



BA 322, 4205 DAW  
S. 92/83

# DAWN

Monthly Journal of Umkhonto we Sizwe

SOLOMON ISLANDS  
COLLEGE

LIBRARY  
RESOURCES

V3 (8)

1979



Comrade president  
**AGOSTINHO NETO**

ETERNAL HONOUR AND GLORY

[1979]

## Contents

Page

1. Editorial Comment:  
President Agostinho Neto . . . . . 2
2. Dr. Dadoo's 70th Birthday . . . . . 4
3. The Militarisation of The  
South African Regime - Part 3 10
4. The Role of The SACP In The  
Struggle For National  
Liberation . . . . . 18
5. Heroic Nicaragua . . . . . 25
6. Southern African Battleground:  
"Twists And Turns In Zimbabwe" 32
7. MPLA Statement on Pres. Neto 35
8. ANC Statement on Pres. Neto 37
9. Poem: "The Blood And The Seed"  
by Agostinho Neto . . . . . 39

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

### PRESIDENT AGOSTINHO NETO

As we were going to press in celebration of the 70th birthday of Dr. Yusuf Dadoo, Chairman of the South African Communist Party and much loved and respected leader of our national liberation movement, we received the tragic news of the death of Dr. Agostinho Neto, President of the People's Republic of Angola.

At present we have only the first statements issued by our African National Congress and the MPLA-Workers' Party concerning this immeasurable loss not only to Angola, but to the whole of Africa and indeed to the world-wide anti-imperialist movement; to humanity itself.

Comrade President Antonio Agostinho Neto involved himself at an early age in the struggle to liberate his people. Imprisoned on numerous occasions he founded the MPLA in 1956, and became its great guide and dedicated leader through the arduous and difficult years of armed struggle; a bloody and bitter struggle in which his MPLA emerged as the genuine and authentic leader of Angola's people; the undisputed victor over Portuguese colonialism.

It is history that Angola gained its independence under the most trying conditions on November 11th, 1975, in the midst of invasion and counter-revolution. Under comrade Neto's unflinching and principled leadership that precious independence was resolutely defended against its internal enemies, including the Pretoria racists, who were soundly thrashed.

Under Comrade Neto's inspiring leadership the MPLA-Workers' Party was formed, the unity of the nation was consolidated, the armed forces strengthened and the high road to socialism and national advance chartered.

Comrade Neto has tragically passed from the stage but his life's work lives on. He has built firm foundations which are the launching pad for his country's irreversible advance.

An outstanding patriot and true internationalist, comrade Neto was revered throughout the world. He won for his country, through principled leadership, the invaluable solidarity of the socialist countries, newly independent states and liberation movements of Africa and world progressive forces. He was a firm and staunch friend of our African National Congress and people of South Africa. We mourn him deeply and share the blow sustained by our Angolan comrades-in-arms.

At this time of profound sorrow and sad parting we can only say HAMBIA KAHLE Comrade President Agostinho Neto and vow that we will continue the noble struggle to liberate our continent of its deadly foes.

A liberated Africa will be a monument to Comrade Neto, who has made Angola a firm base of the revolution in Africa.

We will emulate his shining example of devotion to duty, dedication, determination, self-sacrifice and clarity of political thought.

HONOUR AND GLORY TO COMRADE PRESIDENT NETO!

GUIDE OF THE PEOPLE, FOUNDER OF THE NATION AND OF THE MPLA-WORKERS' PARTY. A LUTA CONTINUA!

DR. YUSUF DADOO

Shortly before the death of Comrade Neto, our movement was celebrating the 70th birthday, on September 5th, of Comrade Dadoo; a true, authentic and much-loved leader of the people of South Africa. On behalf of all combatants of Umkhonto we Sizwe, "DAWN" extends to Comrade Dadoo our revolutionary greetings. We wish him many more active years service in the struggle and pledge to follow his example as a resolute and tireless fighter for the liberation of our people.

LONG LIVE COMRADE DADOO!

FORWARD TO FREEDOM AND POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

\* \* \* \* \*

DR. DADOO'S 70TH BIRTHDAY

- A.N.C. Khumalo

On September 5th, the 70th birthday of an outstanding fighter for the liberation of our people was celebrated. Dr. Yusuf Dadoo, Chairman of the South African Communist Party and Vice-Chairman of the African National Congress' Revolutionary Council, was born in Krugersdorp, Transvaal, in 1909. From the time of his early youth comrade Dadoo has been in the thick of the fight against the vicious racist and class system that oppresses, exploits and humiliates our people.

Wherever our people were locked in bitter struggle against the enemy, there you would find Dadoo. From his early youth to the prime of his life, he has always been an active and tireless fighter for national and social liberation of our people. He has never spared his courage nor his strength; he has always displayed the firmest qualities of determination and dedication; he has never shirked from the great battle, and has always shown contempt for personal hardships, arrest and imprisonment.

During his whole life, Comrade Dadoo has been prepared to sacrifice his personal interests in the service of the people. At the grand age of 70, he remains as active, committed and devoted as ever. It is such qualities that characterise a great leader. A true leader is not imposed on the people, but emerges out of the struggle itself. Dadoo stands in the ranks of the Luthulis, Tambo, Mandelas and Fischers... outstanding leaders honoured both nationally and internationally, loved and respected by our people, and democratic mankind.

All these leaders of the ANC and the Communist Party, have loyally served our people, have been great teachers and organisers of our people, and in true modesty have always been prepared to learn from the people and the struggle. These leaders are true products of our struggle, accumulating years of collective experience, developing the correct theory, the body of strategy and tactics, that is so essential in guiding our people and

liberation organisations step by step along the thorny road to freedom.

If we are to sum up the essential qualities of a people's leader, we should emphasise:

- (a) They must be active and loyal fighters for the working people.
- (b) Modest and honest - to teach the people, but at the same time learning from the people.

Dr. Dadoo's life, his active and loyal service for the cause of our people, his great modesty and integrity point him out, as one of the true leaders of our people. A leader worthy of the name, in whom all sections of our struggling people have great trust, confidence and love. Not a self-proclaimed leader; not a self-styled leader elevated overnight by dubious forces aiming to confuse and mesmerise the masses with false promises, bombast and demagoguery! Not a so-called leader thirsty for personal position, who wishes to use the masses as a staircase to power; but a revolutionary leader whom the enemy cannot buy for a handful of gold; a leader who has become known to the people through many, many years of self-sacrifice, steadfastness, firmness of principle, correctness of leadership and iron devotion to duty. A leader whom the masses come to love and whom the enemy come to fear and hate.

Yes, Dadoo is a true leader of our people! Leader of the Communist Party; of the national liberation movement headed by our African National Congress, and the people of South Africa. Not a corrupt and loathsome leader representing nothing but a small greedy clique, such as the Vorsters and Bothas, but a man of honesty and integrity, representing the vast democratic and freedom-loving forces of our country.

Let us look at some of the important landmarks in his distinguished life: In 1938 - after qualifying in Britain as a doctor - he became one of the founding members of the Non-European United Front in Johannesburg - a fighting organisation that united all black people and played a signifi-

cant role in mobilising the people in many struggles.

