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Message of the

National Executive Committee
of the African National Congress
on the Occasion of 8th January 1986,
Delivered by Comrade President O R Tambo

ATTACK, ADVANCE

GIVE THE ENEMY NO QUARTER!

AFRICAN

NATIONAL

CONGRESS

POWER

THE PEOPLE!

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Compatriots,

As the New Year begins, and on the occasion of the 74th anniversary of your vanguard movement, the African National Congress, we extend to you our warm revolutionary greetings. We salute you also in the name of the people's army Umkhonto we Sizwe.

We speak to you fully aware of the immense responsibility that rests on all of us to make the apartheid system of oppression and exploitation, repression and aggression a thing of the past. It is our singular honour that we have been charged with the serious responsibility to point the way forward in the coming period. We approach this task with the same seriousness that has inspired you as you launched countless heroic mass battles during the year that has just ended.

The message of that year, the Year of the Cadre, is simple and yet momentous. It is that the end of the criminal system of apartheid is in sight. Nearly four decades of illegal rule by the heirs of Hitler is coming to a close and with it, centuries of colonial and racist white minority domination. There is nothing that the Pretoria regime can do that can change this historic outcome of our struggle.

Our uninterrupted forward march has thrown the apartheid system into an enormous general crisis. A central feature of this crisis is the rebellion of millions of our people against the criminal system. Even the most stubborn racist can now see that we are no longer prepared to live as slaves and are determined to liberate ourselves whatever the price we have to pay

in human lives.

Realising that power is slipping out of its hands, the Botha regime could not rule in the old way any longer. Hence it has adopted new and more brutal ways of governing our country to save itself from destruction. These include the proclamation of martial law, handing over administration of large areas of our country to the murderous army and police, the use of secret death squads, the assassination of our leaders, massacres, mass arrests, stringent control of the press, continuing external aggression and the murder of our people outside our country.

Despite these extraordinary measures designed to safeguard racist rule and reassure the white minority, the reality is that the white power bloc

Initiative in Our Hands

has never been as divided as it is today. Conflict, indecision and fear of the revolution within this bloc has extended to within the ranks of Botha's own cabinet.

An important part of the crisis afflicting the racist system is the gathering collapse of the apartheid economy. We the oppressed and exploited, know the bitter meaning of this crisis. We know the harsh reality of retrenchment, unemployment, a galloping cost-of-living and banishment to the Bantustans and resettlement camps.

Now, the burden of the economic crisis brought about by the apartheid system is beginning to weigh heavily on the whites as well. White unemployment is increasing. Many conscripts return to civilian life without jobs and with no prospect of employment. Thousands of small and medium businesses have collapsed. Individual bankruptcies have multiplied without stop.

Completely unable to deal with this enormous general crisis, Botha has increasingly lost contact with reality. Illusions are taking the place of facts.

The hollow dreams of a tyrant appear to him to be the very essence of policy. Botha relies on bombast and bluster to hide the fact that he is no more than a fleeting shadow on the world stage.

The Botha regime has lost the strategic initiative. That initiative is now in our hands. The racist regime has no policy and can have no policy either

to save the apartheid system from sinking deeper into crisis or to extricate this system from that crisis. Its political programme has been reduced to a shambles. Its ideological platform has collapsed. All it can do now is to react to events from day to day, without any consistent plan and without any overall objectives, except to keep itself in power for as long as possible.

It can no longer guarantee a bright future for the white social forces on which it rests. At the same time, the Botha regime is confronted with our mass revolt. Botha knows that the masses of our people will not stand by

passively while he tries out one apartheid experiment or another. We shall not abandon our forward march, allow ourselves to be diverted from our goal of one person one vote in a united South Africa, or in any way co-operate with the Botha regime in the execution of programmes aimed at the perpetuation of the apartheid system.

Taken together, these factors signify that strategically the enemy is on the defensive. The critical point is that any counter-offensive the oppressors may launch to gain some tactical advances will, at the same time, only result in further worsening their strategic position.

The fact that the Botha regime has lost the strategic initiative, and is therefore on the defensive all along the line, is of decisive importance for the further advance of our struggle. We have forced the racists into this position through consistent struggle both inside and outside our country. This is an inspiring victory of historic significance.

The principal conclusion we should draw from this situation is that through our sacrifices, we have prepared the conditions for us further to transform the situation to that position when it will be possible for us to seize power from the enemy. Thus the central task facing the entire democratic movement is that we retain the initiative until we have emancipated our country.

