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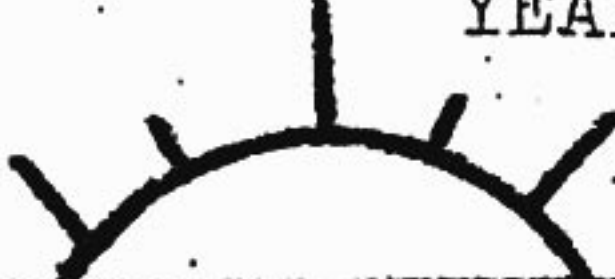

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DR. YUSUF DADOO

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OUR BATTLE-CRY IS AND WILL CONTINUE
TO BE VICTORY OR DEATH WE SHALL WIN!

— COMRADE PRESIDENT O.R. TAMBO —

DISCIPLINE IS THE MOTHER OF VICTORY!

E D I T O R I A L

HEROIC GUERRILLA AND SOUTHERN AFRICA

We celebrate the DAY OF THE HEROIC GUERRILLA, October 9, at a time when the tasks and duties of our combatants are becoming more demanding. The armed and political struggles of our people have changed the map of Southern Africa. The liberation of Angola and Mozambique have had the most revolutionising impact. The people's forces in Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa are posing insurmountable problems for the rulers. The PATRIOTIC FRONT is poised to sweep away the reactionaries. Pretoria's army is straining every fibre to contain SWAPO's guerrillas in Namibia. In South Africa the contradictions of Apartheid, the militancy of our people and MK's developing capacity to strike, are building-up for a tremendous explosion.

As the forces of revolution grow stronger so the enemy becomes more vicious. At this crucial stage the liberation movements and the Front Line States face a dual offensive from the racists and their imperialist big brothers. On the one hand we see the escalation of military aggression by the racists; on the other hand we see the devious neo-colonial manoeuvres of the imperialists. These are the twin tactics of a single strategy; namely the destabilisation of the Front Line States, liquidation of the liberation movements and the installation of neo-colonial regimes. The aim is to preserve Southern Africa as a zone for imperialist exploitation and super-profits.

Having failed to stem the armed struggle in Zimbabwe the British are seeking to impose a 'peaceful settlement' on their terms at the negotiating table, whilst the criminal bombing of Mozambique and Zambia increases in the hope that these heroic states will comply with imperialist plans. Similarly with Angola, the bombing of civilian targets and cities like Lobango is designed to pressurise that country to comply with Pretoria's plans for Namibia. This strategy is

doomed to failure. Whether at Sharpeville or Soweto, or anywhere in Southern Africa, the racists have never succeeded in cowering the people by force. The bombing of the Front Line States is arousing a wave of hatred from the people. The struggle to liberate Southern Africa is increasingly seen to be indivisible. We have the people of Africa, the socialist states and progressive mankind on our side.

Our blue sky is thick with the plots of reaction. Britain is manoeuvring for its monstrous sell-out in Zimbabwe. Botha has warned that he will intervene militarily if the PATRIOTIC FRONT comes to power. The mounting aggression against Angola shows that the racists, despite the previous thrashing they received, are again toying with the idea of invading that heroic country.

For the guerrilla combatants, for all activists, the challenge is clear. We must steel ourselves to smash the fascist offensive. We will follow in the footsteps of 'THE HEROIC GUERRILLA', of Che, Neto, Mahlangu, of the warriors of Wankie and Isandlwana. We must emulate their shining qualities of dedication, iron discipline and determination; of fearlessness and audacity in battle; of high morale and political consciousness. It is these qualities that have made the guerrilla fighters of Africa, Asia and Latin America such an unstoppable force. It is these qualities that enabled the Soviet Red Armymen and partisans to crush the Nazis. Comrade Mandela said 'There is no easy walk to freedom'. A mammoth task is before us. Reaction will not give up its power and profits without a ferocious struggle. The bullets, bombs and battle-cries can be heard throughout Southern Africa. The message is clear: **SHOULDER YOUR ARMS COMRADES, THE TIME FOR BATTLE IS NIGH!** We march forward to mobilise our people in mass political struggle, and to reinforce that struggle with mighty armed blows!

**OUR BATTLE-CRY IS AND WILL CONTINUE TO BE -
VICTORY OR DEATH WE SHALL WIN!**

ADDRESS TO MEMBERS OF UMKHONTO WE SIZWE
BY COMRADE ALFRED NZO, SECRETARY-GENERAL
OF THE ANC - SEPTEMBER, 1979

Comrades Commanding Personnel of Umkhonto we Sizwe,
Comrades Members of our Heroic People's Army.

It gives us great pleasure to convey to you the revolutionary greetings of our President, Comrade Oliver Tambo, of the National Executive Committee and of the entire membership of the African National Congress.

It is indeed an exciting experience to be with you to share our thoughts on the problems of our revolutionary struggle and of the general anti-imperialist movement of the peoples of the world.

Comrades, only a few days ago the MPLA Party of Labour laid to rest the supreme leader of their revolution, the heroic son of the Angolan people and of the whole of Africa, an international servant of democratic and peace-loving mankind, a ruthless combatant against imperialism and world reaction, Comrade President Antonio Agostinho Neto.

The grievous loss sustained by the Angolan people through the untimely death of Comrade Neto is finally a loss for our organisation and people, for the peoples of Southern Africa and their vanguard organisations - the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe and SWAPO of Namibia.

It was a fitting tribute to his genius and unbending determination as one of the foremost strategists and tacticians of our present day revolutionary epoch that leaders and representatives of many progressive states and political parties joined the Angolan people in Luanda to bid farewell to Comrade Agostinho Neto. Representatives of our organisation, led by Comrade President Oliver Tambo, were part of this international contingent.

To the African National Congress, to our people's army Umkhonto we Sizwe and to our fighting people, President Neto was a fellow combatant and one of the leading cadres among the forces that are locked in battle against the apartheid fascist

regime, for the national and social liberation of the oppressed people of South Africa.

For almost two decades Comrade Neto has stood side by side with the African National Congress, coming to our aid when the need arose and always unwavering in his commitment to the strengthening of the combat ties between the African National Congress and the MPLA Party of Labour and our respective peoples for the revolutionary renewal of our two countries.

Comrade Neto will live forever in the hearts and minds of our people as the fighter who tamed the arrogant and aggressive South African apartheid regime in the battlefields of Angola and at a grave hour for the entire African continent led the Angolan people in their victorious struggle to expel the South African forces of colonial occupation and expansionism. That historic victory served as the guarantee for the success of our own struggle as well as those of the people of Namibia and Zimbabwe under the leadership of SWAPO and the Patriotic Front and defeated the oppressive international imperialism which aimed to recolonise Africa.

Comrade President Agostinho Neto has departed from our midst but his revolutionary ideas and teachings shall always be with us. We shall always be inspired, by his example of untiring struggle for a better life to new victories in the struggle of our own people.

We pledge that the African National Congress shall always be loyal to its firm commitment to the unity of our parties and peoples.

We pledge that we shall always remain firm to our commitment to destroy fascist power in our country which even now stands ready poised to commit further acts of aggression against the People's Republic of Angola and other Front-line states and continues to pose a threat to international peace and security.

We pledge that we shall never abandon the ranks of the world anti-imperialist movement.

The African National Congress, Umkhonto we Sizwe and millions of our fighting people bid fare-

well to a revolutionary fighter, Comrade Antonio Agostinho Neto.

