

N...qu . \_ . . .R  
H90 ..H momma.-.) .. on. 3. no.6 :0.pr 0.53005 .....n outplouon 39... .wnovuwuuoo.  
(.4...  
pmon mud... n. Houwn 95.... uonhom odnvmhooma  
tit .... 1. (I  
H.\_4.1).-).J  
.fI  
) a  
1 .. .5. . 1) x.  
. ....H ..ulFerIC  
.....- -. 1 1.. - . - .... 1..- I- 31.3...-3 . . b .  
.....nwLnHOvv .lero ...". B....Hr....4.r..w.0 PEEP ...Ow%...\_rr..4.h (r...,... ....L thwrc  
rrrrrh M.OIL....HC. 06.3.  
...-I-I.1. ....: .0) ..4x..y.1.. I .. .... II . 11. 1..-!) IIJ. I .4). ..I ... II  
....LUF .....m. (C 09 m.....w.m.h....((.C..... ..0 nfikin. PrWL ((OqInffpwrcuru .HH...O  
RHINO... bah... YH .  
.   
t  
. a.?.mmnmwhwc  
13..  
s Iib. . .... I I .. .... -- .. . I ..- I ... .. 3 .. I: 1 1 I  
H... 2.23.. S; .o psoroo...&,.c.. guns 0; :0... .....chPo... .....o ...c ..-...Lonlg...  
we...  
. I ( o . a .  
USU... ..UHQNH ..,\_.-: O; E... 0 ....wCOE O: HodoHO VJ... UfL.nI....H:\_...I. HHH MOQEOH  
UFH WLEOH r-...L...U.w  
O  
U)  
...M... 0H3...o... ..uaiU... 0..... 09. w0mommo .....4.....un..cHo AH... ..o wouoan  
oo  
....  
I  
.m 950.... 0% coon o . ..Nopow? 09 cambom 04.2. dnom ow omuoHHmMo  
4.4.09  
3.: n.....ownUn mg m ..H..\$wu. PHDEQES. ovaHooaaw macs 3H1...o 04\$ .moowxw wt...  
nuoaHH... mg: mud \$9996.. H.m..mo..v....u named... 4.... 3m... 4.0 useddaoiw 0.3 ....c wo  
oadm  
. .... va . I. I5; 1 :7. . ...I x 1.! IT: ...1) .. ... .... II. .  
mm... ... 315m. ...B ...0 Eur-- -75 .435 .ouhc. ....n.....no .... ovim mOHHorvaum  
o .  
( '1  
90.9 nm. .nvma. Mum PHQER mo 08:43.... 0..... Hon wuvnn...ros ... Opuw wonepush  
...  
wed. ohm .34... A Ogumann. M..A.....fm..nr. 0.. 94.2505... 010.... AHA-.. cameo. 9...;w M  
o umna  
r  
r  
9%. mo \$030... oi. .5 mi. Mo 0H8Hrac wow 5...-.. 3.4.3.3368 4.3.8:... rd... pow. ...m .  
A  
\$5... REV 655.8 0.4... .nHoEmmwoo..u mmawou mu. dam... .39...an vogusdoo max hvgdnam  
n.n.mH.p.go,\$duhSLMH . megamaw .mw Eovmhm .mduuuehdmw 94.... (Ho emmaaaoo 33. wad... \$930  
.... ham  
1:.)  
wmohen. 5.6un doEH... #33an #3 mpumobm .Hobom How oHLLSHpL. 93  
,4  
A 95.1.33 an op.  
SSHA :0... .380 63908.6 .....o... 0H... 9.. v4.34... 04.23.. 39 wwwm 55 .....m wounnom m  
me. J.  
r  
4..... w v0.9.m0H qu  
.liuugiulinsllilulllck 1.125!!- Ill.  
....E....E...4.m ....4.oH.4.....\_Bm Eng... ..... m.

