 the Foreign Minister of Vietnam, Nguyen Co Thach, who was in London on official business, made a special visit to the cemetery to lay a wreath, on Dr Dadoo's grave.

A Triumph of Will

Even in death Yusuf Dadoo was not defeated. In his speech at the funeral ceremony, Joe Slovo recalled the last moments of Dadoo's life. "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 a 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. (Yusuf Dadoo's farewell message is reproduced in this issue of The African Communist — Ed.)"

"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 again 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 list with the words 'Amandla!' on his lips. He spoke to his brother, sisters and sisters-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 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 of 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 and asked everyone to leave the room except his brother and me.

"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 to the rhythm.

"And then he said: '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.'"
ANC President Oliver Tambo

In his speech at the funeral ceremony Oliver Tambo said:

"Some people live, each in his or her own way, to become an inextricable component of the history of humankind’s collective effort at the national, regional and international level, such that to talk about their lives is to address the history of their times. If this were true of but a few people in the world, Yusuf Dadoo would be one of them.

"We are gathered here to pay homage to him, 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 the social progress of mankind.

"Loved and admired throughout the movement, ‘Doc’ — as he was popularly known — combined the best qualities of a revolutionary patriot and dynamic leader of the working class. Because of his dear understanding of the factors underlying national oppression and economic exploitation of the black South African masses, he was able, in his own unassuming manner, to guide and inspire others to commit themselves fully in the struggle for the noble ideals of freedom, democracy and a just social order. Most important of all he led by example."

SACP General Secretary Moses Mabhida

In his address at the funeral ceremony Moses Mabhida said:

"I would best describe him as a gentle giant. Dr Dadoo never flinched, he never relented in the fight for the alliance of the oppressed people. Comrade Dadoo was strangely disciplined. He was never a man who lived above any other person. He never defied the word of his organisation.

"Yusuf was the man of his people, he was living in the future of a united people in the struggle against capitalism. We are happy to say that his fight, his struggles, his long journey that he has traversed, is beginning to bear fruits. When our people are resisting the enemy today, it is because of Yusuf. Our Party, our people would like to say in this last minute with our brother that he has travelled for 74 years but that is not what we are counting. He is leaving a glorious legacy. He did not die with his strength. He said his strength, his spear, must be left with those who are still continuing to fight. And for us, for every one of us, we must take up this challenge."

Memorial Meetings Banned

Even after his death the influence of Yusuf Dadoo was feared by the apartheid regime. Memorial meetings which had been planned to honour him in the Transvaal and Natal were banned by the authorities under the Internal Security Act. Scores of people, many of whom had travelled long distances, arrived at the meeting place in Lenasia to find banning notices taped to the door.

Two Transvaal Indian Congress publications were banned under a section of the Publications Act dealing with state security. One was a pamphlet entitled Yusuf Dadoo — Portrait of a Freedom Fighter, and the other a poster captioned "Yusuf Dadoo 1909-1983: He fought for freedom — he died our leader".

Mr Cassim Saloojee, of the Transvaal Indian Congress, said:

"The people are very angry that they were not able to mourn the death of one of the sons of our land whom they still regard as their leader."

Obituaries appeared in many South African newspapers, and tributes were paid to him by many leaders:

Mr Archie Gumede, chairman of the Release Mandela Committee in Natal, who had met Dr Dadoo several times, said that what had struck him most was his sincere commitment to the upliftment of the majority of the people in South Africa and his humility as a leader.

Mr M.J. Naidoo, recently unbanned executive member of the Natal Indian Congress, said he considered Dr Dadoo as one of the most significant leaders ever produced by South Africa.

Mr George Sewpersadh, President of the Natal Indian Congress, said Dr Dadoo had dedicated his entire life single-mindedly to the struggle of the oppressed people in South Africa.

Mrs Monty Naicker, widow of former South African Indian Congress President Dr Monty Naicker, said she admired Dr Dadoo for his clear thinking, his wonderful oratory and his total commitment to the liberation struggle.

"Death is a fact of life. I say to Yusuf Dadoo ‘Farewell, may you rest in peace. You will always be remembered for your struggle for freedom and justice."

Amongst South Africans who travelled to London to pay their last respects at Yusuf Dadoo’s funeral were Dr Esop Jassat, President of the Transvaal Indian Congress, and Mr Zac Yacoob, executive member of the Natal Indian Congress.
Honoured in India

Yusuf Dadoo's lifework was also honoured in India, a country with which he had a strong association and many personal links. Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in a personal letter of condolence sent to Winnie Dadoo, said:

"It was with great sadness that I learnt, while I was in New York, of Dr Dadoo's passing away. I gave a message immediately but could not write to you as I did not have your address.

"Dr Dadoo struggled and suffered all his life for the values of equality and justice which we cherish.