Comrades, the world we live in is continuously rocked by revolutionary changes and upheavals as peoples in many parts of our globe destroy one after the other barricades of reaction and fascist oppression. Some of the anti-people regimes that until recently had been thought to be impregnable arsenals capable to act as focal points of imperialist aggression in defence of imperialism's vast economic and strategic interests. This was particularly the case in Iran during the reactionary rule of the Shah. This was also the case during the existence of the 40-year fascist Somoza dynasty which has recently fallen to blows of the revolutionary people of Nicaragua.

The Pol Pot reactionary regime in Kampuchea is no more and the pro-imperialist clique which formerly ruled in Afghanistan has long been destroyed. These were preceded by the defeat of American imperialist aggression in Vietnam which ushered in a new era of unity and strength for the entire Vietnamese nation: which under the banner of socialist Vietnam is building a new life of happiness and social progress.

On the African continent, the defeat of Portuguese colonialism ushered in the dawn of genuine people's power for the peoples of Mozambique, Angola, Guinea Bissau, Cape Verde and Sao Tome and Principe, a development which imperialism saw as posing a serious threat to its vast interests on the whole continent of Africa and in particular southern Africa.

All these events were motivated by one common desire, the desire of the various people to get rid of reactionary rule and build a new life free from fascist oppression and exploitation, a system that is nurtured by imperialism and reaction.

It goes without saying that these developments have greatly strengthened the forces that stand guard over the people's vital interests.

Comrades, an interesting feature of these developments is that every time the people successfully strike a blow against their oppressors, there

are always signs of the visible weakening of the positions of imperialism and this has a direct impact on the position of the fascist regime in our own country. One of the bitterest blows ever to fall on the head of the regime of terror in our country was the fall of the Shah followed by the severance of all relations between the new Iran and South Africa. This meant inter-alia, that the regime was deprived of 90% of its international oil supplies.

This has been followed by a noticeable panic reaction within the ranks of the white ruling class as the energy crisis has become sharpened and aggravated. Feverish attempts to discover local sources of oil have so far proved abortive. The regime is now pouring huge sums of money on its oil-from-coal project, SASOL, which even after completion will not fully meet the energy requirements of the sophisticated military industrial complex in South Africa.

It should also be remembered that countries such as Nigeria have already taken steps to punish the international oil monopolies such as British petroleum by nationalising their assets in Nigeria on the discovery that British petroleum was collaborating with the apartheid regime.

We applaud the actions of Iran and Nigeria in enforcing the embargo on the apartheid regime as concrete actions of solidarity with the struggle of our people. These developments provide further proof of the direct interconnection between the international solidarity movement and the development of our internal struggle which has been on the upsurge especially in the last few years.

It is in the background of these favourable world developments that the revolutionary movement is gaining momentum in South Africa and in southern Africa as a whole.

Our enemies, faced with this deepening crisis, have fully mobilised their resources and supported by international reaction are engaging in a desperate counter offensive in a vain attempt to halt the march to freedom by millions of our people in southern Africa. This reactionary counter offensive

has intensified since the fall of Portuguese colonialism which turned the balance of forces firmly in favour of the revolutionary movement of the peoples of the whole continent of Africa and its southern Africa region.

- (a) The racist regimes and their allies aim to physically destroy and liquidate the liberation movements in southern Africa both within their respective countries and also in their areas of sanctuary inside the territories of the Front-line States.
- (b) Simultaneously they aim to compel the neighbouring independent states to turn against the liberation movements. To achieve this purpose, as we all know, they have resorted to repeated military raids deep inside Angola, Mozambique, Zambia and Botswana, killing hundreds of people and destroying property.
- (c) Imperialism is busy creating such forces among the Black oppressed people as would replace the white minority regimes as the guarantors of imperialism's hegemony in southern Africa in exchange for high sounding titles and a life of luxury for a handful of the Black traitors.
- (d) At the same time, imperialism is continuing to pour military and economic support into South Africa and Rhodesia to ensure that the racist regimes in these countries even under black skins, remain continuously the principal factor for the content and pace of any process of decolonisation.
- (e) Through political and ideological subversion, the enemies seek to separate the revolutionary movements from their natural allies, the socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union,

Cuba and the German Democratic Republic.

On an international plane, the attempts to destabilise certain sectors of the progressive movement are going on all the time. This was clearly demonstrated before the convocation of the Non-Aligned conference in Havana, when every conceivable attempt was made to disrupt the event. Intrigue, lies, blackmail and intimidation were resorted to but to no avail. The Havana conference of the Non-Aligned states turned out to be not only the biggest that the movement has ever held in its history but also, as reports have clearly indicated, the anti-imperialist content of this movement was further deepened. New states including the progressive forces of the people of Zimbabwe were admitted into membership of the Non-Aligned Movement.

Comrades, the failure of the imperialist strategy in Southern Africa is reflected by the growing momentum of the liberation struggles of the peoples of the region under the leadership of their vanguard organisation, the African National Congress in South Africa, the Patriotic Front in Zimbabwe and the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) in Namibia.

The prestige of the African National Congress has never been as high as it is now in our country since the decade of the 50s. A clear testimony of this is contained in a report written by a visitor from abroad after a visit to South Africa in June of this year. He says in part "It seems that at this stage in South Africa the ANC has become the most important political organisation" Now student organisations proudly announce themselves as ANC organisations. Older and more thoughtful analysts say that the ANC after a period of low internal activity has again started to organise itself well since Soweto. Interesting to note that the large movement of Gatsha Buthelezi with its 200,000 members, mainly peasants and workers, has not shown a dislike for the ANC. Such comrades, is the state of affairs.

The growing activity of our underground political organisation and the frequent successful

assaults by our heroic people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe have increased the faith of the masses of our people in the inevitability of the victory of our revolutionary struggle under the leadership of the African National Congress.

During the past year Umkhonto we Sizwe has pounded enemy targets with increasing frequency and the enemy has been forced to admit to the superiority of the tactics of our armed cadres. This was particularly the case after the successful assault against the Moroka police station by the heroic unit of our people's army. Attempts to dampen the impact of this action including false reports of arrests of our cadres involved in the action have not had any impact whatsoever.

During the same period, the strike actions by the Black working class for better wages have gone on unabated. The manoeuvres of the Riekert and Wiehahn commissions whose recommendations have been especially directed at blunting the growing militancy of the Black working class have been exposed and rejected. The resistance of the rural masses in the Bantustan enclaves is growing as they mount their struggles against the imposition of ruinous taxes, against the growing economic misery of the majority in the so-called independent Bantustans, against removals on the basis of ethnic origin, against the escalating reign of terror designed to impose the authority of the anti-people puppet regimes in the so-called independent Bantustans. The conditions are fast maturing for the development of a massive movement of the people throughout the country in opposition to the fraud of Bantustan independence.

The organised resistance of the youth against the distortions of Bantu Education and other forms of repression directed against the youth continues unabated. Concrete organisational forms rallying an increasing number of the youth into the arena of struggle are the order of the day.

The task of our revolutionary movement is to channel the growing resistance of our people into a single mighty stream by intensifying the mobilisation of all sections of the oppressed population.

