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Dear Compatrlots

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Brothers andSlsters in the Struggle
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Comrades,â\200\235â\200\235â\200\234f ~,66 "â\200\235I Nâ\200\235:_â\200\230 6'

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Today, t he86h 0f January, your ormanleatlon, the African0 '

National Canrrcss ls 72 years old. In keeplnv Wlth establshed

practloe, we ash you 66sharevlthms todaycsmme thouhtson'6

the tasks that confront us durlnn1984. Allow me t6 bomlnby6: :6

extending6o yo6 all, thoINlshes of 6hcNationalâ\200\234Xocutlve â\200\2356666?

Committeeandthe general leadershlp 6f the ANC for wreat {â\200\23566â\200\231;

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successeslntheâ\200\230New YÃ©ar. '

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us.

This time last year, When we marked the 71st Anniversary of

the foundine 6l our Organisation, We oointed out that our long strugle had come to a point where the revolutionary ferment had reqched unprecedented heights and had plunged the

ruling racist clique into deeper and deeper levels of crisis.

We Went on to state thet Within the oonflnes of the aparthei d

system there was no way out of this orils situation. Apartheid

cannot be reformed.

the only real solution lies in the victory
of the revolutionary forces, the dismantling of the apartheid
machinery and the transfer of political and economic power to

the democratic majority.

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Events of the past year have fully borne out the correctness of I
this assessment. The momentous struggles of the past year have â\200\230â\200\235â\200
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taken us further upon the road 'to Our cherished goal and have q"
driven the racist rulers into further acts of desperation. â\200\234
For us, the future is bright and daily. Whilst for the
Pretoria racist clique, the future is ~ettln~ darker
each passing day_.

We commend you on the sacrifices and dedication by which
during 1983 you took our country significantly forward ,
towards liberation. The past year; can have_1^sft our enemies
in no doubt that we have the determination to struggle, the
ability to organise for victory and the will '60 take power
into our hands. The only question that confronts us: all,.

singly and collectively, is how we should respond to them^»
Order of the Day to mobilise and march forward to people's power^»,

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The intolerable hardships and sufferings; the persecutions,
detentions and murders of patriots and emocrats in other
bantustans call for the establishment of fighting

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destruction of these racist institutions of oppression".

. This year, Botha and Malan will be busy implementing the
provisions of their apartheid constitution. In this regard,
; our democratic movement must mobilise to ensure that the.

so-called Coloured and Indian sections of the black
population in refuse to be recruited to play the role of
partners in apartheid tyranny. White South Africa alone
should man the apartheid constitutional posts which it
alone has created, for its exclusive benefit. Those who
ought to serve in these apartheid institutions must
expect to face the wrath of the people;

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â\200\234We must go further to say that our white compatriots,

With even a modicum of anti-apartheid feeling, have to*â\200\235
Tabandon the delusion that they can use Botha's
[constitutional institutions to bring about any change.

~ The forces struggling for a new order in our country are
outside of these structures. It is within the ranks ofâ\200\230"
These extra-parliamentary forces that the anti-apartheid
Whites can make a significant contribution to democratic
T
Change in our country. Now is the time to choose."

It is essential that we continue to, shift our posture

Term the defensive to the offensive. The enemy has failed

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'tedestroy us and never will. But invincibility is not
enough. It is in the attack that we shall find victory.
Nor should we wait for the enemy to take the initiative

historic duty is to pursue it with relentless

Tana then react to its plans and schemes. We have a purpose, a goal, an objective, a historic mission to accomplish for our country and for humanity Ourâ\200\230

T determination and persistence, whatever the enemy does

or omits to do.

movement. In this context, the further mobilisation and

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organisation of the masses of our country assumes Special importance.

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Quite Clearly, we have made great strides in these areas of work. This is evident in the strength of the UDF and the pace at which it continues to grow. It is evident also from the struggles we have conducted, in some areas for

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months on end. We can see it in the organisational growth of the trade union movement. There have been commendable advances in the development of the youth and students' as well as civic and women's movements.

We have built an organised mass democratic movement* sufficiently strong to give us the possibility to tackle other uncompleted organisational tasks.