"You, your family and the large numbers of your supporters have my deep sympathy and condolences*."

A wreath with a message of condolence was placed on Yusuf Dadoo's grave by a member of the Indian High Commission in London.

In India itself a memorial meeting was held in New Delhi under the auspices of the Communist Party of India. The meeting was presided over by M. Farooqi, secretary of the national council of the CPI, and addressed by N.K. Krishnan, also a secretary of the national council, and by Moosa Moola, chief of the Asian mission of the African National Congress.

"Paying a tribute on behalf of the national council of the CPI, M. Farooqi said that Dr Dadoo was not only a leader of the South African Communists but also of the international struggle of the working class against imperialism.

And in Africa

A memorial meeting was held in Maputo on September 24. Speaking on behalf of the Frelimo Party, central committee secretary Jose Luis Cabaco said the people of Mozambique were in mourning because "with the death of Yusuf Dadoo we have lost a brother and a comrade.

"We identify with the ANC and with the South African people in having such a wonderful comrade, and we share their sadness at no longer being able to count on his clear opinions, his rich experience, his inexhaustible enthusiasm, the strength of his trust in the people, and his certainty of victory*.

The meeting was also addressed by Robert Conco on behalf of the national executive of the ANC.

A memorial meeting was held in Toronto on September 25, and addressed by William Kashtan, general secretary of the Communist Party of Canada, and Yusuf Saloojee, chief representative of the ANC.

Memorial meetings were also held in all centres throughout the world where the ANC has a presence.

STATEMENT BY CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SA COMMUNIST PARTY

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.

- Born in South Africa in 1909, Yusuf Dadoo graduated as a medical doctor at the University of Edinburgh and returned to practise his profession in South Africa, but was immediately drawn into the political struggle. 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 lifelong service 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 would open the way for true freedom and democracy for all South Africans irrespective of race, creed or colour. He was a lifelong 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 regeneration 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, his loyalty to his ideals and to his comrades, his party and his people, and his devotion to the Soviet Union as the main bastion of revolutionary power and world transformation. Comrade Dadoo went to jail many times in the course of 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 thank him for the inestimable service he has rendered to our cause. We shall remember him with love. We shall never forget his example. We pledge to fulfil 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. 

MESSAGES 

The following are extracts from some of the hundreds of messages received from fraternal parties, liberation and solidarity organisations and individuals throughout the world: 

CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION 

Yusuf Dadoo was a selfless fighter against imperialism, colonialism, and apartheid, for the national and social liberation of the people of South Africa, for peace in the whole world. He consistently fought for the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the cause of unity of revolutionary forces. Yusuf Dadoo made a major contribution to the development of friendship and co-operation between the South African and Soviet peoples. 

The fond memory of Yusuf Dadoo will for ever remain in our hearts. 

RELEASE MANDELA COMMITTEE, SOUTH AFRICA 

Like Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners Yusuf Dadoo dedicated his life to the liberation struggle. Long live solidarity! 

R. RAMESAR, SECRETARY GENERAL, NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS 

Natal Indian Congress mourns with rest of the freedom-loving people of the world the passing away of our leader Dr Yusuf Dadoo. His self-sacrifice, his commitment to the achievement of a free society, his immeasurable contribution towards the attainment of unity of the oppressed will serve as an inspiration to all South Africans. We share this profound loss with family, nation and the world. 

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT, SOUTH AFRICA 

We salute Yusuf Dadoo, hero of the nation, architect of national unity freedom fighter, upholder of justice. 

E. HONECKER, GENERAL SECRETARY, CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST UNITY PARTY OF GERMANY 

The South African Communist Party, the working class and the working people of South Africa as well as the international working class have suffered a painful loss. Comrade Dr Yusuf Dadoo pledged his whole life to the self-sacrificing struggle against apartheid and for the liberation of the oppressed peoples in South Africa from the imperialist and colonial yoke. The Socialist Unity Party of Germany will always honour the memory of Comrade Dr Yusuf Dadoo, a steadfast Marxist-Leninist, tried and tested revolutionary and consistent champion for the unity and cohesion of the international communist and working class movement, a sincere friend of the German Democratic Republic. 

A. NZO, SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE ANC 

Doc's contribution to our national liberation movement is an important chapter of the revolutionary history of our people. We shall sadly miss him.
C. RAJESWARA RAO, GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA
The National Council of the Communist Party of India deeply mourns and expresses heartfelt condolences at the passing away of comrade Yusuf Dadoo, a valiant fighter against racism and for African liberation, an outstanding leader of the international Communist movement and a great friend of the Indian people.