From 1939 he began to play a leading role within the Transvaal Indian Congress to oust the conservative leadership and radicalise the movement's policies. In that same year he joined the Communist Party of South Africa. In 1940: he was arrested for the first time for printing and distributing a leaflet of the Non-European United Front against the then imperialist nature of the war. In 1941 he was arrested for the so-called offense of 'inciting' Africans in Benoni and sentenced to four months imprisonment.

During the war years mass activity, strikes and general resistance was increasing. The African National Congress, Indian Congress and Communist Party were busy mobilising the people and unity was the order of the day. Out of the common struggle against racial oppression and class exploitation the African, Indian and Coloured people were forging closer ties. Dadoo, the leader of the Indian people and Dadoo, the communist, was becoming an acknowledged leader of the African masses too. In 1945 at a conference attended by over 500 delegates, a national Anti-Pass council was formed. Dr. Xuma, President of the ANC, was elected chairman with Dadoo as Vice-Chairman.

1946 was a historic year. Dadoo was imprisoned in the Passive Resistance campaign against the government's Anti-Indian laws. Later in the year he was again arrested with other communist leaders on a charge of sedition arising out of the African mineworkers' strike. 1947 saw the further development of African-Indian unity in common struggle with the signing of the historic Xuma-Naicker-Dadoo Pact. This Pact helped to lay the basis for further unity in the future which would involve all sections of our people.

1947 saw Dadoo visiting India with Dr. G.M. (Monty) Naicker of the Natal Indian Congress, where they campaigned for support for the struggle in South Africa. This, the first of many important trips abroad, by Dadoo and our leaders, helped to create the basis for developing the international



campaign for solidarity with our struggle, which isolates the apartheid regime and which is so effective today. In 1948 he was once more imprisoned with Dr. Naicker in connection with the passive Resistance Campaign. By 1950 he was elected President of the South African Indian Congress. The same year the Communist Party was banned by the Nationalist government.

As is well known the oppression of our people intensified greatly at this time as the Pretoria Boers began to launch a vicious campaign to smash our organisations and intimidate our people. Under the leadership of the Sisulus, Mandelas and Tambos, the Luthulis and Dadoos, the African National Congress and its allies refused to submit and instead sought to raise the level and tempo of the struggle through mass mobilisation and more active and militant forms of struggle.

Dadoo played a prominent part in planning the historic Defiance Campaign against Unjust Laws that rocked South Africa during the whole of 1952. He himself was a leading volunteer in the campaign and was imprisoned for defying his banning order. In 1953 he was a delegate to the first conference of the South African Communist Party held illegally in Johannesburg. Moses Kotane was elected General-Secretary and Dadoo a member of the Central Committee.

Banned from public speaking and from attending meetings he continued to play a leading role in directing the struggle. This meant constantly taking risks which could lead to arrest and imprisonment. He became skillful in clandestine activities. Despite the bannings on those such as J.B. Marks, Dadoo, Luthuli, Mandela - the liberation movement under the leadership of our African National Congress went from strength to strength.

June 26, 1955 was the historic Congress of the People which adopted the Freedom Charter. At this great meeting Dr. Dadoo, who was not present because of his ban, received what he regards as one of the greatest tributes of his life; the traditional African decoration - Isithwalandwe.

The fighting unity that emerged out of the Defiance Campaign, Congress of the People and many

national strikes and demonstrations of the fifties, to climax in the head-on confrontation with the government which gave rise to the Sharpeville massacre and banning of the African National Congress in 1960. Dadoo was sent out of the country, at the same time as Comrade Tambo.

Comrade Dadoo was entrusted with the task of representing the South African Communist Party abroad and organising solidarity work internationally. He has carried out his duties in an exemplary and devoted fashion and in his energy and zeal is an example, despite his seventy years, to our young generation of freedom fighters. In 1969 he was elected Vice-Chairman of the ANC's Revolutionary Council, maintaining close contact with the situation at home and our efforts to prepare for armed struggle. Comrade Dadoo regards the role of MK as essential; stressing the need to develop people's war, the skillful combination of mass struggles and armed actions. In 1972 after the death of J.B. Marks, Dadoo was elected Chairman of the South African Communist Party and occupies a most respected position at meetings of the international communist movement.

Acclaimed and accepted as a leader of the entire fighting people of South Africa, regardless of race, colour or creed, Dr. Dadoo is an outstanding internationalist who sees the fundamental necessity for the firm alliance of the socialist countries with the national liberation movements and the revolutionary working class. A principled and militant advocate of proletarian internationalism and the significant role of the Soviet Union, he has spared no effort to unite all the great forces of the South African revolution in which he stresses that the working class must play the leading role.

Dadoo, like his Party, sees no contradiction between the socialist aims of the Communist Party, and the national liberation programme of the ANC. The South African Communist Party sees the immediate objective of the struggle as being the overthrow of the hated system of white domination and replacing the apartheid state with a revolutionary demo-

cratic state based on the Freedom Charter.

The South African Communist Party of Dadoo is a firm ally of the African National Congress in the historic struggle to achieve the Freedom Charter. It is the teachings of Marxist-Leninists such as Dadoo, and the other communist leaders such as Kotane, Marks and Fischer, that a revolutionary democratic South Africa can open the way towards a scientific socialist society which will totally eliminate the exploitation of man by man, and benefit all the people of our land.

Dadoo's deep understanding of the national aspects of our struggle, the urgent and immediate need to free the black masses and particularly the African majority, from all the loathsome forms of national, class and race oppression, has enabled him and the SACP to play a full and necessary role in the struggle for national liberation.

It is for this and all the other historic reasons mentioned, that Dr. Yusuf Dadoo's 70th birthday is a great occasion for all members of our liberation movement, for all the people of South Africa, and for progressives throughout the world.

We join comrade Dadoo in celebrating his 70th birthday on September 5th. We wish him many more active years of struggle. We pledge to follow in his footsteps and hold ever high the banner of national liberation and internationalism.

"THERE ARE THOSE WHO STRUGGLE FOR A DAY  
AND THAT IS GOOD; THERE ARE THOSE WHO  
STRUGGLE FOR A YEAR AND THAT IS BETTER;  
THERE ARE THOSE WHO STRUGGLE FOR TWENTY  
YEARS AND THAT IS BETTER STILL; AND  
THERE ARE THOSE WHO STRUGGLE ALL THEIR  
LIVES AND THEY ARE THE ONES WE CANNOT  
DO WITHOUT"

- BERTHOLD BRECHT -

THE MILITARISATION  
OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN REGIME  
P A R T 3.

- Jimmy Wilson

So far in this series of articles we have looked at a number of areas in which the South African regime is attempting to build itself into a giant, multi-functional military machine, in its desire to confront the escalating rebellion it has nurtured by the only means left to it - armed repression.

