STATEMENT OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS ON THE OCCASION OF JANUARY 8, 1284 DELIVERED BY THE PRESIDENTI O.R. TAMBO Dear Compatriots Brothers and Sisters in the Struggle Comrades,

Today, the 8th of January, your organisation, the African National Congress is 72 years old. In keeping with established practice, we ask you to share with us today some thoughts on the tasks that confront us during 1984. Allow me to begin by extending to you all, the wishes of the National Executive Committee and the general leadership of the ANC for great successes in the New Year.

This time last year, when we marked the 71st Anniversary of the founding of our Organisation, we pointed out that our long struggle had come to a point where the revolutionary ferment had reached unprecedented heights and had plunged the ruling racist cleque into deeper and deeper levels of crisis. we went on to state that within the confines of the apartheid system there was no way out of this crisis situation. Apartheid cannot be reformed. The only real solution lies in the victory of the revolutionary forces, the dismantling of the apartheid machinery and the transfer of political and economic power to the democratic majority.

Events of the pest year have fully borne out the correctness of this assessment. The momentous struggles of the past year have taken us further upon the road to our cherished goal and have driven the racist rulers into further acts of desperation. For us, the future is brightening daily whilst for the Pretoria racist clique, the future is getting_qarker each passing day. We commend you on the sacrifices and dedication by which during 1983 you took our country significantly forward towards liberation. The past year, can have left our enemies in no doubt that we have the determination to struggle, the ability to organise for victory and the will to take power into our hands. The only question that confronts us all, singly and Collectively, is how we should respond to the Order of the Day - mobilise and march forward to people's powert 2/....

.1 1 2 _

Our revolutionary struggle rests on four pillars. These are first, the all-round vanguard setivityf qujthe-"iijiiierground stmctiires of, the ANC, second, the united mass action of the peoples, third, ouf.afmed offensive spearheaded by Umkhonto We Sizwexahd fourth, the international drive to isolate the apartheid regime and win wnrlduwide- moral, political and--material support for the struggle. 1.11

Dear Comrades and Friends,

Over the last few years, the guardians of reaction in our country have devised a programme of action centred on the twin notions of so-called national security and total strategy. This programme is based on the recogn_ition that the apartheid system is immersed in a deep and permanent general crisis. The ruling group in Pretoria has therefore been addressing itself to the question of how to manage this crisis to ensure that it does not get out of hand.

The Banthstan'Scheme, the militarisation of society; the offensive against the ANC; the new apartheid constitution and other recent pieces of legislation notably those covering industrial relations, the so-called community 'councils, the press and the -economy, all are elements in this programme of crisis management. Coupled with the criminal war against the Namibian and 'Angolan people and increaSed aggresSion against the rest of Southern Africa, these measures point to theidesperation of the regime as it battles for its survival. , '

L I

.'The racists have decided, under mounting pressure from the revolutipnary "Vmasges and the international community, to tinker with the Apartheud System, but in such a way as to further entrench racism and consolidate this illegitimate and criminal system. Despite all these manoeuvres, Apartheld has no future. w ${\tt W}$

In 6ther words, the faScists recognise that they can no lpnger rule in the . way.6 We recell how, at the height of the SOWETO uprising, rd. B. Vorster made bold to declare.' "there is no crisis" - no crisis for minority rule. But a . few years later P.W. Botha called on the whites to adapt to reality or perish with Apartheid. 3/

This was a public admission that there is a crisis, threatening the_destruction of the apartheid system. It is an imperative ta_sk of_ the revolutionary and democratic forces of our country to compound and further deepen_ this crisis by ever intensifying the struggle for national and social emancipa-_ tion.e

Compatriots,

The black people of our country have challenged the legitimaCy of the South African racist State from its formation in 1910 and throughout the ensuing decades. As we fight the Apartheid system today, We should all speak with one voice in declaring that the present regime, like all others before it, has no legitimate authority to rule our country. Indeed, its centralrmrpose is to perpetuate the illegal rule of the white usurpers of power in ourcountry.1

All revolutibns are about state power. Ours is no exception. The slogan, "Power to the People", means one thing and one thing only. It meshs we seek to destroy the power of apartheid tyranny and replaCe it with popular power, with a government whose authority derives from the will of all our people, both black and white.

