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A struggle.

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Far from the racist regime being subjected '

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hers.â\200\235 '

way in which women in-geneal can 11  
rate  
themselves without fighting 63933? the  
exploitation of man by man, both as a con-  
cept and as a social system.

Having said this, we need to recognise that  
the capacity of the women to contribute  
fully in the liberation struggle depends, in  
part, on what we in practice conceive to be  
their role as women.

If we are to engage our full potential in the  
pursuit of the goals of our revolutionary  
struggle, then, as revolutionaries, we should  
stop pretending that the women in our  
movement have .the same opportunities as  
men. There is little evidence of it, if the high  
calibre of the women meeting here today is  
anything to go by. For this has been a meet-  
â\200\230 ing of women who are worthy of Lilian  
Ngoyi and her great impact on our whole

to a so-called communist onslaught, it is the  
peace-seeking nations of Southern Africa  
â\200\231who are the targets of a total terroriSt on-  
slaught by a minority which came to Africa  
as, foreigners some 300 years ago, and which,  
, is as foreign to Africa today  
as it was then. These racists murdered, pil-  
' iaged and plundered their way from the  
Cape to Angola themxthey are murdering,  
pillaging and plundering â\200\230their way north-  
ward still. Colonial domination from Cape to  
. Cairo was their dream then, they have been  
testing nuclear bombs, evidently in pursuit  
of the same dream.

And if'r'for Africa: it is business as usual  
while this regime is liquidating Namibians  
and Angolans,â\200\230 invading Angola and staying  
for the duration of its pleasure ~ on Angolan  
territory; if Africaâ\200\231s optimum response is a  
condemnatory resolution as one country  
after smother is occupied, can it take very'  
long before the fascists cross the equator?

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There is another dimension to this possibilâ\200\224  
ity. Reaganâ\200\231s USA, Beginâ\200\231s Israel and Racist  
South Africa (hereinafter referred to as  
â\200\230RSAâ\200\231) form a war-waging triangle with its  
apex in Washington and its base running  
across  
Africa from Cape to Cairo and  
â\200\230 beyond to the capital of Israel. There is no  
tion will not de~

weapon the US Adminis-  
liver to Israel or help Israeik reduce. Ferthe

l C Women i-201ghters for world peace and  
pro ess?

Â» Whi . one represents man as having travel-  
led the set possible distance from the medi-  
eval ape, which killed and murdered with  
insatiable

~ ish? Is it those in Luanda who  
are discussin

the role of women in the  
development l " human society and the up-  
bringing of chil n, or is it those in South-  
ern Angola wh ~  
savagely bombing  
women and chil n; destroying houses,  
towns, bridges?

l are

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To have had a sue :.. ful conference in this  
countrymt this momen in its era of indepen~  
dence is, therefore, to ve reaffirmed that  
our cause is a just cause t is the cause of all  
prevail. On the  
other hand the racists h ve no cause, no  
future, and no place excep pei'haps among  
the ghosts of dead empires.

' progressive mankind. It s â\200\230:

To have held a successful con erence now is  
to have paid a worthy tribute a 25 years of  
heroic struggle, by the wow u of South .  
Africa.

But in assessing this conferen -. as a great  
success we are making a prelimi :

' judge-

ment; we are talking about the i mediate

â\200\230 testing

past rather than the future. It is t â\200\230-  
period ahead, it is the rugged and. . ggy ter-  
rain of implementation now ope g up

before us, which will decide t

' rrect

ory . l Our

place of this conference in the

struggle.

The decisions ofâ\200\230 this  
erence, to u en-

al Executive

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bear upon our e tire

implementation is a

the cadres of the Movement

The mobilisation of women is the task, not only of women alone, or of men alone, but of all of us, men and women alike, comrades in struggle. The mobilisation of the people into active resistance and struggle for liberty-tion demands the energies of women no less than of men. A system based on the exploitation of man by man can in no way avoid the exploitation of women by the male members of society. There is therefore no

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ful conference is to have put substance into our verbal expressions of gratitude to the MPLA~ ~Party of Labour, the Government and people of Angola, and especially to the Organisation of Angolan Women (OMA), who made the meeting possible in the first instance: â\200\235P â\200\2304 C e,

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To have held a successful conference is to have vindicated the confi-\201dence and trust which the international community has in the ANC and its Womenâ\200\231s Section - confi-ï-\201nancial and other material Mus without which the meeting could have remained a remote dream.

To have held a successful conference at this critical moment in the Southern African situation is to have focuâ\200\231ssed the attention of everyone in South Africa on the presence in Angola, in this very month oLi-\201eptember, of two types of South Africa: the one type gala, the concentrated in the South of other assembled in Luanda . he question iÃ©'ciaeii'lii-\201wmch of these two is the true South Africa? Which one represents tho'se forces which the people of South Africa must. and will destroy and annihilate~7.-Is it that am sightiy army of marauding murderers in Southern Angola, or â\200\230is it the glorious band of ANC women in Luanda?