We must achieve this by going on the offensive on all fronts, continuously and boldly. We have to fight with a clear purpose in mind, with a definite perspective of our strategic and tactical goals so that we can deploy and utilise our forces to the best advantage. Victory demands that we also co-

Mass Army of Liberation

Open the Doors of Learning

tinue to work for the maximum unity of all our fighting contingents and the democratic movement as well as a co-ordinated approach towards the four pillars of our struggle.

Our strategic goal must be to shift the balance of strength decisively in favour of our struggle, through the further ripening of the revolutionary situation beyond the point where the regime is not able to rule in the old way to the stage where it is in fact unable to govern. Thus, we must continue to make South Africa ungovernable and apartheid unworkable. In the attack we must aim further to weaken the Botha regime drastically, to sap its strength, to take away from it even the capacity to launch a limited counter-offensive.

Simultaneously, while on the march, we must build our forces into an ever more formidable united mass army of liberation, an army that must grow in strength continuously, able to deliver and actually delivering bigger blows at every stage and fighting as a conscious force with its eyes firmly fixed on the goal of the destruction of the apartheid regime and the transfer of power to the people.

The central focus of our continuous offensive has to be the imposition of the will of the democratic majority over the racist minority, however desperate and stubborn the resistance of this minority.

In this regard, a question of primary concern to us all is that of education.

We have stated our stand on this issue in clear unequivocal terms. What we want is one democratic, non-racial, free and compulsory system of education. The broad principles underlying that alternative system of education are contained in the Freedom Charter.

We take this opportunity to salute our students who have continued to march forward in unity and in an uninterrupted and organised offensive, undeterred by the illegal banning of their organisation, Cosas. This achievement is a victory of the entire democratic and revolutionary movement of our country and is worthy of the young lions of the struggle that our students and working youth have become.

This year, we shall be observing the 10th anniversary of the Soweto Uprising.

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ing. We shall therefore cast our minds back on a period during which thousands of our youth were killed and maimed in the struggle for a democratic system of education in a democratic country. A whole generation is growing up and has known nothing but daily violence meted out in the streets by the armed killers of the apartheid regime.

To honour and pay everlasting tribute to the thousands of our students and working youth whose blood has drenched our Motherland, in the struggle for freedom and in recognition of their resolve to march forward to victory, we declare June 16 South Africa Youth Day. We are confident that our youth and students, through the length and breadth of our country, will prove themselves worthy of this National Honour.

We owe these young lions of our struggle and the nation as a whole, an obligation to institute an alternative system of education during this year, the 10th anniversary of the Soweto Uprising. We held an important national conference on this question in Johannesburg and adopted decisions that are of singular significance to the entire democratic movement and to us as a people.

Above everything else, what we shall need in order to realise the pro-

Unity of the Working Class

programme of action we set ourselves, is the maximum unity of the students, teachers and parents and of the entire democratic movement, including the community and student organisations, the trade unions, the youth and women's movement, religious, and all cultural and sports organisations. United in action, we have the ability to win our struggle for an alternative system of education, to secure the release of all student leaders and activists imprisoned by the Pretoria regime, to force the lifting of the ban on Cosas and to win all the other demands that we have agreed upon.

Of great importance also is the need for us to ensure that we have a strong, organised youth and student movement reaching into all schools and all areas of our country, capable of continuing to organise all our youth to act with the same discipline and unity, on a national scale, that we have seen in the past. We must continue to work for the establishment of a national youth organisation. To win our demands, we must be organised.

We also seize this occasion especially to welcome most warmly the formation of the Congress of South African Trade Unions. We extend to its leaders, its affiliated unions and to the membership of those unions the revolutionary greetings of the ANC leadership, inside and outside prison and inside and outside our country, as well as those of our entire membership.

The struggle to form one democratic trade union centre has been hard and protracted. Many comrades have spent countless hours working to achieve the result that was consummated with the formation of Cosatu. We all acted in this manner convinced of the need for the unity of the working class of our country, of the imperative to defend and advance the interests of this class and of the necessity for the organised, united and conscious workers to remain in the front ranks, and as an integral part of the mass army of revolution that is today shaking the apartheid system to its very foundations. The formation of Cosatu has therefore added enormously to the strength of the democratic movement as a whole and is a victory which this movement must defend at all costs.