The iSsue we have to settle together is what steps to take to sttain that ultimate goal. What intermediate objectives should we set ourselves, building on what we have achieved, and in preparation for the next stage in our forward march to victory? The answer to these questions relates directly to what we have aiready referred to as the illegality of the apartheid state. i We must begin to use our accumulated strength to desthy the organs. ofgovernment of the apartheid regime. We have to undermine and weaken its control over us, exactly by frustrating its attempts to control us. We should direct Q our collective might to rendering the enemy's instruments of authorltyunworkable. To march forward must mean that we advance against the regimeE:s- organs of state-power; creating conditions in which the country becomes increasingly ungovernable.l

Comrades, countrymen and friends:

You.are-aware that the apartheid regime-maintains an extensive adminiStrative \dots t ′ 4/9001

system through which it directs our lives. This systeh includes organ of cehtfel and provincial government, the army and the police, the judiciary; the Bantustans administration, the community councils, the local managehent and local affairs committee. It is these institutions 6f apartheid power that we must attack and demolish, as part of the struggle to put an end to racist minority rule in our country. Needless to say, as strategists, we must_select for attack those parts of the enemy administrative system which we have the power to destroy as a result of our united and determined, offensive. We must hit the enemy where it is weakest. The, goal We are setting ourselves today is dictated by the logic of our revolution. Its realisation is made possible by the fact that in our millions, We have already laid the basis for its accomplishment. Thus through ' our efforts, the so-called Coloured Persons Representative Council ceased to exist; as a result of extensive mobilisation, the puppet South African Indiah Council was brought in by a laughably insignificant monirity; the ihru entire Bantustan system faces overwhelming rejection and continuous resistance, and_similarly, towards the end of 1983, We united in a massive rejection of the local management committees and community councils. In certain areas and at different times, we have gone beyond rejection of this oppressive system of government, bethd a challenge to its legitimacy, _Ine196Q eur pebple in Pondoland destroyed the regimefs administration, and4 set up their own administration and people's courts. Likewise in 1976, we, caused the collapse of the $Urban\ Bantu\ Councils.$ In the recent past, in . Sobantu VilLage in Pietermaritzburg, we destroyed the newly installed community council and frustrated the plans of the Drakensburg Administration Board. Our determined resistance at Crossroads and at KTC in the Western Cape has made it impossible for Koornhof to carry out his schemes. He has been unable t9 governm at will. In Mdantsane our heroic struggle has shaken the puppet Sebe Administration to its core. Commenting on this situation, one South African pelitical observer stated: "the stakes are high because the issues have moved beyond those of a (bus) fare increase. The boycott has become a conflict of Will between the Ciskei (puppet administration) and its many opponents-in: Mdantsane, the second largest black township in South Africa."-1 5/...

In the course of our struggles against rent increases and other facets of apartheid, such as the proposed incorporation of some townships into the . Kwa-Zulu bantustan, we have gone further to destroy part of the administrative infrastructure of the Pretoria regime.

From these examples, it is clear that we have the ability to raise the struggle to greater heights. Having rejected the community councils by boycotting the elections, we should not allow them to be imposed on us. we do not want them. We must ensure that they cease to exist. Where administration boards take over their functions, then these must be destroyed too. In the Ciskei, as with the otheruso-call independent Bantustans, We must take the battle further. In the conflict of will betWeen ourselVes and the 'murderous Sebe regime, our will must prevail. And it will if we transform what began in Mdantsane as resistance to bus-fare increase into a nationwide offensive against the Pretoria regime's Bantustan system. In Mdantsane the people have said a "Sebe must go! Power to the People!" That call should spread throughout the Ciskei to galvanise the people into united action for the destruction of the instrument of oppression - the Ciskei Bantustan. The intolerable hardships and sufferings, the persecutions, detentions and murders of patriots and democrats in other Bantustans call for the establishment of fighting organisations to organise and lead the struggle for the i destruction of these racist institutions of oppression".