This will ensure the defeat of the enemy strategy aimed at weakening the strength of the people's resistance through the devious manoeuvres of the Bantustan fraudulent independence, of the 3-tier system of government aimed at divorcing the Coloured and Indian sections of our population from the united Black national liberation movement and of the Riekert and Wiehahn commission designed to blunt the militancy of the Black workers. Heightened political activity of the masses of our people will create a favourable breeding ground for the growth of our people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

To achieve the above stated tasks, our movement and the people's army must itself be united as never before. It is this unity which will sharpen the many-pronged onslaught of our people against the fascist monster, for seizure of power. It is unity which will enable our movement to successfully discharge their internationalist obligations towards the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe, SWAPO of Namibia, the POLISARIO Front of Western Sahara, the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO), the FRETELIN Movement of East Timor and all other people struggling for a better life.

FORWARD TO CERTAIN VICTORY!

AMANDLA! MATLA!

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

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"WORLD WIDE SUPPORT FOR THE STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION IS A STRIKING FEATURE OF INTERNATIONAL CONCERN FOR JUSTICE, HUMAN DIGNITY AND PEACE. IN TURN NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS FEEL A NATURAL IDENTITY WITH THE CAUSE OF LIBERATION EVERYWHERE..."

- COMRADE PRESIDENT O.R. TAMBO -

(in a statement to the Sixth Conference of Non-Aligned countries).

DAY OF THE HEROIC GUERRILLA

- Conny Dlingea

When the killer forces of the military dictator Barrientos of Bolivia, murdered Ernesto 'Che' Guevara, over ten years ago, they thought they were annihilating this stalwart revolutionary from the surface of the earth. They thought they were killing not only Che, but the noble ideals of freedom which inspired him to devote his whole life and energy to fighting the evil of exploitation, his deeply human ideals of hating injustice, of struggling for the liberation of not only the oppressed and exploited in Latin America, but the oppressed masses throughout the world.

It has been well documented that the enemy troops captured Che alive. He did not die in the exchange of bullets with the enemy. He fought, using his versatile knowledge of guerrilla warfare until he was wounded. They captured him in this state. But because they feared him even in captivity and wounded, they murdered Che in cold blood.

Che refused to die. He did not die. In death he remained to be the martyr of the oppressed. His ideas of liberation, his militant spirit of not only hating oppression and injustice, but of doing something about it, lives on. Che's stature became even greater than during his lifetime. Today, thanks to Che's activity as a guerrilla fighter, we celebrate the International Day of the Heroic Guerrilla.

The significance of this day lies not only in paying tribute to Che Guevara. This day is of major importance to us, the Youth and People of South Africa. This day is significant to the African National Congress of South Africa, the liberation movement of the struggling people of our country. This day is of special importance to the militants of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the striking force of the people of South Africa, led by the ANC.

This day is important because we have reached a stage in the fight for the liberation of our country from racist oppression, where we are engaging the enemy in armed struggle. Our movement

has stated now and again that armed struggle, guerrilla warfare, is the only way left to rid our country of the obnoxious, oppressive system of white domination, for the seizure of power for the liberation of the Blackman.

The liberation movement of our country, as the struggle intensifies, is already producing heroes. The very nature of our struggle, its protractedness and complexity, its profound human character, will not only produce heroes, but demands and requires heroism of our youth in Umkhonto we Sizwe.

MK militants, tested in the hard conditions of oppression at home, schooled, led and guided by the ANC, will continue - should continue - to show that steadfastness, that resolve, that courage, that militancy which characterised Che Guevara, which characterise our own heroes like Solomon Mahlangu - that of fighting for the noble cause of our people, that of confronting the enemy in the battlefield to the last, of knowing fully the nature of our struggle. The question of liberating our country should inspire us so that fighting against the enemy should not only be a task, but a life obligation, our very reason for being, our way of life.

In pursuing the ideals of the liberation of our people we should be able to say, like the leader of our movement, the co-founder of Umkhonto we Sizwe, Nelson Mandela, when facing the racists during the Rivonia Trial: "...the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live in harmony and with equal opportunities, is the ideal which I hope to live for and achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die".

Comrade President Oliver Tambo said of our youth. Instead of submitting to the already disproved invincibility of the fascist army, the best sons and daughters of our people have responded to our call to swell the ranks of Umkhonto we Sizwe, our people's army, the military wing of the ANC, and to confront the enemy with revolutionary arms now.

This is possible because the armed struggle, armed activities of our guerrilla fighters, are profoundly political. It is waged in pursuit of

very clear political aims and aspirations. It is led by a political organisation, led by a leadership tested in the political battles of our country. It is so because of the support and political understanding of our people, the resourceful base of our liberation struggle.

During the Day of the Heroic Guerrilla we pay homage to the Mahlangu, Mfundisis, Pashas, Molokwane of Dobsonville. We pay respect to our MK comrades who fell during the Wankie battles. We pay tribute to those sons and daughters of our people like Mdluli, Looksmart Solwandle, Mini, Kayinga, Salojee, Mkhaba and others who have died in the struggle, who were done to death by the enemy police.

We pay tribute to Che the internationalist, personifying the militant guerrilla fighters who have fallen in Vietnam, in Angola, in Mozambique, in Guinea Bissau, in Palestine, in Western Sahara, in Namibia, in Zimbabwe and everywhere, where the best sons and daughters of humanity have fallen in pursuit of the noble ideals of liberating mankind from oppression, exploitation and injustice.

We pay tribute to the outstanding leader of the Angolan revolution, Comrade Agostinho Neto, who led his people victoriously through the armed struggle to the declaration of independence in 1975, through the trying days of national reconstruction and the interventionist war of the imperialists, racists and their puppets.

In marking the Day of the Heroic Guerrilla, we rededicate ourselves once more never to rest or falter until our country has been liberated from racist oppression, white domination and super exploitation. It is only in this way that we can pay just tribute to Che Guevara, to our fallen heroes and to the heroes throughout the world who have sacrificed for the liberation of mankind from oppression, exploitation and social injustice.

ETERNAL GLORY TO PEOPLE'S HEROES.

WE SERVE THEIR CAUSE, AN INDESTRUCTABLE CAUSE!

THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES!

HOMAGE TO COMRADE NETO

- Lucio Lara,
Member of Politbureau;
Secretary Central Committee MPLA Workers' Party

Comrade President,
Dear Friend,

How naive we were when, in the incessant overcoming of obstacles that our struggle has been, we believed that you were invulnerable.

Under your command, Commander-in-Chief, we became accustomed to not believing in defeat and in forging victories for our people.

The certainty of victory was you, who knew how to smile in the face of danger, who knew how to create with dry eyes, who knew neither fear nor doubt before the objectives that were early laid down.

From Portuguese prisons in Angola, Cape Verde and Portugal you knew how to draw the requisite experience to turn them into schools of struggle for our people. From the blows of the PIDE you knew how to learn that it is not men who hate, but monsters, and that racism suffered in one's own flesh can be transformed into revolutionary anti-racism, into love for mankind.

You knew how to make of the medical science that you acquired and practised with zeal a weapon to struggle against the exploitation of man by man, to struggle for dignity. How many of the young people who passed through your consulting room in the Bairro Operário became dedicated patriots outstanding leaders of the struggle of the oppressed Angolan people.

You knew how to be the son who learned from his mother how to wait for the hour of intoning anthems to freedom.

You knew how to be the family head who gave immense affection to his wife and children, as the only compensation for endless absences which have now become permanent.

You knew how to be the friendly brother, the kind relative, from whom a word of warmth was always to be had.

Uncontested leader of a heroic people, you be-

came the father of all the Angolan children, the son of all the mothers of Angola.