We appeal to those democratic trade unions which still remain outside the fold of Cosatu to reconsider their positions. We are convinced of the

maturity and honesty of both their leaders and members. Accordingly we are certain that at this critical moment in the history of an entire people and region, they will find a way to overcome all obstacles that bar their way to join Cosatu.

Many problems remain to be solved to fashion the new trade union Congress into the instrument of working class and national liberation that the delegates visualised at the founding conference in Durban. These include the transformation of the general unions into industrial unions, and the organisation of the unorganised and the unemployed. These are important tasks whose accomplishment rests on the shoulders both of Cosatu and the democratic movement as a whole.

Fellow Workers,

During the year 1986, we shall mark two historic anniversaries. These are the 40th anniversary of the great mineworkers' strike of 1946 and the 100th anniversary of May Day - international workers' solidarity day.

In connection with the 40th anniversary of the great miners' strike, we call upon the entire democratic forces and especially the trade union movement, to draw on the revolutionary traditions of the African mineworkers

Tribute to the Heroes and Martyrs

in order to enhance the contribution of the workers to the cause of national
and social emancipation.

It is totally unacceptable that up to its 100th anniversary, May Day in South Africa has remained an ordinary working day. We therefore fully support the workers' demand that from 1986 onwards, May Day should become a fully paid public holiday. Our entire democratic movement must support the organised trade union movement in the struggle to realise this demand.

That outstanding product of the creative initiative of the masses of our struggling people, the United Democratic Front, has borne the brunt of the futile terrorist onslaught of the Botha-Malan-Coetzee regime to defeat our masses offensive and to suppress our democratic organisations. To this day, the threat of prohibition hangs over the UDF. Yet we are convinced that, having more than survived the assassination and imprisonment of its leaders, the cold-blooded murder of its followers, the banning of its meetings and so on, the UDF will overcome all attempts by the enemy to wipe it out of existence. Practice has more than amply demonstrated that the struggling masses of our country need the UDF as an instrument to maintain, advance and deepen our united action.

We salute all its leaders, its affiliated organisations, its members and its followers. We hail all those of its leaders and activists who are in prison and those who are facing trumped up charges which include treason, murder and public violence. We call on our people to stand by these patriots.

We pay homage to the outstanding leaders and others of our people who were murdered this past year by the death squads, the army, the police and the hangmen of the apartheid regime. Among these are Victoria Mxenge,

Matthew Goniwe, Andries Raditsela, Ben Moloise, Samuel Tshikudo, Bathandwa Ndondo, Mohammed-Allie Razak, Mita Ngobeni, Sipho Mutsi,

Ian Zamisa, Nelly Madonsela, Lizo Ngcana, Daniel Mabenyane, Mandlenkosi Kratshi, Ivan Langenhoven, Ngoako Ramalepe and Kenneth Letlatla. Their example of selfless service to the revolution will live on, inspiring us to intensify the struggle until victory. Those who assassinated

them will be brought to book.

We shall not forget those who have disappeared and have so far not been accounted for. Neither shall we forget the patriots such as Thami Mnyele, George Phahle, Nomkhosi Mini, Jackie Quinn and Leon Meyer and others who were murdered in Maseru and Gaborone. The names of Molly Blackburn and Brian Bishop will also be inscribed on the roll of honour.

In the light of the situation which obtains in our country today, the religious community has an immense and urgent responsibility to act in defence of life itself, and accordingly, to fight for justice and peace. Inspired by their own faiths, this important sector among our people must further enhance its contribution to the struggle to end the apartheid system and to create a society in which the right to life will be respected.

At this point, we would also like to pay special tribute to the women of Mamelodi, both as a particular detachment of the democratic women's movement and as a force exemplifying the courage and determination of the hundreds and thousands of women who have stood at the centre of our mass struggles this past year, throughout the country.

The response of the apartheid regime to the peaceful march of the women of Mamelodi, which ended in a massacre, illustrates the fear that this regime has of the united offensive of the oppressed and exploited women of our

Rooted Among the Masses

country. This year we are observing the 30th anniversary of the historic women's march on Pretoria, an event which lives on as a source of great inspiration to all our struggling people. It will be the task of our women-folk to emulate the example we set ourselves three decades ago and last year, to unite and fearlessly join the mass offensive against the Botha regime in even greater numbers. We should also continue to work for the formation of a national women's organisation.