On the other hand. women in the ANC should stop behaving as if there was no place for them above the level of certain categories of involvement. They have a duty to liberate us men from antique concepts and attitudes about the place and role of women in society and in the development and dire-câ\200\230tion of our revolutionary struggle. In f being a failure, Comrade Lindi

of

collapsed on

ef Representative to the untries. But, looking at the

The oppressor has, at best, a lesser duty'to liberate the oppressed than the oppressed himself. The struggle to conquer oppression in our country is the weaker for the tradi-tionalist,

re-

' strains imposed on women by man-domin-ated structures within our Movement, as

conservative and primitive

amok

also because of equally traditionalist atti-tudes of surrender and submission on the part of women.

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We need to move from revolutionary declarations to revolutionary practice. We invite the ANC Women's Section, and the Black women of South Africa, more oppressed and more exploited than any section of the population, to take up this challenge and assume their proper role, outside the kitchen - among the fighting ranks of our movement

and at its command posts.

It

The Women's Section is not an end in itself. It is a weapon of struggle, to be correctly used, against all forms and levels of oppression and inequality in the interests of a victorious struggle of the people.

If I have perchance overstated the case for a more balanced distribution of tasks and responsibilities within our Movement, it remains true that the burden that women can bear is seldom recognised. Their silent fortitude as they toil under the weight of man-made hardships often pass unnoticed and unsung.

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\ passing day brings conformation loe

the borders of that country, or any single country outside those borders. We continue to occupy Nam-

now sent its 1st troops to invade Zambia. It will be another country next time. In due all the countries of this course, it will region, and then : Africa from Cape to Cairo.

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The burden of the South African fascist regime on the young independent African nations of this region is a heavy one. The regime has embarked on a campaign of provocation and destabilization. It is coking for war, using our country as its base, and our slave labour as its logistics. Which one represents South Africa as an

it the armed thugs in Southern An o la or the

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our determination

the cause of the struggle for the liberation of the

In

our

country and ourselves, we shall be deterred by nothing at least of all by the prospect of death. In our struggle as a detachment of the world anti-imperialist force; we shall dis-appoint no one.

liberate

We have the manpower, for we are not alone. "We are 35 million," declared President Samora Machel of the People's Republic of Mozambique. We are even more than 35 million; we are hundreds of millions. We have 600 friends and supporters-the countries of Western Europe such as Sweden and other Nordic countries, Holland, France and Italy who support our cause, the peoples of Europe, including the churches, who are isolating Racist South Africa in support of our struggle. The potential for support of the ANC in Europe is tremendous. The Socialist countries will always be with us.

In Canada, support for the ANC has reached new levels. The people of the United States, particularly the Blacks, are becoming a powerful lobby for the struggle against apartheid. In the US Administration in Southern Africa. The people of New Zealand have emerged as ferocious opponents of the apartheid system and great allies of Africa and the liberation tomes in South Africa. 660 million people in India stand firmly in support of the struggle led by the ANC. The world community as a whole is on our side.

We acknowledge this support today is what we have done in the past. And we know that while, without it, we would have made little progress in our struggle, unless we register progress we shall be without much of it. For, what is being supported is a struggle; not a state of being or a status quo. That is the reason why we do not expect the OAU to support the ANC merely to keep it alive. It is also the reason why we should be surprised if the OAU found no cause to give encouraging the obviously escalating struggle led by the ANC in South Africa. Comrades, on

three months hence, we shall be commemorating the 20th Anniversary of Umkhonto we ,

material - assistance

December

to

16th,

vereary of the ANC. The run-up to these two uniquely historic events will be marked by  
\* intensive activity at home and abroad.

On behalf of the National Executive Committee of the ANC and of our Military Command, we call on all our people in South Africa to prepare to observe these occasions 'in a manner and on a scale worthy of our long history of struggle and of the countless martyrs and heroes who surrendered their lives, limbs and liberties in the cause of our liberation and "in the cause of a united; non-racial and just Wuntry.

We call on the

plea of South-well as friends of Africa and all Africa,» our struggle the world over, to join the ANC and the people of South Africa in observing these anniversaries.- In the name of the Conference of the ANC Women's Section held in Luanda, we invite the women of Africa and of the rest of the world to share with the women of South Africa the burden of 70 years of struggle and the prospects of an impending victory.

Once again, and on behalf of the African National Congress and the ANC Women's Section, On behalf of all our people, including our leaders and colleagues on Robben Island, Pretoria Central Jail and other prisons, on behalf of our workers and youth; \* and on behalf of Umkhonto we Sizwe, we thank Comrade President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and the Central Committee of MPLA Party of Labour, the Government and people of Angola, including, and in particular, the Organisation of Angolan Women, for all the support they have given and continue to give our struggle. We express our people's solidarity with the people of Angola, Zambia and other South- African States.