This year, Botha and Malan will be busy implementing the provisions of their apartheid constitution. In this regard, our democratic movement must mobilise to ensure that the so-called Coloured and Indian sections of the black population to refuse to be recruited to play the role of partners in apartheid, tyranny. White SOuth Africa alone should man the apartheid constitutional posts which it alone has created, for its exclusive benefit. Those who elect to serve in these apartheid institutions must expect to face the wrath of the people.

We must go further to say that our white compatriots, with even a modicum of anti-apartheid feeling, have to abandon the delusion that they can use Botha's constitutional institutions to bring about any change. The forces struggling $6/\ldots$

for a new order in our country are outside of these structures. It is within the ranks of these extra parliamentary forces that the anti-apartheid whites can make.u a. significant contribution to democratic change in our country.' Now , is the time to choose.

It is essential that we continue to shift our posture from the defensive to the offensive. The enemy has failed to destroy us and never will. But invincibility is not enough. It is in the attack that we shall find victory. Nor should we wait for the enemy to take the initiative and then react to its plans and schemes.i We have a purpose, a goal, an objective, a historicaission to- accomplish for our country and' for humanity. Our historic _duty is to pursue it with relentless determination and persistence, whatever the enemy does or omits to do.

We must- -apply ourselves with more vigour in our efforts to organise the unorganised, to consolidate, defend and expand existing peOple's organisations and engage the racist enemy in united action on all fronts. It is absolutely necessary to raise the standard of our organisational and educational work as well as psychological preparedness, to the level of the major and complex tasks facing. our revolution today.

At this juncture allow me te single out the creation of the U. D F. as a whistoric achievement in our people' 5 efforts to unite in the broadest possible front for the struggle against the inhuman apartheid system. The formation of the United Democratic Front was a product of our people' a determination to be their own iiberators.

The growth of the strength of the democratic trade union movement and its $_$ power to wrest recognition from both the regime and the employers, and the determined efforts to form one national trade federation constitute one of the most significant advances of our struggle in recent years. Everywhere in the country, our people and youth have courageously confronted the regime in numerous encounters, whether against rent-increases, forced removals or in military actions, among them the attack on the Air Force Headquarters at Pretoria by Umkhonte we Sizwe. - - - , - vi - '1 - .' 7/9...

This is the spirit that must guide and inspire the leaders, organisers and activists of our democratic movement. we are talking of a spirit of rebellion and frame of mind which puts to the fore the politics of revolutionary change:

A special responsibility rests on the shoulders of the ANC and the most advanced members of our broad democratic movement to act as revolutionaries – as such, to wage revolutionary struggle, and, basing themselves on the conscious and organised involvement of the masses of the people, te build a Strong and discipline revolutionary movement. In this context, the further mobilisation and organisation of the masses of our country assumes special importance.

Quite clearly, We have made great strides in these areas of Work. This is 'evident in the strength of the UDF and the pace at which it continues to grow. It is evident also from the struggles we have conducted, in some areas for months on endo We can see it in the organisational growth of the trade union movement. There have been commendable advances in the development of the youth and students' as Well as civic and women's movements. We have built an organised mass democratic movement sufficiently strong to give us the possibility to tackle other uncompleted organisational tasks. We refer here in particular to the organisation of the working class into a revolutionary trade union movement; the organisation of the rural masses, inside and outside the Bantustans; the organisation of the Women-folk of our country and the religious community into struggle.

Let us now take a brief look at each of these areas of work:
Millions of workers in our country, including the unemployed and those engaged in the agricultural sector, remain unorganised. We have to make determined efforts to reach these unorganised workers, bearing in mind that it is the historic responsibility of the working class to take the lead in our struggle for people's powero

The task of forming one federation to unite the democratic trade union movement has not yet been accomplished. we should pursue this goal with even more determination and speed because, apart from anything else, a united $8/\ldots$

edemooratic workers' movement would give us greater possibilities to advance. our struggle.

iVine do not- believe, dear comrades, that there are insurmountable or even very serious obstacles on the way to the creation of such a federation. We do not agree with the school of thought which -3reates artlflclal barriers .between the fight for trade union rights and the national llberation struggle under Ithe. racist conditions obtaining in South Africa. In our sltuation, the victory of the trade union struggle is unat tainable except as an-Integral part of the victory of the political, ideological and military struggle. The struggle of the working class is, therefore, and must be, an integral part of the national liberation struggle.

