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.uLâ\200\230.

. we aim at building up a politically conscious army. guided
by our revolutionary orientation .

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today, those who prohibit the distribution
of everything that is progressive in literature
and the arts, those who launch aggressive

,
wars,
ensure
'Wâ\200\230Jm realisÃ©â\200\230i-\'201fir goal of translating
peopleâ\200\231s
social

our
liberation,
transformation of our country.

â\200\2301] naturally doÂ» their

into a genuine

to the radical

liberation,

leading

0

counter-revolutionary

As revolutionaries it is our duty to deny
the
these
possibility of view . Part
with that denial
consists in our having no elements
of the enemyâ\200\231s fascist state machinery
including
forces, remain as
organised units within the new society.

his, armed

forces

Angola and Mozambique have today
ensured that. We also must have to take the
same path. In our view this is as true of
â\200\230Angola and Mozambique today, as it will
Zimbabwe
be
tomorrow.

.

Namibia

and
,

true

of

to

be

expected

No element of ..the South African fascist
state ,. can
or
administer a SWAPO victory in Namibia.
Equally, no element of the Rhodesian
colonial state can be expected to defend or,
administer a Patriotic Front victory
in
Zimbabwe.

defend

,

For that reason, as in Angola and Mozam-
bique, we support the demand for an
unconditional transfer of power to SWAPO
Zimbabwe
of
Namibia
and
to
PATRIOTIC
collective
FRONT.
revolutionary
experience of the peoples
of Southern Africa teaches us that where the
enemy refuses to accede to this demand,
thenâ\200\224its realisation has to be fought for.

the
The

The

proposals

imperialist

, cerning
Namibia and Zimbabwe are Meghan an
attempt to ensure that the genuinely revo-
forces of these countries are
lutionary
about
Â« denied
, authentic peopleâ\200\231s liberation, to deny them
possibility of undertaking, a radical

the
transformation of their societies.

possibility

bring

the

to

â\200\230_

The MPLA, the organiser, the leader,
the. vanguard of the movement 'of the

people of Angola for national and social
emancipation was itself confronted with '
similar imperialist attempts, and it success~
fully foiled them.

Angolan

But, 'to teach the point in the history of
the
struggle when it became
possible to hold this First Congress, MPLA
has had to i-\201ght for its very life against â\200\230
formidable enemies from within and from .
Imperialist reaction well under-
without.
stood that in order to defeat theâ\200\230 Angolae
revolution, it had to pierce the heart of that
revolution, it had to smother its fountain-
head, preeiael-y, it had to destroy the MPLAI
The history of the MPLA therefore
constitutes almost an encyclopaedia of the
strategy and tactics of the counterwrevolv
tion
against the revolutionary forces of
Southern Africa.

OHâ\200\234

We have seen attempts to cut, the MPLA
i-\201t from contact with the m ,3 of the
people of Angola. We haveâ\200\235 seen dun
attempts to drive wedges within the MPLA,
to foment internal strife and discord, through'
the exploitation of tribal differences, the
use of racism, the encouragement of mbid
chauvinistic
the fertilisation
of blind personal ambition and the viliï-\201o
cation of the best representatives of the.\
Angolan people.

nationalism,

We have seenâ\200\230 the instigation of extreme
leftist elements who, while posing as the true
defenders of the interests of the people
. within the MPLA, were it; fact involved in
' plots to .starve the people into a state of
against â\200\230 the

disaffection
peopleâ\200\231s own fundamental interests.

rebellion

and

We have seen attempts to encourage an
anti~popular spirit â\200\235of militarism among the
armed cadres in an- effort to denigrate the
political leadership and political persuasion,
and put onâ\200\230 a pedestal. the force of arms.

Imperialism.along with its multi-national
corporations, also worked extremely hard
to Set up an alternative third force which
would pose as liberation movements while'
'at the â\200\230same time remaining in the Pay 13

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speeâ\\200\\230e
pope!
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white

and the oppressive, exploitative and anti~
human system of capitalism.

This latter social system is of course
represented par-â\\200\\235excellence by racist South
today the open and
Africa itsei
sharp
Peopleâ\\200\\231s
Angola and Mozambique (m the ,one side
and
Africa and eoienial
Rhodesia on the other.

con rontaitions

between

fascist

South

Given such a juxtaposition of two die?
metrically opposed social systems within
the same region Of Southern Africa, conĩ-\\202ict
and confrontation become inevitable.

mcaf major importance for us inunder-
standing the nature of this confrontation,
is the fact that the victories of the MPLA
and FRELIMO have become a keyfactor in

the politics of the racist regime within its!
own
inside ' the
boundaries of racist South Africa. '

generally

ranks

and

These victories have helped to deepen
the general crisis of the apartheid colonial
system
they have, in the actuality of

South African pelitiesmelped to strengthen
the forces of progress and severely weaken
the forces of reaction.