We refer here in particular to the organisation of the working class into a revolutionary trade union movement;

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the organisation of the rural masses, inside and outside

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the Bantustans; the organisation of the womenâ\200\224folk of our country and the religious community into struggle.

Let us now take a brief look at each of these areas of work: _

Millions of workers in our country, including the

unemployed and those angered in the agricultural sector, remain unorganised. We have to make determined efforts to reach these unorganised workers, bearing in mind that it is

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the historic responsibility of the working class to take the lead in our struggle for people's power.

The task of forming one federation to unite the democratic trade union movement has not yet been accomplished. We

should pursue this goal with even more determinationâ\200\230and speed because, apart from anything else, a united

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democratic workersâ\200\235 movement would give us greater possibilities to advance our struggle.’

We do not believe, dear comrades, that there are

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insurmountable or even very seriousobstacles on the way

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One of the principal tasks we have to accomplish this year is, as I have said, the organisation and

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mobilisation of our womenfoli into struggle. For this reason in the name of the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress I declare 1984

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THE YEAR OF THE WOMEN, and charge the entire democratic and patriotic forces of our country with the task of joining in the effort to mobilise our women to unite in struggle for people's power!

To all true patriots of our country, we extend best wishes for success in our common struggle during this,

â\200\230 THE YEAR OF THE WOMEN!

â\200\230 MOBILISE AND MARCH FORWARD TO

PEOPLES'S POWER!!!

LAmandla ngawethu!

Matla ke a ranai
Power to the people!

The Socialist countries remain a solid pillar of support to our national liberation struggle. We are assured of their continued internationalist solidarity till the triumph of our revolutionary struggle.

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In the past year we have succeeded in widening and deepening our support in the western countries. We are particularly cognate of the consistent support we receive from Sweden and other Nordic countries, from Holland, Italy and Austria to mention a few. We are happy to report the establishment of a new office in Australia at the supportive invitation of the Government and people of

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Our efforts to win international support have been significantly sustained by a wide spectrum of anti-apartheid solidarity and mass organisations in almost all the Western countries as well as the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. With respect to the latter continent, the occasion of the ceremony of the award of the Simon Bolivar medal of Honour to our people's hero, Nelson Mandela, served the great purpose of laying a firm foundation for the future development of our relations with the peoples of Panama, Venezuela, Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador and other South and Central American countries.

We pay tribute to the progressive forces in the USA for their valiant efforts to achieve wide-scale U. S. disinvestment in South Africa.. On them rests the heavy responsibility to defeat the Reagan Administration's racist "constructive engagement" policy with Pretoria, and to curb and confine the aggressive character of American imperialism.

We salute the heroic struggle of the Palestinian people fighting for their birthright under the tried and tested leadership of the P.L.O. and commend those Arab countries who are making a positive contribution towards the achievement of genuine and lasting peace in the Middle East._v

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Brothers and Sisters,

Fellow countrymen,

In the past period we have seen the increased involvement of the religious community in our struggle for liberation. . In this context, you are aware that at the South African Council of Churches National Conference last year, a

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proposal was made to convene a conference in 1986 to decide on the issue of the contribution of the Christian

church to change in our country. It was then said: "When

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peace is broken or threatened by injustice, the church has a responsibility to work for peace, to work for righteousness, by striving to rectify what is

unrighteous, unjust

Those words constitute a serious challenge not only to Christians, but also to people of other faiths in our country. While the evil and unjust apartheid system exists in our country, We cannot have peace, nor can the peoples of Southern Africa.

The fraternal peoples of Namibia and Angola, especially, have for years now known no peace because of Pretoria's brutal colonisation and occupation of their countries.

Daily, our Namibian and Angolan brothers and Sisters suffer death and destruction from the regime's bombs, bullets and bayonets. This war of aggression is being conducted by a regime from our own country and we have

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-a responsibility to ourselves and the children and people of Namibia and Angola, to raise our voices in

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A condemnation of the aggression. We urge upon the people of South Africa to demand and fight for the immediate

withdrawal of all South African troops, mercenaries, Pretoria-backed bandits and special assassination

groups

from Angola, Namibia and other affected countries of Southern Africa. In this context, let the oppressed and democrats of our country assume their historic responsibility, recognising that the struggle in South Africa is the hope of the subcontinent.

to the creation of such a federation We do not agree with the school of thought which creates artificial barriers between the fight for the trade union rights and the national liberation struggle under the racist conditions obtain in South Africa. In our situation, the Victory of the trade union struggle is unattainable except through the political and military struggle. The struggle of the working class is, therefore, and must be; an integral part of the national liberation struggle.