The organiSation and mobilisation of the rural poPuiation is clearly lagging behind these of our people in the towns and cities. And yet it is in these rural areas that the apartheid SyStem has its most disastrous impact- on our people. We have the organisational capacity to begin to tackle the rural areas seriously and continuously.

In the Freedom Charter we say that "the land shall .be shared among those who work it". As you will know, the situation today is that our people in the Bahtustans have been reduced to landless and jobless outcasts. Many are condemned to a slow and painful death in the so-called resettlement camps. On the commercial farms, the most merciless brutalisation of our: _Reople, especially women and children, takes place, every day and every hour of the day at the hands of the landowners. 1 1 1

One of the fundamental-elements fer the solution of the probiehslfacihg our people in the countryside is the resolution of the land questiOh in favour of the tlllers. Our imme_dlate task therefore,— is to mobilise the rural masses around the questlon of land. It is only when the country81de is organized that the rural masses will be able to respond resolutely to the $^{\mathsf{T}}$

call: "seize the land'"
Brothers end Slsters,
'Fellow-eohntrymen,

eIntthe.pestiperiod we have seen the-increase involvement of the feiigious 9/0...

community in our struggle for liberation. In this context, you are aware that at the South African Council of Churches National Conference-last year, a proposal was made to convene a conference in 1986 to decide on the contribution of the Christian church to change in our country. It was than said: "When peace is broken or threatened by injustice, the Christian has a responsibility to work for peace, to work for righteousness, by striving to rectify whet is unrighteous, unjust".

Those words constitute a serious challenge not only to Christians, but also to people of other faiths in our Country. While the evil and uhjust apartheid system exists in our country, we cannot have peace, nor can the peoples of Southern Africa.

The fraternal peoples of Namibia and Angola, especially, have for years now known no peaCe because of Pretoria's brutal colonisation and occupation of their countries. Daily, our Namibian and Angolan brothers and sisters suffer death and destruction from the regime's bombs, bullets and bayonets. . This war of aggression is being conducted by a regime from our own country and we have a responsibility to ourselves and the children and people of Namibia and Angola, to raise our voices in condemnation of the aggression. We urge upon the people of South Africa to demand and fight for the immediate withdrawal of all South African troops, mercenaries, Pretoria-backedbdhdits and special assassination groups from Angola, Namibia and other affected countries of Southern Africa. In this context, let the oppressed and democrats of our country assume their historic responsibility, recognising that the struggle in South Africa is the hope of the sub-continent. We are entitled to expect that people of all faiths in our country, inclwhng the Christian, the Jew, the Hindu and the Moslem, will in fect act and act $\mbox{\sc V"}\mbox{nowhin defedbe of justice, peace_and life; against a system that is$ $gtotally evil and inhuman. 7 <math display="inline">\mbox{\sc I}$ I . H

It will be opr special task this year to organise and mobilise our womenfolk into a powerful, united and active force for revolutionary change. This task falls on men and women alike - all of us together as comrades in struggle. We wish to stress the need, at the present hour, for the emergence on:1U/ot.o ' I

_ .. .43.

' 1"- 10 -

the political scene 9f a women s m9vement that is polltlcally and organisationally united. Our struggle needs and demands this p9tentially m1ghty force." ''

(Our struggle would he less than powerful and our national and- social -emancipation could never be complete if we continue to treat the women of our ceuntry as dependent minors and objecte of one form of exploitation 9r another. Certainly, no longer should it be that a woman's place is in the kitchen. In our beleagured country, the woman' a place is in the battle- ''front of struggle.' 9 i V

"We have come a long way from the time, as in the 50's,. when we fought barehanded - disarmed and unarmed - against the military might and the trigger-Vheppy army and police force of the apartheid regime.9 N9 hlaek hand was gl19wed to touch a fire-arm or possess any instrument more lethal than a ??nfknife!