We have looked at the frenetic activity of Botha in his "Whites only" parliament as he invents and revises legislation to create the legal facilities for bringing into being his dream 'Total War' state. We have also looked at his military activities as he and his assistants try to solve their many problems - such as white farmers deserting their farms in the border areas; as they try to "win the hearts and minds" of the people they oppress; as they create new military units to help cope with "increasing subversion"; and as they desperately try to bypass the arms embargo by means of the frantic production and purchase of weapons and equipment.

All these are important facets of the militarisation of the South African state. But by far the most important, and the most problematic for the racists, is the preparation of the population - particularly, of course, the white population - for the growing conflict.

Botha himself states his problem quite clearly when he says in his 'Defence White Paper' of 1973:

"Although we may possess the most modern and sophisticated weapons and equipment, we would still not be proof against attack or internal disintegration if the men and women who have to handle and maintain the weapons and equipment did not possess the right inspiration and dedication".

Thus the regime has been preparing its electorate both psychologically and militarily to face

the inevitable consequences of its own policies and practices. This preparation has been going on for some decades, but has reached a level in recent years which borders on an absolute war psychosis.

Just about every white South African is involved in one way or another in Botha's military preparations. Firstly, every white male, when he leaves school has, to do a certain period of continuous military service. The length of this period of National Service has been gradually increasing over the last ten years. In the 1960s it was 9 months. In the early 1970s it was increased to one year. And in 1977 it was doubled to two years. There is already talk of its being increased to three years: in the 1980s.

In this 2-year period conscripts do 3 months basic training, 3 months specialisation, 3 months counter-insurgency training, and then they spend 15 months in the operational areas.

It is estimated that in 1978/9 about 65,000 men were doing this 2-year stint of National Service. The extent of South Africa's military build-up can be seen if we remember that in 1960 the total number of troops available to the regime was only 60,000. The 65,000 troops involved in National Service in 1978/9 constituted only 12% of the total strength of the South African Defence Force in that year.

Nonetheless, Botha still doesn't think that these troops are enough to cope with the People's Army. After their 2-year period these men have to do 8 years' service in the Citizen Force. This involves 3 months full-time service (usually active service) a year. This 3-months-a-year system was introduced at the end of 1975 during South Africa's invasion of Angola. At the time Botha promised that this system would be stopped as soon as the "situation allows". But apparently the situation hasn't allowed since then, and this 3-months-a-year service is likely to remain a permanent feature of military service, if it doesn't actually increase.

In 1978/9 the number of these Citizen Force soldiers available to the regime was 260,000 over 40% of the SADF's total strength. However, these

are still not enough to prevent a crumbling system from collapsing.

In the 'Sunday Express' of 18 February, 1979, it was reported that national servicemen who had just finished their 2-year period a month before had been called up again for 3 months' "border duty". According to a SADF spokesman, this call-up was taking place because of an "insufficient number of service trainees in the 1978 intake to counter insurgency by terrorists". This special call-up was in addition to the normal 3-months-a-year call-up, because, as stipulated by the Defence Act, servicemen can be called up for "border duty" anytime if there is "a threat against the country".

But Botha still does not rest easy. In addition to National Service, the Citizen Force, and special call-up, there are the Commando units. These units are manned mainly by volunteers. Their task is to defend the areas in which they live, though they can, if they want, volunteer for duties in the operational areas. In 1978/9 the Commandoes consisted of about 175,000 men - i.e. about 30% of the total SADF strength.

In addition to all these there is also the SADF Reserve which consists of all those under the age of 65 who have undergone military training but have fulfilled their military service commitments. This Reserve will only be called up in a state of "dire emergency".

These various areas of civilian military service - National Service, Citizen Force, Commandoes and Reserve - revolve around the core of the SADF - the Permanent Force. This Permanent Force consists of full-time career soldiers. These soldiers provide the basis of the leadership, instruction and administration of Botha's military machine. And one of the major thrusts of Botha's militarisation drive is to build this core into a larger and larger proportion of the overall SADF strength.

It seems that the needs of the SADF, created by the rapidly escalating situation, are far ahead of the capacity of this Permanent Force nucleus. Already over the past 4 years recruitment into the Permanent Force has increased by over 80%. Yet

Botha and his strategists are not happy. In their 'Defence White Paper' of this year they complain that the Permanent Force is only manned to 80% of its approved strength. They complain that there is a shortage of leaders, "particularly in the ranks of senior non-commissioned officers, junior officers and instructors". They also admit that, in the Navy, there is a high turnover of whites, and that they have a problem of resignations of experienced air-crew in the Airforce. In fact, over the past 10 years the Permanent Force has suffered a turnover rate of 15%.

Botha's assistant, Coetzee, announced in April this year that, as part of their "Grand Strategy", they wanted to double the size of the Permanent Force by 1981, and that in order to do this they were "establishing a committee representative of all branches of the SADF to work out a blueprint for attracting Permanent Force recruits". He also announced that 1980 had been declared "Personnel Year". At the moment the Permanent Force numbers about 42,000 - i.e. about 7% of SADF total strength.

It is a measure of the threat that our struggle poses to the South African regime that this massive involvement of the white population in the SADF is still not enough to satisfy Botha's military hunger. He is still searching in every conceivable corner for more sources of manpower.

Some of the ideas he has come up with are: the forcing of military service on immigrants; the recruitment of women into the SADF; and of most significance - the increasing involvement of Blacks in manning the machinery of their own oppression.

As far as immigrants are concerned, special legislation was passed in 1978 under which any immigrant who has not adopted South African citizenship within two years of becoming eligible for it becomes automatically naturalized - making young immigrant men liable for compulsory military service. Any immigrant who defies this offer of citizenship loses all permanent residence rights in South Africa. Over the past 8 years' apparently 100,000 immigrants have registered for National Service in the SADF. In addition, Botha's friend -

Coetzee - proudly announced early this year that "almost 2,000 citizens of foreign countries registered for military service in South Africa last year". (What - we may ask - are "citizens of foreign countries" doing in the South African Defence Force?)

However, even including immigrants and "citizens of foreign countries", there are still not enough men for Botha's liking. So, for the past few years he has gone all out to recruit women into his defence force. Adverts and brochures appear regularly inviting women to volunteer for military service.

Apparently the percentage of women in the SADF has increased from 0,6% in February, 1973 to 7% in October, 1978. The South African Army Women's College admitted 500 new recruits in 1978 as opposed to 150 in 1976. Also, a fairly large proportion of those volunteering for the Commandoes are women.

Generally women are used in non-combat roles, but an all-women air commando squadron has been in existence in the Airforce for about 3 years. Also, women have been accepted into the Military Academy, the SADF's Permanent Force officer training school. In 1978 the SADF boasted of 2 women brigadiers, 5 colonels and 581 other ranks.

In strict faith with the timeless, cardinal principles of the world's oppressors and exploiters, Botha and his gang - in addition to all the above - are increasingly leaning on the shoulders of the very people they have oppressed and exploited for centuries to help themselves limp through the final agonising paces of their history.