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The organisation and mobilisation of the rural population is clearly lagging behind those of our people in the towns : first of all in the cities. And yet it is in these rural areas that the '91!

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apartheid system has its most disastrous impact on our people. We have the organisational capacity to begin to tackle the rural areas seriously and continuously.

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In the Freedom Charter we say that "the land shall be shared among those who work it". As you will know, the situation today is that our people in the Bahtustahs have been reduced to landless and jobless outcasts. Many condemned to a slow and painful death in the so-called resettlement camps. On the commercial farms, the most merciless brutalisation of our people, especially women and children, takes place, every day and every hour of the day at the hands of the landowners.

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One of the fundamental elements for the solution of the problems facing our people in the countryside is the resolution of the land question in favour of the tillers. Our

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immediate task therefore, is to mobilise the rural masses around the land question. It is only when the countryside is organised that the rural masses will be able to respond resolutely to the call: "seize the land!"

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We must apply ourselves With more vigour in our efforts to
or3anise the unor3ahised, to cahsolidate, defend and expand
eXisting peopleÂ°eorranlsatl0ns and en3e3e the racist enemy
in united action on all fronts. It is absolutelyneoesssery
to raise the standard of our or3anizat10hal and 3
educational work as well as psycholo3ical preparedness, to
the level of the major and comlalex tasks facing our
revolution today..

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At this juncture allow me to single out the creation of
the U.D.F. as a historic achievement in our people's efforts
to unite in the broadest possible front for the struggle
against the inhuman apartheid system. The formation of the
united Democratic Front was a product of our people's
determination to be their own liberatore.

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The growth of the stren3th of the democratic trade union
movement mld its pONer to wrest recognition from both the
regime and the employers, and the determined efforts to
form one national tradÃ©jTederation constitute one of the
most significant advances of our stru3lle in recent years.

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Everywhere in the Ceuntry, our people and youth have
courageeously confronted the regime in numerous encounters,
whether a3aihst rehtâ\200\224inoreases, forced removals or in
military actions, amon3 them the attack on the Air Force
Headquarters at Pretoria by UmkhOHto We Siewe.

This is the spirit that must 3uide and inspire the
leaders, organisers and activists of our democratic
movement. Ne are talking of a spirit of rebellion and
frame of mind which puts to the fore the politics of
revolutionary chen3e.

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A special responsibility rests on the shoulders ofthe
ANC and the most advanced memoers of our broad democratic â\200\235#C
movement to act as revolutionaries, ~ as suEECMTETNEgi¬\201fi¬\202

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revolutionary etru33he; end, basin3 themselves on the
conscious and or3anised involvement of the masses of
the people, to build a strong and disciplinedrevolutionary

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We are entitled to expect that people of all faiths in our country, including the Christian, the Jew, the Hindu and the Moslem, will in fact act and react now in defence of justice, peace and life against a System that is totally evil and inhuman.' '

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It will be our Special task this year to organise and mobilise our womenfolk into a powerful, united and active force for revolutionary change. This task falls on men and women alike - all of us together as comrades in struggle. We wish to stress the need, at the present hour, for the emergence on the political scene of a women's movement that is politically and Organisationally united. Our struggle needs and demands this potentially mighty force.'

Our struggle would be less than powerful and our national and social emancipation could never be complete if we continue to treat the women of our country as dependent creatures and objects of one form of exploitation or another." Certainly; no longer should it be that a woman's place is in the kitchen. In our beleaguered country, the woman's place is in the battlefront of struggle.

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We have come a long way from the time, as in the 50's, when we fought barehanded ~ disarmed and unarmed ~ against the military might and the trigger happy army and police force of the apartheid regime. No black hand was allowed to touch a firearm or any instrument more lethal than

a penknife.

Today, the racist regime's army and police generals who occupy a central position in Pretoria's state machinery, through the State Security Council, are making frantic efforts to recruit and arm the "Kaffirs, Coolies and Hotshots" of the 50's to serve as cannon fodder in the defence of a system that has fallen foul of the times; a system that has enslaved and debased us these past 70 years.