111T9day, the racist. regime's army and p911ce generals who occupy a eentral positiOn in Pretoria'5 state machinery, through the State Security Council are making frantic efforts to recruit and arm the "Kaffirs, Geelies and Hothots" 9f the 50's to Serve as canon fodder 1n the defence of a system that has fallen foul of the times, a system that has enslaved and debased , us these past 70 years. " '

It 15 not that the mllltary might of the regime has declined. It is rather that the people, determlned to be free, have taken up arms and, through their own army, Umkhente We Sizwe, have moved on to the offensive. Today, armed struggle 1s a vital, indispensable component of the struggle for national and social' liberation in South Africa, where the a-partheid regime relies for survival on its fascist army and .police. 9n bleek meane-Vnaries. and on puppet armies and murderous puppet admlnistrations wh9 slaughter men as readily they butcher children, the democratic maj9rlty in our country supports the People' 5 Army - Umkhohto We Sizwe, wh9se rielng sophistication will yet compound the survivel problems 9f the apartheid: system. 9 1 I

9; But the challenge confronting Umkhonto We Sizwe ih face of current developments in Southern Africa has never been greater. Therefore, in commending $.1398;\ 1\ 1/.\ o\ o\ o$

- 11 _

its units and commanders Qn the sustained offensive of the past year,-Me charge them, and call upon our people to carry the struggle to new heights, anH. Sue for Victory tomorrow rather than the day after tQmorrow.

' i 4L.

.5...

1- ._ k

TQ this end. UmkhQnto we SizWe must deepen its roQts and grow lnextrlCably among the p6pular masses: among us - the workers, the peasants, the yQuth, the meen; we, the unemployed, the landless, the homeless, and the starving

m111iOns.

Umkhonto We Sizwe must grow in size, in the spread and quality of its operations, and in the weight of every blow delivered. Th'e armed struggle must grow. We shall achieve victory through a combination of mass political action and brganised revolutionary violence.

We address a SQecial message to the white youth. Your future is in issue. The aparthel& regime has no future. Like Adolph Hitler and his war machine, after Spreading death and destruction everywhere, the regime will be defeated and destroyed everywhere.

The future belongs to the majority of the people- of South Africa, black and 1V; white, who, in struggle, are today laying the foundations 9f a united non-QQT raclalldemocraticlSouth Africa in what will then-, but only then, beCQme a t, peaceful and rapidly .advancing region of Africa. . 'WJTT:Q5131 Your proper place is among these builders of a new order in Qur cquntry. Join them. Refuse to join an army Whose sole function is tQ murder, murder, murder :African people everywhere._z."etzh. . , &" qiyn' 11,

_x

It goes withput saying that Black youth - African, Indian and sQ-Qalled Coioured must under no circumstances serve in the PretoriaES'army Qf violent repression and criminal aggression. The dechratic movement:.sheuld immediately take up this issue with our youth throughQut the country. , Mn.

Our democratic mayement, our movement for national liberation is part of a multi-miliion strong world alliance of forces which flghts er national independence, dechracy, social progress and peace. On the chef hand, the apartheid regime belongs firmly within the camp of 1mperlalist reaction and is active within this camp to further counter-revolutionary goals.

n-: MA: 12/01'1'00

We therefore have an International obligation to be active in the struggle ztd defeat the c6u6ter-offensive that the imperial1sts, led by the Reagan Administratibn of the United States, have launched. We to6 must raise our :a;,vqgee against the war-mongers within NATO who have brought humanity closer Evita 6; nuegeerhholocaust by sabotaging all efforts at ach16ting nucl6ar -.pfdiearmament gnd who have, instead, unleashed a new arms rac6 and heightened international tension and insecurityo We to must struggle together with the world peace for6es eEpecially because th6 Pretori6 regime itself 6 p6sseeses nuclear weapohs and maintaing secret military relations with nuiithe doet belligerent clrcles on the world scenes. We too must speak out and h.ave spoken out against the attempts of the 1 United States to impose its will on the peoples of the world. This policy has already resulted 16 the 6rlminal invasien of Granada, the undeclared was against Nicarqgua and the direct Intervention of the United States in EL Salvador, in support of a gang of murderers. It has led tq a reign of terror againts the people of Palestihe and their V organisation, -the PLO, as well as. the 'people 6f Lebadon. It hds'heiped Moroccq to ignore the resolutions- of the OAU and 'tb malntal6 its coio6ial held over the people Of Western Saharao This p6licy has further delayed the Independence of Namibia and emboldened the, PTotoria regime itself to 'tseek to 1mpose its will on the peoples of Southern Africa. by force of arms. In this regard, through a policy of military terror and eeonomic strangulat16n, the raciets Seek to compel the Independent etated of our 'i-region to surrender thelr 1ndependence and, as an important part of that surrender, t6 heip evidt the ANC from the whole of Southern Africa. Never was there a 6learer illustration of the relationship between the .struggle to liberate our country and the struggle to defend the independence and sovereign y of the countries of Southern Africa. The peoples of our region share one common destinyo Certainly, that can never be a destiny of subservience to the criminal regime of Pretorlaa 13/....