S. DLAMINI, PRESIDENT OF SACTU
The South African Congress of Trade Unions dips its banner at the untimely death of the great son of our people and the leader of the South African Communist Party and the national liberation movement. Our fighting people will be the poorer with this sudden death of our leader who for almost 50 years was in the forefront of the struggle against racism and national oppression.

ALHAJI MAITAMA-SULE, CHAIRMAN UNITED NATIONS SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID
His contribution in developing an alliance of all oppressed people of South Africa in the liberation struggle, his vision of a truly non-racial and democratic South Africa, his courage and sacrifice will continue to be an inspiration to the South African people in their final onslaught against racist tyranny.

YOHANNES G. SELASSIE, ACTING HEAD OF THE ETHIOPIAN SOLIDARITY PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP COMMITTEE, ADDIS ABABA
Though the sudden death of comrade Dadoo has robbed the South African people of a genuine hero, his life-long dedication in the forefront of the struggle for the liberation of the South African people will remain a lasting inspiration for the staunch resistance against the evils of apartheid.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE, COMMunist PARTY OF CUBA
He dedicated his life to the oppressed masses of South Africa. Guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism, a firm defender of unity, he never swerved for a moment from advocating the unity of the South African Communist Party with other organisations to carry forward the struggle under the leadership of the ANC.

Convinced that the unity of the oppressed masses would yield final victory over the fascist regime which oppressed his people, Dadoo clearly understood, as a true internationalist, the organic relationship between the struggle in South Africa and the world-wide struggle against capitalism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism, for national freedom, peace, democracy and socialism.

SEYDOU CISSOKHO, GENERAL SECRETARY, SENEGAL PARTY OF INDEPENDENCE AND LABOUR
We have learned of the death of comrade Yusuf Dadoo, chairman of the South African Communist Party, great revolutionary leader, African patriot and internationalist. We mourn his passing as a heavy loss to our entire party.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE, SOCIALIST VANGUARD PARTY OF ALGERIA
We shall never forget the frontline role he played in forging the current unity of all the patriotic and anti-racist forces in South Africa. We shall never forget that he was a resolute fighter against every manifestation of anti-Sovietism and anti-communism, a tireless struggler for cohesion and unity in the international communist and workers' movement, for the unity in action of the three revolutionary currents of our epoch; a passionate militant in the cause of world peace, international detente and disarmament.

ROMESH CHANDRA, PRESIDENT OF THE WORLD PEACE COUNCIL
The World Peace Council learns with deep regret of the passing away of Dr Yusuf Mohamed Dadoo, a most venerated member of its Presidential Committee and a doughty fighter for peace and against social injustice in all its forms. It is in connection with his long and courageous struggle against the evils of racism and apartheid in South Africa that he will best be remembered.
LANDMARKS IN A LIFE OF STRUGGLE

1909 Yusuf Mohamed Dadoo born in Krugersdorp, Transvaal, on September 5, the son of a well-to-do Indian businessman.

1927 Matriculates at Aligarh College in India, after attending schools in Krugersdorp and Johannesburg.

1929 Arrives in London to study medicine. Arrested for demonstrating against imperialism. His father insists he transfer to Edinburgh.

1936 After qualifying as a doctor, LRCP and LRCS (Edin.) and LRFP and S. (Glas.), Dadoo returns to practise in South Africa. Active in Transvaal Indian Congress.

1938 One of the founders of the Non-European United Front in Johannesburg.

1940 Arrested for printing and distributing a Non-European United Front leaflet which said: "Don't support this war, where the rich get richer and the poor get killed". Refuses to pay fine of £25, but saved from imprisonment by a supporter who pays fine for him.

1941 Arrested for allegedly inciting African people in a speech at a Benoni meeting. Refused to pay fine of £40 and goes to jail. On release he is restricted under Emergency Regulations.

1943 Opens anti-pass conference called in Johannesburg by CPSA.

1945 Active in anti-pass campaign. Member of delegation to government protesting against pass laws. Fined £5 for taking part in unauthorised procession.

1945 National Anti-Pass Council elected with Dr A.B. Xuma, ANC President, as chairman and Dadoo as vice-chairman.

1946 One of the leaders of passive resistance campaign against Smuts' anti-Indian laws. Serves six months prison sentence.

1947 Arrested with 50 others on charge under Riotous Assemblies Act of inciting 100,000 African mineworkers to go on strike. Eventually fined £50 for aiding the strike after it had broken out.

1947 Together with Dr G.M. Naicker, leader of the Natal Indian Congress, tours India to win support for passive resistance campaign against Smuts' Ghetto Act. Meets Gandhi, Nehru and Jinnah.

1947 Historic Dadoo-Xuma-Naicker Pact signed pledging co-operation of Africans and Indians in struggle against discriminatory and oppressive laws and demanding full franchise rights for all.