Aru02511rh  
(f:  
9.... .00  
045.... HalpowamnH .....4.n wmgmdmsuo w4m0nvuo4wuw..ww.m 0...! 3....0 4..... 4.044 m .3.  
.. " a0 0.num...rn....0  
OPSHUMOH H... .4...QO..4.OUO 040\$. 4....0mvum0nzuc4...4 HUHMHVHSH 44.44434 HdeaPUO MO -.  
.O..m...44PHHO 0448...  
c... HOH 4.39". ...H0 .ru.4... 00.0.a96h  
.33.... Jamwdhvm no 303. 0 HR 4% .n.no..44...n.... 4.4.0.4143 3?...kume u....\_a.....nu 0A  
....  
.40 Sum 0H0 9.3 04.80."... a 04 .mv..murn.0 ...4.....0....000 4.603443. 4.34.4.0m 0...;  
9000me090  
Mo MonmouBmw .43. ?.nhvuoo 24\$ 0% muggghmmuow 044.303... .4000me 0H3. n..."  
.3409 0443. 0.... .AHHHHEHHQ 00Mu444r 044444. 44.003 9930 0.2.0 0..... .. 04....". 4.0 0.  
. .3000 04.5 .m  
.....0m 44. .m4...0 00.440444 HHS? 0.... uwu4um4n0  
4H0 804.0 044\$ Huh \$0000.40 4.30 1.5.. 544.. 0.4. 44.0 H50 1400. 44..."00 M443. 33444.03  
0.04 000... 0.; 4.04.9"... maruHho muniu. 0... .474 ..4... .0... 9m .3503 ...,.4muu.hao o  
hm 0..."er .  
044.08 mefJ 0n. wsuwpuoo No.3. 2? 3.0.4400" 05.404". 4.809 9.3 44.0 mmowvado  
400M309... 9% mm 40.44.244.434... 0H0- 0%....1 2w JG... .  
Puonuroamugua 3.0.44 000 0.3 4.4.0 4., .4. unedm 044 0.4..  
urih w...0..n PUHAGQHAH . HANG-.. 4.4%... ..4 IOUwHO- .4  
04.544. 2.0.... 0H0 \$0090 unwauwudpod 0.5...  
Hb.U.mH4tnL.HJ .....4 Pm... mHquU GNU... (04. Ems  
. wa... .4040... .190 .4.....  
'l'i  
l4  
n-l  
0  
p  
-ri  
4-  
42  
r!  
HP;  
-H  
H  
0  
-rl  
H  
0  
.4;  
ll  
-rl  
?(  
C)  
l-!  
E4  
.zoawmmog 00.03.0904... H4423. m...d..ou.440..- H Aprh. NH p.053 .30 nan.  
ondo. 0A.... ..\_.m .Her..." moomgmw H.4.0#4.4Qn9 .4004 ..H....m 00. 44. NBA 4.00.4.0 uho  
uuwheymo  
r  
0443. PEEBMMOIHSmBOO .44...." 04.44.... Mun umaaom H000130 OMB JEHucwomo0 .  
n  
D  
h:  
Ii  
4'13  
'4  
(2  
Ho 00.. 4.0:... 00.0409 .m.o  
.m 044.03... .03.... ".40.... ozwmmon 9mm. .  
r  
003 u uA x598 00\$ bmadoQovdhpw:  
O  
(4  
3.4. 3% mm .oPHHnEHHM 0.3.3630 33. .44.  
:14): I4  
mmwuwonw 983.300 M0 \$4009.43... HmAvHsm M04 4....H4...4H.H04H . .u44r0 tawdra 00\$  
Mo 00930 .n msmuav\$wmw09Hm 0.5 \$044.06... .w 0094....? , \$40.55... .30? av..." maroon... 0

.0000w00 ma Hansaaoavm mun p.453. wwwurno ,u mmwo 0.8 owh 9H 0 mun buonooo .0woau4ndmm  
33. a 0 3m 04.0.3.0 0.3.... 06 4.00on 0...? 43.90 .m d. .42... r4960. 0404. .fdmmsl..n.t  
m-..a....045 33 hp .000H0M4LH0H 0% 0H 4.30444  
.043 05.. 0A.. M343... .5... \$5.300 4.4.0 4.4.4 44. Has 00.44.4000 0.4.4.098" 0.4%.:

IA4 '1  
...Vxx. no  
. .1 4 .1 .44I4  
.r L4. .4 2.an 4.4 Urbtfau  
novmru 05.. o....do.h.f..o o... .....2. no 0H." woo...,.o.d mmdm mum...  
..H 4,40 4..-Hudamouw n. fdmnn medn-m0%.u4m  
..4 ..H:i...; Haw... .....o... ..4.. H14. \$444.4  
4 r  
1 4. .1 4. x444 ..x... . .II. 4.. 44 4I.) I151... 1. .4 .1444 s . :1  
90.33 4.046 4.4m croooar war .3 achbcho 044% 442,40 44.4.4442... op c.4844...) 4 03 44.2%  
mp  
4..44 4 .J. . 4.... . .4.. I ..  
(.rHC'LlrU LkVH... (u. (TH; .rwa: 044%.  
09.00 ohcm 0034 ml-... ..H.3.44.....  
TrW-N 4' .r44-  
Odin ones 0h ...-.4.. x 3H... 4.....  
...  
.onwnmgu 04.3 4o .430 4.4.4...-  
Zw 6.  
Eaumafiucnc. v.46? ho ...-.0149089."  
.I .. 4:44. . 4.. .. a. 4.. 1.. . -.. 4..  
.PBHduH d 4H 30345.26 #53. LL 44...? .474. 3.44 E4 -.cw\_44..4:4..4:... .1... L 4:... ...c  
...-0?;on ..o .m-BOMOHQ 4g. ..mou...4.HHoo ameu dach... 9...  
.43.? admoom \$449: 3....4H9rom HHS? oamcom 0444.5.  
) 4 . - . I4 . . 4  
H now 440044-9594. Vb. KCVEOHH cope. 4c  
4:1...) 2...: .)44. . . .1. 4.  
L44... . D444... 4. 41.4 .4..  
ONHEHoooolowfm 45... .n 4H oamoom 24% m...a..n...,c444u.\_co om,.OMH.4:no sub  
0.  
waomgHum-m H095 moahaommu 2.3 0 30.43.. 94.4 .4....4-0 matunu 044\$ uH..4.4..HoPo 0.4%...  
..H  
wan D%HOHOOO Damon. udOMHUCJQHq mkruu 44.44. 4.4,..mum PHOED Gnu 0HP44VH004404 Oahu. 4%".  
p  
.mu-gamka H39 H.4- :6  
9.4.44 28.434.3- uTHH onus .344an 903% ?.mie 4. .41." uonwwdnmmmc mi? .046  
?- 4  
.1.(. '...c. II III)  
. '  
I 4. 4 .2. v I. 4-  
nmme-ugv..no. \$052.00 VAWQ ..4. 4.4054085  
)  
I)... .44... .U .4 ).. - 4 :4.. 1. ...  
...rxrm...4r(4.rc:. H.444.- Fm 44.4..44n\_v4..C4..L ...4. LL cruwrnrHc r5...  
43  
6.4.4130 \$033.09 Mo 4.6384444, H3593. 04.3 Hasgxoo 044 mu. H4. moonom 4.453  
O  
4 4 . .4... ..4 .4...4 4.. .4.. ..- . . . .4 .4. ... . .4144 4 . . . .1  
:33! 4.4....Dom ....4 4.0444846, 0.249.000.4033pr .4.. 40 9044444 444? (:3, no.3 w;  
3  
0.3....- udo mnwdm  
:3  
.444 4.3 603093.444... 03 44-44. ...Lwano mMu.  
90 9.2:. unsoo ..  
MSOWBJO OHODOQ. waunw Farm... .wuurnCa. 4.0 44. ...; \$.55." 04mm.