We stand firmly and solidly with our comrades in arms, SWAPO of Namibia. Our conviction in the certainty of their victory is unshakable.

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We salute all peoples all over the world fighting against imperialism, colonialism, fascism and against all other crimes perpetrated in the name of imperialism.  
A LUTA CONTINUA!

16 Sizwe, and three weeks later, the 70th Anniversary

of the AATLA RE A RONA!



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The Women's Section is not an end in itself.  
correctly used, against  
the interests of a veto of the struggle of the

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is a weapon of struggle, to be  
forms and levels of oppression and inequality in

Comrade Tambo, in his opening speech,  
attacked the illegal occupation of Namibia:  
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the invasion of Angola and the

world as the symbol, the embodiment, the  
expression of Africa's revolutionary determinations  
not only to fight a  
win victories against  
colonialists, fascists.  
imperialists  
and fight to the last

hail the heroes of FAPLA,  
women of Angola who have

in 1961 W1  
and of the Comrade President  
reiterated the same points which he

himself.

Comrade Chair,  
Comrade Leader

National Executive  
Committee

ive Committee, we shall support

. the best of our ability.

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Allow me to begin by expressing on behalf of

of the Nations! Executive Committee our  
very deep appreciation of the work done by  
the outgoing leadership of the Women's Sec-  
tion. We knew it was a long and lonely

struggle to keep the Women's Section alive  
in the future and to build it to the  
best of its ability today.

' 3L. Ha equally want to express our  
satisfaction of the choice you have made:12

her appointment to an office  
3;  
meat that is going to be in '  
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every success; we assure her that, as the Net:-  
supremely successful.

The meeting of the Women's Section which  
commenced on September 10, 1981, with an  
opening address by Comrade President Sam  
Nujoma, President of SWAPO of Namibia,  
has now completed its business. I believe it is  
the general consensus among all the partici-  
pants that a fair and objective assessment of  
the meeting would be best conveyed by two  
witnesses:

This  
would be a reference to the business-like  
manner in which the proceedings were con-  
ducted, the serious atmosphere in which dis-  
cussions were held; the intense concentration  
with which speakers addressed the topics  
presented  
for discussion; the prevalence, .,  
among the participants, individually and col-  
lectively, of a sense of mission inspired by a  
constant awareness of the national and inter-  
national challenges posed for the Women of  
South Africa, and the ANC women in partic-  
ular, in this decade of the Eighties, the  
Decade of Destiny. To have held a success-

Reagan Administration, RSA is fast becoming the Israel of Southern Africa, equally deserving of military aid. Africa falls within this war triangle--Africa, the continent of the future, the richest in untapped mineral resources.

imperialism

is

planning ahead as well as looking ahead;

clearly,

Quite

In that event, the piercing screams emanating from Pretoria about a communist onslaught, and the deafening and senseless noise about Cuban soldiers in Angola and a Soviet presence in Southern Africa, are all a cover for the most sinister designs against Africa. In this connection, the possession of nuclear weapons by Israel and RSA, which both deny naturally and the certainty of both being supplied with the neutron bomb, should not be treated lightly.

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aggression

Relevant to these designs is the fact that the South African regime, by invoking such slogans as "communist onslaught" and "international terrorism", and by committing

national

provocative

Southern .

African States, is desperately trying to internationalise the struggle for national liberation and transform it into a West-East global war; precisely to create the situation which would justify the re-conquest of Africa, as well as ensure the survival of the regime itself .

against

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As a liberation movement we cannot presume to tell independent Africa what to do. But as part of Africa, as a fighting force based at the headquarters of the worst enemy of Africa, as a people and a movement committed to the total liberation and independence of Africa, as fighters for a new world order and for peace, we dare not close our minds to anything that bears upon the realities of the world in which we live and fight. That is why we heartily welcome the decision of the recent Lagos Summit of Frontline States to recommend the introduction of troops from African countries in the war against the South African invaders. Our struggle

is, therefore, both local, regional, continental and global. It is against this background that we must see the glorious

ious challenge we face, the ennobling task assigned by history to the people of South Africa, to the women of our country, to her youth and to her workers: We are called.

upon to save Africa, to defend her independence, and contribute towards world peace by seizing power in our country. We have the capacity; if we do not, let us develop it. We have the strategies; if they are wrong, let us correct them.

racial

In our opposition to the regime whose pre-  
the domination of blackâ\200\230  
occupation is  
peoples everywhere, we are a united major-  
ity in South Africa comprising not only the  
Oppressed' and exploited masses, but also  
people , from every  
group. , These  
include that brave brigade of women known  
as the â\200\230Black Sashjweteran i-\201ghters for  
justice and peace; they include thousands of .  
white youth and students who are convinced  
thatâ\200\234 the regime is digging a mass grave for  
their futurethey include a growing number  
of white democrats~true patriots of our  
land; they include white members and lead-  
ers of the religious community, who have  
come to â\200\230 appreciate the essential justice of

I