1948 Dadoo and Naicker sentenced to six months imprisonment for defying 1913 Immigration Act prohibiting Indians from moving from one province to another without a permit.

1948 On release from prison, Dadoo refused permission to leave South Africa to present Indian case to United Nations.

1948 After Nationalist victory in general elections, calls for national convention to defeat the apartheid regime.

1948 Leaves South Africa without a passport to attend UN session in Paris. Meets Nehru in London, Dimitrov in Bulgaria. Visits other socialist countries. Travels on to India where he addresses Constituent Assembly on disabilities of Indians and other oppressed in SA. Visits Pakistan.

1949 On return home, banned from speaking in 8 main centres of the country.

1950 Elected President of the South African Indian Congress.

1951 Active in campaign against disfranchisement of Coloured voters. Calls for all-out resistance to Group Areas Act.

1952 Elected one of five members of the Joint Planning Council to organise Defiance of Unjust laws campaign. (The others are J.B. Marks, Walter Sisulu, Dr J.S. Moroka and Y. Cachalia.)

1952 Banned under Suppression of Communism Act from attending all gatherings and ordered to resign from Indian Congress and Joint Planning Council of Defiance Campaign. Defies his ban, addresses meeting and sentenced to six months imprisonment — his seventh prison sentence (quashed on appeal on a legal technicality).

1952 Together with 19 others, charged under Suppression of Communism Act for organising Defiance Campaign and given suspended sentence of 9 months imprisonment for what the judge called "statutory communism".

1955 Active in campaign against disfranchisement of Coloured voters. Calls for all-out resistance to Group Areas Act.
1953 Banned from taking part in the activities of a further 15 organisations.
1953 Dadoo elected to central committee of newly constituted SA Communist Party at first congress held illegally in Johannesburg.
1955 Announcement made at historic Congress of the People that Dadoo, Chief Albert Lutuli and Father Trevor Huddleston awarded traditional African decoration - of Isiwalandwe-Seaparankoe. Because of bans, only Huddleston able to attend, but Dadoo's award accepted by his mother.
1957 Dadoo banned for a further five years from attending gatherings.
1959 Arrested at Howick, Natal, under immigration laws banning Indian movement from province to province without permission.
1960 After Sharpeville shooting and declaration of State of Emergency, Dadoo sent overseas by decision of Communist Party and Indian Congress to organise external apparatus and solidarity campaigns.
1962 After arrest of Nelson Mandela, Dadoo leads procession in London demanding his release. Visits India and has talks with Nehru.
1972 After death of J.B. Marks, elected national chairman of the South African Communist Party.

At the time of his death Dr Dadoo was national chairman of the SACP, a vice-chairman of the ANC Politico-Military Council, and a member of the Presidential Committee of the World Peace Council, in whose activities he had taken a prominent part for many years. He had led many delegations of the SACP to many different parts of the world and was a firm champion of the international Communist movement. On his 70th birthday he was awarded the Order of Dimitrov of Bulgaria, the Order of Karl Marx by the German Democratic Republic, the Order of the Friendship of the Peoples 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' of Poland.

DR DADOO’S FAREWELL TO HIS COMRADES

Message to a meeting of the Central Committee of the SACP written and signed hours before his death

Dearest 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 am 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, 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 from cadres; on the certainty of 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 movement. 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 and the international communist movement as an 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 during last month 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's 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 organizing, 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

EDITORIAL NOTES

AFTER THE REFERENDUM

The great South African "constitutional" con has moved predictably to the end of the first act. In the time-honoured white South African tradition, the minority white regime decided for itself that the time for a constitutional revision had come. The black majority was not consulted. Solemnly the regime cobbled together a "constitutional" framework for a totally dictatorial state. Solemnly it went through a traditional white South African "democratic" charade consulting only itself and excluding the 81% black majority. Solemnly it declared a "majority" vote in favour of a white based power structure and the continuation of white rule — as though any other outcome had ever been possible. And solemnly it went on to describe its cosmetic proposals — for a Coloured and Indian puppet appendix to the white state — as "reform".