For 60 years, since the formation of the SADF in 1912, Blacks have only been allowed to serve in the SADF in non-combat, service roles. Thousands gallantly gave their lives in the First and Second World wars, sent to the front as cooks, drivers, messengers, mechanics and labourers without even the benefit of a weapon for self-defence.

When Botha's predecessors came to power in 1948 they immediately disbanded the few Black military units there were in the SADF, and repeat-



edly swore that there would never be any role for Blacks in the SADF. Botha himself, in 1970, said that "if the Bantu wanted to build up a defence force, he should do so in his own eventually independent homeland".

But despite six decades of the barring of Blacks from combat roles within the SADF, suddenly, in the early 1970s, Botha and his plotters began to swallow their words. They began to see that if they were to entertain even fragile dreams of defeating the organised, armed and determined masses of South Africa, they would first have to supplement their own meagre minority with recruits from the ranks of the oppressed; and secondly, they would have to try to undo the unity of the masses by making it appear that the war was not between the oppressors and the oppressed, but between the "bad Blacks and their communist allies" and the "good Blacks and their Christian allies".

This new realisation of the racists was succinctly put by their newspaper 'Die Vaderland' in February, 1974:

"Arming of and military training for the Bantu is a delicate matter. It is covered under much emotion and has an historical background that fills the White with dread. The border wars and murder and raids during the previous century have not yet been forgotten. But the time for a reorientation of the White feeling on this delicate matter has arrived. We have entered a different era that demands a new approach".

Necessity forced this "new approach" to take root very rapidly. In 1972, armed Black members of the South African Police were used in counter-insurgency operations for the first time. In 1973 Coloureds began training in the Cape Corps Service Battalion. In 1974 the first Black Namibian unit - the 31st Battalion - was formed. Also in 1974 Indians began training in the newly established Indian Corps at Salisbury Island, in Durban, and the first African Permanent Force unit in South Africa - 21st Battalion - was formed.

In 1975 two more Black Namibian units were formed. In the same year a certain Brigadier

Pretorius was sent to Umtata to establish the Transkei Defence Force. In 1976 the formation of the Bophuthatswana National Guard was announced. In 1977 two more Namibian battalions were formed.

At the end of 1977 General Magnus Malan, chief of the SADF, proudly announced that 20% of the troops fighting in the operational area were Black. In 1978 Botha announced that Blacks would be incorporated into the Commandoes and White Citizen Force units. Also in 1978 it was announced that Blacks would serve in the Reconnaissance Commando - South Africa's version of the Rhodesian Selous Scouts. In the past two years there has been recurring talk that within the next few years compulsory military training would be introduced for Coloureds and Indians.

So far in 1979 this process of incorporating Blacks into the regime's militarisation drive shows no signs of abating.

In January it was announced that 160 Indian men had been selected from "hundreds of applicants" for training in the Indian Corps Training Battalion. At the end of their training most will be drafted into the Permanent Force.

In February 100 Black soldiers who had recently returned from service in the operational area were given medals.

In April it was announced that the number of Coloureds and Indians in the Navy had increased from 17,4% of the Navy's Permanent Force strength to 20%, and the first Indian Navy officer - a sub-lieutenant - received his commission. Also in April it was claimed that the intake in January of Coloured volunteers into existing training courses had increased by 33%. And, again in April, the question of compulsory National Service for all "except Africans" was raised. It is estimated that by the end of 1979 about 16,000 Blacks will have undergone training in the SADF.

So, 60 years of withholding weapons and military skills from Black South Africans has been undone in seven short years in the interests of Botha's 'Total Strategy'. None but the blind will believe that the Boers have had a change of heart.

Botha is not so stupid as to put guns into the hands of all the oppressed, or to believe that any but a small percentage of job-desperate Blacks will volunteer for his army.

Black volunteers for the SADF are checked by psychologists, "ethnic experts" and senior military personnel to make sure they have the right "background and personality" before they are allowed into the South African Defence Force.

Once they are inside Botha's military machine they are subjected to constant and intensive propaganda to make them believe they are defending themselves, their families and their people against the most unimaginably horrific monster - the "communist-inspired terrorists". In addition their conditions of work and wages are better and higher than Blacks can expect to get almost anywhere else in South Africa.

Thus, in his desperate desire to create an impregnable fortress in which to hide himself away from history, Botha has drawn on all conceivable sources of manpower. But there are still other ways in which the South African population and society are being prepared for war.

In the fourth and final part of this series of articles we will look at some of these and draw conclusions on the significance of the militarisation of the South African regime for our struggle.

To be continued.

- - - - -

"IN THIS YEAR 1979 WE MARCH FORWARD TO FURTHER DEVELOP THE PROCESS OF MASS MOBILISATION - BRINGING TOGETHER ALL ORGANISATIONS, GROUPS AND INDIVIDUALS OPPOSED TO APARTHEID - UNITY IN OPPOSITION TO ALL ASPECTS OF THE INHUMAN SYSTEM OF APARTHEID, LAYING THE BASIS FOR A PEOPLE'S WAR IN WHICH WE COMBINE ARMED ACTIONS WITH ALL FORMS OF POLITICAL STRUGGLE; IN THIS STRUGGLE THE WORKING CLASS HAS A CENTRAL ROLE".

- DR. YUSUF DADOO -

THE ROLE OF THE SACP IN THE  
STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION

- A. Madala

The South African Communist Party is the oldest Communist Party in the whole of the continent of Africa. It was formed on July 30, 1921. The Party has played a profound role in the history and lives of our people during their struggle for national and social emancipation. The Communist Party, like its ally - the African National Congress - commands immense respect and support both at home and abroad.

First, we might ask ourselves, what is a Communist Party? A communist party is a political organisation of the working class. It consists of all the advanced members of the working class, dedicated to the liberation of the working class and the establishment of a classless society. Communist Parties are guided by the Ideology of Marxism-Leninism - an ideology founded on truth. A POWERFUL WEAPON OF THE WORKING CLASS. Communist Parties abide by the principles laid down in the Manifesto of the Communist Party, which states:

"The Communists do not form a separate party opposed to other working-class parties. They have no interests separate and apart from those of the proletariat as a whole. They do not set up any sectarian principles of their own, by which to shape and mould the proletarian movement.

The Communists are distinguished from other working class parties by this only:

- (1) In the national struggles of the proletarians of the different countries, they point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat, independent of nationality.

- (2) In the various stages of development which the struggle of the working class against the bour-

geoisie has to pass through, they always and everywhere represent the interests of the movement as a whole".

This applies to the South African Communist Party like all other communist parties the world over.

The birth of the CPSA in 1921, was a historic necessity. The Party emerged out of the whole labour movement and during this period the African proletariat was still in its infancy. More significant was the very fact that from its inception the Party was a non-racial body. The Party quickly learned from experience that the main effective force for the overthrow of white domination and imperialism was the organisation of the African masses. At the time the most outstanding leaders were Bill Andrews, S.P. Bunting and Ivor Jones.