For some time now, especially since the Maseru massacre, spokesman of the South African regime have repeatedly boasted of the intimate nature of their collaboration and the happy relations they have with the Government of the Kingdom of Bwaziland. The people of Swaziland, like most in the rest of Africa, will have resented that claim, especially if, as we wuwpected, Pretoria has in mind colaboration in the fruitless attempt to liquidate sthe ANC by assassinating and harrassing its members and supporters in Swaziland.

The trouble about any alliance with apartheid is that the liberation struggle is growing and destined to grow and advance, no matter which or how members and leaders of the liberation movement are murdered or arrested in the doubtful interests of either white minority domination or good neighbourliness. i Of course the Botha regime is frantic about the emergence of the ANC as the alternative power on the South African political seene. The regime is frantic also because of its inability to block the powarful and evidently dangerous thfust of the ANC and the peopel towards the goal of liberation. The regime is therefore blackmailing African States into an alliance targetted on the destruction of the ANC. But the ANC grown among the people of Southern Africa in the past 70hyears; It has always embraced-in-arms. It is a child of Africa's determination to achieve and enjoy human dignity, freedom and national independence; it will never betray that parentage. It is an integral part of the revolutionary process; it will stay in the revolution until final victory. The ANC is at once the life, the"; national awareness and the political experience of the popular masses or South Africa.l As the people cannot be liquidated, neither can the ANC. We take this oportunity to give a stern warning to some of our people against the dangerous temptation to work as enemy agents for the liquidation of the people's struggle. The indestructihility of the ANC should however not induce complacency on our part.

14/....

```
.,n.31-_-,
7-1114,71
```

1 In order for the ANC to effectively pursue and accomplish its historie mission, we must be unceasing in our efforts to strengthen and exland its undeground structures, ensuring its active presence everywhere in our 6 (f :3.

.cduntry.

We hereby extend 6ur unequivecal support to the indelehdeht states of Southern Africa, iheluding Seychelles, in the common Strhggle to defeat the aggressive policies of the Botha regime. The training, drmihg.ehd deployment of counter-revolutionary bandits into Mozambique, Lesotho and A Zimbabwe f6rms part of this aggression.' We are greatly inspired by the heroic 6truggle of the people of Angola to expel the occupying S6uth I African f6rces from theiflcou6try and Wipe out the puppet UNITA bandith. W1 saldte the internationalist Cuban forces which have c6htfibuted s6 decisively to frustrate the schemes of the Pretoria regime and its ally, .1

the Regan Administration.

We extend our greetings to our cemrades in arms SWAPO, the Peeples Liherati6n Army of Namibia. and the Namibian peolle as a Whoie and piedge t6 fight side by side with them until Our continent is rid 6f all vestiges of colonial and white 'minority domination.

As We enter this N1W Year - We hail the firm and pbsitive r611 playld hy the frontline c6untries and the f6rward country of Lesotho, deslite Preterids destabilisati6n efforts and naked aggreSSion against them. The dream of the t6tal liber6tlon 6f Africa is in sight.

mandeuvers and call upan both the OAU and the non-allgned countries to a increase their material and moraizsupport for bur strugg11 16 Wail 66

that of SWAPO and the ?fontline countfies; $^{\prime}$ $^{\prime}$ "WH , L.,

The Socialist countries remain a solid pillar of support to our national iv liberation struggle. We are asSured of their continued internationalist solidarity till the triump of our revolutionary struggle. ' 15/....