The 'referendum' campaign itself was one of those epic Tweedledum-versus-Tweedledee pillow fights into which the white electorate enters with such enthusiasm — each side claiming passionately to be the only real defender of white South African baasskap, and each portraying the other as
the betrayers of their god-given title to state supremacy. That the real issue in this referendum was whether institutionalised inferiority for Indian and Coloured minorities would be better or worse, than the present non-institutionalised inferiority, only makes the absurd contest even more absurd. No one bothered to consult Coloured or Indian citizens on whether they wanted to become the constitutionally accredited "kitchen boys" of the white Parliament and President or not; and no one bothered that a decision would be reached by the white electorate alone. South Africa's "parliamentary tradition" was being honoured once again; the white politicians and electorate would decide what was best for blacks, and then tell them. Not even those scheduled for elevation to the rank of appendages to the white Parliament would be consulted or allowed to vote. What then was the "parliamentary tradition" being honoured: once again the white absurd. No one bothered to consult Coloured or Indian citizens on whether institutionalised inferiority, only makes the absurd contest even more absurd. The referendum was a contest about institutionalised inferiority for Indian and Coloured citizens; the betrayer of their god-given title to state supremacy. That the real issue in this referendum was whether institutionalised inferiority for Indian and Coloured minorities would be better or worse, than the present non-institutionalised inferiority, only makes the absurd contest even more absurd. No one bothered to consult Coloured or Indian citizens on whether they wanted to become the constitutionally accredited "kitchen boys" of the white Parliament and President or not; and no one bothered that a decision would be reached by the white electorate alone. South Africa's "parliamentary tradition" was being honoured once again; the white politicians and electorate would decide what was best for blacks, and then tell them. Not even those scheduled for elevation to the rank of appendages to the white Parliament would be consulted or allowed to vote. What then was the bitter electoral shadow-play all about?

It is necessary first to appreciate that the fundamental South African issue — which determines all main aspects of politics, economics and social relations — is the issue of breaking the white monopoly of state power and extending power to the whole people. But on this central issue there is a white consensus, a conspiracy. The issues of power, of majority government, or of universal participation in political affairs, are taboo. They are not to be discussed, raised or even contemplated in white electoral contests. Election struggles are to be restricted to subordinate and peripheral matters only. The recent referendum campaign was no exception to this pattern. All parties started from the absolute conviction, come what may, that white state power must be preserved. The campaign and vote therefore settled down into the comfortable and well trodden white South African disputations about how best — and who could decide the future of the blacks was never challenged; the challenge was to what the white regime proposed to do — not to the arrogation of decision making to the white minority alone.

Every South African election is fought out with an intense passion; bitter denunciations and slanders are flung about; meetings are broken up and speakers assailed with crude physical assault. And yet because these are essentially mock battles, fought over pillaging points of triviality in the whole fabric of South African life, they almost always produce elements of farce. This referendum was no exception. It was characterised, from the start as a mock battle, when the Prime Minister announced that even if the electorate voted NO the Government would remain in office unmoved. This mock-battle character of the issue produced also a farcical alignment of the arch-chauvinistic and fascist verkramptes with the most liberalistic of the Parliamentary "left", the PFP; bitterest of enemies at one in a mock battle for a NO-vote, each arguing passionate but diametrically opposed reasons for doing so.

In the end, of course, the white electorate voted as it always has: for naked self interest, and its perception of the best for white supremacy. Such arguments of democratic principle or of long-term considerations as were advanced by the PFP, for a NO vote were brushed aside even by their own supporters. Where the PFP is usually strong, the NO vote was weak. Only in the heartlands of verkrampte reaction was there a strong NO vote. With one fiercely verkrampte exception, every constituency in the country — rural and urban, English speaking and Afrikaans speaking — voted solidly YES. Two thirds of less than a million voters thus decided to conscript the 3½ million Coloured and Indian citizens to the laager, and lock the 21 million Africans securely outside.

Or that at least was the calculation. There can be little certainty that everything that the regime will do by way of bribery, corruption, intimidation or
I drowned by protest, their claims to lead or to represent their community carry the Coloured people with them. And thus far, no credible leader of the Coloured "house" under the new constitution, they are too few; and already too discredited. If they are still Coloured leaders willing to meet in public denunciation; their speeches were instantly lost all standing and support within their own community. If the Coloured and Indian leaders, then their people, out of the camp of black resistance. Those leaders who allowed themselves to be led into temptation — like the formerly popular leaders of the Coloured Labour Party — instantly lost all standing and support within their own community. Before even the referendum had been completed they became outcasts for agreeing to participate in the three-tier Parliament should it ever be convened. Their meetings were broken up in public denunciation; their speeches were drowned by protest, their claims to lead or to represent their community have been totally discredited. If they are still Coloured leaders willing to serve — the word is appropriate for the menial status — then the Coloured "house" under the new constitution, they are too few and already too discredited to carry the Coloured people with them. And thus far, no credible leader of the Indian people has come forward to take the Uncle-Tom path to office, and few are likely to. Botha's referendum then has succeeded only in creating new weaknesses and strains in his own white camp, and further alienation of the Coloured-Indian people from his collaborators and camp followers in the black. The purposes of the referendum have thus gone fatally wrong, even while the voting appears to have gone so right.

