

**A NEW SITUATION HAS EMERGED - LET US MEET THE CHALLENGE!**

A new situation has emerged in Southern Africa. One of the three pillars of the South African-Rhodesian-Portuguese Axis has been **knocked** down. An irreversible process leading to the independence of Angola, Guinea Bissau and Mozambique has begun.

These developments provide concrete proof of what the African National Congress has always held to be true, that the liberation of all the peoples of Southern Africa is assured. No force on earth has the power to stop us from winning our freedom from the white supremacists of our country.

This is the first important lesson for us. From it we must draw inspiration. However bleak our future might seem today, we must now be more than ever convinced that the oppressed and struggling people are ultimately more powerful than their oppressors.

The second lesson for us is that, without struggle, victory is not possible. The fascist government of Caetano was overthrown through the joint struggles of the African peoples in the Portuguese colonies and the democratic forces in Portugal itself.

In Africa, the Portuguese empire is 500 years old. Throughout those centuries, the colonialists tried their best to keep the African people in darkness and in permanent subjugation. Yet these African peoples were able to assert their independence, firstly by setting up their own organisations such as the MPLA in Angola, Frelimo in Mozambique and the PAIGC in Guinea Bissau.

Today, these organisations are on the verge of leading their peoples to independence. Behind them, they have many years of selfless sacrifice measured in many thousands killed and injured as well as many thousands who served long years of imprisonment and brutal torture.

Behind them they also have the difficult path of learning which they have traversed. In the early days, they had to learn the first things about how to run a political organisation. They had to learn how to handle weapons and how to organise a popular army. They had to learn how to evade the notorious Portuguese secret police. In short they had to learn how to fight for victory.

They suffered many casualties during the process of learning. Yet, they never gave up. They learnt from their mistakes and marched forward with ever greater resolve. Today, independence or not, they are already governing large parts of their countries and peoples.

2. Within Portugal itself, fascism has been in power for 50 years. But during that whole period the people of Portugal have never stopped from struggling for the restoration of democracy in their country.

Daily, they challenged some of the most brutal political police in the world. They built up the strength of their underground organisations. They used all available opportunities to challenge the fascist government openly.

These democratic forces have also paid their price with the lives of some of the best sons and daughters of the Portuguese people. Some of them have been maimed permanently through torture. Others had to spend many years in exile. Today, it is the very victims of fascist repression that are serving in the government of Portugal.

For our victory, we must go through such processes as well. Already we have accumulated much experience in underground work. We must use this experience to raise the underground strength of the ANC. We must make sure that everywhere, wherever the oppressed people are, there are underground units of the ANC.

We have already taken the historic step of forming the people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe. We must ensure that this army grows by forming ever more combat units. We must look inside the country for weapons, so that we can arm ourselves. We must begin to engage the enemy in combat.

Our strength lies also in our numbers and the positions we occupy in South African society. We must use all this to confront the enemy in struggle, as the workers are doing. We must fight the enemy on every front, as the people of the Portuguese colonies are now doing, with arms, by strike action; demonstrations, boycotts and so on.

The third lesson for us is the importance of international solidarity in the contemporary struggle for national and social liberation.

The section of our organisation that is outside the country must continue to intensify the struggle for the total isolation of the Vorster regime and increased political and material support for the ANC.

Inside the country, we must fight all provocations designed to set us against the people of other countries, as happened in the recent Welkom disturbances. The peoples of Lesotho, Botswana, Swaziland, Mozambique, Malawi etc., who live and work in South Africa, are our friends and comrades-in-arms. Together, we are faced with the task of overthrowing our common enemy, the apartheid regime of Vorster. We must also fight all attempts to turn our national, democratic struggle into a racist one.

The impending victory of the liberation forces in the Portuguese colonies has driven Vorster into a frenzy of fear. It is inevitable therefore that the police terror against the genuine liberation forces will be intensified.

At the same time, the Vorster regime will also accelerate its programme for the creation of black puppet forces.

in the Bantustans and elsewhere in order to use the oppressed against the oppressed for the perpetuation of white supremacy.

For us, however, the great victories of our African brothers in the Portuguese colonies and the democratic people in Portugal, have created even better conditions for our victory.

The Vorster regime is isolated as never before. Among the ranks of the white oppressors there is a greater confusion and uncertainty about the future. The eyes of the world are focused on South Africa.

This situation challenges us to exert ourselves with greater vigour and determination for a concerted struggle to overturn the regime of white supremacy. Let us meet the challenge by our actions.

LET US HONOUR OUR HEROES BY FOLLOWING THEIR  
EXAMPLE.

July 21st was our Heroes' Day, observed on the day that our beloved Chief A.J. Luthuli died in mysterious circumstances. On this day we remember also Uncle J.B. Marks who died on August 1st and our combatants who engaged the Smith-Vorster forces in Zimbabwe on August 13, 1967, among others.

Heroes' Day is not merely a day on which we pay homage to the patriots who have laid down their lives in the cause of freedom. It is not merely a day on which we rededicate ourselves to struggle selflessly until victory is won.

It is a day on which we pay particular attention to the task of educating and training new heroes. Today, our people have greater need of heroes than ever before. We need shock troops that will lead the people in repeated assaults against the Vorster regime.

Our heroes today are those who work selflessly and secretly to set up underground units of the African National Congress, the organisation of Luthuli, Marks and our heroes who fell in battle in Zimbabwe. Our heroes today are those who defend our organisation from penetration by enemy agents and destruction by Vorster's secret police.

Our heroes are those who work among the masses of the black oppressed people organising them into legal organisations whether political parties, students', peasants', women, and youth organisations or trade unions.

Our heroes are those who lead the mass of our people in active struggle against all the evils of the apartheid system of low black wages, a slave system of education, degradation of our youth, police terror, racism and national oppression.

Our heroes are those who fight for the unity in struggle of all the oppressed people. They fight against attempts to divide the African people into tribes and to break up the unity of the African, Coloured and Indian people.

Our heroes are those who volunteer to join Umkhonto we Sizwe and work to set up a wide spread network of underground combat units throughout the country. They are those who make preparations now, to engage the enemy in combat, and actually engage him, in a spirit of self-sacrifice and readined to serve the people.

O Our heroes are those who honour the memory of our fallen patriots as well as those serving in Vorster's prisons and in banishment, by stepping up the struggle today, engaging the enemy on all fronts.

Such are the heroes that we need today. We need them not in hundreds but in millions. Let us follow the example of Chief Luthuli and all our other heroes. That is not only an urgent task, but also a prerequisite of victory.