In the coffin in which you rest forever, you will not have heard the clamour of the cries of sorrow that your passage unleashed through the streets of the city. Everyone, on their feet, wanted to pay tribute to you and to cry out how their hearts revolted against your departure.

Forgive us, Commander, for this momentary disarray, these bitter tears that we had wanted to be able to contain.

The sorrow is great and it is communicative. The sorrow of the pioneers is passed on to the mothers, and that of the workers is passed on to the soldiers and the peasants.

But we shall also defeat sorrow, just as we defeated the South Africans, and we are going to continue to transform this beloved land into the country that you projected for the future.

Our people, your people, are discovering at this moment that you were a giant, greater even than the image of you that we all had. And it is with determination that we memorise all your guidelines, and here and now solemnly pledge that we will implement them enthusiastically in organising the Party and the State, in the Nation's economic and social progress.

We shall indeed fight without let-up for the total liberation of our people, for the elimination of all the vestiges inherited from colonialism. We shall indeed, the whole people, drive from our national soil the enemies who obstinately refuse to believe in our invincibility.

We shall indeed respect and continue to implement the sacred principles of our socialist option, which are already a visible trail in the new society that we are forging here.

We shall indeed, Comrade President, inject ever more worker and peasant blood into the Party and Government apparatus.

We shall indeed institute People's Power and create the People's Assembly, your last concern.

We shall indeed practice modesty, austerity,

audacity, so as to fulfill your incisive directive that the most important thing is to solve the problems of the people.

We shall indeed strengthen the Defence and Security forces and the ODP, so that our borders become inviolable, so that our people feel security and tranquility.

We shall indeed, Comrade President, strengthen the Party, strengthen its unity, strengthen the unity of the people, dignify Angolan women, educate and see to the future of our Pioneers, your Pioneers.

We shall indeed, President Friend, intensify the building of our Party which, under the banner of Marxism-Leninism, will lead Angola to Socialism, under the leadership of the working class.

We shall remain true to your memory and your teachings, Comrade President, and we shall seek in you the inspiration to overcome the most difficult obstacles.

Dear Friends,
Comrades,

Our great deceased is not unknown to you, is not unknown to the world.

The son of teachers, he was born 57 years ago today, in the village of Kaxikane less than 100 kilometres from Luanda.

The history of his life is truly the modern history of our people's struggle for independence and for dignity.

A health worker, he succeeded in graduating in medicine, a number of times knowing the harshness of Portuguese fascist prisons in his student days, and then gaining great international prestige, which led Amnesty International, in 1961, to make him Political Prisoner of the Year.

A born fighter who was undaunted by any obstacle, he was always accustomed to achieving things by dint of wanting to.

He understood early on that only organisation gives force to the struggle. In contact with progressives the world over, he was able to acquire a truly Marxist consciousness. He worked as a mili-

tant in various youth and student organisations and in 1952, with Angolan shipworkers, he founded the African Shipping Club, a communication link between Angolan patriots who were in Portugal, and those in Angola who were laying the foundations for the liberation movement, which was going to give rise to the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) in 1956. The Shipping Club was already instrumental in the denunciation of the massacres of February 1953 in Sao Tomé.

Always seeking more effective methods of clandestine struggle, in 1958, together with Amilcar Cabral, Marcelino dos Santos and other young people from the former Portuguese colonies, he founded the Anti-Colonialist Movement (MAC), with the aim of forging the national consciousness of a youth in danger of alienation, and also for the purpose of denouncing the fascist nature of Portuguese colonialism outside Portugal.

His busy life at the Medical Faculty and in prisons did not prevent him from meeting the wife and companion with whom he was going to travel the long road of the struggle he started.

After completing his course he returned to Luanda where, apart from practising medicine, he started to give impetus to the watchwords of the Manifesto of the MPLA, which was then going through a period of structuring.

It was not difficult for the colonial henchmen to find out that Agostinho Neto had become a pole of attraction for both young and old who, on the pretext of medical consultations, were preparing with him clandestine work in organising and raising people's consciousness.

Prison once more and deportation to Lisbon and Cape Verde made the people of Icolo e Bengo demonstrate peacefully, upon which they were subjected to violent repression which ended in a massacre.

This was a time of the mass imprisonment of all Angolans suspected of political activities.

When the MPLA was restructured, Agostinho Neto was made Honorary President.

Then came the glorious signal of 4 February, which started a new stage in our liberation struggle.

gle. The attack on the Luanda prisons by armed patriots armed only with machettes was going to start the Angolan people's liberation war which, despite the ferocious repression of the Portuguese troops, lit up forever the flame of liberation in our country.

From the dungeons in Cape Verde and Lisbon, he entered the period of restricted residence which, thanks to the co-operation between the MPLA and a group of Portuguese progressives, made it possible to plan his spectacular flight to Morocco, accompanied by his wife and two children. There Agostinho Neto met the first guerrilla groups who were being trained with the help of the Algerian National Liberation Front, and from then onwards he assumed the leadership of the problems of the struggle, until he was elected President of the MPLA in December 1962, at the MPLA's first National Conference.

The vicissitudes of a struggle waged under conditions of an extreme lack of means and without any valid support from abroad, never for a moment decreased his unshakeable confidence in success, but on the contrary motivated titanic effort to supply the guerrilla groups in the First Region who were grappling with enormous difficulties as regards weapons.

The crises provoked by the imperialist manoeuvres, in 1963, led President Agostinho Neto to create the Second Politico-Military Region, in Cabinda, where were successfully forged such valiant combatants as the outstanding hero Hoji Ya Henda.

Agostinho Neto's strategic thinking early realised that the First and Second Regions were not sufficient for the MPLA to advance the armed struggle forcefully.

The Third Region was then opened in the centre and east of the country, and this gave fresh vigour to the liberation struggle.

This was the time of the audacity that our President always showed.

Already with more support from socialist and African countries, hundreds of combatants were transferred over thousands of kilometres, from Cabinda and the First Region to the Third Region, where

a new type of struggle was started, based on the establishment of bases deep inside our territory.

This was a time of audacity in preparing and sending in the big Cienfuegos, Kamy and Bomboko columns, taking war material to the First Region, clandestinely crossing hundreds of kilometres in the territory of what was then Congo-Kinshasa and on Angolan territory.

It was a time of audacity, using the success of the first onslaught on the Eastern Front to extend the armed struggle to new regions of our national territory.

Tirelessly, President Agostinho Neto went to the various military regions, each of which was so far from the others, to encourage the combatants, to see to the supplies situation, to correct negligence, to give impetus to action. "Action, more action, ever more action", was the constant refrain on his lips when he spoke to the guerrillas.

The new regions presented new kinds of problems. Repeating rifles and small automatic pistols proved ineffective in the face of the material used by the enemy. Chemical warfare was devastating the people's crops. President Neto realised that a qualitative leap was needed.

The first concern was the men. It was necessary to see to the men, to their improvement, instruction and political consciousness.

The second concern was the material. More powerful weapons, more effective means. And also hoes, machettes and seeds to enable the guerrillas and the people who supported them to develop a small-scale self-supplying war economy.

Centres of Revolutionary Instruction flourished, and the people started to see the first text books, the first medicines and the heralding of a new era.

The first forms of People's Power appeared.

Thanks to the effort of President Neto and the confidence he inspired, better weapons and better equipment started to flow to the guerrilla bases.

The first artillery groups successfully entered the theatre of war. Enemy barracks were already being attacked with more adequate weapons. The con-

fusion that imperialism generated regarding the MPLA was being dissipated.