During the momentous Year of the Cadre that has just passed we have also produced new organisational formations and adopted new forms of struggle in keeping with the heightened pace of our revolution. We refer here to the mass combat units that we have formed to carry out various tasks, including those related to the destruction of the organs of government of the apartheid regime and to making the country ungovernable. We refer also to the measures we have taken, among other things, to protect our leaders and to maintain revolutionary law and order in various localities throughout the country.

It is fitting that these developments have taken place during the Year of the Cadre and in keeping with perspectives that your movement, the ANC, put forward for that year. Our struggle has gained enormously by the emergence of these collectives of revolutionary cadres, which are organised, rooted among the masses, ready to pay the supreme sacrifice if necessary, committed to the perspectives of our movement as a whole and loyal to the leadership of that movement.

We salute all members of these combat units and commend them for the courageous and disciplined manner in which they have carried out their tasks. We urge the masses of our people to persist in the positions they have taken, of giving both the necessary protection to these units and the co-operation which the further advancement of our struggle demands.

While it is true that we have lost many cadres in the confrontation with the forces of repression, qualitatively, victory on the military front belongs not to the enemy but to the people. This is so exactly because in the face of the harshest enemy repression, we have succeeded both to intensify our military offensive and to enlarge the popular forces inside our country,

organised to wage the struggle arms in hand.

This past year we made significant strides towards the transformation of our armed confrontation with the apartheid regime into a people's war. Of crucial importance in this regard has been the creation of mass insurrectionary zones in many parts of our country, areas where the masses of the people are not only active, but are also ready in their hundreds of thousands to assault the enemy for the seizure of power.

At the same time, we have seen how the apartheid regime, intent on maintaining itself in power at all costs, has sent into our townships white soldiers and police, as well as black mercenaries, with orders to murder, rape and destroy at will - shooting infants, raping young girls and going on a crazed orgy of blood-letting. This is precisely the reason why the fascist Botha-Malan-Coetzee regime must be swept off the surface of the earth and our country transformed into a democratic, non-racial and peaceful entity. Therefore we must fight. We must organise and arm ourselves to fight harder and better for the overthrow of the apartheid regime.

Accordingly, an urgent task we face this year is the rapid expansion and extensive activation of Umkhonto we Sizwe within the country, drawing

Attack,

Advance:

Give the Enemy
No Quarter

United Offensive

in the millions of our people into combat. Building from what we achieved last year, we must prepare for and conduct people's war with the people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, heading our mass military offensive. We have to increase greatly the number of guerrilla units of MK, as well as the mass combat units. We must further strengthen the links between the guerrilla and combat units in order to build a vast army that can carry out both offensive and defensive tasks. We must draw on the resolve of our people in the mass insurrectionary zones to build up this force while working to ensure that these zones multiply in number to cover our country in its entirety.

To retain the strategic initiative, apart from confronting the army of occupation in our areas, it is essential that we carry and extend our offensive beyond our township borders into other areas with even greater determination. We also need to mount a continuous assault on the economy to deny the enemy the material base which gives it the means to conduct its campaign of terror, both inside and outside our country.

The charge we give to Umkhonto we Sizwe and to the masses of our people is: attack, advance, give the enemy no quarter - an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth!

Once more, we call on our white compatriots, and especially the youth, to break ranks with the apartheid system, to refuse to serve in its armed forces and no longer to mortgage their future to a racist system that is doomed to destruction. We call on them to win their place in the future democratic South Africa by joining the struggle to turn that future into reality. The business community must stop producing weapons that are used to murder our people. Together, black and white, we will destroy the monstrous apartheid regime and, as equals, rebuild our country for the benefit of all its

citizens. The time has come that our white compatriots should join the mass democratic struggle in their millions. The crisis in our country does not permit of onlookers.

Those among the black people who have been dragooned or bought to serve in the armed forces of the enemy should refuse to offer themselves as cannon fodder, as assassins in the pay of a regime which holds them and their people in contempt. To these we say, prepare to turn your guns against the common enemy of the people. When the bells of victory toll, you too must be counted among the liberators of your country.

The combined mass political and military offensive that we must conduct this year at a heightened level and in a systematic manner requires of us

all to continue to work even harder to realise the tasks that we set ourselves during the Year of the Cadre. Of particular importance in this regard is the task as we said last year, of building a strong underground presence of well-organised revolutionary cadres, drawn from the fighting masses and integrated among them. We must continue to strengthen and expand the

underground structures of the ANC, ensuring the active presence of our movement everywhere in the country.