There has been an orchestrated campaign from apologists for white South Africa abroad, and from traditionally anti-government English-speaking voters at home, to present the Government's constitutional proposals as a "reform", deserving sympathy and support — as a brave attempt by Botha to break the traditional white-exclusiveness mould of South African politics. There could be no more transparent a fig leaf to hide an indecent act of naked power-grabbing. There has never been any desire to "reform". Botha and his Party in 1951 wiped out the last remnants of Coloured voting rights in the Cape Province; their motives then were nakedly racist and white-supremacist. Today, in seeking to return Coloureds to the lower reaches of a white-dominated Parliament, their motives are still racist and power grabbing. What moves them is not a desire for reform, but fear. Unlike 1948, the regime stands under assault from all sides — from black trade unions and from mass popular resistance, uniting in such bodies as the United Democratic Front; and above all, from armed attack by the extending forces of Umkhonto we Sizwe and the ANC. It is fear for the future of white supremacy, not confidence, that has called forth the new constitutional proposals.

Botha stands like some latter-day Canute amidst the rising tide of mass resistance — vainly trying to turn the tide aside. As each magic incantation is tried and proved ineffectual — "apartheid"; 'separate development'; 'Bantustan independence' — the regime begins to flounder, to cast about it desperately for firmer sand on which to make a stand.

But too late! The tide of South African liberation is rising to the flood; and nothing can now prevent that tide washing away the footholds of a regime whose time has passed.

Presidential rule — Botha style

There may amongst our readers be some who do not know the actual provisions proposed for the Botha 'constitution'. Indeed, these are more far-reaching than just the matter of the three-tier Parliament. What is in fact being proposed, along with a three-tier Parliament, is a recipe for the dissolution of that Parliamentary form of government which has existed
since the Act of Union in 1910, and the substitution of a quasi-Presidental form of government, which will be able to slip easily into a crude dictatorship outside of Parliament. This too represents Botha's preparation for the next step of a drowning regime — backward into open police-cum-military rule, and final abandonment of the South African pretence to be a democracy.

The provisions of the constitution will include the following: Parliament will have three "houses", elected respectively by whites, Coloureds and Indians. A state President will be picked by an Electoral College of members of all three "houses" — 50 white, 25 Coloured and 13 Indian. Each "house" will elect its own representatives by majority vote; thus the white majority party will effectively control the election of the President. The President will appoint a Cabinet of members of any of the three "houses", or from outside the "houses" (subject to such an appointee becoming a member of a "house" within a year.)

He will also appoint a Ministers Council for each "house". Members of Ministers Councils will only hold portfolios for "own affairs" — that is matters exclusively affecting their own racial group. There will be a President's Council, comprising 20 members selected by the white "house", 10 by the Coloured and 5 by the Indian, an additional 15 President's Councillors appointed by the President, and a further 10 selected by the "houses" by proportional representation, in the ratio of 6 white, three Coloured and one Indian. The President's Council will advise the President on matters of public interest, excluding draft legislation. It will, when asked to do so by the President, arbitrate between "houses" in matters of dispute on "general affairs" — that is, bills other than "own affairs" bills. The President need not act on the advice of the Council, unless he has asked the Council for a ruling. The President will determine which matters are "own affairs" and which are "general affairs." "Own affairs" bills will not be dealt with in any way whatsoever by "houses" other than that whose "own affairs" it is.

Democratic reform — white South Africa style!

US WARMONGERS MUST BE STOPPED!
When the United States last October was forced to use its veto to prevent the Security Council of the United Nations from passing a resolution condemning (by 11 votes to 1 with three abstentions) its invasion of Grenada, one thing became crystal clear — that the whole world now branded the US as a warmonger, distrusted the Reagan administration and feared for the worst if something was not done to check the Pentagon's militarist ambitions.

The year 1983 closed on an ominous note. The South Korean airplane incident, the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, the US invasion of Grenada, South African aggression against neighbouring states, US insistence on the installation in Europe of Cruise and Pershing missiles, the increasing violence and recklessness of Reagan's rhetoric against the Soviet Union — all were pointers to the adoption by the US of a programme for war as the only way to make the world safe for capitalism.

The tragic costs of Reagan's attempt to impose a Pax Americana on the world continue to mount. The Lebanon has been turned into a charnel house stacked with tens of thousands of corpses. In Grenada the reforms of four years brought about by the New Jewel Movement have been wiped out together with the existing and potential leadership and the island has been converted into a US military base. The governments of Angola, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Ethiopia and many other non-aligned nations are branded as Soviet satellites and subjected to measures of destabilisation and economic pressure with the ultimate threat of invasion to force them to toe the line.

There can be no expectation of an improvement in the US stance during 1984, for this is an election year in which the Presidency, the whole House of Representatives and one third of the Senate are put up for auction to the highest bidder. We are made to understand that Reagan's popularity was never so great as after the invasion of Grenada, just as that of Mrs Thatcher soared after the Falklands war. We can expect to see Reagan attempting to consolidate his macho image, striking attitudes to impress a sensation-seeking electorate, culminating ever more stridently against Cuba and the Soviet Union, seeking to overwhelm his opponents with the American counterpart of jingoism.