Neto was also an eminent diplomat who used as his weapons truth, political courage and boldness.

The MPLA started to be supported by the OAU. And it was the President himself who took an OAU military delegation to visit the liberated areas. At international gatherings, together with Frelimo, the MLSTP and the PAIGC, the MPLA developed intense action against Portuguese colonialism, which was already disintegrating. This joint action gave rise to indestructible bonds which gave fresh impetus to the continent's Liberation Movement.

The same is taking place with the liberation movements of South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia.

President Neto was frequently chosen by all the African liberation movements to be their spokesman at OAU or Non-Aligned conferences.

Relations with socialist countries, the reliable rear base of the National Liberation Movement, were given constant attention by President Neto, who earned from all the leaders of the Parties and Governments sincere solid friendship which was going to contribute to the establishment of close relations after Independence.

Meanwhile, at a time of crucial importance - August 1974 - the People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola (FAPLA) were formed.

It was during the Second National Liberation War, after the Truce Agreement with Portugal in October 1974, that the personality of Dr Agostinho Neto as a statesman was going to compel the recognition of the whole world.

The violent South African aggression suffered by the Angolan people on the eve of independence led some people to think that the only way the MPLA could safeguard its existence would be for it to accept the proposal made by friends and enemies for collaboration with the puppets who had allied themselves with South Africa and international imperialism. The balance of power appeared to be favourable to imperialism which, in its calculations, did not reckon with the determination of a leader who believed in his people and who did not fear

the worst threats.

Fully assuming his functions as Commander-in-Chief, President Agostinho Neto was able to lead the MPLA forces on the road to victory, using with particular sagacity the weaknesses of the enemy and our reserves, re-inforced at the opportune moment, by the internationalist effort of the Cuban Revolutionary Armed Forces.

After the proclamation of Independence, a new era opened up for the Angolan revolution, which set out to create a society in which the exploitation of man by man would be wiped out.

Comrade President was rapidly to secure the helm of government.

After the South Africans were driven out, with the country ravaged by war, speed was needed in rapidly laying the foundations for new economic development aimed at meeting the interests of the masses.

A difficult task in a country destroyed by war, without sufficient technical cadres to run all the enterprises in which an alienated petty-bourgeoisie tried at all costs to keep the reins of running the affairs of State.

It was a time of great options. The Third Plenum of the Central Committee of the MPLA laid down new development paths.

Confiscations and nationalisations were starting to transform the economic situation inherited from the colonial period.

The creation of the national currency was a new affirmation of an independent life.

The spirit of audacity of the uncontested leader started to make itself felt in every sphere.

There were obstacles of every kind but the Revolution did not stop.

The factionalist coup attempt left a painful memory which President Agostinho Neto never succeeded in ridding himself of.

But the Revolution advanced. It advanced with the audacity of the leader.

And then came the First Congress in December 1977. And finally came the Party of the Proletariat. A new gain, an audacious gain which had been long

planned but which it was only possible to implement in the forge of the political, economic and social situation of the first years of Independence.

Unanimously elected President of the MPLA-Worker's Party, decorated with the National Hero medal, Comrade Agostinho Neto imparted a rapid pace to the building of the new Party, to the Rectification Movement.

From the first militants to the first cells, from the first cells to the first Party Committees in places of work, there was a whole process which was going to bear fruit in the restructuring of the youth, the reorganising of the Organisation of Angolan Women and the organising of the first trade unions in the National Union of Angolan Workers.

In the countryside the co-operative movement did not cease developing.

The best path was sought for the national economy and it progressed, slowly, but it progressed. But the leader wanted to move faster, and this without prejudice to an internationalist attitude towards the liberation struggles, towards other friendly peoples.

Diplomacy started to play an active part in hastening economic development. Co-operation agreements were signed with many countries. The field of international relations was expanded. Successive goodwill missions were received by President Neto, and the retrograde reservations some countries had regarding Angola soon gave way to sympathy and co-operation, even with regimes with a different ideology.

It is in this painful hour that it is possible to assess the enormous prestige that President Dr Agostinho Neto enjoyed throughout the world. Moving messages have come from all over the world, from eminent personalities. Thousands and thousands of them from Bié, from Cabinda, from Cunene, from Kuito, ando Kubango; from Uige, from Moxico, from Benguela, from Huambo, from the Lundas, from Malange, from Zaire, from Kwanza Norte, from Kwanza Sul, from Huila, from Moçamedes and from Luanda, but also from Mongolia and from Britain, from Sudan and from Mexico.

And for you, distinguished Heads of State and distinguished delegates, who have come here to pay tribute to our beloved President, it will be easy to note the emotion of our people at this sad event, but also the emotion they feel at your friendly presence, for which our people warmly thank you.

Esteemed Mother Maria da Silva Neto, it is a great sorrow to lose a son. Our people, our Party, are with you in your immense sorrow and undertake to give you all the support you need.

Comrade Maria Eugenia Neto,
Mario Jorge, Irene, Leda,

The Party shares your deep sorrow. The solution of the problems of our People and our Party has robbed you of many hours during which your husband and your father wanted to be with you, to benefit from your love, to give you the warmth of his presence.

Such is the destiny of heroes.

Our Party assumes the responsibility of caring for you with the same affection that our President devoted to you.

Brothers and sisters of Agostinho Neto, our People and our Party bow their heads before your suffering.

Neto Friend!

Comrade President,

Comrade Commander-in-Chief,

The pledge we have made a short time ago will not be in vain.

Your fidelity to Marxist-Leninist principles will be a living example to the youth and all the Party members. Your concern for the problems of our people will be a priority in our action.

The light of your example will shine forever in the Angolan nation.

Farewell, Neto Friend.

Farewell, Comrade President.

THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES!

VICTORY IS CERTAIN!

ANGOLA'S NEW PRESIDENT

Comrade Jose Eduardo dos Santos, 37-year-old son of a Luanda bricklayer, was elected unanimously as President of the MPLA - Workers' Party and Head of State of the People's Republic of Angola by the Central Committee of the Party.

Under Party statutes the new President will come up for re-election at the next Party Congress which is to be held in 1980. Presidency of the Party, which is the equivalent to the post of Secretary-General of the Communist parties, entails the office of Head of State and Head of Government under the Angolan Constitution.

At his inaugural address Angola's new leader, who has been a leading militant and Political Bureau member for many years, stressed that he would be continuing Comrade Neto's work of building the Party, quaranteeing its unity and ideological purity, basing its membership on the working class with a significant membership from the peasantry, and ensuring that the workers rise to Party leadership.

President dos Santos stated: "It is not easy to replace Agostinho Neto. In fact it seems to me to be impossible. But it has to be done".

President dos Santos reaffirmed the Workers' Party commitment to non-alignment, friendly relations with all countries based on the principles of independence and national sovereignty, and reaffirmed the validity of all existing accords and agreements. He pledged the continuation of material and moral support to the liberation movements, especially in Southern Africa. He emphasised that Angola's internationalist duties would be carried forward. On national questions he reaffirmed that the changes in the state apparatus started by Comrade Neto would be continued "with the aim of guaranteeing the protection of each and every citizen, the security and stability of our borders, the improving of the economic and financial situation, an increase in production, and productivity at work; and the raising of our people's living standards".

