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> New

Year Message - Master Draft

(Numbers Å©f left are paragraph numbers and should not appear in any letter)

lo As we enter the New Year I wish to convey to you the greetings

2a, For South Africans the year dawns with clear evidence that

the armed struggle is now taking off in the heartland of Apartheid, and nÅ© longer are Vorster's forces able to takefc brutal action against our people with impunity, ThÅ© last twelve months have seen an intensification Å©f repression against every voice, individual or organisational raised in Å©ppÅ©sition to the apartheid! system. But Khyta they have also borne witness to the indomitable spirit Å©f the peÅ©ple and their own escalation of resistance and struggle, strengthen now by the visible and increasing presence among them Å©f militarily trained cadres sf the ANC, Only the small beginning has been made. In the coming year, the initial shots that have been fired will have to be repeated many times throughout

^ the country,

2b. For "outh Africans this year begins, as did the last with a period ef national abstinence and rededication. The Intervening twelve months have witnessed an inteasification of repression against every voice, individual or organisational, raised in opposition to the apartheid system. But they have also borne witness to the indomitable spirit of the people and their own escalation Å©f resistance and struggmle, stregnthened now by the visible

and increasing presence among them of militarily trained cadres Å©f the ANC,

% (usually a special one for each letter)

4, V/e loÅ©k to the International community to ensure that 1978,

and

wishes of the African National Congress and of myself.

the year designated as the year against apartheid, becomes the year when all assistance to the apartheid system, whether military, political, cultural or moral is stopped* and the isolation of the regime made total*

The last year has been one of significant achievement, but in the face of imminent changes in southern Africa the differing international Interests have been revealed more starkly than before* There is unanimity that change is inevitable, but a polarity of views with regard to the necessary International action. The western powers have acted in concert in regard to developments in Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa. Following a tactical reappraisal, they have tried to exert their influence to limit the scale and nature of the coming changes; to channel revolutionary aspirations and intent into avenues that will not affect their economic and strategic interests,

On South Africa they have tried to buy time for modifications to be made to the racist trappings of apartheid, while leaving intact the exploitative system beneath. Apartheid's collaborators and protectors have tried to sow confusion and disunity among those seeking genuine international action against apartheid. At every International forum they have repeatedly obstructed debate and action. The polarisation evident at the Maputo conference in May was the result of these new tactics. It was after Maputo also that we witnessed in Johannesburg the public acknowledgement of the tactical alliance between capital in South Africa acting through the chief spokesman Harry Oppenheimer and the United States State Department speaking through the voice of Ambassador Young.

7. The other point of the polarisation has been marked by the growing number of countries which have seen the necessity of moving from condemnation to action, and from opposition to apartheid to support for the liberation movement. It is in this sphere that we have seen the greatest movement in this past year, with the forces working for action coming together in Maputo, Lisbon, Libreville, Lagos and New York to reach agreement on a common programme and to plan its achievement.

8. The Lisbon conference brought together progressive forces from many countries. They prepared an action plan with the twin objectives of eliminating the military, economic and political support that still flows to the apartheid regime and of intensifying support for the authentic liberation movements in southern Africa.

The OAU summit recorded the united voice of Africa in support of genuine liberation rather than the half way houses and mirages being dangled by Smith, Vorster and allies.

9. At Lagos the largest world conference on apartheid refused to be diverted from its fundamental task of formulating a programme of action. This determination bore its first fruit in New York. For the first time in the history of the United Nations action was taken under Chapter 7 with the imposition of a mandatory arms embargo and the declaration that military assistance given to the regime was a threat to international peace and security.

10. Notwithstanding, the western powers have continued to act to protect their vested interests in the apartheid system and have not hesitated to use their powers of veto. They have continuously sought to limit the scope of action under chapter 7; refused to

allÂ®w csmprehensive mandatory sanctions; refused tÂ® stop investmen
t
and ecDomic and technical cÂ©-Â®peration; refused tÂ© stop the
suoply of enriched uranium and nuclear reactOFs; and refused Â®il
sanctions with the full knowledge that Smith's forces are furiled
"by oil supplied from Â°outh Africa when on their aggressive
Incruslons into Botswana, Mocamlque and Zambia# Finally, they
refuse to acknowledge that the only real solution, the only
acceptable alternative to apartheid is the transfer of pswert to
the majority of the population and the establishment of a government
deriving authrolty from the majority of the population and elected
on the basis of one person Â©ne vÂ©teÂ»

These l/must~"then remain as our targets for 1978*

The task ahead is immense, yet we begin this year with hopes higher
than they have ever been - for we are confident that the tide
has now turned Irreversibly in our favour, Whatever the set backs
we can be certain that henceforth the overall movement will be in
the direction of victory for the forces Â©f liberation.