7 .1 a .  
.4 4 J m .. .4 C . 4. w.  
.....r. ....L. ... 04.. c...:U  
4.94.1.5... .....0 0.430... w. 44.05... ....u.  
A  
O  
.mdwdhmmHO- ...o. H.?.ocH o. usage Homowiwou  
o  
4.4.... 4w... .14..)70 OWL. . D  
l... Ii Fxlu..ix . (4.4L  
dowuw hon wow 2 ow m\_dnhazJ m. 431.0 0....  
604.4594. ..pomuwowu. 0.4%....an 1;.....\_. 40.0 .44.u.4.....u 9.44443... mung.  
0.8.245- Pa. mowo m.0.4.....H.,u.,...;4:wu.. Q59 .....ndu 44..... R590 4.  
no...u-m:.au..u ..... HT. .4.;.0\_. u wok... n.,.4...uu...m..c,.4...mw um ....HrLu .36 Rd.  
m.ghhrmonn 0-8.3 u.... o to. H440 Humvdnnuu. 0... an. 4.....0 owmuUm 0.4.4 2H8 ...JUomHom  
nuio  
Mononuw HUMANS. ....udu 404.44.53.95 .....4h .....4m. 4. 63.35%. onmog um... 4.4.44.4;  
.4.4....ou.x4.4.  
owWoH ."Huwmnu 3.1.35.0 wmmoowwn... 0.... :Uumonu: 4.....0 mud: m.ghAog .....pwow urs.  
Vuhmhw. Juno nwwor H4.4.4.4\_.C.S.40:;4..4.H\$ nun ".44. V44"... maiden... nnwnunnw- .. .44  
U  
J) 4 v 4 4. . .  
JJ ) . . . 4... .  
H94... L4rth.44f urpn Errr. 7;: . r 1.444;... LwC ?FPLEKL. u  
. . , 4 -44. .... .s. 4  
.....F..o -04... .4514. w...nu\_.4.:p:m rum 3.99 -n. 4.4.4..-. (Wu.  
:. 4... . 4 J. .4. .. 4 . .L. F44) l . 4n A . ll)? L4 ) 4.. ....P): 4 .r  
dooo....H-c .rwnwrfwnubtui 3:... ..-: ..woyonr m... (man .0 min. H.254: 425-54....  
4 I . . an 4.1 l. ) 2 .4..) h" A J . .4.. . o 4 v, . Io.ll..; .  
00.5.0.qu ....L .nuo: gown... Em 00.449-0b4iwnuz .24.? co-uuoonrmEHPFz wmuz 1 East...  
.5: 4.. . .4.. 4 .3443)... L. .4 4.. ... )L. .4.. )4- J .44.: F4: ..a . 4.  
549 4.5 450 Par .4...-3P5 ..-c. wneo :9. mo 5...? H. 0;! 0.0 ...nUuLLO s... C.?P  
J  
4.43).. 3.41 4.  
CFC! Seq !r..nxr.l r.  
3). .Icl. v.l 4.11.: hi L.Jl ' I. Jul 1 ! )  
.r ...rmw L 9.0 : ..Crm. C ckrrmr. O 4.. 0 h. .(m.  
I . . 41...? fr .  
) I 4 4.4 .4. I I .. .  
(Okrrnpch. FOC #4. Cr .C. p .L C... CIHUHH. . .  
.4)I)4 J  
4r... l. F141..-  
.353 MW 5 \$505.39.. 0.... .36 M9443

w.  
nuo  
)  
0.9.1 c.  
. hmfPHO VwGOMHP  
..) :2 ..4).. , .J. :1.-. I I  
srrr r.5.u.ftCtvCl 0.) (.1... nxufT Jfro.)  
,(4 lx.1 3.1x ..J  
.1 i)!. 1 . , A  
, ..: 5.731.. Dir 04. fl .(rrr....Lr 3.". n  
3.1. .x I; . . 1 VI Al: I ,1) u: :  
Erato \$54016. ,r ET: ?erQHQ goatmgwu  
..Ir9. on. 9.3 noLowa .. c  
I I 4) l .1qu 4 4,... :31  
.w  
.- t. (mrrfnrr x71!  
. r  
. . l I i): .151 l 2. .I . \_ c :I.) J...  
OMIML! 5.... rrsc Ar. OMP rghiu .Hstpwsn t WCT. ham 4., Tir0\_..  
.4 IH. I I s. ., k '- q l . 44 \_ . l  
HO OnwfuprnOF 4 5.90 dog .3 Hblmo 5 .90 rd: lSOH). ufm  
r 0. r .. a . . . r . 4.  
nbo Ha Muuouw Ea  
.  
. trxn  
II c \_ x (bur)!  
05m. Hm HMO f "OrZUwFrg  
.II a J . J I13.  
3&0: okra JermO  
n  
bvahhomw Hwanobau i wmammolou  
.009... Q? .quuovnm  
(.10 i Crypt ..r  
i) u . u 3:. (E...  
apt. 1D u.)1. HQFMA .. rm  
\$3.3. 3J1 o)11.unuth  
.  
i. .. J . I  
cg 3.1mm ohm #9.  
.44.. \$.33 id) U10.) 1.3.0 n49!!! r.  
n. .r rCL rrCJi r; (r n. ( L...r.xr cr0...  
. , x I 11 . .1 k . J anJ )ul  
.wsdnmd id fcawho o . who Hzo .mmuc 8.4.5.  
o ..H van gonad  
. ed .993 o, dogma u:  
43.1.53 (  
. (t..f.r .V  
u.\_.o.\_.?-m\_,i.. iniquoimaqui 10.2 :3 :019. . J  
4  
OJ  
Y\_