BRIEF BIOGRAPHY

Comrade dos Santos was born in a Luanda shanty town in 1942, the son of a simple bricklayer. He grew up in the impoverished and struggling working class conditions of Portuguese colonial rule. A bright young schoolboy, he was stirred by feelings of patriotism in his teens. He joined the MPLA in 1961 and worked under illegal conditions in Luanda. Like many of our Soweto generation he resolved with a group of his friends to leave Angola in order to undergo training with the Movement which had been driven into exile after the Luanda Uprising of 4th February, 1961.

Driven out of Zaire by Mobuto in 1963, the MPLA set up headquarters at Brazzaville in the People's Republic of Congo. Comrade dos Santos had emerged as one of the most brilliant and dedicated representative in Brazzaville. He received his military training and was then singled out by the leadership to undergo study of a different kind. He thus spent six years in the Soviet Union where he graduated as a petroleum engineer. Once he had graduated he underwent further military training and became, on returning to Africa, the head of the MPLA's communications machinery which co-ordinated links with all the movement's battle fronts.

During the difficult period of 1973/74 when splittist elements attempted to oust Comrade Neto from leadership he played a decisive role to thwart those plans. Steeled in the struggle, he had emerged as one of the most steadfast and dedicated of the MPLA's new generation of leaders. His clarity as one of the Movement's leading Marxist-Leninist theoreticians, and as a firm and principled patriot and revolutionary was established during those difficult years.

After independence he became Angola's first Foreign Minister. Later he became first Vice-Premier and gained experience in the day-to-day running of the government. At the 1977 Party Congress he was elected onto the Central Committee and Political Bureau of the Party. He was appointed Secretary for Economic Development and Planning

in the Party structures. In December, 1978, he became Minister of Planning in the Government.

It is immediately apparent that even at such a young age he has had wide experience in the crucial fields of Foreign Policy and diplomacy, Economic planning and the strategy of party-building. An excellent speaker, popular amongst the people, immensely respected in the Party, he has great leadership qualities and is seen as a firm leader in the Neto mould who is capable of uniting the Angolan nation behind him.

Lucia Lara, the Central Committee Secretary for Organisation and Political/Ideological Education, Propaganda and Information, who swore in Angola's second President, as he swore in Dr. Neto on November 11, 1975, described President dos Santos as "The symbol of the vitality and youthful revolutionary spirit of our revolution. A childhood in the suburbs of Luanda taught him early on that the oppressive regime would only disappear after a bitter struggle. For this the children of his generation prepared themselves. The liberation movement brought this youth to adulthood. Youth became the vehicle for national consciousness and our young people became educators; educators of their parents; of those old people who had become resigned and no longer believed in the possibility of overthrowing the oppressor".

Since the funeral of Comrade Neto, the workers from factories and farms throughout Angola have begun a production drive to increase output in honour of Comrade Neto and his standing order: "THE MOST IMPORTANT THING IS TO SOLVE THE PROBLEMS OF THE PEOPLE!"

ANGOLA'S CAUSE IS THE CAUSE OF NETO.
ETERNAL GLORY TO COMRADE NETO.
VIVA COMRADE DOS SANTOS!

*Corr: Page 26, Second Para, 5th Line.

...dedicated of the MPLA youth and became the Movement's chief representative...

THE MILITARISATION
OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN REGIME

P A R T 4

- Jimmy Wilson

Besides military service, there are other ways in which civilians (white civilians, in particular) are being drawn into Botha's 'Total Strategy' web.

Civil Defence units, manned by civilians, are being established all over the country. So far over 700 such units have been set up. Their role is to man essential services in times of emergency - such as fire-fighting, emergency relief services etc.

Some industries - especially those considered as strategically important - are forming white employee commando units, with the intention not only of protecting the industry against sabotage, but also of providing an internal force to put down any rebellion on the part of the Black workforce.

The number of weapons in the hands of white civilians is growing rapidly. At the end of 1977 about 750,000 whites had been issued with gun licences. By now the number must be near one million.

White schoolchildren are being prepared for an adulthood of war. One of the subjects they are taught is 'Youth Preparedness', in which they are given lectures with a strong military bias. Also, more and more schoolchildren are being incorporated into the school cadet system under which they are given basic military preparation, such as marching drill etc. Botha has also been threatening to introduce this school cadet system into Coloured and Indian schools - a proposal which has met with strong opposition from the Coloured and Indian communities.

The regime is using every conceivable propaganda means - newspapers, magazines, radio, television, the entertainment media, schools and churches - to psychologically prepare the South African population for war. A quick flick through the pages of any of the popular South African magazines and papers will reveal that pictures of weapons and soldiers are fast becoming as popular, if not more popular, than the usual pictures of half-naked women.

Strange happenings

As we said right at the beginning of this series of articles - some strange things have been happening in our country recently. These 'strange things' are nothing more than the regime's preparations for war. Botha's 'Total Strategy' is rapidly engulfing the whole country and creeping into every aspect of South African society.

The South African ruling class has got a problem. No matter what strategies, manoeuvres, and tricks they employ, the revolution continues to loom larger and larger on the horizon like a hot ball of fire. Verwoed's uncompromising 'pure apartheid' approach just made matters worse. Vorster's 'detente' approach only fooled those who wanted to be fooled. Even the machinations of their powerful imperialist allies are beginning to look like the sad, desperate attempts of a child to put together a complicated broken toy.

As we have said - the rise to power of P. W. Botha is the coming into play of the South African ruling class' last card - its final desperate attempt to stop the ball of fire from coming any closer.

Staving off revolution

Thus the militarisation of the South African regime is the ruling clique's last-ditch strategy. By means of it they hope to stave off revolution in the following ways:

- 1) by the suppression of any internal uprising;
- 2) by the prevention of the entry of guerrilla units into the country, the isolation of the guerrillas from the people, and the elimination of any guerrilla units that are operating inside the country;
- 3) by the elimination of guerrillas in their rear bases in neighbouring countries;
- 4) by the intimidation into submission of neighbouring states by means of superior military and economic power;
- 5) by the acceleration of the bantustan programme in order to create buffer 'states' between 'white South Africa' and the revolutionary forces, and to give the war a

'Black against Black' image;

- 6) by military, economic and diplomatic efforts to prevent or to reverse the revolutions in Zimbabwe, Namibia, Mozambique and Angola.

By trying to achieve these objectives the regime hopes to create a situation in which the revolution cannot succeed. They hope that by sheer might they can discourage the forces ranged against them, and by so doing, buy the time they think is necessary for their apartheid dream to fully unfold, thus trying to eliminate what they see as the contradictions which are causing all their problems.

The ANC prepares

For almost two decades the ANC has seen, and acted on the knowledge, that the goals laid out in the Freedom Charter cannot be achieved without a protracted armed struggle. It has taken into account the actual and potential strength of the enemy, and it has devoted the last two decades to preparing itself politically, organisationally and militarily in order to build the forces necessary to sap, drain and finally squeeze the life out of the enemy.

The regime's 'Total War' strategy and its rapid militarisation comes as no surprise to the ANC. We never believed that the enemy would spend much time fussing around conference tables and fidgeting about with compromises unless it was forced to do so at the point of the people's spear.

History's trap

It would be naive to believe that the enemy's hurried build-up of its military capabilities is simply a direct result of our preparations for armed struggle. That is partly true. But in an important sense the militarisation of the South African regime is an inevitable consequence of the very nature of South African society and its history.

The rulers of South Africa cannot maintain a brutal system without the use of brutal means. But brutality breeds resistance. The only way South Africa's rulers can bring an end to resistance would be by bringing an end to the brutal system. But to do so would mean bringing an end to their own rule.

