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AND COUNTRYrPEOPLE, ALL-PATRIOTS AMONG THE OPPRESSED,  
DEMOCRATIG- 9&1le WHO Henna SHEDRAOIQM AND WHQ.ACQEPT A ,  
Â«UNITED LAND RUNâ\200\231BEâ\200\231THE WILL OFiHE MAJORITY,

LET US TOGETHER, UNDER THE LEADERSHIP AND  
UMBRELLA OF THE ANC, RENDER APARTHEID  
â\200\234SOUTH AFRICA EVEN MORE UNGOVERNABLE:

LETâ\200\235 EVERY TOWNSHIP AND EVERY COMMUNITY

BECOME A STRONGER ORGANISED FORTRESS OF OUR

REVO LUTâ\200\230ION !

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LET

US

MOVE

FROM UNGOVERNABILITY

TO' PEOPLELS

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so as to meet more effectively the assault by the

enemy's armed forces and the treacherous vigilantes

and "impis" which they employ. Our People's Army, strengthened by the emerging popular militia, must

intensify and spread its armed actions across the country.

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Let us strengthen further our underground organisation

and emerge from every campaign with more powerful and

united contingents of organised mass forces.

Let us do

all in our power to strengthen the unity

of the workers and encourage the affiliation to COSATU

and those democratic trade unions who still remain

outside its ranks.

- Above all, let us act in unity. Let us strike with one

fist. Every action, whether local, regional or national,

must involve all sections of our people. The workers,

youth, women and other strata among the oppressed

must everywhere move in an organised way together. The

black masses - African, Coloured and Indian, must

continuously find ways of engaging the enemy together

and defeating its policies of divide and rule. And

those among us who exploit the people's offensive to

engage in acts of thuggery and hooliganism must be

isolated and stopped from carrying out their anti-social

activities.

WE HAVE REACHED A POINT OF NO RETURN. THE HISTORIC CONDITIONS NECESSARY TO ENSURE THE COLLAPSE OF THE APARTHEID SYSTEM HAVE TAKEN SHAPE IN GREATER MEASURE THAN EVER BEFORE IN OUR HISTORY.

BUT MUCH STILL NEEDS TO BE DONE TO DESTROY IT ONCE AND FOR ALL. COMPATRIOTS, FREEDOM BECKONS US; IT STANDS BEFORE US

DEMANDING THAT WE REFUSE NO SACRIFICE AND WE SPARE NEITHER

LIFE NOR TIME IN THE COMING BATTLES TO WIN BACK OUR LAND

AND TO END THE 350 YEARS OF RACE PLUNDER, OPPRESSION AND

EXPLOITATION. WORKERS AND YOUTH, MEN AND WOMEN, TOWN PEOPLE

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Dear Comrades and Compatriots,

We are today addressing you in the wake of one of the most. brutal and wanton acts of aggression by the Pretoria regime against African independent and peasee-loving States in the region.

On Monday, May 19, the racist regime launched a barbaric attack against Botswana, Zimbabwe and Zambia, killing and \_ maiming peepLe and destroying property. This is the regime's crystal clear respOnse to the negotiations initiative by the Commonwealth. The regime relies for its survival, on armed aggression within and outside South Africa. Massacres and assassinations are its means of liVelihood. Our people have had to accept this reality and take the only course open to them â\200\224 the course of resolute struggle for peace in Southern Africa through the destruction of the apartheid system and the creation of a democratic people's South Africa.

It is against this background that the National Executive Committee of the ANC makes the following CALL TO THE NATION, whose central message is that we move from ungovernability to People's Power.

VA.NQCÂ° CALL TO THE NATION

FROMÂ» UNGOVERNABILITY- TO .PEOPLE'SA POWER-K

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â\200\230mTheMmasseeffensive is reaching new levels in ever widening

areas of our countryâ\200\235 More-and mere of our people are.being

.awekened to action in organised contingents against Apartheid's

evil forces. Inspired by the leadership 010 ANC and its-allies,

the people are continuing to show unen.ing revolutionary

inventiveness and creatlVI+V

'Ihâ\200\230April 1985 we called for:

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â\200\224 the St?guhen lg and uniting of the trade uniOn

movement as a weapeh in defence of workers' economic

interests and in the struggle for national

liberatiehg

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â\200\224 the replacement of the collapsing government stOoge

' community councils with people's power;

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- the creation of mobile defence units and the finding

of ways to obtain arms as part-of the process of\_

strengthening-the people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

4 the withdrawal of more and mere blacks from theâ\200\230

maehinelies of apartheid and for those in uniform to

edme ever to the side of the people.

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â\200\224 the Whites to move away from apartheid and to eupport

the libera tion struggle

-.the Strengthening of our underground presence and

the lntensification of the armed activities ofâ\200\230

Umkhento we Sizwe

On January 8th 1986 we called upon the nation to attack,

advance and give the enemy no quarter.