The indestructibility of the ANC should however not *

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induce complacency' on the part of the ANC to allow it to
effectively pursue and accomplish its historic mission, for
we must be unceasing in our efforts to strengthen and
expand its underground structures, ensuring its active
presence everywhere in our country.

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We hereby extend our unequivocal support to the
independent states of Southern Africa, including
Seychelles, in the common struggle to defeat the
policies of the Botha regime. The training, arming and
deployment of counter-revolutionary bandits into

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Mozambique, Lesotho and Zimbabwe forms part of this
aggression. We are greatly inspired by the heroic
struggle of the people of Angola to expel the
South African forces from their country and to wipe out
the puppet UNITA bandits. We salute the internationalist
Cuban forces which have contributed so decisively to
frustrate the schemes of the Pretoria regime and its
ally, the Reagan Administration.

ANC

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We extend our greetings to our Comrades in arms of SWAPO,
the Peoples Liberation Army of Namibia and the Namibian
people as a whole and pledge to fight side by side with
them until our continent is rid of all vestiges of colonial
and white minority domination.

As we enter the New Year we hail the firm and
role played by the frontline countries and the forward
country of Lesotho, despite Pretoria's destabilisation
efforts and naked aggression against them. The dream of
the total liberation of Africa is in sight

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We salute the resilience of the OAU in the face of
concerted imperialist manoeuvres and call upon both the

1 OAU and the non-aligned countries to increase their
material and moral support for our struggle as well as
that of SWAPO and the frontline countries.

ANC

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Dear Compatriots,

On this historic 72nd Anniversary of the ANC, we pay
undying tribute to the many patriots who have fallen in
action since January 8 last year. Among these we remember,
with great affection, especially Comrades Dora Tamana,

Yusuf Meta Dadoo, Rev. James Calata m great stalwarts
whose contribution to our movement shall he remembered
by all future generations. We dip our rebolutionary V

banner in tribute to the heroic combatants of Umkhonto

We Sizwe, including Comrades Jerry Moeololi, Simon
Mogoerane, and Thabo Motaung. We pay homage to the martyrs
of our people like Saul Mhhize and msizi pre ~ all of
whom were murdered in cold blood by the Pretoria regime.

We salute all.our leaders and activists incarcerated in
Pretoria's eungeons, and greet all th se who are banned and

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banished. We greet you all workinr people in the mines and
factories, in the fields and highways, in offices, churches,
schools, and hospitals and the various other sooio~cultural
services.

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We greet parants, mothers and fathers who manage to raise
families agaihst tremendous odds in the face of.the'
genocidal apartheid policies. The loss of life resulting
from the operation of this system is stag5gering . The
process and Victory of our struggle will redeem the
situation. In the meantime as a people, we need to address
the problem of lack of respect for human life which is
manifest in the growing number of deaths from unnatural
causes in the ghettos of our country.

We have just brought to its close a year that we observed
as one of United Actiono During this year, we built my the
unity of our democratic forces as never before. We must
defend and consolidate these gains. We must build on
them as we move to the next stage of our etrugglea â\200\235The

workers and peasants; women, youth and students; all of as
black and white must continue to eheame in an ever-broader
and united assault on the racist regime and its policies".

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For some time now; especiaaiiy since the M&SGIH maeaaore,I,
spokesmen of the Sonth Afrlean rehlme have repeatealy "Mth

boasted ofthe Intlmate nature of their eollaeotatlen and .

the happy relntlon they haV 6 With the Government ofthe â\200\235h

Klnvdom-of Swazilando The people 6foqullan6llkemo

in therest 6l Africa, Will have resented thatclalm, '

espe0lally if, as We suepteat, Pretorla has lh mind

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collaboration in the frultleos attempt to liquidatethe

ANC by assaseinatihg and haraeelnm lts'membere lnd

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supporters in SWElednda

ThetroubleAbout any alliance Withaparthcid is that the .-

liberation strurvle ls growlng aha aestlned to grow and "*4

advance, nomatter Whlch er howyghmbersend leaders 6f the -_

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liberation moVement are murdered or arrested lIh the doubtful
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nelghbourllnese " "