No ruling class in the history of the human species has ever brought an end to its own rule.

For those who might tremble at the growing might of the South African military machine - at the seemingly impressive facts and figures this series of articles has outlined - it is important to remember that the very fact that the South African regime is following an inevitable path is an indication of the fact that it is falling into a trap laid for it by history - a trap which many great powers (greater even than Botha's 'Total War' machine) have fallen into.

History gives us many examples of the failure of military might to crush people's revolution.

The great French army, with centuries of warfare experience behind it, and a huge armaments industry of its own, could not hold back the liberation of the Algerian people. The sophisticated Batista military machine, backed by American imperialism, could not stop the total liberation of the Cuban people. The brutal Portuguese army of Salazar and Caetano could not, despite years of oppression and massacre, turn back the tide of revolution in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea Bissau.

The highly-trained and equipped army of the Shah of Iran, despite the support of American advisors, bases and equipment, was turned into a fleeing rabble under the weight of the revolutionary anger of the Iranian people, armed only with the most basic of equipment and virtually no training. Not long ago we saw another friend of imperialism - Somoza - running home to his masters, leaving his country in the hands of its rightful owners.

And that greatest of economic and military imperialist powers - the USA - which spent millions of dollars a day on the Vietnam war, and dropped more bombs on that heroic country than were dropped during the whole of the Second World War, was sent yelping home like a whipped dog by the sheer political will and determination of the Vietnamese people.

Racists on the run

These are not just encouraging stories of events that took place in other countries, at other times.

We've seen our own oppressors marching with typical racist bravado into Angola, only to turn tail and run home in the face of the united Angolan people.

And even closer to home we can already see the glaring weaknesses of the racists' military machine. A large part of the regime's current military preparations and activity have been directed towards countering the guerrilla forces of SWAPO in Namibia. The introduction of new military units, the production and purchasing of new weapons, the increasing involvement of civilians in the military, the attempt to "win the hearts and minds" of the people, the growing use of Blacks in the SADF - all these have been put into play in Namibia. Yet every day brings new evidence that SWAPO is increasing its foothold in Namibia, that it is striking heavier and heavier blows against the enemy. In short - despite the 'Grand Strategy' of Botha - SWAPO's armed struggle is moving rapidly along the path to liberation.

Analysis and Action

Why is this so? Why is military might no guarantee of the defeat of revolution? Why have the greatest military and economic powers of the world failed to stop the freedom struggles of peoples all over the world, armed only with the most basic of equipment and with minimum manpower? Why can't Botha's 'mighty' military machine put a swift and sharp end to SWAPO in Namibia? Why in our own struggle do we say 'Victory is certain' no matter how powerful the enemy?

All of us are familiar with the general principles governing struggle between the materially weak oppressed and the materially strong oppressor. What is important is to understand the working out of these principles in the concrete South African situation. Such an understanding will throw light on the direction in which the militarisation of the South African regime is leading. It will make clear the nature of the trap the Botha clique is walking into. Most importantly - it will show us where and how we must act, for although the development of history is inevitable, its precise

course and tempo depends on organised forces like ourselves making the correct analysis and engaging in the correct actions at the correct time.

Botha is building a huge edifice on very shaky foundations. The bigger the edifice becomes the more the foundations tremble. In the final part of our series of articles we will take a closer look at where the regime's militarisation strategy is leading it. We will look at some of the weaknesses and loopholes in the racist fortress which point the way to placing our own people in the long list of heroic peoples who have dealt death blows to the once mighty bastions of reaction throughout this ever-progressing world of ours.

To be continued....

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"THE PERSPECTIVE IN SOUTH AFRICA IS QUITE CLEAR. IT IS ONE OF A MOUNTING OFFENSIVE BY THE MASSES OF OUR PEOPLE WAGING POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND MILITARY BATTLES. THERE IS NO WAY IN WHICH THE ENEMY CAN STOP THIS. BUT WE KNOW THAT THE RACISTS WILL SEEK TO EXACT A HIGH TOLL IN THE LIVES OF OUR PEOPLE. ALL THE MANOEUVRING THAT HE IS ENGAGED IN IS INTENDED TO INCREASE HIS MURDEROUS POWER TO SLOW DOWN OUR PROGRESS TO VICTORY. YET VICTORY IS CERTAIN".

- COMRADE PRESIDENT O.R. TAMBO -

in address to 6th Non-Aligned Conference.

INTERVIEW WITH COMRADE MZWAI PILISO
ON NON-ALIGNED SUMMIT IN HAVANA

Question:

Comrade Mzwai, having been part of the African National Congress delegation to the Havana Summit of the Non-Aligned Movement could you briefly tell us in what capacity the ANC attended the summit in Havana.

Answer:

Firstly, we participated in this conference as official observers. This means that we had the opportunity to speak, as any other delegation could speak in that conference, to contribute as fully as we possibly could. The President of the African National Congress, thanks to the other liberation movements, had the opportunity of speaking at the inaugural session on behalf of the liberation movements.

Secondly, we had the opportunity of taking part in the different commissions, particularly in the Political Commission.

Thirdly, we had an opportunity, as the delegation of the African National Congress, to address the meeting on the last day on behalf of the African National Congress, on behalf of the people of South Africa, appealing to the Non-Aligned nations - and that appeal was world-wide insofar as this was the biggest Non-Aligned Conference ever to be convened - with 92 official delegations and 54 heads of states and government.

Our participation was of course not confined to the rostrum. It also included lobbying the delegates, bilateral discussions, not only on the question of South Africa, but also on the burning question of what direction the Non-Aligned Movement ought to take.

Question:

How did the members of the Non-Aligned Movement understand the situation in South Africa?

Answer:

We are fortunate in South Africa in that the presentation of our situation by ourselves inter-

nationally, and by the progressive world on our behalf in international forums, has made it impossible for anybody, not even the imperialist countries themselves, to come out openly in opposition to the measures which must be taken to correct the repression and oppression of our people.

Everybody appeared to understand the question of South Africa. One illustration of this was when we presented our resolutions. There were certain resolutions which we thought might be controversial, but in this particular conference, and I should imagine it was because of the setting of the conference itself, nobody dared to question any of the resolutions that were put forward, and all of them were passed without question.

Question:

In general what were these resolutions on South Africa?

Answer:

There were a number of these resolutions. Like appealing to the international community for an understanding of our situation - that is, support for the liberation struggle, not only (as some people like to put it) delimiting it as a civil rights movement - we had a resolution recognising that the struggle in South Africa is for the seizure of power by the oppressed people. We had expected that there would be some people who would object to this resolution.

We had resolutions condemning South Africa and its allies and actually naming the imperialist countries, and this was passed. We had resolutions on the non-recognition of the bantustans which was accepted. There were long lists of resolutions calling for the international support of our movement materially, financially, diplomatically. And all these resolutions were accepted unanimously by the conference, which I believe puts our struggle on a new plane insofar as the international community is concerned.

Question:

During the conference the western mass media were reporting that there were controversies in the Non-Aligned Movement. Would you comment on this?

Answer:

I have read some of the reports on the Havana Conference from the west and I must say honestly that when I read them I didn't know what conference they were referring to. I felt within myself that it was not the conference which I attended.