(CI .l. L- r.  
.  
1. J) .  
o0H.....d.E.m .. \_ . . . . 1...; Mod  
-1 3...) u  
....:c... .0  
nm (1 0n  
3.3-3.0..-.9: . . . . . x ; . .  
If.  
mamomm 03..." .  
9.1.. .J t .3... .1 2 :nu a: 3L. . 4 A  
Osrlwnl. Obi CrurvavaulD. 4.4.331 er. rqu.  
.. ..  
.: Hl 1.) .. :2.  
1... r( . .  
magma nwd Huh .mvd dowhmwn . whom. a 1. a: man...  
vanmnbbom 2w. mpmdncumam o...x uvmcof...  
J.(  
Sn. m6 33.3.... .6 .  
oIJJ ls; . # 7.)).1: )Il.)  
frCJtFEHHD FOHCCF C r.  
l.  
Iv  
)  
:  
.i  
/N  
M  
. IJ  
. ) .4)t..!w n... x.) 7:: 5.. xi.)  
:1( inlrfrxlb 0.0 QJ.(4:... 7'...  
(N  
ML)  
H m 9..... PW.  
)IAI..... I . c o. . II; I .1 an . .t) 1.4.. 1!.  
LPWKHHVO LHMAU QCO ( Ogdwww: )6 pm. Cum. lH.H.Ly(.NL-(.b CT  
. l u b 1.311. .4. ).4  
HErOHM Cd? fMOOkroQr rrGrLrJubrVOO Crru.  
DRE noon m3. . muEHui. Hawomw: mipn. m  
(Jl. .. 31.1 .. ; h :i .4  
hie..- om... "\$\$chiu... nu... A o  
...04..u..mmSooo Mo hand 93. aumwdud oonmmmu ho uogomv  
0.3539. mama measubw 3. 0.2.3on0 04.9009 .4. Mo nude 93.. .b...H.n 30.38%  
m  
E. Mo noth vnwvnomaa rd .PHHddwmomcd mhn. #9.th umwohu cocomnww ovmmho  
op 13.8w how 95a Ammuboh mam. anunmwoomuo 5.3009 04\$ 3on mam mwudmnmam Aw  
..v.\_.nl.....mH HmemonH voouxwm. Ham muowmhhwmum hwmcun. .  
.Jl a...:44 .q u . I  
40 LSnPWtro trrcwvc.U.rAWnuH)rH .Lynnmrrd  
0A.... Swan .3. 6mg... 0ch 0.5.3  
593. "H989 Ho Hmwqumhu. mun. H moawumsw du  
) . .  
. 4 . .)J;.)...\$J 4:1! .  
. 2.1.Hitfrl .. xi. (1. .U  
I I r I. \_ v  
.  
LO

. point where tile re :1? e 19 not able te I? e i

x

we can confidently reply in the affirmative. Yet we constantly have to find ways of ensuring that this role manifests itself in word and in fact. For only in this way can victory of a genuine people's democracy be assured. It is for this reason that the ANC views the formation of COSATU as one of the most significant developments in the history of our struggle. COSATU, which represents about 500 000 workers, promises to become an important weapon in the hands of all the democratic forces to achieve maximum organisation, unity and mass action by working - as part of, and hand in hand with, the oppressed people as a whole.

a) The extent of the education crisis is well known to all of us. Despite all odds the students have run a steady offensive against gutter education. One edit also goes to the teachers, parents and the rest of the community. In this respect note must be made of the growing

spirit of defiance among the teachers reflected in recent actions, the formation of progressive teachers' unions and the 54th Annual Conference of the African Teachers' Association of South Africa (WQTR).

b) The crux of apartheid is a result also of the actions of the people in the rural areas, youth, "omnibus", democratic religious leaders, black business people and democratic whites. The same can be said about community struggles around such issues as rents, high prices and so forth. Suffice to note that the Rent Strike (which involves non-payment) so steadfastly sustained in such areas as the Veal Triangle has been taken up in the Cape African townships, Dundee in Northern Natal, and other areas too numerous to mention.