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of the ANC 99the altehn9tlve pOWer on the SouthAfrlcan

polltlcalâ\200\230sceneÂ¢ The regime is twehtwe 6?:so because of its

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inability to block the howerful aha eVidently dangerous

thrust 6f the ANC and the people UONaTQo the geal 6f

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But the ANC has grown amehg the peoyle of Southern Africa

in the past70 years9*T+~hae~61W9Vs'dmhheeed and'alWayÃ©*

Will embrace them as Allies and eomraees~ln~arms. It 19a
child of Africa9determlnatlon toechleveend enjoy human \$â\200\2345

dignity, freedom and haslona1 1H3â\202-3Li-\202dâ\202-n069 it Will never â\200\230

betray that parentageq ft 16 ahâ\200\23016 lvraT part 6f the'h

revolutionary procee s; it Will stay lh the rqulutiQn
until final victorys The ANC ieeâ\200\230t dneee thellfe, the:
national awareness aha the601Lt1eal exeerlence 6f the

popular masses 6f South Africa. As the people cannot be _

liquidated, neither can the ANC We take this opportunity

to give a stern Warning to some of ourpeople againSt the

dangerous temptation

to work as enemy agents for the

liquidation of the people"s struggled

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It is not that the military might of the regime has

declined. It is rather that the
free, have taken up arms and, through their own army,1

people, determined to be

Umkhonto We Sizwe, have moved on to the offensive.

Today, armed struggle is a vital, indispensable component

' of the struggle for national and social liberation in

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South Africa, where the apartheid regime relies for

survival on its fascist army and police; on black

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mercenaries, and on puppet armies and murderous puppet

As,

administrations who slaughter men as readily as they butcher children, the democratic majority in our country supports

the People's Army - Umkhonto We Sizwe, whose rising

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sophistication will yet compound the survival problems of
the apartheid system..

But the challenge confronting Umkhonto We Sizwe in face of.,

current developments in Southern Africa has never been
greater. Therefore, in commending its units and commanders

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on the sustained-offensive of the past year, we charge

them, and call upon our people to carry the struggle to

new heights, and sue for victory tomorrow rather than the

day after tomorrow =

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To this end, Umkhonto We Sizwe must deepen its roots and grow

inextricably among the popular masses. 200\231 among us a thei

workers, the peasants, the youth, the women; We, the

unemployed, the landless, the homeless, and the

starving millions.

Umkhonto We Sizwe must grow in size, in the spread and
quality of its operations, and in the weight of every

blow delivered. The armed struggle-must grow. We shall
achieve victory through a combination of mass political
action and Organised revolutionary violence.

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In other words, the fascists recognise that they can no longer rule in the old way.

We recall how, at the height of the

SOWETO uprising, J.B. Vorster made bold to declare: "there is no crisis" ~ no crisis for minority rule; BUT a few years later P.W. Botha called on the whites to adapt to reality or perish with Apartheid.

This was a public admission that there is a crisis, threatening the destruction of the apartheid system.

It is the task of the revolutionary and democratic forces of our country to compound and further deepen this crisis.

It is an imperative

that...

to

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ever intensifying the struggle for national and social emancipation.

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Compatriots,

The black people of our country have challenged the legitimacy of the

South African racist State from its formation in 1910 and throughout the ensuing decades.

As we fight the

Apartheid system today, we should all speak with one voice

in that we, like all others before

it, has no legitimate claim to our country.

Indeed,

its central purpose is to perpetuate the illegal rule of the

white usurpers of power in our country.

Ours is no exception.

All revolutions are about state power.

The slogan, "Power to the People", means one thing and one thing only;

It means we seek to destroy the power of apartheid

tyranny and replace it with people's power, with a

that

government whose authority derives from the will of all our

people, both black and white.

What intermediate objectives

The issue we have to settle together is what steps to take to attain that ultimate goal?

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should we set ourselves, building on what we have achieved and in preparation for the next stage in our forward march to V10t0Â£Â§3~wî-\201he answer to these questions relates directly to what we have already referred to as the illegality of the â\200\231 apartheid state.