The Party started African trade unions and waged campaigns against illiteracy. From 1921 to 1928, the number of Africans joining the ranks of the Party grew. This negates the lies spread by the enemy that only whites became communists and that Africans are incapable of understanding Marxism. By 1928, out of 1,750 members, 1,600 were Africans. Amongst the early African members were comrades who were to become not only symbols in the struggle against apartheid but also leading figures in the world communist movement - Moses Kotane, J.B. Marks, Edwin Mofutsanyana, Albert Nzula, Johannes Nkosi, Gana Makabeni, Jimmy La Guma, the present Chairman of the Party, Yusuf Dadoo and many others.

The Party continued to work tirelessly amongst the people fighting for higher wages and the right to bread, land and freedom. In the process the ties between the Party and the African National Congress were cemented.

The President of the ANC, J.T. Gumede, had this to say at the Congress of the League Against Imperialism, held in Brussels in 1927: "I am happy to say that there are communists in South Africa. ... it is my experience that the Communist Party is the only party that stands behind us and



Comrade Dadoo and "Uncle" J.B. Marks.



Comrade Dadoo addressing the 25th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union - Moscow, 1976.

from which we can expect something". Further in his presidential address to the ANC Conference of 1927, he said: "Of all the political parties, the Communist Party was the only one which honestly and sincerely fought for the emancipation of the oppressed natives".

During the 30s and 40s the Party spared no efforts in organising the masses. Following the outbreak of World War II, the Party became a powerful force in uniting opponents of all races against fascism and nazism.

After the war the conditions of the African workers had deteriorated to such an extent that in August 1946, African mine workers went on one of the biggest strikes involving 100,000 miners. This strike was led by one of the Party militants - J.B. Marks. As a result of this historic strike, the entire Johannesburg party leadership was arrested for "conspiracy". During the same period there was a large Anti-Pass Campaign and a mass Indian Campaign against residential segregation led by party militants, Dadoo, M. Naicker, George Ponnen.. It was during the class battles against white domination and capitalist exploitation that the unity between Africans, Indians and Coloureds was forged. The alliance between communists and non-communists, between the Party and ANC, grew out of the common struggle with stalwarts like Kotane, Marks and Dadoo playing a magnificent part.

At this time a new dynamic leadership was coming to the fore within the ANC. Leaders like Mandela, Tambo, Sisulu soon found that communists were loyal, dedicated allies in the national liberation struggle. Life and practise proved that the firm unity of communists and non-communists, of Party and national liberation movement, helped to advance the struggle. This simple truth is a great lesson to this day.

When the nazi-inspired Nationalist Party came to power in 1948, the Party became its prime target and was subsequently banned in 1950. But in banning the Party in 1950, the fascist regime did not succeed in suppressing its spirit and ideals. Party members continued to play an active and leading role



in the tumultuous period of the 50s and 60s, with unparalleled actions and campaigns such as the Defiance Campaign, the Congress of the People at which the historic Freedom Charter was adopted, the Treason Trial, nation-wide political strikes and peasant uprisings, etc.,

The decision to form MK in 1961 by our leaders was made with the participation and support of the CP members. From that time onwards, the Party has regarded the revolutionary armed struggle as the main method of crushing the apartheid regime.

The enemy uncovered our High Command at Rivonia and arrested Party members together with ANC leaders. The CP has made considerable sacrifices in the struggle for the liberation of our people. Communists have suffered the same harassment as other freedom fighters - they have been imprisoned, gaoled, hanged, tortured and have fallen in battle. We should recall the late Bram Fischer, who was a tireless and self-sacrificing fighter for freedom.

Successive governments have tried to destroy the Communist Party. But, the party shall never be destroyed. It continues to play a leading role in the struggle.

The malignant propaganda spread by the Pan African Congress and other reactionary elements like the expelled "gang of eight" alleging: that the Communists are not fighting, and that the Party is only using the ANC as a front to further their own ends, are malicious lies fabricated by the enemy in order to divide our people and weaken our ability to fight. In fact this is the tune composed by the Boers and imperialists.

The politico-socio-economic structure of South Africa is one in which we find national oppression side by side with ruthless capitalist exploitation. This indisputable fact shows very clearly that it is essential for the Party to work alongside the African National Congress, and explains their different origins and roles.

The struggle against national oppression and class exploitation are not contradictory. The nationalism espoused by the ANC is not a narrow

nationalism but a revolutionary nationalism and is uncompromisingly anti-imperialist. The Party programme supports the National Democratic Revolution the pivot of which is the Freedom Charter. However its long-term programme entails the establishment of a socialist society leading to a classless communist society. The ANC representing all strata and national groups, leads the struggle for national liberation.

It is a matter of fact that in the ANC we have always had communists. Communists have always been loyal to our movement. They work tirelessly and fulfil every assignment given to them by the leading organs of the movement; they help develop political and class consciousness of our comrades and patriots; to develop staunchness among cadres in order to be able to defend our ideology.

It is our duty to fight against enemy propaganda which distorts the role of the Party and ANC. It is our task to explain the policy of our movement, the African National Congress, and to explain its alliance with the Party. We need also to explain to our people who our friends are. It should be made known to our people that in this life and death struggle for the liquidation of South African fascism and its imperialist allies, we have strong and unstinting allies in the Socialist Community and the world progressive forces. With the unity of all progressive forces we will win. Remember: "A UNITED PEOPLE CAN NEVER BE DEFEATED!"

-----

"THE LESSON OF OUR HISTORY IS THAT THE KEY TO FREEDOM IS A UNITED PEOPLE FIGHTING FOR A SINGLE COMMON GOAL: PEOPLE'S POWER OVER EVERY INCH OF AN INDIVISIBLE SOUTH AFRICA".

- DR. YUSUF DADOO -

# HEROIC NICARAGUA

- Mayford Ngxobe

Victory has come to the fighting people of Nicaragua! Before assessing this victory let us look into the background to this country and its fight for freedom.

Nicaragua is a central American state with a population of slightly over two million people. It is an underdeveloped agrarian country. Farming accounts for 24.3% of the gross national product and the manufacturing industry for 15%. There are deposits of gold, silver, nickel, mercury, lead and lignite. Forty per cent of the territory is covered with forests rich in valuable timber species.

Economy is based on agriculture, major crops being cotton and coffee. A large part of the arable land belonged to latifundists (large-scale land owners) and foreign companies. Industry is underdeveloped with most enterprises processing farm produce. There are some mining concerns engaged chiefly in gold, silver and copper production. Somoza's family, controlled, to varying degrees, all branches of the economy, finance and state institutions and owned most of the fertile lands. United States monopolies held key positions in the economy. American capital controlled both home and foreign trade.

Nicaragua was 'discovered' by Christopher Columbus in 1502. It was a Spanish colony until 1821 when it won its independence. It joined the 'Mexican Empire' and in 1823 became part of the Central American Federation; from which it withdrew in 1838 and became an independent Republic. All through the 18th century, the situation in the country remained unstable due to the power struggle between the Conservative Party, which stood for the interests of the church and latifundists and the Liberal Party, which stood for the interests of trade and the petty bourgeoisie.

