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Address to the Youth of the World
Havana, Cuba; July, 1978.

The modern era of the collapse of the old social formations and the birth of new ones, characterised by the victorious revolutions of the peoples against all exploiters, national oppressions and inequality, has emphasised more than ever before the community of interests of the ordinary working people of the world.

That is why we stand here today. We feel neither visitors to this fair land nor strangers amongst its heroic people. When the name of Cuba rings out, the toiling masses of the world raise their clenched fists in demonstration of their oneness with revolutionary Cuba, correctly asserting that socialist Cuba embodies a brilliant prize in the hands of revolutionary mankind.

The 11th World Festival of Youth and Students, taking place in the capital of Socialist Cuba is, in its own way one more monument to the great assault on Moncada. It is in its own way a flowering of the revolutionary tree planted at Moncada and watered with the precious blood of Cuban youth.

It is in this same spirit that this Festival becomes part and parcel of the event of earth-shaking dimensions whose 25th anniversary we are now celebrating.

When some of the best sons and daughters of the Cuban people dared to launch this attack a quarter of a century ago, among them in the front ranks our brother and comrade-in-arms, Fidel Castro, the world could hardly have guessed that here in the Oriente province a new civilisation was being born out of the inhumanity, the filth and barbarity of Yankee imperialism.

As Fidel Castro has said: "Without Moncada there would have been no Granma, no struggle in the Sierra Maestra and no extraordinary victory of January 1st, 1959. Likewise without the epic of 1868 and 1895, Cuba would not be an independent and the first socialist country in the Western Hemisphere.

Epic events of the Moncada type have characterised the struggle against imperialism and their impact on mankind has been

We say thank you to the Communist Party of Cuba, to the government of the Republic of Cuba; thank you to the revolutionary people of Cuba for receiving us in your midst as friends, allies and fellow combatants. It is a singular honour to us and a mark of the unrelenting internationalism of the Cuban revolution that we who are still striving towards our January 1st should thus be received as equals and comrades in struggle.

For us who are confronted with the task of overthrowing the South African fascist regime of John Vorster, the attack on Moncada stands out as a beacon and a lodestar.

At Moncada, Fidel Castro and his peerless comrades were asserting the inalienable right of all people to liberty, the right of all oppressed and exploited people to rise arms in hand, against those who have arrogated to themselves the exalted positions of masters of our destinies. The Moncada Barracks of the venal Batista regime have therefore come to represent the inhumanity of the moribund system of imperialism. The assault on Moncada therefore has a significance that extends beyond the shores of Cuba. It was a blow struck in the name and in the interests of all the anti-imperialist forces the world over!

Our own historical experience as well as the example of Moncada, the Granma and the victory of January 1st, led us to take up arms and strike our first blows against fascist tyranny on December 16th, 1961.

Let us once more borrow the words of Comrade Fidel Castro to describe our own situation:

"The true people - the workers, peasants, students and middle strata - lacked the weapons and resources to confront tyranny; it was necessary to find a way out. How could an unarmed people break up this (imperialist backed) complex of forces and once and for all, establish its social and national rights, which had been frustrated so many times through history? "

That is the question that faced us when racist intransigence presented us with but two alternatives - submit or fight. But already the victory of January 1st had become a material factor in our own revolutionary process. One of the most popular liberation songs among our people, especially the youth, was called "Take the country the Castro Way!"

For us to take our country the Castro way meant that we had to restate our strategic objective and find ways and means of translating that objective into reality.

The central task of our revolutionary struggle is the seizure

of power by the people. Only the realization of this objective can thoroughly destroy the criminal apartheid system and ensure the national and social emancipation of our people. It will cleanse our country of fascism and guarantee to the peoples of Africa a stable, just and secure peace. It will place our country amongst those, like heroic Cuba, which are contributing selflessly to the liberation of the working people throughout the world. The example of Cuba strengthens us in our resolve to bring about such an outcome, whatever the sacrifice. The certainty of our victory is affirmed by the fact that here, the July 26th Movement, the Communists of Cuba other patriotic and revolutionary forces and the Cuban people as a ~~whole~~, whole have scored their successes in such close proximity to the United States and in spite of the most fierce opposition by this leading and powerful imperialist state.

This is not in any way to underestimate the difficulties faced by the revolutionary movement in our country. Yet it is equally true to say that the victory of the Cuban revolution and its successful defence were a test, on the one hand, of the ability of world imperialism to impose its will on the peoples of the world and, on the other hand, of the peoples' determination to destroy the capacity of the imperialists to dictate policy for the rest of humanity.

