

THE KUTIJHE IS 'TOIIN OUH Git/uSI I ANC CALL TO THE NATION

Events in our country are moving with astonishing speed. In our January 8th message we issued a call for the intensification of the liberation offensive on all fronts, the transformation of more and more localities into mass revolutionary bases, and the need to take further strides towards rendering the country ungovernable.

Only three months have passed since that call was made and already the surge of people's resistance and active defiance have reached new heights. The face of our country is changing before our very eyes.

- * In the black ghettos of the urban nreig the legitimacy

of authority of all types is not just under attack;

it has been largely destroyed. Most of those who served white rule in the so-called urban community

Councils are either dead or have fled or have resigned.

- * The tri-cameral parliament has exposed its complete

impotence in the present crises and continues to be shunned. The bantustans continue to be univ^rally held in contempt.

- * Well organised stay-aways in localised areas have once again drawn attention to the potential of the organised workers to bring the ruling class to its knees.

- * The people by their actions are teaching black police

and soldiers that there is no place in our communities for those who wear the uniform of apartheid and who carry out orders to kill, maim and torture their brothers and sisters.

- * All attempts to tame our fighting students have failed

and more and more schools and universities are

becoming flashpoints for freedom.

- * The continuing street confrontations with the enemy's armed forces show that our people, in growing numbers, not only want revolutionary change but are also prepared to sacrifice life, if need be, to bring it about.

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* Fired by the heroic ex-impl* of UMkhonto We Sizwe, more and more of our youth are searching for ways to organise themselves into effective combat units to defend the people, den]_ with the collaborators, -"nd

to hit back selectively at the enemy's armed personnel,

* The people undaunted by massive state repression are openly demonstrating ovt and ov^r again that the ANC is their legitimate and overall leader on the road to people's power.

the side of the people the conditions for a revolutionary leap forward are beginning to mature, On the side of the rulingiÂ® economic and political crisis has reached new heights.

It is clear thnt the regime cannot continue to rule in the old way. All attempts by it to find alternative solutions have landed on the rocks. All Botha'reforms designed to defuse the developing revolutionary assault trigger . off even more vigorous mass opposition. The promised alternative to the sex laws is the latest pathetic manoeuvre; it is another gesture to help the external* allies of apartheid to stem the mounting international tid^ for the total isolation of South Africa. There will be real love across the colour line only when South Africa is completely free.

The rowln^ ferment iron below and the deenenir.g crisis from above demand the ^rgent attention of our whole_liberatlon front and all sectors of our struggling peoples,

The historic conditions which combine to make a seizure of power possible are beginning to take shape in a greater measure than ever before in our history. Yet much remains to be done. It is the urgent task of our liberation movement and of all patriots to stimulate the further growth of those conditions which could bring the day of the people's seizure of power within our sight.

It is against the background of this perspective that we once again call on all sections of our people to make the country more *nd more ungovernable. At the same time we must work day and night to strengthen all lev-ls of mass and underground

organisation and to create the beginnings of popular power, More particularly:

V!K CALL on our nationally oppressed working class to strengthen and unite the trade union movement and to sharpen the weapon of workers* power at the point of production in the struggle for national liberation. A long-lasting national stay - away, backed by our oppressed communities find supported by armed activity, can bring the regime to its knee. All patriots active in industrial organisation must examine the lessons of the recent successful stay nways in the Transvaal and Eastern Cape and set their sights on combining the process of making th** country ungovernable with national stay-away action at the right moment which will also make the economy unworkable.

V.H7, CML on our communities in black ghettos to replace the collapsing government stooge councils with people^ committee in ev ry block which could become the embryos of people" power.

on those among the black Crppressed who serve in the

machineries of apartheid to resign now. Cut of respect sfor the dead and dying black victims of racist bullets, all those who still retain patriotic corner in their hearts must say to the racist regime, "I will serve you no more!". The bantustand, the so-called parliaments for the Coloured and Indian people, the Community Councils and the ocher organs of racist powers must cease to function. Those who sea fit

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to continue to sell their people's birthright must^feel the

anger of our masses.

WIC CALL on the unemployed blacks who have^pu? into army and police uniform to kill and maim their brothers and sisters in defence of white rule to refuse to carry out such orders and to organise secretly to turn their gyns against their masters. To the white conscripts we say that it is in your interests and in the interest of your children that you should begin to refuse to be used as an instrument of massacres and military domination over your black fellow citizens.

WE CALL on our people and, more especially, our fighting youth in every black community, school and university to find ways of organising themselves into small mobile units which will protect the people against anti-social elements and ret in an organised way against all representatives of the enemy whether in or out of uniform. Every black area must become a "no go area" for any isolated individuals or rockets of

the enemy'e. -^ol i ee or armed personnel. The people must find A CMS

ways to obtain^by whatever means from the enmmy and from any other sourced. Appropriate forms of coibat tactics must be developed for situations in which the enemy is on the rampage against the people. The proliferation of such units -^nd their functioning in accordance with all the rules of underground secrecy will add inestimable power and sti-ength to the armed wing of our liberation movement - UHkhonto We "izwe.

"T- CALL on all social institutions, religous, cultural, civic and sporting-, which retain a belief in the true brotherhood of man, to side even more vigorously with the cause of people'n liberation and to stand firm against racist intimidation.

EE CALL on the people everywhere to defy in an organised way the imposition of laws founded on race discrimination and to resist all attacks on their living conditions.

'â€œâ€œ'E ' in this vÂ»ar> of the Cadre, on all political and

military activists to work unceasingly to strengthen the ANC'S underground presence and to reifnorce our leadership core in every part of the country. The ANC-led liberation movement is the indispensable -uide to the whole revolutionary process.

The possibilities of organisational growth and the administering of more wounding armed blows against the enemy must be tackled with greater vigour than -ver before.

period ahead presents all of us - wheth r in cr out of the:

'TC - with n awe-inspiring challenge. Und'-r the leadership of our liberation movement we can and must this call of history.

Let U3 make race rule ungovernable and race exploitation unworkable!

Let us move forward towards people*s poweri

Long Live the ANC - The vanguard of our revolution!