These calls.have been answered with increasing and dramatic

vigouro

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â\200\224 The seeds of people's power are beginning'to germinate

and spread thellr roots.People's committees, street

cmmmittees and comrades committees are emerging on a.

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1; mine, factory, farm and White home be without labour.  
4 Let every university and school be emptied of its  
youth. Let every shop close its doors. Let every

community strike a blow for freedom."4

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-Let us declare freedom of movement throughout our  
land and meet a day on which we burn our badges  
of slavery - the passes. We have already forced the  
regime to sound a retreat on the old style 'Dompes'.  
Now let us resist all other attempts by Botha to  
deny us free access to any part of our united  
South Africa, whether by means of new identity  
'documents, Bantustans, resettlement camps, group'  
areas or other racist devices.

Let August 9th - the 30th Anniversary of the Women's  
heroic march on Pretoria be a day on which the whole  
nation moves with our Women in the march towards

freedom.

Let us in action reaffirm our common citizenship  
in one united South Africa. Let us mobilise everywhere  
to smash the Bantustans and to isolate the puppets  
who continue to collaborate with Apartheid. The few  
Bantustan office-bearers who are aligning themselves  
with the democratic movement are showing the real  
way forward.

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Let us hammer more nails into the coffin of the  
Tricameral 'parliament'. Let those who continue to  
serve Pretoria as the so-called representatives of  
our Coloured and Indian people, withdraw from those  
bodies or be made to feel the wrath of the people.

Let us intensify our armed activities at all levels.

More and more contingents of our people must be  
armed. Efforts must be redoubled to obtain arms from  
the enemy and from any other source. Let us influence  
our people in uniform to surrender their arms to  
the people's representatives. We must multiply  
the formation of people's defence militia everywhere,

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~ The power of the black consumer boycott has been dramatically demonstrated in a number of areas. The refusal by the people to pay house rents is spreading and the authorities are powerless to enforce payment of the massive accumulated arrears.

â\200\224 Division and disarray are growing daily more acute in the enemy camp as White business feels the pinch of international isolation and Botha increasingly exposes his inability to stem the tide of the people's resistance. This is leading to a rising toll of desertions from the previously monolithic white.

laager. Increasing numbers among the white Community are beginning to accept that no solution is possible, without the :ANC.

% There are signs of demoralisation in the enemy's armed forces and a growing number of black soldiers and police are shedding the uniform of apartheid.

Those who continue to carry out its orders and who work with and for the enemy are shunned by the communities and can find little rest living among the people.

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These impressive achievements must become the launching pad for further advances. The second half of 1986 must see an

even greater escalation of the offensive on all fronts;

an offensive based on MASS RESISTANCE, ON AN INTENSIFIED

ARMED STRUGGLE AND ON GROWING REFUSAL TO OBEY RACIST

AUTHORITY.

More particularly:

- Let us in an organised way spread the mood of total civil disobedience, including an organised campaign leading to nationwide refusal to pay all taxes and rents.

- Let us make the national general strike called in observance of the 16th Anniversary of June 16 the mightiest demonstration yet of our people's resolve to bring the ruling Class to its knees. Let every

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groWihg.seale as popular organs in place of the collapsed racist stooge administrations. PeOple's courts, peOple's defense militia and other pOpulari-201â\200\230 organs of justice are, in many cases, challenging

\*'the legitimacy of the raoist's machinery of

"justioe" and their uniformed forces of repression;

Our organised working class has created a mighty new trade union federation â\200\224 COSATU â\200\224 and has demonstrated its strength in the two million~strong May Day strike.

The schools and universities continue to be simmering flashpoints for freedom.

From their reâ\200\224occupied bases, the youth stand poised to strike organised blows for liberation. The forthcoming 16th AnniverSary of June 16th will fan the flames of resistance to slave education and

reinforce the surge towards.a-free South Africa.

â\200\230The fires Which have been raging in our Cities for the poet two years are spreading to more and moreâ\200\230 areas of the countryside. The starving millions in the Bahtustans are demonstrating their anger against these hated institutions and the puppets Who are

committed to running them on behalf of Pretoria.

The terror unleashed on the people by the racist. army and police in the black ghettoes has totally failed to destroy their Will to resist. Instead, under the leadership and inspiration of the People's Army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, new ways are continuously devised to deal with the enemy's onslaught. The automatic gunfire is ho\_longer always oneâ\200\224sided. iThe raoist army and police are how also falling: under a hail of bullets. Modern weapons are beginning to replace the stone in the hands of militants. The white communities in the cities and on the farms are also beginning to experience the

unavoidable consequences of armed struggle.

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