

DRAFTANSWERS FOR AVANTGARDE INTERVIEW

1. The youth of our country is found in the forward trenches of the battle against apartheid colonial domination. In the last ten years or so, the Botha/Malan regime has targeted its repressive apparatus against the youth in an effort to force them into submission. Through ^{their} ~~its~~ own bitter experience ^{having been} ~~denied~~ the joy of youth, they have reached ^{the} ~~a~~ conclusion that freedom must be achieved in their youth. Drawing on the experience of the broad liberation front led by our movement, the ANC, they ^{as youth} have come to understand that ~~as youth, the future of the revolution~~ self-sacrifice and devotion to the struggle is the only path ^{open} ~~left by history~~ ^{to} ~~for~~ the oppressed and exploited masses to regain national dignity ~~and self-determination~~ in a non-racial and democratic country.

Organisation and unity with the broad democratic movement and other patriotic forces, ^{the youth} ~~has~~ been the key to the heroism displayed ^{and} ~~by it~~ in the battles against apartheid education ^{and in fighting} ~~for a peoples~~ education, ^{seige imposed on Black Townships by the South African Defence Force} ~~acting as combat units in defence and offensive, to~~ repulse the current ~~S.A.D.F. seige on black townships~~. The cream of this death-defying youth is found in the ranks of our liberation army Umkhonto We Sizwe (Spear of the Nation) and in ^{our} ~~the underground~~ ^{organisational structures} ~~the underground movement~~. These "Young Lions" of the South African revolution are contributing enormously to the vitality of our movement. It is thus not accidental that the regime has ^{the so-called} ~~incarcerated~~ thousands of them in its detention camps, ~~christened~~ "re-education centres."

The ANC pays a special attention in harnessing and directing their militancy and dynamising ^{the} ~~for~~ the peoples cause, ^{teaching} ~~them that victory over the evil apartheid forces lies in strategic and tactical perspective of a united mass action.~~ * See added. last page.

2. In our 75th Anniversary appeal it is underlined that the strategic initiative has passed into the hands of forces of liberation. A broad united peoples front is daily consolidating itself and determining the battle for the enemy. ^{Disunity is} ~~emerging~~ within the white minority clique on how to ^{contain} ~~water down~~ the mass revolutionary upheavals and uncertainty is evident

within the international allies of the Pretoria regime.

On the other hand, our movement, the ANC, is ^{the} emerging as ^{an} alternative power able to command and lead the ^{masses} ~~people~~ on the ground towards their cherished goal ^{of} Peoples Power. The bantustanisation programme and the ^{much-vacanted so-called} ~~much-spoken of~~ reforms have failed to appease the oppressed, ^{and are frustrating} ~~and~~ a growing number within the enemy camp. The apartheid economy which until recently seemed like granite is shaking in the face of workers onslaught not only for economic betterment and right to bargain, but also for political rights universally accepted.

The Botha/Malan clique has become more desperate and they are more dangerous, attempting to transform its white social base into an impenetratable fortress through dangling the myth of black peril and World communist onslaught. The aim is prolonging its lifespan by presenting itself as the guardian of the white race and so-called Western civilisation on the African continent.

Our approach remains rooting peoples war amongst the mass of the people, ensuring ^{that} ~~they~~ ^{are} progressively participating in the armed struggle i.e both politically and militarily. Our task lies in reducing and undermining enemy resources, reserves and endurance while gathering our strength to a point where we are capable of seizing power. The regime cannot extricate itself from the current all-round structural crisis of the apartheid colonial system.

3, The African National Congress is tempered by the struggle itself against the most ruthless and sophisticated enemy ~~in~~ the continents history of struggle for freedom and self-determination. Its tenacity and resourcefulness amongst other things emerged from the ability to recover from 1963 Rivonia arrests, whereby the whole underground leadership including Nelson Mandela was captured by the enemy. Despite this tragic loss at the infancy of armed struggle, we have become a force for both foe and friends. Perhaps in the recent past, the heroic Soweto Uprising is one of the momentous periods in the life of our movement and people.

It ushered in a qualitative new phase in the struggle and acceptance by the oppressed majority that victory lies in revolutionary violence for a democratic future.

As we observe the 75th Anniversary of the ANC, our task lies in further taking the war to the enemy, guaranteeing the present decade as that of liberation. Our main blows are to be directed in the areas where the enemy power is concentrated, striking powerful blows at its military, economic and administrative structures and resources. Special responsibility lies on the shoulders of Umkhonto We Sizwe in giving the enemy no quarter, while building its combat forces in ^{its} national and social composition.