#### CONCLUSION

There are some of the major landmarks of political developments within South Africa. We could go on and on describing the epic battles fought by various sections of our people, singly and collectively, and the heroic actions of the soldiers of the people's army Umkhonto We Sizwe. We believe these facts are known to you. But let us hasten to add that these remarkable achievements would not have come without thorough and systematic organisation. Similarly, it is not possible to advance any step further without such organisation.

As President O.R. Tambo stated on January 3, "our strategic goal must be to shift the balance of strength decisively in favour of our struggle, through the further ripening of the revolutionary situation beyond the old way to a stage where

u



ii i? in fact uxahle to govern.

"....we must build our forces int

0

an ever more formidable united mass army

of liberation, an army that must grow in strength continuously, able to deliver and actually Golivering bigger bl vs at every \$0356 and fightinr

as a concciouy force with its eyes firmly fixed on the goal of the

des uructzLon of "1.0 epa.thc i\_d T05 inc and. the transfer of power to the people."

Through organisation we have to further develop the people's identification

with the ABC to the level of vellhbuilt and functional units through the

length and breadth of our country.

Through organisation, uhe mass democratic mavement has to be de fended, and

further sprea.d the :pirit of re: is tance a.nd defi.nce to all corners of the

land. At the same time, the legal and cemi-legal movements have to find

ways and mean: of functioning effectively under the conditions of wha,

amount: to ma tial law.

Through organiFation ve plan to move forward to implemcnt with even better

reFult s Lhc popular programme for the year 19 86 - the education cempm izn

.-

thc May Day commemcration , June 16, the anti-pass campaign, for the

uncon itlonal relearc of pclitical prisonerr, and the centenary of the

founding of Johannesburg, in quote but a few exa apleL

Our plan? rill involve the unleathing of full-time and part-time

organirers on the ground; the production and distribution of ropaganda;

organiFation of rallies and demonghrations; transport and other facilihles.

These programmes calnot be carried out Vithout funds.

In South Africa, where the haf ties are ra.. ing, is where our hearts and

(ill.

mllllds are as we purpue our goal "lth he purposefulness 1% deserves.

.../OUR 1 111101111 TQW 15: 1mm

(.0

7.  
'and for their underground tort. :0 h  
n  
toUR FINANCIAL Esponsmmms  
Introduction  
I  
To understand the demands of the internal situation in respect of resources,  
let us briefly look at the internal strategic tasks of the movement, as  
outlined by the President:

- a) The extension and consolidation, throughout the country of an ARC  
underground machinery, capable of leading the majority of the people  
of our country.
- b) The political organisation and mobilisation of the mass of the people  
for the perspective of seizure of power.
- 0) The intensification of armed struggle and its escalation to the level  
J'ut

Central among these pillars is the task of building the underground  
structure. Without a network of revolutionary cadres none of the tasks  
of this struggle within the country can be carried out. It should be a  
network that spreads its tentacles to wherever our people are to be found  
- in cities, the rural areas, the legal democratic organisations, in  
-;  
reactionary institutions and movements, at the workplaces and in the  
residential area? etc. To meet the demand

(3  
.J  
,J  
'n  
3  
0  
:3"  
D  
.1!  
:3  
(D  
g'  
:3;  
31'  
7,  
:I'  
0  
0.:  
f3;  
3  
(D  
H  
0  
'd  
l  
u  
H  
tl-  
:4  
and expand far ahead of the dynamic political situation.  
The difficulties encountered by the neighbouring countries due to the  
regime's pressure, desire to survive, both inside and outside South  
Africa, in a clandestine manner. Therefore, in addition to the complications  
caused, the reversal of repression at home, which meant further huge  
expenditure for the survival of the operative 'we have had to shoulder a  
M

increasing burden outside of South Africa as well.  
UNDERGROUND POLITICIANS YORK

-----  
In all the areas in which the underground operates, its efficacy

M  
'6 14-  
H  
O  
H:  
m .  
7'!