American capital started its intrusion in the Nicaraguan economy at the end of the 18th century. American monopolies seized mining industries and vast tracts of land. In 1912, under the pretext of

"safeguarding the homes and lives of North American citizens", the United States occupied Nicaragua. Reasons for the occupation were, however, to be found in treaties imposed on the Nicaraguan people. The treaties gave the United States a monopoly right to build an inter-oceanic canal that would connect the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans across the country and to set up naval bases in strategically important areas.

The Liberals and Conservatives, the two main political parties at that time, disputed among themselves on how to share the plunder of Nicaragua with American imperialism. Each party sought the protection of the Americans to further the interests of its supporters. On their part, the US violently trampled the rights of the Nicaraguan people.

It was in October, 1926, when Sandino, a worker-peasant, along with a group of workers, began fighting against the puppet Conservative government of Adolfo Diaz. Augusto Cesar Sandino, general of the Army of Free Men for the Defence of the National Sovereignty of Nicaragua, was to become a source of inspiration to the Nicaraguan people in their struggle against US imperialism and internal reaction. Liberals were also waging a war in the interest of the petty-bourgeoisie and in this process, aligned themselves with the enemy of the people, US imperialism.

In 1927 the struggle of the Nicaraguan people reached a turning point. In January, 3,900 United States troops, 215 officers and 865 marines landed in Nicaragua. Both the campus of the University and the Cathedral of Leone - the most renowned church in Latin America - were converted into barracks for the US soldiers - who committed all sorts of barbaric acts against the people.

It was in February of that year, 1927, when Sandino having reorganised his forces, developed an offensive from the North to the Central part of the country. With hundreds of peasant guerrillas he repeatedly routed the Conservative government forces on their march.

The Liberal Party, openly betrayed the people, when on May 4, José Moncada signed a pact with the

US representative in Nicaragua, Stinson, in which he agreed to hand over rebel arms to Stinson. Sandino defied the betrayal and continued fighting. He declared: "I do not intend to surrender my arms when everyone does so. I would rather die with a few who accompany me because it is preferable that we die as rebels rather than live as slaves".

Though enemy forces were equipped with the most modern arms, their material advantage could not help them stop the war. The Sandinist guerrillas, being largely of peasant origin from the combat areas, were thoroughly acquainted with the terrain; added to this advantage was the support that they received from the rural population - whilst the invaders regarded all the peasants in the Sandinist regions as enemies. Faced with this mounting war of liberation, in December 1927, the Liberals, Conservatives and US imperialism agreed on forming the National Guard, which was to gain notoriety in its bloody massacres of the Nicaraguans. For his part in betraying the Nicaraguan people, the Liberal José Moncada, was rewarded with the Presidency after an electoral farce held in 1928. In 1932, in full agreement with US imperialists, he named an obscure individual, Anastasio Somoza García, as head of the National Guard.

In 1933, Juan Sacasa, assumed power in Nicaragua. He started negotiations with Sandino on ending the war. Sandino agreed to sign an accord only after the withdrawal of the Yankee invaders from the Nicaraguan territory. This withdrawal of American troops was the culmination of a great military victory for the Sandinista guerrillas. The US imperialists could no longer maintain its forces in the territory. Among other contributing factors, was the increase in the revolutionary activities in Latin America during the 30s and the economic depression that afflicted the financial coffers of Wall Street.

During one of his trips to Managua for discussions with the Sacasa government, on February 21, 1934, Augusto Sandino, together with some of his fellow fighters were assassinated. Two years later Juan Sacasa quietly resigned and Somoza directly

assumed power. Following an electoral farce, Somoza officially occupied the Presidency on January 1, 1937. Supported by the US and the notorious National Guard, Somoza's family remained in power till its overthrow this year.

After Sandino's assassination, the guerrilla chief, Pedro Altamirano, stayed in the mountains for several years at the head of a small and isolated troop, till 1939, when he died in enemy hands.

The Nicaraguan struggle enjoyed the support of the progressive people internationally. Prominent anti-imperialist figures urged solidarity with the Nicaraguan people. Fighters from other Latin American countries, like the Salvadoran communist martyr, Farabundo Marti and Carlos Aponte, who fell on Cuban soil, participated in the Nicaraguan war.

Besides the military victories that the Sandinista guerrillas scored, and the support that they received from the peasants, the war lasted for seven years ending with the Somoza police-military dictatorship consolidating its position through bloodshed. Carlos Fonseca, a Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) leader, attributed the setback to the fact that "the conditions that the nascent character of the people's anti-imperialist modern movement imposed, did not allow Sandino's correct military strategy to coincide with a correct political strategy that guaranteed the continuation of the revolutionary process".

The Nicaraguan people's determination for freedom was not to be arrested. In 1956, the founder of the Somoza dynasty, was executed by the Nicaraguan patriot, Rigoberto Pérez. This resulted in the unleashing of a campaign of terror by the National Guards. Thousands of people were imprisoned, tortured, others made to 'disappear' or murdered. The transitional period, when the tyrant's sons, Luis and Anastasio Somoza, reaffirmed the dynasty's dictatorial powers, was extremely bloody.

The victory of the Cuban Revolution in 1959 opened new horizons for the struggling people in Latin America and indeed of the whole world. In Latin America, Cuba is the bastion of peace and progress; the first socialist state on the continent. Commenting on that glorious victory, Carlos

Forseca writes: "With the victory of the Cuban revolution, the Nicaraguan spirit of rebellion recovered its resplendency. From the last months of 1958, year after year, on more than a hundred occasions there has been guerrilla combat which will lead Nicaragua to final liberation".

Anastacio Somoza Debayle, was to have himself proclaimed President by means of fraudulent elections on January 22, 1967; the campaign ended with a bloody massacre that claimed the lives of 400 people in Managua. The dictator's National Guards resorted to increased acts of violence in a vain attempt to destroy the legacy of the heroic Sandino.

The struggle against the Somoza dictatorship was to grow in intensity in the 70s, led by the Sandinista National Liberation Front. The government reacted by increasing its violent reprisals against the people. In 1972, a devastating earthquake hit Nicaragua. International relief aid that was sent to Managua could not reach the victims of the earthquake because of corrupt government officials who used the aid to enrich themselves. Hundreds of people, therefore, perished from starvation. Opposition to the dictatorship was daily mounting.

In 1977, Chamorro, an editor of an opposition newspaper, was murdered. This led to a series of strikes. The government massacred the people in reply. The Sandinista Liberation Front intensified the struggle all over the country - in the North and South of the country, in the rural areas and the cities.

Somoza's violence could not contain the fighting spirit of the people. The US embassy, big bankers and industrialists, in an attempt to dampen the people's fighting spirit and isolate the popular FSLN, planned strikes for September, 1978, during which they would replace the Somoza dictatorship with a puppet government that would be more acceptable to the people. On realising the plan, the FSLN published a document explaining its objectives to the people. When the strike began, in a daring operation, the FSLN seized the National Palace. (The seizure of the Palace had been planned much earlier but was timed to pre-empt

the coup that was being prepared against the tyranny). Holding members of Parliament as hostages, the FSLN guerrillas managed to secure the release of their fellow combatants from Somoza's dungeons and made it safely to Panama. Nicaraguans came out in their thousands in open support for the guerrillas. The entire working class, the peasantry, the whole people decided to fight together against the dictatorship. The people had been politically organised and prepared.