Let me illustrate. When, for instance, Comrade Fidel Castro made his closing statement - I cannot quote him verbatim - but at the end of his statement he said something like: "Our movement has not been as strong as it is today. Our movement has never been as united as it is today. Our movement has never been as independent as it is today. Our movement has never been as much ours as it is today". And when he ended on that note, virtually the whole hall surged forward to the rostrum and he was acclaimed for something like half an hour. That, to me, is not an indication of failure, and if it is not failure, it must be an indication of the failure of the attempts at divisiveness of imperialism. That, to me indicated the success of the conference - the agreement of the delegates on the direction of the conference.

Imperialism had pitted two leaders against one another before the conference started - President Fidel Castro as against President Tito of Yugoslavia. That struggle never even started. And the ideas which the African National Congress holds, the ideas which I believe Cuba holds, the ideas which the majority of the Non-Aligned countries hold, won the day in Cuba. These ideas are that in the world today, it is not possible to ride on two horses at the same time, that the Non-Aligned Movement is in fact and indeed aligned against imperialism, because essentially the Non-Aligned Movement was formed to fight the evils of imperialism - imperialist exploitation of the developing countries.

Of course, within the conference there appeared at a certain stage a few people who wanted to divert the movement from its correct direction but they were put in their place by members of the conference. I should say that if it had not been so in any other conference, in the Non-Aligned Conference in Cuba the line was put correctly and there was nobody to go against it.

The Non-Aligned Conference, the Non-Aligned Movement is a movement formed to support the struggling people of the world against the ravages of imperialism and world reaction.

Question:

And what was the stand of the African National Congress on this particular question?

Answer:

The African National Congress is a movement of today and of tomorrow. It is a movement that has stood in the leadership of the oppressed masses of our people from 1912. It has fought serious battles since then to this day - battles not only against the racists of South Africa, but battles against the colonialists, against imperialism. I think it is quite clear to everybody that South Africa could not have existed to this day if it was not for the support that it gets from world imperialism.

Therefore, because of these battles which were fought in the past, which we are fighting today, and which we are going to fight tomorrow, because of the plight of our people, in the country that is about the eighth or ninth or tenth most developed country in the world, and yet the Black people are some of the poorest, some of the most super-exploited in the world, the African National Congress cannot be anything else but anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist. The ANC cannot be anything else but an ally of the world progressive forces against imperialism. Cannot be anything but allies against the forces of oppression and exploitation, allied against imperialism, against fascism, against colonialism, and this is the line that our President put before the conference of the Non-Aligned states in Cuba.

BIRTH OF ARMED STRUGGLE IN MOZAMBIQUE

Recently the people of Mozambique celebrated the fifth anniversary of their hard-won independence, and the fifteenth anniversary of the start of their armed struggle.

The following is an account by Joaquim Chipande, the present Minister of Defence, of their first battle. Chipande led that first assault in FRELIMO's battle against Portuguese colonialism in Mozambique.

"After FRELIMO was formed, I was sent to Algeria to get some military training. In June, 1964, I got orders directly from President Eduardo Mondlane to start military action. Eduardo Mondlane's instructions were very precise: 'You were sent by the people. You are a son of the people. You should now return to the people to start armed struggle'. It was a period of great persecution. The PIDE was very active and even though I quickly got close to our frontier, it took me and my group of about 30, two months to actually cross the border.

"People were demobilised and demoralised because of the great wave of repression which had followed the Mueda massacre, including the bloody suppression of strikes. Eduardo Mondlane had instructed us to 'clearly define who is the enemy'. Arms are to be used against whom? Against the Portuguese army, police, and the whole administrative machinery which oppresses and massacres our people. On the other hand, all civilians, whoever they are, are part of the people. 'You will protect them, whatever their race or religion. Civilians are not our enemies - they must be protected. Advance, and we will tell you when to start the war. Create suitable conditions'. Once we crossed the frontier, we advanced. I was told to go to Cabo Delgado.

"We continued to advance, dropping off small groups to organise support, so we could attack on as many fronts as possible. It was up to me, as head of the group, to choose the first target. The Portuguese controlled all the highways so it was quite difficult to continue advancing. We marched by night, mainly barefoot through the forest so as not to leave any traces.

"However, for all our care, by the time we got to Maconia - about one hundred kilometres southeast of Mueda - the Portuguese got wind of our presence. Their vigilance was stepped up and there were arrests in the areas through which we had passed. I sent word back that it was difficult to advance farther and asked for permission to attack where we were, so as to mark the date of launching of armed struggle as soon as possible. A messenger arrived on September 15 (1964) with the word to attack on September 25.

"We held a meeting of group commanders on the 20th to work out plans and tactics. It was agreed that as this was to be the historic signal for launching people's war, the very first attack must be made in co-operation with the local people. All clandestine FRELIMO workers in the area were contacted and we explained that on the night of September 24, bridges should be destroyed and roads blocked by felling trees or digging ditches across them.

"My group of twelve was to attack Chai, a small administrative centre about forty kilometres northwest from where we were at Maconia.

"We marched the whole night of the 23rd and slept in the forest, without anything to eat. The same on the night of the 24th. We were in position at 3 a.m. on the 25th. But how to attack? The Portuguese had defence units, sentries. We didn't even know how many or how they were disposed. I gave orders to call off the attack for that night and withdraw. Some of our people objected strongly. I said: 'We've had nothing to eat or drink for three days. We'll withdraw and rest up'. Others objected: 'After coming so far, we can't stop now'. My reply was: 'We don't know the real situation. Perhaps we will kill civilians by mistake'. So we marched back fifteen kilometres and rested alongside a small lake. There at least we had water, also dense forest for protection.

"We decided to send a scout into Chai early next morning. He was in civilian clothes, a valid identity card in his pocket, and bandages around one leg - pretending he had to enter the hospital. We had given him money to buy some peanuts and manioc for us.

"He got into the administrative courtyard and was able to contact some prisoners. They told him where the police were stationed and how many, and where the sentinels were posted. He came back and drew a map of the situation. We worked out a plan, ate some manioc and peanuts, and set out immediately after sundown.

"We surrounded the building and advanced to within fifteen to twenty metres of the positions guarding the barracks. At exactly 9 a.m. one of our men tried to grab a sentry from behind, but there was a pillar in between and he just couldn't get his hands right around him. There was a scuffle and I ordered that the sentry be shot. He was killed and that was the first shot in our armed struggle. There was a sharp gun battle and the Portuguese started hurling grenades from inside the post.

"We withdrew without losses. The armed struggle had started. The next day many people fled to join us in the forest, including one of those who were in the post when we attacked. He said we had killed the head of the post and five others and that there was tremendous panic. He immediately asked to join our unit and was accepted".

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"... IN MOZAMBICAN HISTORY, THE FIGHT FOR A REVOLUTIONARY POLITICAL LINE HAS BEEN INTRINSICALLY BOUND UP WITH THE FIGHT FOR UNITY.

THE STRUGGLE TO DEFEND AND CONSOLIDATE UNITY, THE DRIVING FORCE OF THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE, DEMANDED PERMANENT VIGILANCE AND ACTION TO NEUTRALISE AND ELIMINATE THE MANOEUVRES OF THE ENEMY AND OF NATIONAL OPPORTUNIST AND REACTIONARY FORCES. THIS SAME STRUGGLE REQUIRED A CONSTANT FIGHT TO CLARIFY AND DEVELOP FRELIMO'S POLITICAL LINE, ESPECIALLY AS REGARDS THE DEFINITION OF WHO IS THE ENEMY AND THE NATURE, METHODS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE FIGHT".

- PRESIDENT SAMORA MACHEL -