In that fact lies the fundamental reason
for
the desperate determination of the
Vorster regime to destroy these two Peopleâ\200\231s
Republics. In that also lies essentially the
reason why we of the African National.
Congress join voices with Comrade President
Neto in saying - the victory of the Angolan
people is indeed truly our own as well.

..

In the very first hours of its existence, h

peopleâ\200\2313 Angola had to defend itself against
the massive military onslaught of a mature
but decaying imperialist system. The trials
that confronted the MPLA even before
November, 11,
to
1976 when the racist oppretsor army of the
Vorster regime was evicted from Angola,
were not a test solely
of the valour and
military preparedness of MPLA and the

1975, right. â\200\234through

people of Angola.

More signiï-\201cant in the longer term, the

President Oliver Tambo salutes the MPLA CongressmLuanda

â\200\234The ANC'm SotIth Africa represents the kind of life Angolan: and
Mozambican: strive to build .

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'

military. destruction of the .__

attempted
Peopleâ\200\231s Republic posed the question on
the battlefield - had the time come for
the birth of the new liberating social system
inW

..

moribund imperialism,

r was the baiaI'Ice of forces still such
that
its
oppressive and exploitative system of social
relations I. would continue to hold sway,
dictating to the people of Angola whatkind
â\200\230 of independence they should have?

with

The results of. that contest have now
become a matter of proud historical record.
Progress triumphed over reaction, thanks
to the heroic sherifiees of the people of
Angola,
progressive
African allies, by Cuâ\200\230ba the Soviet Union
and other socialist countries and by all
~peoples advancing towards progress.

supported by their

What started as a triumphant match.
by the forces of reaction into the heart of
Angola,ended
a deeper crisis fer the
VorstÃ©r regime inside South Africa itself.

defeat

The humiliating

Of Vonaterâ\200\231s,
army was at the same time defeat for the
social system for which that army had been
trained and armed to defend.
created,
The myth of the invincihility of the
racist army was destroyed for ever. For the
fascist regime
of John Vorster, whose
_ ultimate and principal means of survival is
naked brute force; this was a stunning blow.
It proved to our own peeples, as well as to
the more far-seeing sections of the oppressor
population . including especially the youth,
that in the confrontation with the forces

of progress, the fascist state is destined to
inevitably to lose, wherever that confrontation
but. above all, and
especially, within South Africa itself.
Today the fascist regime is haunted by the
spectra that large sections of the white
population will, as the struggle intensifies,
refuse to be used as cannon fodder to
protect the interests of the big? heap of
fascist domination. Already, thousands of
white South Africans have left and are.

place,

takes

leaving the country. The regime stands in
dread fear of the further narrowing of the
base. (If the system of apartheid
social
domination.
therefore,
the so-called landslide victory scored by the
Afrikaner Nationalist Party during the recent
racist elections in South Africa, can only be
fragile and temporary. '

context,

this

In

Terminated at the prospect of the victory of the
the forces of progress within the country,
in the aftermath and as a direct continuation
of the popular victory in Angola, the Vorster
regime unleashed the bloody terror that is
today symbolised by SOWETO.

-

By this brutal means the enemy thought
he would solve that part of his crisis which
is characterised by the ready acceptance
among our people of the liberating ideas and
the revolutionary practice of the MPLA.

The regime also thought that through the
senseless massacre of our people, it would
once again reestablish the terrorist military
and political authority that the regime's
armed forces lost on the hills of
Angola.

' -

to

Inevitably, the racist regime has failed
disaster to achieve any of these objectives.
So entrenched has the spirit of revolution
among the people become that the enemy
take extreme
has
measures against
those who still
preached a peaceful transition to democratic
rule.

compelled

been

even

to

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The African National Congress

ith its

_~aliies, is the representative inside apartheid

South Africa of the kind of life that the

people of Angola and Mozambique

striving to build, the kind of life

peoples advancing towards progress and comfort .

Explain Because of this, its authority among

. the broad masses of our people has risen so

high and has proved so indestructible that

the enemy himself has had to admit this

and tact openly and repeatedly.

of submitting to an already

Instead

invincibility

arms,

disproved

the best sons and daughters of our people

fascist

of

11

have responded with enthusiasm to our call to them to swell the ranks of Umkhonto we Sizwe, our own" people's army, the military wing of the ANC and to confront the enemy with revolutionary arms new:

The African National Congress therefore find confirmation of the the

continues correctness historical experience of the MPLA.

positions

from

its

of

to

is

that

positions

One of these

the victorious revolution cannot be defended successfully without arms. This condition is imposed on all revolutions by the fact that the forces of reaction never hesitate to attempt to reverse the historical process by force of arms.