In the wake of the current Pretoria imposed 'State of Emergency', strengthening our underground role and providing the lead on the way forward, is crucial. The ANC is the people and its victory lies in their action.

4. The international community compose one of the four basic pillars identified as vital for the crushing of the apartheid regime. Pretoria has survived so far thanks to all round support from its imperialist allies led by the USA. Its economy is closely linked to the world capitalist economy. The major Western power have invested capital worth billions of dollars in that economy, and constantly inject new technology as well as provide market.

Thus comprehensive mandatory sanctions will weaken the apartheid economy and lessen the period and suffering for the black majority who in the final analysis are determined to eradicate the scourge of apartheid colonialism.

5. France, like all the major Western industrialised countries, has close commercial relations ^{with} ~~in~~ South Africa as well as capital investments. The racist Airforce boasts of squadrons manufactured in France and, or at home under licence. These economic ties equally find expression in the politico-diplomatic field/relations.

Paris remained in-different to racist President Pieter Botha's so called private visit to inaugurate museum cum-monument for S.A soldiers who took part in the liberation of France.

We, therefore, call on the French youth in unity with the country's anti-apartheid forces, to galvanise their efforts into forcing the government to implement the numerous UN resolutions on S.A, as well as implement comprehensive mandatory sanctions.

6. The ANC spent almost 50 years of its life engaged in a peaceful form of struggle with the hope that the powers that be will extend fundamental and political rights to all the people, instead the regime's response became more and more repressive and killings. In the words of the founding Manifesto of Umkhonto We Sizwe, MK, whose first commander in chief is Nelson Mandela; "There comes a time in the life of any nation when two choices are left - submit or fight". Experience and necessity dictated the course of armed struggle as the only alternative to achieve the set political objectives of the national liberation movement. The reactionary violence has to be replied with revolutionary violence of the popular masses. The current phase of the struggle is, thanks to that timely decision 25 years ago.

7. To you the future of mankind about to demonstrate your love for freedom and equality of humanity, Nelson Mandela is a symbol and embodiment of the determined will and conviction of the S.A people to crush apartheid colonial domination. Having chosen May 9th the Anniversary of the victory of humanity over forces of fascism, your commitment and contribution to our liberation is highly appreciable. Focus your attention also to the plight of your S.A counterparts languishing in racist dungeons and concentration camps for having dared to rise and fight for their peoples liberation.

8. The present political situation in South Africa is characterised by firstly a general highlighting of the struggle for liberation. Our people have wrested the strategic initiative from the racist. In struggle, they have destroyed racist local authorities in many parts of our country and substituted them with organs democratically

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elected by the people. We have in our country now organs of peoples power, like the Street Committees, Area Committees, People's Courts, which as said earlier, have been democratically elected by the people to run their own affairs and even settle disputes among them. This state of affairs has ushered in a new phase in our struggle - a phase where there exists now, in our country, dual power. Locally, the people are in control and run their own affairs whilst centrally the racists are still at the helm. Secondly, the question of peoples war has seized to be subject of theoretical debates. It has now begun to take root. The past two years has seen the emergence of mass combat units created by our people, especially the youth to defend the people and the leadership from criminal harrasment by the racists and their agents and to take on the enemy and make sure that the revolutionary gains thus far made by our people are not reversed. A process to intergrate these mass combat units into the units of Umkhonto We Sizwe is well underway. In some cases, these intergrated units have already engaged the enemy in a number of daring actions. Thirdly, there has been in the recent past a growth of international support of the struggle for liberation more and more countries are beginning to take some form of action against the apartheid regime. In this regard, the Scandinavian Countries have played a very prominent role. Furthermore, more governments especially those from the West have come to recognise the fact that the ANC is central to the solution of the South African problem. In this category falls even those countries and governments which are traditionally allies of apartheid such as the Reagan and Thatcher administrations. Fourthly, the heightening of the struggle has put the racists in the worst crisis in their history. The ruling clique of South Africa is experiencing splits at every form. This, therefore, makes us believe that the racist can never extricate themselves from the present crisis. This is especially so since the racists have failed so far to come with a viable solution to the problems that confront them. On these developments, therefore, is based our optimism for the future.

ADDENDUM TO QUESTION 1

In the field of education our youth and students have demonstrated a high level of political understanding and consciousness. Moving from struggling against Afrikaans as the medium of instruction, they have started to apply, in defiance of racist rulers, at least the fundamentals of peoples education. This has brought about a crisis now known as the education crisis. In this regard, the enemy has reached an impasse and has run out of ideas and tactics of dealing with the situation and is now relying on open brute force.