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We must begin to use our accumulated strength to destroy the organs of government of the apartheid regime. We have to

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[undermine and weaken its control over us exactly by frustraâ\200\224

ting its attemptSuto control us.

tlygxglght tQ rendering the enemy'SlnetlumentSQf authorlty '

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unworkable.â\200\230TQmarQEforward must mean that we adVanQe against

; the regime' S organs of State-power, creating QondltlonS ln

which the country becomes increasingly unpovennable.

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Comrades,.countrymen and friends:

You are aware that the apartheid regime maintains an extensive'

admĩ-â\202ni.strative system through which it directs our lives.

This

syStem includes Qrgans of central and Â§rovlncial Government,

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tratiQnÂ§ thecommunlty QounQ11S,tEe IQQS1manamement and
local affariS commltteeĩ-â\201. It is these lnStltutlonS Qf Spert~"

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heid power that we must attan and demollSE, aS pert Qf tEe

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struggle to put an end to rac1st minority rule in our country. ,

=NeedleSS to say, as strategistS, wemust select er attack

those parts Of the enemy administQSt1VSSySuem wEiQh we haVeti.:

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the power to destroy as a result of our united and determined
offensive. 'We must hit the enemy where it is weakest.
(Lapgate 2020-03-2021)

The goal we are setting ourselves today is that by the

logic of our revolution
its realisation is made possible
by the fact that in Qumaili's, we have already laid the
basis for its accomplishment
Thus through our efforts, the

South African Coloured Persons Representative Council ceased to
exist; as a result of extensive mobilisation, the puppet
South African Indian Council was brought in by a laughably
insignificant minority; the entire Bantustan system faces
overwhelming rejection and continuous resistance, and Simba
.., "200-230-200-230-.."

lately, towards the end of 1983. we united in a massive rejec-
tion of the local management committees and community councils.
In certain areas and at different times, we have gone beyond
rejection of this oppressive system of government, beyond a
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challenge to its legitimacy
In 1960 our people in Port Elizabeth

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K:
destroyed the apartheid administration, and set up their own
administration and people's committees. In the process
caused the collapse of the Urban Bantu Councils. In the process
Likewise in 1976, we

past, in Sobantu Village in Pietermaritzburg, we "destroyed

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We address a special message to the White youth. Year'

future is in issue. The apamteeld reellehas he future.7

Like Adolph Hitler and his War machine, after spreading death and destruction evenyhere, the regime Will be

defeated and destroyed everywhere.

The futureâ\200\224belongs'toâ\200\230the majority of the people'of:

South AfrlceLblack andWhite,Who, instnuggle, are

today laying the foundationsof auhltd,nonura01al
democratic South Africa in Whathill then,-butonlythen,â\200\234 '3

become a peaceful and rapidly'advenciHg region of Africa.

"

Your proper place is among these builders of a neW order?
in our country.'J0in them.

to join an army WhOSeâ\200\231
sole function is to murder, murder, murder African people"
everywhere. '

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It goew Without saying that Black youth . African, Indian
and sg-oalled Coloured must under no circumstances serve in

Pretoriais army of violent repression and criminalâ\200\231

aggression. The democratic movement should immediately
take up this issue With our youth throughout the country.

Our democratic-mevement, our movement for national

liberation is part of a multiâ\200\224million strong world alliance~Â»*Â°
of forces Which fights for national independence, democraCyW.
SOCial Progress and peace. On the other hand; the apartheidxâ\200\235?"

reboâ\200\230ime belongs firmly Within the Gang ofImperlallst

reaction and isâ\200\230ective Within thiscamp to further

counterâ\200\224revolutionary geals.

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We therefore-heVe ah international obligation to be active+Â¥â\200\234*
in the struggle to defeat the counteraoffensive that the

imperialists, led by the Reagan AdministratiOn,of the

United States,â\200\234hhveâ\200\230lauhedg We too must raise our voice
against the Waramongers Wï-\201thin'NATO Who have brought
humanity CLOSer te-a5hucleer-h0100austâ\200\230hyvsabdtaring all

efforts at achieving nuclear disarmament and who have,
instead, unleashed a new arms race and heightened
international tension and insecurity. We too must

struggle together with the well known peace forces especially because the Pretoria regime itself possesses nuclear weapons and maintains secret military relations with the most belligerent circles in the world scene.