The US in an attempt to impose a dictatorship without Somoza, introduced a so-called "mediation commission". The mediators proposed the setting up of a provisional government and the holding of a referendum. The FSLN rejected these moves for their objective remained the liquidation of the whole system that had brought tragedy to the Nicaraguan people.

The programme of the joint national leadership of the FSLN called for;

- the setting up of a government of national unity;
- programme of national reconstruction;
- land reform and an agrarian revolution;
- expropriation of the Somoza property;
- proper school system;
- formation of a national army;
- foreign policy of non-alignment.

The document described the broad democratic alliance of all the forces opposed to the Somoza dictatorship as the legitimate alternative to the shameful Somoza regime. The unity of the Nicaraguan people paved the way for victory.

1979 saw an intensification in military operations of the FSLN. National Guard terrorists fled in panic in the face of the advancing Sandinista fighters. Sandinistas controlled the rural areas, town after town was captured. The frustrated National Guards resorted to bombarding towns and villages. Somoza faced an insurmountable political and economic crises. Military aid from the US was increased through third parties, chiefly through Zionist Israel. Financial aid from the Interna-



tional Monetary Fund (IMF) amounted to millions of dollars.

But nothing could save the Somoza regime. The armed struggle and mass political struggle had reached the stage of general insurrection.

The hated Somoza dynasty collapsed like a pack of cards. His army demoralised and defeated, the hated dictator fled to the USA with his bags packed with the country's gold and dollars.

A provisional government of national reconstruction took power, with the joyous support of the people.

After twenty years of armed struggle the Sandinistas had liberated the country from the yoke of the dictator.

Not only the Sandinistas, but the toiling masses of Nicaragua have understood the power of their own strength and unity.

Their victory is hailed by progressive mankind. Fidel Castro has said that their sacrifice, determination and heroism inspires us all.

As for the unfolding process of the revolution we see that it is on an unflinching anti-imperialist course. But the country is bankrupt and faces many difficulties. US imperialism will seek to hold back the struggle by fostering moderates and non-revolutionary groupings and creating economic problems. The outcome depends on the alignment of class forces within the Nicaraguan movement and people. But in our epoch history is certainly on the side of the working people of town and country.

THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES AND VICTORY IS CERTAIN!

+ - - - -

"WHAT IS THE USE OF SO MUCH  
BLOODSHED IF AT THE END OF IT  
ALL WE DO NOT CONTROL THE  
WEALTH OF OUR COUNTRY"?

- AGOSTINHO NETO -

SOUTHERN AFRICAN BATTLEGROUND -  
"TWISTS AND TURNS IN ZIMBABWE"

- Phuza Ishumba

"The British government appears to be prepared to go it alone with new Rhodesian elections based on a fresh constitution for Zimbabwe-Rhodesia, if next month's scheduled conference in London is deadlocked by the leaders of the Patriotic Front guerrilla movement... But in that case it is probable that the British government, in its role as the responsible authority, will go ahead with a new constitution for Zimbabwe-Rhodesia, to be swiftly followed by a test of acceptability in Rhodesia and a new multi-racial election".

'The Guardian' newspaper,  
London, August 12th.

After Margaret Thatcher's apparent bombshell of a statement in Canberra, Australia, that the British government would move to lift sanctions against Rhodesia and recognise the Smith-Muzorewa regime, the 'iron-lady' appeared to change her tune. Apparently back-tracking at the Commonwealth Prime Minister's Conference in Lusaka at the beginning of August, the British government has convened a fresh all-party conference which is now taking place in London.

The Lusaka Commonwealth conference "recognised that the internal settlement was defective, that it was the constitutional responsibility of the British government to grant legal independence to Zimbabwe on the basis of majority rule; and welcomed the British government's intention to call a constitutional conference to which all the parties would be invited". The leaders of the 39 delegations present at Lusaka consequently accepted "that it must be a major objective to bring about a cessation of hostilities and an end to sanctions as part of the process of implementation of a lasting settlement".

As much as the Bishop Smithorewa puppet gang might have initially fumed over Thatcher's apparent climb-down (for after all had the Tory high-priestess not applauded the farcical April elections as 'free and fair'?) we do not feel that the Lusaka package represents any major change from the previous Anglo-American proposal. Whereas the Organisation of African Unity meeting in Monrovia in July recognised the Patriotic Front as the authentic representative of the Zimbabwean people the Commonwealth statement refers simply to 'all parties to the conflict', placing the puppets on the same level as the Patriotic Front.

Further, from the final communique, it is clear that the danger of sanctions being lifted is as present as ever. The 'Guardian' report which we have quoted above is a clear pointer to the British government's tactics at the London talks. At once it shows why the leaders of the Patriotic Front must be present at such talks, and why they will seek to expose Britain's twists and turns every step of the way. It is clear that the armed struggle continues whilst the talks take place. Indeed it is the armed struggle that has brought the situation in Zimbabwe to this new state; a stage in which the ruling class cannot rule in the old way and has to find black collaborators to do the job for them; a stage where independent Africa and world opinion threatens to isolate Britain.

The talks in London are likely to be bitter and protracted. The British ruling class as wily and cunning a crowd of brigands as ever trod this earth. The Patriotic Front have already shown Lord Carrington, Thatcher's devious Foreign Minister, that they will not bow down to his snooty Chairmanship and simply talk about a pie-in-the-sky constitution. They want to get down to brass tacks and that means discussion on the all-important question of the transition to power. What must be resolved before any constitutional settlement and fresh elections can be agreed upon are such crucial questions as: Who will control the White dominated state machine, the administration, police, army and judiciary?

How will a ceasefire and elections be supervised?

Who will hold power while elections are held?

We cannot say how far the London talks can take the Zimbabwean struggle. What is clear is that unless such talks as these clearly indicate the procedure for the hand over of power to the authentic representatives of the struggling people, there can be no peace nor liberation.

In the complex and tricky stage the Zimbabwean struggle is reaching our comrades-in-arms will expect to receive the full and principled support of the Front Line States, (which have borne a heavy brunt of the racist backlash), the fighting liberation movements, Africa and the progressive world forces. We of the African National Congress and Umkhonto we Sizwe are four-square behind our Zimbabwean brothers and sisters. We have shed our blood on the sacred battle-fields of Zimbabwe; at Wankie and on the Eastern Front (1967-68). We are committed as ever in the common cause against the common enemy. We must expect a protracted struggle in Zimbabwe; for it is part of the entire process to liberate Southern Africa.

In Zimbabwe, South Africa and Namibia the struggle is continuing, taking place under more and more intensive conditions. Immense sacrifices, dedication and determination are required of all freedom fighters. As our President, comrade Tambo, has state: 'There is no force that can stop us. All the manoeuvrings of the imperialists can only delay the result, they cannot alter it'.