.

In building up our own popular army we aim therefore not only at the overthrow of the fascist regime, we aim also at building up a politically conscious and revolutionary army, conscious of its popular origin, unwavering in its democratic functions and

guided by our revolutionary orientation. We know FAPLA is such a force, and we know that, that is why FAPLA is invincible. We of the African National Congress visualise a South Africa in which the people shall govern, in which the wealth of the country shall be restored to the people and where the land shall be shared among those who work it. We aim to establish in our society of the exploitation of man by man.

country . a

free

We fight for a South Africa in which the people shall be guaranteed the right to work in which it will be the duty of the people's state to ensure that the doors of learning

and of culture are. open to the working people. We seek to live in peace with our neighbours and the peoples of the world in conditions of equality, mutual respect and equal advantage.

' Those who monopolise political power, the land and the wealth of our country

â\200\230Victory is Certain!â\200\231

Participants of MPLAâ\200\231s First Congress rÃ©spond to the speakerfs call

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. the masses of our people .

â\200\230 oi eur revolution .

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. constitute â\200\230the poiiticul army

In

December,

consolidated the unity of the revolutionary
movement as never before.

1961,â\200\231

like MPLA in

February of that year, we decided to embark
on armed struggle and formed Umkhonto
we Sizwe, the armed wing of the ANC.

gmeeFI-em then on, MPLA and ANC have
shared victories and setbacks: we have shared
heroes and martyrs; we have marched
arm-in~arm and no imperialist wedge will
ever be allowed to interpose itself between,
the Angolan people and the mass of the
South African

ople.

ï-\201t! as With he Angolan experience the
victory of the Squth African revolution
depends on the continuation of the ANC as
the organiser, the leader, the vanguard of
the movement for
national and social
emancipation in South Africa.

to

of

terms

Nelson

leaders

Mandela;

committed

The South African fascist regime declared
the ANC illegal more than 17 years ago,
it
Walter

Sisulu, Gavan Mbeki, Ahmed .Kathrada,
Dennis Goldberg, Harry Gwale and other
national'-
life
imprisonment. It embarked on a wide range
of tactics ,aimed at destroying the ANC.
These have included attempts to strangle
our revolution by isolating our movement
from its allies, especially the Soviet Union
and other .socialist countries. The regime
has now embarked on a policy of consistent
assassination of the' leading cadres of our'
revolution. But all this has serVed only to
heighten the determination of the people

end toâ\200\224deepen the political crisis of
the
racist regime, bringing ever nearer the day
when these imprisoned leaders of the people
will be free to assume their rightful place
among the
ef a revolutionary
democratic South Africa, arm-in~arm with
the builders of the new social order in
Africa and it: the rest of the progressive
world

creators

~

We are in unhen with the MPLA when we
say that the gasses of out people - the
workers peasants, revolutionary youth and
intelligentsia as a conscious and organised
force, constitute the political army of ourâ\200\235
revolution,
' whom, Victory is impossible.

without whom, and against

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"Welll Southern Africa are all pledged to fight.for the creationof
new socie--ecenomic systems.

ANC President, Comrade Oliver Tambo
addresses the First Congress of MPLA
which took place in Luanda,
in December 1977'.

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Comrade President Agostino Neto,
(Emrade ~Members. of the Presidium of
the Gangress,
Comrades Militaâ\200\230i-\202ts and Cembat'ants of
WLA .

Comrades and Friends:

We bring to this historic First Congress of '
the MPLA, warmest and most fretemai
greetings
Executive
Committee
Congress, from its militants and combatants,
from the workers and peasants, the women
and the youth; from the entire struggling
people of South Africa.

from
of

the
the

National

African ' National '

We feel genuinely proud that we are
active partiCipants in the making of African
history here in Angola at this time

The heroic anti-colonial struggles of the
peoples of Africa for national independence,
including, in particular, the armed struggles
of the people of Algeria, Guinea Bissau
and Cape Verde, Allgola and Mozambique,
culminated in the epoch-making collapse
of Portuguese colonialism in Africa. The
earth-shaking victories of- FRELIMO and
MPLA brought Southern Africa to the
crossroads. Bat the revolutionary experience

accumulated during
liberation wars
ensured that the people's advance towards
social emancipation would not be halted.
Thus it is, that as the year 1977 opened
with the 13rd Congress of FRELIMO, so it
is ending with the 1st Congress of MPLA.
Both Congresses are the collective voice

the

Of the Mozambican and Angolan peoples,
proclaiming the continuation of the revolutionary
struggle at a higher plain, more
arduous but no less glorious than the earlier
- struggles. The historic significance of the 1st
CONGRESS of MPLA is precisely that,
for Southern Africa, like the FRELIMO
Congress it blazes a new trail out of the
crossroads {towards the conquest of a
socialist future for the peoples - a future

free of exploitation.
esteemed

0111'