The danger is, of course, that Reagan is juggling not merely with words but with the most deadly weapons, and there are signs that the US leadership, drunk with its own anti-communist and anti-Soviet rhetoric, is being subjected to ever greater pressure from the military-industrial complex, for which it is the mouthpiece, to match its words with deeds. The Grenada invasion showed just how heedless the US has become of the opinions not merely of its opponents, but even of its so-called allies, as it pursues its headlong and relentless march towards Armageddon.

Three factors in recent months have combined to rouse world distrust of US intentions: the Korean airplane disaster, the US invasion of Grenada, and the Geneva talks on the limitation of intermediate range nuclear missiles in Europe.
The Korean airplane incident
Whatever mistakes may have been made on the Soviet side, the US has failed to answer a number of key questions. Why was the plane over 500 kilometres off-course? Why did the US, which was closely monitoring the plane’s passage, not notify either the pilot or the Soviet Union that the plane was off course? Why has the United States not published its record of all messages issued by the pilot during the last hours of his flight, apart from the last sentence indicating that he was losing height?

Failure by the US to answer these and other questions have satisfied the whole world, including a majority of those polled in the United States itself, that the US has deliberately withheld information which would have proved conclusively that the plane was on a spying mission on behalf of US military intelligence. Yet the Soviet Union was subjected to a nasty and vicious campaign of sanctions by a number of western nations who, significantly, remained completely unmoved when Israel shot down a Libyan passenger plane in February 1973, killing 179 passengers; and equally unmoved by the mass murder of tens of thousands of Palestinian refugees following the Israeli invasion of Lebanon.

The invasion of Grenada
The US has lied about this from start to finish. It had planned the invasion for months, yet lied that it acted in response to an invitation issued by Grenadians after the death in unexplained circumstances of former premier Bishop and some of his associates. Even the craven governor-general Scoon confessed afterwards that he had never asked for an invasion, and in fact it is clear that the whole exercise was orchestrated from outside Grenada and that Scoon only signed a letter of invitation after he had been whisked off the island by US troops and placed under US "protection" on the aircraft carrier Guam.

Reagan claimed he decided to invade Grenada to save the lives of American students — yet the head of the American college where they were studying said they were never in any danger. Reagan claimed the Cubans were constructing a military runway that the Russians and Cubans were planning to take over the island and use it as a base for terrorism throughout the world. Yet the firm mainly involved on the technical side was the British firm Plessey, who insisted that there were no military facilities at the airfield which was plainly intended purely for civilian use. Reagan claimed US troops got to Grenada "just in time" — just in time for what? There is not the slightest evidence that the Grenadians, Cubans, Russians or anyone else was planning anything except the economic development of the island. Yet now the Yankee paranoia has led to the destruction of the Grenadian social experiment and the restoration of bourgeois rule.

The Geneva arms talks
Nowhere has US bad faith been demonstrated more clearly. The decision to instal cruise and Pershing missiles in Europe was taken, on US initiative, as long ago as 1979. The Geneva talks were accepted by the US in a bid to allay public alarm reflected in the growing strength of the peace movement in Europe. Throughout the negotiations, the Soviet Union has made proposals to reduce the number of intermediate range nuclear weapons deployed in Europe, but every offer has been spurned by a US administration determined to see its weapons installed matter what the cost in money or goodwill.

"The time has come for the peoples of the world to ask themselves: who is threatening whom? Is it the United States, not the Soviet Union, which believes a nuclear war is winnable. It is the United States, not the Soviet Union, which believes it can succeed with a first strike. It is the United States which rejects the policy of detente whilst all Soviet leaders and media plead for the reduction of tension world wide. It is the United States and its western allies who condition their peoples to regard the Soviet Union, not merely as an ideological opponent, but as the enemy in a future war."

Signs are not lacking that even America’s allies are becoming frightened of the warmongering tactics of the Reagan administration; yes, even Thatcher distanced herself from the invasion of Grenada — not out of love for freedom and democracy and respect for international law, but out of fear for the future of Britain itself. The US administration believes it is strong enough to override international law and world opinion, including the opinion of its allies. It is time for the people of the world to make it clear through mass action of every kind that the US will not be allowed to get away with it. The US warmongers must be halted in their tracks and the world made safe for people to live in.
Comrade Dora Tamana died on July 23, 1983 at her home in Cape Town.

With her death our Party and our people have lost a dedicated and courageous fighter for a free South Africa.