DOWN WITH IMPERIALIST MANOEUVRES!

FORWARD WITH THE ARMED STRUGGLE!

FORWARD TO FREEDOM IN ZIMBABWE, SOUTH AFRICA AND NAMIBIA!

STATEMENT OF THE POLITICAL  
BUREAU OF THE MPLA - WORKERS' PARTY

Luanda, 11th September, 1979  
(Unofficial translation)

The Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the MPLA-Workers' Party has the painful duty to announce the death of our beloved President Doctor Agostinho Neto which occurred in Moscow on September the tenth 1979, at forty five minutes past four Angolan time, as a result of the grave illness from which he suffered and not the operation to which he was submitted in an unsuccessful attempt to save his life.

A profound and sorrowful anguish and major emotion affect us at this tragic hour.

However, the unforgettable example of his life demands of each of us at this moment the sacred duty to emulate his serene, firm and perseverent image.

The life and the struggle of Comrade Doctor Agostinho Neto creates historical standards for our country, because in him were found the virtues of a revolutionary without self interest; of a total militant, intellectual and universal poet, profoundly humane doctor, friendly chief, brilliant leader, comrade of all hours, tireless servant of the people.

The evocation of his name and his memory will remain as an unceasing source of inspiration for us to continually engage in the struggle for the triumph of his ideals and teachings, to the cause of socialism, the installation of People's Power, the strengthening and the purity of the Party, for national unity of our country.

The memory of Comrade Doctor Agostinho Neto belongs today to all the People of the World, engaged in the struggle for freedom and the dignity of man.

Each worker, each peasant, each exploited man, each internationalist combatant, each Marxist-Leninist philosopher, will find in him a symbol of

of the just struggle, which goes beyond all borders, places him in the ranks of the greatest leaders of our time.

Comrade President Agostinho Neto led the Angolan Revolution in the victorious struggle for the whole of mankind.

Angolan People!

Militants of the MPLA-Workers' Party!

Comrades and Compatriots!

In the name of the glorious flag that our beloved Comrade President Agostinho Neto gave us, let us tighten ranks around the Central Committee of the MPLA-Workers' Party, fighting all who attempt to oppose his teachings and orientations and with resolute effort let us stand firm for the unbreakable decision to build the socialist country and the happiness of the Angolan People.

In the name of the Angolan People, of the Central Committee and the militants of the MPLA-Workers' Party, the Political Bureau extends to Comrade Maria da Silva Neto, beloved mother of Comrade President Agostinho Neto, to Comrade Mario Eugenia Neto, his dedicated wife and Comrade of all the hours, to his beloved children, brothers and relatives with whom he shared an entirely dedicated life to the struggle for liberation and independence of the Angolan People, expression of the most deeply felt condolences sharing the painful moment with all the Angolan Nation.

HONOUR AND GLORY TO COMRADE PRESIDENT  
AGOSTINHO NETO!

THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES!  
VICTORY IS CERTAIN!

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS STATEMENT  
ON THE UNTIMELY DEATH OF  
COMRADE PRESIDENT AGOSTINHO NETO

TO:  
THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE,  
MPLA PARTY OF LABOUR,  
L U A N D A.

We have learnt with great shock and grief of the passing away of that outstanding African Patriot, revolutionary and internationalist, comrade Agostinho Neto, President of the MPLA-Party of Labour and the People's Republic of Angola.

To the African National Congress, our people's army Umkhonto we Sizwe, and the vast majority of our people, President Neto was a fellow-combatant and a leading cadre among the forces that are locked in battle against the fascist apartheid regime for the liberation of South Africa.

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

President Neto will live for ever in the hearts and minds of our people as the fighter who tamed the arrogant and aggressive South African apartheid regime in the battlefield of Angola and 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 of the success of our own struggle as well as those of the peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe, under the leadership of SWAPO and the Patriotic Front and defeated the offensive of international imperialism which aimed to recolonise Africa.

We are at one with President Kaunda of the Republic of Zambia in acknowledging that the death of President Neto has robbed our continent of one

of the few key leaders of the new revolutionary age of Black Africa.

In conveying our condolences to the Central Committee and the entire membership of the MPLA-

Party of Labour, the government and people of the People's Republic of Angola, the heroic FAPLA, comrade Maria Eugenia Neto and the rest of the family, the African National Congress of South Africa pledges that our people will always remain loyal to the revolutionary course that Comrade Agostinho Neto set both for the Angolan and the South African people.

Following his example, his teachings, we shall remain firm in our commitment to the unity of our parties and peoples on the basis of principle and not expediency, and firm in our commitment to the eradication of fascist power in South Africa which even now is poised for more criminal acts of aggression against our brother Angolan people. We shall continue to intensify the struggle for the birth of People's Power in South Africa and will never abandon the ranks of the world anti-imperialist movement.

Farewell dear Comrade, soldier and leader of all peoples fighting for national and social emancipation!

WHILE ANGOLA HOLDS YOUR GRAVE, AFRICA UNFREE  
SHALL NEVER BE AT PEACE!

A LUTA CONTINUA!

A VICTORIA E CERTA!

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

THOMAS T. NKOBI

TREASURER-GENERAL (National Executive Committee).

Lusaka - 12th September, 1979.



THE BLOOD AND THE SEED

- AGOSTINHO NETO

We

from far flung Africa  
and above the treachery of man,  
across the majestic and unconquered forests  
across the flow of life,  
which runs anxious, eager and abundant in the  
rivers' roar,

through the melodious sound of muted drums  
through the eyes of youthful multitudes,  
multitudes of arms, of pain and hope  
from far-flung Africa

beneath the claw  
we bleed from grief and hope, from sorrows and  
from strength,  
bleeding on this earth disembowelled by hoes,  
bleeding with the sweat of forced labour in the  
cotton fields,  
bleeding hunger, ignorance, despair and death  
in the wounds on the black back of a child, on a  
mother, on honesty  
the blood and the seed

from far-flung Africa  
black  
and bright like mornings of friendship  
desirous and strong like the steps of liberty.

Our cries  
are drums heralding desire  
in the tumultuous voices, music of nations,  
our cries are hymns of love that hearts  
might flourish on the earth like seeds in the sun  
the cries of Africa  
cries of mornings when the dead grew from the seas  
chained  
the blood and the seed

- see, here are our hands  
open to the brotherhood of man  
united in certainty  
for the future of man  
for right, for peace, for friendship.

From our toes, roses grow,  
perfumed with the river Zaire's tenacity  
and the grandeur of Maiombe's trees.  
In our minds  
is the road of friendship for Africa,  
for the world,

our eyes the life-blood  
are turned towards hands beckoning love in all  
the world  
hands in future - inspiring faith in the vitality  
of Africa, the human land of Africa  
of far-flung Africa  
regenerating under the sun of hope  
creating bonds of brotherhood in freedom from want  
from the yearning for peace,  
the blood and the seed.

For the future - here are our eyes  
for peace - our voices  
for peace - our hands

from Africa, united in love.

-----