For us not to have seized the opportunities created by these facts, to intensify the offensive against imperialism would have been a betrayal of our people and a criminal squandering of the strategic advantage that had accrued to the world anti-imperialist movement as a result of this victorious revolution.

Already in 1961, when US imperialism launched the infamous Bay of Pigs invasion, it was clear that the Cuban revolution had played a powerful role in expediting the decolonisation process in Africa.

Anxious to ensure that the Cuban example did not take root in African soil, and driven by the mass pressure of the African peoples, the colonialists acceded to the African peoples' demand for independence. At the same time they worked assiduously to maintain their hold over our continent and its peoples by neo-colonialism.

Yet it cannot be denied that the collapse of colonialism was a decisive step forward in the historic advance of mankind towards social emancipation. The contribution of the Cuban people to these victories cannot be overstated.

The fascist and racist regime in our country, following in

the footsteps of its big brother, US imperialism, reacted to all this in a manner appropriate to its nature. With the banning of the ANC and the adoption of naked mass terror against the people as state policy, the racists staged their own version of the Bay of Pigs. Notably through the Bantustan programme it tried to accomodate in a perverted and counter-revolutionary way the demand of our people for national self-determination.

If this offensive by the regime resulted in the setbacks we infact experienced, we must draw your attention to the important truth which Comrade **Edel** Castro stated when he said: "Not always are tactical setbacks in history a synonym for defeat".

Our tactical setbacks, like that experienced by the Cuban revolution at the Moncada garrison, have in fact proved a cleansing experience through which our revolution shed all illusions about persuading the imperialists and racists to mend their ways and submit to the demands of our people. Moncada was a tactical setback, but the Granma and the armed struggle in the Sierra Maestra demonstrated that what many had conceived as a victory for reaction was but a passing moment in the inexorable march towards freedom.

This was to be demonstrated once again in our own country by the great historic explosion which began in Soweto on June 16th 1976, ultimately engulfing the whole of South Africa. It represented a profound turning point for our revolution marking the entry of new social forces into the struggle and the deepening of the crisis of the apartheid regime - all this despite, and even because of the tactical setbacks our revolution had suffered.

The illusory success of the fascist regime in suppressing the democratic and revolutionary movement in our country during the 1960s, increased and entrenched the counter-revolutionary arrogance of the racists. In the exercise of this arrogance they managed to buy a littel more time for themselves but at the expense of the sharpest polarisation of forces our country has ever seen and the rapid growth of the conscious and active revolutionary forces.

It was because of this arrogance that the Vorster regime underestimated the strength and revolutionary determination of the liberation forces in Africa and Southern Africa and overestimated the power of the forces of reaction. When Portuguese colonialism collapsed under the blows of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde, in its arrogance the Vorster regime refused to accept this result and sought to impose its will on the peoples of Mozambique and Angola. As this revolutionary country

knows so well, in the case of Angola, the S.A. racists encouraged, backed and supplied by US imperialism staked its brutal military might against the young People's Republic.

Because it moves from positions of fascist arrogance, the regime of white domination in South Africa refused to learn any of the lessons of the victorious defence of the Cuban revolution or from the decisive victory of the heroic Vietnamese people.

It had not learnt the simple lesson that the oppressed, exploited and struggling peoples of the world have steadfast allies, ready and willing to assist in the defence of the independence of peoples, and the right of every nation to determine its own course, for peace, democracy and social progress.

The formidable strength represented by the united world anti-imperialist movement, the principles and the practice of internationalism have been fully harnessed to defeat the aggressive policies of the John Vorster regime and its imperialist allies in Southern Africa. This has raised the morale of the main forces of our revolutionary struggle and immeasurably raised their combativeness.

From this rostrum we wish to express the profound appreciation of the ANC, all the patriotic forces and all the people of South Africa, to the Communist Party of Cuba, the government of this country, its heroic armed forces, its specialists in medicine, engineering, education and other fields of peaceful labour, to the people of revolutionary Cuba for the timely and unstinting assistance they have given in the decolonisation struggle in Africa, in the defence of the people's victories in Africa and especially in their role in ensuring that the hard-won independence of the Angolan people was not crushed by the South African fascists and their various allies.

Africa has reached a crossroads. The masses of our people are struggling as never before to bring about their true liberation; to create the basis for solving the multitude of social and economic problems bequeathed to them by imperialism. In this struggle too the example set by Cuba has become a material factor in the transformation of the lives of the peoples of our continent.