Leader,

Friend

and

Comrade President Agostinho Neto,
expressed a key and important truth when 'he
(said in one of his statements that the *
victory of the Angolan people was a victory
of the peoples advancing towards progress.
This 1st Congress of MPLA is a victory
of the Angolan people. It is also a victory
of all the peoples, including the peoples of
South Africa, who are pledged to fight for
the creation of new socioeconomic systems
which will be characterised by the abolition
of exploitation of man by man through
ownership of productive wealth, by the
people themselves; characterised as well by
the self-government of the ordinary working
people through the institution of popular
power . and

a
commitment to strive for a world that has
been rid of the parasites that have imposed
on all of us fascism, racism and apartheid,
deprivation, backwardness, ignorance,
superstition, and destructive wars.

characterised

also

by

Angola's orientation towards the social
emancipation of her people has, therefore,
like Mozambique, brought to the forefront in our
region,
the
liberating theory and practice of socialism

confrontation

between

the

9.

or exi-ly the forces against whom they
would claim to be waging "liberation wars"
We have
to
balkanise and dismember Angola itself.
We have seen open assassination of leaders-
and activists.

imperialist

attempts

seen

"

3

We have seen the forces of counter-

revolution 39 to â Breathe animosity between .
the MPLA and its most tested and natural
allies, especially from the Soviet Union and
the Socialist Republic of Cuba. Thus would
the MP
and t
attempts to liquidate it.

weakened and isolated â

ready prey to imperialist

,

,

We have seen all this and much more.
But we have also seen the MPLA emerge
from this
enduring crisis triumphant ~
stronger than ever before. Such a record of
victories
the

tribute

great

to

is

a

revolutionary maturity at the MPLA, of
Comrade Agostinho Neto personally; it is
a tribute
to the veterans of two gruelling
liberation wars, many of them present here
today; it is a tribute to all those other heroes
= who have sacrificed their lives for the
victory of the Angolan revolution and to
ensure that once that victory was won,
it was not lost again.

v

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To see the MPLA as a target of imperialist
attacks from 1956 to 1977, is to gain an

idea of the experience of ANC during the
same period. In December, 1956, the entire
leadership of theâ\200\234 organisations opposing
the racist regime, led by the AM), was
arrested and brought to common trial 'on
charges of ' attempting to overthrow the
racist state. More than 150 leaders faced
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sentences. hThls

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In their name, and in the name of its

armed combatants, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and the African National Congress renews its pledge to continue the struggle to fight until the objective of seizure of power is achieved. The people of South Africa led by the ANC and its allies, will not betray the victory of the Angolan people led by the MPLA

our strategic

and

The ANC places in high regard the profound appreciation of the consistent all-round support given by the MPLA with a willingness which fully confirms the fact that MPLA, the Government and people of the Angola, revolutionary peoples for national and social. In giving this support, Angola is being faithful to the highest aspirations of Africa, to the basic

their
of

liberation.

struggles

regard

own

as

Comrade Agostinho Neto, President of the People's Republic of Angola, addresses Congress

policy and of the OAU, to the principles of proletarian internationalism

In this context, we wish to mention the support, the cooperation and the facilities given to us by the countries of the Frontline, including Swaziland and Lesotho.

of

the

countries

We wish to acknowledge also the support and assistance we receive from our mutual friends, socialist community, especially the Soviet Union, - the GDR and Cuba; from Algeria and other the CAD; from

member countries
_, countries
Europe,
notably
Sweden, as well as progressive movements
throughout the world.

of
Western

the

in

The ANC re-iteratâ\200\230es from this rostrum of
the lat CONGRESS OF THE MPLA, tits
unswerving support for the Patriotic Front,
SWAPO, the PLO, Fretilin, Polisario and '
all other revolutionary . forces i-\201ghting for
progres'sive change.

On behalf of the masses of the people of
our country, we 'wish this First Congress
have no doubt that its results
all sueee
will (i-\201i-\201lik'gï-\201ting contribution
the
revolutionaw process towards the establish-
ment and consolidation of a new progressive
. order, not only for the peoplesof Africa,

to

but also for all mankind.

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PARTIDO 13â\200\234 DE
VIVA
VANGUARD DA CLASSES OPERARIO!

MPLA ' --

o

16

VIVA '0 PRIMEIRO CONGRESSO D0
MPLA!

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V'IVA O -CAMARADA PRESIDENTE
AGOSTINHO NETO!

ABAIXO 'o COLONIAâ\200\230ALISMO E RACISMO! â\200\230

ABAIXO os BANTUSTANOS!

A LUTTA CONTINUA!

A VICTORIA E emu:

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ANC