In the past year we have succeeded in widening and deepning our support in the western countries. We are particularly cognisant of the consisten\$ support We receive from Sweden and other Nordic countries, from Hollend, Italy and Austria to mention a few. We are happy to report the establishment of a new office in Australia, at the supportive invitation of the Government and peepla of that friendly country.

Our efforts to win international support have been significantly usstained by a wide spectrum of anti-apartheid solidarity and mass organisations in almost all the western countries as well as the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin American With respect to the latter continent; the occasion of the ceremony of the award of the Simon Boliva Medal of Honour to our people's hero Nelson Mandela, served the great purpose of laying a firm foundation for the future development of our relations with the peoples of Panama, Venezuela, Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador and other South and Central American countries.

е

QWexpay tribute to the progressive forces in the HSA for their valiantL efforts to achieve wide-scale U.S. disinvestment in South Africa. "On them rests the heavy responsibility to defeat the Reagan Administration's radist "constructive engagement" policywwith Pretoria, and curb and % confine the aggressive character of Ameriaca imperialism. We salute the heroic struggle of the Palestinian people fightingifor their 9birthright under the tried and tested leadership of the P.L.O. and commend those Arab countries who are making a positive contribution towards the achievement of genuine and lasting peace in the Middle East. .

' Dear Compatr&ots.

On this historic 72nd Anniversary of the ANC, we pay undying tribute to '1 the many patriots who have fallen in action since January 8 last year. Among these we remember, with great affection, especially Comrades Dora Tamana, Yusuf Mote Dadoo, Rev. James Calata - great stalwarts whose contribution to our movement shall be remembered by all future generations. We dit our revolutionary banner in tribute to the heroic combatants of Umkhonto We Sizwe, including Comrades Jerry Mosololi, Simon Mogoerane, and Thabo Motaung. We pay homage to the martyrs of our people like Saul Mkhizi and Msizi Dube - all of whom were murdered in cold'blood by the Pretoria regime , 16/....

We salute all eur leaders and activists incarcerated in Peetoria's .dungeons, and greet all those who are hanned'andlbaniShed; We greet: .N&.yon all our working people in the mines and factories; in the fieldg and ,nhhhighways, in officesi churches, schools and hospitals andltheiraviouelother socio-eultural services.

We greet Parents, mothers and fathers who manage no raise families ggainst tremendous odds in the face ofthe genocidal apartheid policies: The loss rof life resulting from the operation of this system in staggehing. The procees and, gictory of our struggle will redeem the stuation.iJInFthe' meantime a5.ahpeople, we need to address the problem of lack of reapett efor human life which is maniSeat in the growing number ofedeathB-ifrbmr _uhheturel causes in the ghettoes of our country. '

We have just brought to its close a year that we observed as onbe'of' United Action. During this year, we built up the unity of our democratih forces as.never before. We must defend'and consolidate these gains. we must build 9n them as we move to the next stage of our struggle. ("The, workers and peasants, women. youth and students; all of us black and white continue to engage in an ever-broader and united assault on the fable: regime and itg_policies".

;, One of the principal tasks We have to accomplish this year is. as I have :_ said, the organisation and mobilisation of our womenfolk into struggle. For this reason in the name of the National Executive Committee ofHThe African National Congress I declare 198h THE YEAR OF THE WOMEN, ande't charge the entire democratic and patriotic forces of our country with the tasks of joining in the effort to mobilise our women tozudite in struggle for people's power.

To all true patriots of our country, we extend best wiehee for S&SceSB in non: common Struggle during this, THE YEAR OF THE-WOMEN! ?vi' hi" :wiutt 4 . _ . . . _ ht; 1J3 2 N;.u

" 43v .tuv. .' . MOBILISE AND MARCH FORWARD TO

'PEOPIE'S 130mm ?

AMANDLA NGAWETHU: '

MATLA KE'A RONA! h " JWV .t,.'
POWER TO THE'PEOPLES ' I

u-c-o-u-ow-"omu--ou-- -u--