As before, world imperialism has decided on another Bay of Pigs this time aimed at all the socialist countries. Thanks to the strength of the socialist system, it can no longer take the form of armed invasion but assumes the more insidious forms of subversion by the intelligence agencies of the imperialists, economic blackmail and an ideological offensive.

As the earlier offensive failed, so will this new one.

In the unliberated areas of Africa,- South Africa, Namibia, and Zimbabwe - the ANC, SWAPO and the Patriotic Front are leading our respective peoples in an ever-broadening offensive against white minority rule and colonialism. As in preceding periods it is our responsibility to seize the opportunities offered by the marked shift in the balance of forces in Southern Africa. These new opportunities, created with the assistance of revolutionary Cuba, must be utilised to intensify our offensive to ensure that the initiative remains permanently in the hands of the risen masses of our peoples.

The principal tactical slogan the ANC has placed before the South African people is: Attack the enemy on all fronts! This is at once a summation of the tasks facing our revolutionary people and an indication of the breadth and extent of confrontation between the forces of revolution and those of reaction, arising exactly from the intensified and generalised repression of the people by the fascist regime.

Comrade Fidel Castro has said:

"To have shed the blood of thousands of the humble people's sons to maintain bourgeois and imperialist domination and the exploitation of man by man, would have meant a most insulting betrayal of the fallen and of those who since 1868 had fought for the future for justice and for the progress of the homeland."

For us not to strive our hardest in the sacred struggle for the seizure of power by the people and the radical transformation of our country, would indeed constitute a betrayal of the blood that has been shed for the liberation of Africa and the great sacrifices made and support given by socialist and other progressive peoples throughout the world. Western Sahara, East Timor, Palestine, Canary Islands, Namibia, Zimbabwe, ~~and~~ Chile and South Africa are some of the many front at which the battles against imperialism have yet to be won. The participation of our youth and students at this Festival is not only a recognition by the world youth movement of our capacity to play a vanguard role in this anti-imperialist struggle, it is also our own expression of our irrevocable determination to crush the forces of reaction on the soil of our homeland. In pursuing this historic and noble objective, we shall be following a path now brilliantly illuminated by the immortal attack on the Moncada garrison. Flanked on the sides and supported from the rear by the mighty anti-imperialist forces of the world, particularly the world's progressive youth now gathered here on the soil of revolutionary Cuba,

VICTORY IS CERTAIN! AMANDLA! MATLA! ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

WOMEN IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN STRUGGLE

A pamphlet with photographs for distribution to all sections of the oppressed people within our country.

Chapter 1: The particular conditions which the majority of women face under the apartheid system.

Bongi?

Chapter 2: A historical record showing that women have always played an integral part in the struggle for national liberation in South Africa:

Meli

- a) In the wars of resistance to conquest
- b) In the early campaigns against the extension of which domination during the first part of the century
- c) During the mass campaigns of the 1950s
- d) In the underground struggle during the 1960s and 70s - being subjected to suffering and sacrifice such as bannings, detention, torture, imprisonment and exile as well as in the role of mothers and wives of activists.
- e) In the popular resistance from June 1976 onwards
- f) In MK since its inception

Sonia

Dulcie?

Jeremy Brichile

RK.

Shirley?

RK

Sonia

Chapter 3: The approach of the ANC to women as illustrated in practice i.e. women have always been accepted into the ranks of the movement on the basis of revolutionary equality; women were involved at leadership level from the earliest times and still are today; women are treated as equals within MK receiving the same military training along with male comrades.

- i) A history of the ANC Women's Section and of the S.A. Federation of Women
- ii) The Freedom Charter creates the basis for the destruction of oppression and exploitation thereby creating the conditions under which women too can be free
- iii) The 1958 Constitution is very clear about the equality of women within our ranks
- iv) Introduce a definitive statement from the ANC on the movement's approach to the participation of women in the struggle and the building of a free society after victory.

OR.

Steph

Chapter 4: The role of women in fraternal revolutionary struggles: quoting from Samora Machel, Angela Davis, SWAPO, ZAPU and others, and drawing on heroic examples from the women of Cuba, Angola, Vietnam and others.

Chapter 5: Biographies of leaders and heroes amongst our women from the earliest days of struggle up to the present day.

Nkosazana

Chapter 6: A call to women to play their full and rightful part in the struggle for national liberation and the ending of exploitation.

Women's Secretariat to write