'0  
p  
0  
13  
'33  
H  
to a laree neaeure, on the presence of fullethe operative:  
revolutionaries whore 90le occupation is struggle. quch operatives have  
1  
dai y subsistence. They have to set up viable projects for their cuver  
A  
in constvmt touch Viv the people,  
.00,

3.

4.

t

l they ; ave to have adequate means- of transportation, a vast network of accbmation and other facilities to service trained cadres. and other operatives, fall--ha.cks to ensure mobility and so on.

During the State of Emergency and. the systematic repression against the leadership of the mass dementia movement, many of our mnotiomzcie had.

to resort to the mlergmund so as to cam on with their noble work. As

we all know, many of them were, and still are able to survive; to emerge and disappear when they deem it appmpriate, thanks to the msomeftdness of our people and the relative strength of the xmderground network.

Occasionally some operatives have been uncovered due to some slip of lack of resources. Also, the underground structures are drawing in the multitude of youth who have participated. and continue to participate in combat defence groups and other revolutionazv actions. It should be emphasieed that where we have failed to meet the demands of the situation, we have lost, even if only temporarily, the cream thmx-rn up by the mass revolt - an important reservoir of the undermund.

We are all at one, that the dynamic situation tithin our country neeis day-to-day, if not hour-by-hour, guidance. One of the most important vehicles to ensure this l's prepaganda, which articulates the aspirations of the people without fear of enemy legality - to organise, educate and agitate. You can well imagine the expenses that have gone into the establishment of printing facilities outside the country, the production and ferrying of our material intom the country, the maintenance of fully equipped Radio Freedom units. But this is only part of the picture.

Day-to-day guidance means that we have to establish and maintain functional propaganda unite inside the country, many of whom have to be self sufficient iri drafting, editing, production and distrimtion of propaganda. material. In all the major centres we should have regular newsletters. To give a general idea: to run one such newsletter, in one small locality, would require an ammal budget of approximately R20 000. If we were to have regular newsletters in the major regions with production units with the capacity to produce leaflets in all areas 01' the comtry, have Radio Freedom units producing cassette-recorded. messages and leaflets, the budget would. run into htmdreds of thousands.

We have already made mention of the major political campaigns for the year ' as reflected in the President's January 8 statement. For such campaigns to take off the ground, our activists have-to undertake many organisational .../3

I

tasks. In addition to propaganda work, they have to work around the clock to ensure that mass organisations take up these campaigns; they have, themselves, to rally the people in various ways. Taking into account the number of these campaigns and the mass actions they are to generate, the work of the structure has to increase manifold. The resources to be expended will also multiply.

omen TASKS OF the movement

We resolved at the National Consultative Conference that our effectiveness on the ground has to be enhanced by injecting into the country cadres with the capacity to give leadership to our people. These cadres have to be maintained by the movement: there should 'be a network of reception facilities for them; they have to be transported over long distances; they have to be fed and clothed. If we have to implement this decision with the seriousness it deserves and with the urgency that the political situation demands, we have to also work much harder, provide our cadres with greater resources, modernise our machineries and place much improved facilities at the disposal of our activists.

The task of systematic recruitment has become more urgent than ever before.

For it to be fulfilled, we need to have the proper structure and facilities. At the same time, the management machinery has to shoulder the responsibility of establishing training facilities and extending as rapidly as possible. Past experience has taught us that we cannot rely solely on facilities outside the country, as this will suffice only as centres for the education of the core of the activists. Our main complement for liberation has to be trained in the terrain of struggle.

Without a machinery that monitors the politico-military and economic situation, the underground movement would not be able to carry out its tasks. This is a field that more than any other area of work, requires both resourcefulness and resources.

These are some of the activities that have to be carried out by the Area Political Committees. This list is inexhaustible. For one such committee to function in a relatively small town, it requires a budget well in excess of B100 000 per annum. And they have to exist in all the cities, the towns and in the villages as well.

.../4

A

' COKCLUSION

These axe some of the challenges 1:0 face as we move forward to the final offensive. The demands on all of us wherevsr VG are, are not going to diminish but will increase dramatically with each step forward. We need to facilitate this process so that no single campaigz will fail and no single organ commmised because of ihe lack of funds and other resources.

Victory is within our grasp!

Long live international solidarity;

. 5:) Apld WF6\$

,unwvmgpzs :.:& lw 7.. 4,1. \_.,... \_ m 5.... - . - \_ . v - , v ' . ' , A

## LIST OF OTHER DONORS

Governmengg

2.