She was born in Hlobo, Transkei on November 11, 1901. Her father and uncles lost their lives in the 1921 Bulhoek massacre in which 163 people were shot dead by the Smuts regime. Among the few voices of protest raised against the Bulhoek massacre were those of Wilfred Harrison and the 80-year-old William Dryburgh of the then United Communist Party, one of the forerunners of the Communist Party of South Africa. The Bulhoek massacre made a deep impression on Dora, then aged 20.

In 1923 she married John Tamana and they had four children, three of whom died from starvation. Her husband left to seek work in Cape Town and she joined him in 1930. Not long after they had settled in the Blouwei suburb of Cape Town, the homes of the people living there were threatened with demolition and the resistance to this led her to the ANC and to meeting Moses Kotane with whom she worked on this campaign, which ended in success.

In 1942 Dora joined the Communist Party. Her main work was among women and children and she pioneered the first creche for African and Coloured children. She participated in the struggles against passes and influx control, took part in the Defiance Campaign of 1952 and in 1953 she helped to organise a successful campaign against the removal of the bread subsidy which resulted in an increase in the price of bread by 2d. The Nationalist Party and their Finance Minister Havenga were forced to cancel this increase.

In 1954 she helped to establish the Federation of South African Women and became secretary when Ray Alexander was banned. She left South Africa illegally together with Lilian Ngoyi in 1955 to attend a meeting of the Women's International Democratic Federation in Lausanne. They visited London, Berlin, Peking, Tashkent and Moscow and learnt much from this trip, in turn making a lasting impression on everyone whom they met. Dora was detained in the 1960 State of Emergency and was again held in 1963. When the Rivonia accused were sentenced in 1964 she helped organise visits to Robben Island and provided assistance for the relatives visiting the prisoners.

Over the years Dora always saw to it that August 9 — South African Women's Day — was remembered. In 1978 she helped organise a big rally for August 9 and at this meeting the United Women's Association was established, the forerunner of the United Women's Organisation whose conference she opened in April 1981 with a fiery speech.

On August 9 of the previous year she had been one of three honoured guests who attended the meeting — Annie Silinga and Frances Baard were the other two.

In September 1981 she opened the annual conference of the Food and Canning Workers' Union and on August 9, 1982, she was at the Women's Day meeting held in Cape Town. She continued all her activities despite increasing frailty and loss of her eyesight. Her spirit never faltered.

Her son Bothwell joined Umkhonto we Sizwe and participated in the 1967 Wankie operation against the South African and Rhodesian military forces. He was captured and spent 13 years in Smith's maximum security prisons. He was released after Zimbabwe's independence in 1980, but never

On October 14, 1983, the general secretary of the South African Communist Party, Moses Mabhida, celebrated his 60th birthday. In honour of the occasion he was awarded the order of the Friendship of the Peoples by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. Our picture shows the award being presented to comrade Mabhida at a ceremony in the Kremlin, Moscow, by Antanas S. Birkaukas, Deputy Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet.
recovered from the brutal tortures he suffered at the hands of his captors. During his captivity Dora regularly travelled 1,500 miles to see her son and our other MK cadres but after October 1976, when Transkei became "independent", Dora refused to apply for a Transkeian passport which she needed to leave the country and she died without seeing him again.

Dora was also a strong supporter of the peace movement and in 1953 helped organise one of the first meetings of the Cape Town Peace Council in a hall near where she lived. Although there was no electricity in Blouville she arranged a showing of slides sent by the Japanese Peace Council so that the people were able to see the effects of the atom bombs which had been dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. It made a powerful impact on the audience, many of whom did not realise the terrible implications of nuclear war.

Her indomitable spirit, her courage and determination earned her the admiration of all who knew her and more than 2,000 people from every corner of our country came to honour her and pay their last respects when she was buried on August 6. Guards of honour were dressed in black and green uniforms and her coffin was draped with an ANC flag. Hamba kahle, comrade Dora! You will live on in our hearts forever.

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A UNITED PEOPLE WILL DEFEAT THE ENEMY

Statement adopted by the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party, September 1983

In South Africa, political and economic factors are converging to confront the ruling class with a crisis of immense proportions. Despite the employment of increasing terror by the regime in its attempts to arrest the march towards liberation, the oppressed and exploited people of our country are demonstrating by their actions a total rejection of race rule. And among the various strata of our people there are signs of growing defiance and upsurge.

The wave of illegal strikes continues in all parts of our country as our working class acts to put a halt to the assault on its working and living conditions. Among the student youth there are again significant signs of stirring at the universities and the schools. Faced with a triple burden of oppression more and more black women are being drawn into the liberation struggle. The Ciskei terror against the working population has not succeeded in preventing outbreaks of organised opposition and demonstration. Every attempt by the authorities to impose increased rent and bus fares leads to spirited resistance from those affected.