We too must speak out and have spoken out against the attempts of the United States to impose its will on the peoples of the world. This policy has already resulted in the criminal invasion of Grenada, the undeclared war against Nicaragua and the direct intervention of the United States in El Salvador, in support of a gang of murderers. It has led to a reign of terror against the people of Palestine and their organisation, the PLO, as well as the people of Lebanon. It has helped Morocco to ignore the resolutions of the OAU and to maintain its colonial hold over the people of Western Sahara. This policy has further delayed the independence of Namibia and emboldened the Pretoria regime itself to seek to impose its will on the peoples of Southern Africa by force of arms.

In this regard, through a policy of military terror and economic strangulation, the racists seek to compel the independent states of our region to surrender their independence and, as an important part of that surrender, to help evict the ANC from the whole of Southern Africa. Never was there a clearer illustration of the relationship between the struggle to liberate our country and the struggle to defend the independence and sovereignty of the countries of Southern Africa. The peoples of our region share one common destiny. Certainly, that can never be a destiny of subservience to the criminal regime of Pretoria.

'As the Maputo Frontline States Summit of March 1982 agreed, the only way forward for the peoples of our region is to support the ANC and SWAPO in our common struggle against the Pretoria regime and to repulse the offensive of the regime against independent Africa.

the newly installed community council and frustrated the plans of the Drakensburg Administration board.

He has been unable to govern at Will.

Our determined resistance at Crossroads and at KTC in the Western Cape has made it impossible for Koonhof to carry out his schemes.

In Mdantsane our heroic struggle has shaken the puppet Sebe Administration to its core. Commenting on this situation, one South African political observer stated; "the stakes are high? because the issues have moved beyond those of a (bus) fare increase. the Ciskei (puppet administration) and its many opponents in Mdantsane, the second largest black township in South Africa."

The boycott has become a conflict of Will between

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In the course of our struggles against rent increases and other facets of apartheid, such as the proposed incorporation of some townships into the Kwazulu bantustan, We have gone further to destroy part of the administrative infrastructure of the Pretoria regime.

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From these examples, it is clear that we have the ability â\200\230 to raise the struggle to greater heights. Having rejected â\200\234i the community councils by boycotting the elections, we should not allow them to be imposed on us. We do not want them. We must ensure that they cease to exist. Where administration boards take over their functions, then these must be destroyed too.

In the Ciskei, as with the other so-called independent, . Bantustans, we must take the battle further. In the conflict of will between ourselves and the murderous Sebe regime, our will must prevail. And it will if we transform what began in Mdantsane as resistance to bus â\200\224fare increases into a nationwide offensive against the Pretoria W regime â\200\234 s Bantustan system. In Mdantsane the people have said - â\200\235Sebe must go! Power to the people!" That call should spread throughout the Ciskei to galvanise the people into united action for the destruction of the instrument of oppression ~ the Ciskei Bantustan.

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Our revolutionary struggle rests on four pillars.
first, the all-round vanguard activity of the underground

These are

structures of the ANC second, the united mass action of the
peoples, third, our armed offensive spearheaded by Umkhonto
we Sizwe and fourth the international drive to isolate the
apartheid regime and win worldwide moral, political and
material support for the struggle

Dear Comrades and Friends,

Over the last few years the guardians of reaction in our
country have devised a programme of action centred on the
twin notions of so-called national security and total
stranglehold.

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tegy.

This programme is based on the recognition that the

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-apartheid system is immersed in a deep and permanent general

crisis

addressing itself to the question of how to manage this

The ruling group in Eritrea has therefore been

crisis to ensure that it does not get out of hand.

The Bantustan scheme, the militarisation of society; the

offensive against the ANC; the new apartheid constitution

and other recent pieces of legislation notably those covering
industrial relations, the so-called community councils,

the press and the economy, all are elements in this programme.

of crisis management

4 Coupled With the criminal war against

the Namibian and Angolan people and increased aggression
against the rest of Southern Africa, these measures point

to the desperation of the regime as it battles for its

MW

The racists have decided, under mounting pressure from the

revolutionary masses and the international community, to
tinker with the Apartheid System?but in Such a way as to a.
further entrench racism and consolidate this illegitimate
and criminal systemâ\200\234; Despite all these manoeuvres, Apartheid
has no futureâ\200\230.