3.

A1. Africa

Eugoge

Middle East

Government

Government

'Government

Government

Government

Government

Government

Government

These Governments assist the ANC in various ways by providing places to stay and land for ANC projects.

Government

Government

Government

Government

Government

Government

Government

These Govqrnments assist the ANC in many ways e.g. providing humanitarian assistance, funds for SOMAFCO and various projects.

They also provide experts in different fields.

Government of Saudi Arabia

the People's Republic of Angola

the People's Republic of Algeria

### ANNEX IV

the People's Republic of Mozambique

the United Republic of Tanzania

Zambia

Nigeria

Lesotho

Botswana

Austria

Denmark

Finland

Netherlands

Norway

France

Italy

Government of China

Government of India

### 5. Socialist Countries

Soviet Union

German Democratic Republic

Bulgaria

Czechoslovakia\_

Hungary

Yugoslavia

Cuba

These countries also provide humanitarian support and scholarships.

The ANC receives funds, food and assistance for the airlifting of food to Angola.

#### gugpprt Organisations

Oxfam, CUSO, SUCO, AntihApartheid - Holland, Holland Committee' on Southern Africa, Roddel Society, MOLISV, Swedish Save the Children Fund, Africa Groups in Sweden, IDAF, ICCC, etc.

These support groups provide material assistance and scholarships and help ANC prpjects;

NOVIB, Otto Beneke Foundation, Friedrich Ebert Foundation.

These organisations give assistance for SOMAFCO e.g. scholarships and construction.

World Council of Churches, Development and Peace, Algerian Churches, Lutheran World Federation.

These organisations give small annual donations - humanitarian \_assistance.

Development Aid from People to People.

They provide technical material assistance as well as expertise at Dakawa.

#### EE\_Agencies

UNDP, UNHCR, UNESCO, ILO

These organisations give material assistance in the form of scholarships, airlifts (UNHCR) etc.



ggggeg 1986-81

Angola

Botswana

Lesotho

Mozambique

Swaziland

Tanzania

Zambia

Zimbabwe

2. Administration and Information

Administration in Zambia

Transport

ANC Stockholm office

Information & Publicity

SACTU

3. Home Activities

Publicity .

Printing equipment

Support for Legal Organisations

Transport

Assistance to Dependants

Organisational Activities

Legal Aid

Bulletins in Local.Languages

3. Proiegt

Alpha Farm ,

Mechanical Workshop

Agricultural Training

Education

Summarx

1. Daily Necessities

2. Administration etc

3. Homes Activities

Annex V

SEK

8.500.000

1.750.000

700.000

800.000

\_850.000

6.500.000

1.500.000

200.000

20.800.000

1.400.000

1.500.000

900.000

1.650.000

350.000

5.800.000

.200.000

.300.000

.200.000

.500.000

.600.000

.800.000

.100.000

.300.000

Nwr-INr-IwHN

H

00

.000.000

2.000.000

400.000

52.400.000

2.000.000

3.000.000

5.000.000

20.800.000

5.800.000

18.000.000

N  
4. Projects 2.400.000  
5. Training 5.000.000  
52.000.000  
Tentative distribution of estimated balance Eggm 1985/8g  
1- Qailz Egeasgtiegs. ' 50.000  
2. gdgigltgagigp\_agd\_lgfgrgagign  
Transport 500.000 500.000  
. 3. EoEe\_Ag\_t\_i\_v\$t\_i\_eg  
4. Prgjgcg  
Dakawa/Mazimbu 1.450.000  
. Mechanical Workshop 300.000 1. ?50.000  
5. Training  
Agricultural Training 800.000  
Education 1.800.000 2.600.000  
4.900.000

Swath Q\$Ficam Elam; Emcian  
Free State Ymuth Cmngrega  
Smuth Q\$Pican  
Twang  
Altridgevillm - %2ml ;12m aidwntw Gr: .iaatimn  
Educatimmal O? urtumitims Cmuncil  
amuth Q\$ricam Cmunmil mf Bhurahea  
Smuth A\$riman Black \$mci&l Nmrkevg Qagmciatimn  
ngrmy-  
MQMKH  
1: Front  
\$n\$mrmatig

"g  
n  
,m