As part of our all-round preparation for the days ahead, as you know, your vanguard movement, the ANC, held its historic Second National Consultative Conference. That Conference consolidated our unity as never before and clearly pointed the way forward to victory. Its results constituted a decisive defeat for the enemy which had hoped that at the end of the day our movement would be paralysed by internal disputes and endless power

struggles. It reinforced the ability of your movement to march at the head of the millions of our people, for a decisive assault on the apartheid regime of terror, to dislodge it and transfer power to the people.

The delegates endorsed the fundamental perspective of our revolution: that the key factor for victory is the political mobilisation and organisation of all the oppressed and exploited - in particular the working class. Taking into account the balance of forces in our situation, the intransigence of the white ruling clique and the violent nature of the apartheid system, conference underlined the need and urgency of intensifying and transforming the armed struggle into a real people's war.

Our strategy therefore is one that must combine a heightened mass political advance on all fronts and an escalated and resolute military offensive. This was the spirit that dominated our conference! This is the order of the day!

It will therefore be clear that the strategic and tactical thinking and approach of our movement has not shifted, nor are there any fundamental developments in our situation that warrant any change. This restatement of our position is done primarily to clear rumours circulating that the ANC and the Botha regime are holding secret talks. As yet there have been no such talks.

There can be no negotiated settlement of the South African question while the Botha regime continues to imprison our leaders and refuses to acknowledge that South Africa must become an undivided, democratic and non-racial country. It is today abundantly clear to all who look at our situation soberly that apartheid has proved to be a national disaster. The Pretoria regime does not want to accept this fact. It is dead set against the emergence of a fundamentally new social and political system in our country. These positions are the cause of the growing confrontation in South Africa which will not cease until our country does indeed belong to all who live in it, black and white.

We are convinced that all those who are opposed to racism and apartheid must act together to end white minority rule. In this regard, the ANC will continue to encourage individuals and groups within our country to contribute what they can towards the victory of the democratic struggle. It is with this view in mind that we have met and will continue to meet various

people, including business people, politicians, trade unionists, religious people, to encourage the broadest possible united offensive against the apartheid system.

Passes Must Go The time has come that, as part of our mass offensive to make apartheid unworkable, once more, we boldly confront the issue of that badge of slavery

- the pass laws. We support the demand made inside the country that passes must go, now! To this day, as we all know, these remain one of the principal means by which the Botha regime governs us, the methods it uses to decide who we are, where we shall live and work, what the future of unborn generations shall be. The time has come that we should say no longer shall we allow ourselves to be given special labels in the country of our birth.

The cry must ring out through the length and breadth of our country this year - away with passes! By destroying this badge of slavery and humiliation, we shall free ourselves of this intolerable burden of oppression and thus move further forward to our goal of making apartheid unworkable and our country ungovernable.

This is an immense offensive which must spread to every corner of our

Release All
Political
Prisoners
and Detainees
Unconditionally

Building
People's Power

country, encompassing cities, towns and the countryside. It must involve both men and women alike and produce the most formidable, united and sustained mass action to destroy once and for all the pass laws, influx control and our forcible removal to the Bantustans.

We must not be misled by the enemy's promise to abolish influx control and introduce what it calls positive urbanisation. Nor must we be taken in by promises of a so-called common citizenship. The Botha regime has

no intention whatsoever to see the black majority live in our country as equals with our white compatriots. As far as this regime is concerned South Africa will never belong to all who live in it, black and white.

Of late, the white business community has also been very loud in demanding change. We call on them to join this mighty anti-pass campaign. They themselves must stop demanding passes from the African workers. Neither should they take advantage of the migrant labour system to victimise the workers. Rather they should work for the immediate abolition of this criminal system. Words are no longer sufficient. Now is the time for action. No more passes! Away with this badge of slavery.

We need also to extend that spirit of defiance to other areas of struggle. To maintain the offensive, we have to address with maximum vigour the entire issue of the enemy's attempts to suppress the democratic movement.

During this past year, we sharply escalated our offensive on this front. Many of those detained went on hunger strike, demanding an end to their illegal imprisonment. Mass meetings and demonstrations took place calling for the release of detainees and political prisoners. Our people in the Western Cape mobilised themselves in their thousands to march on Pollsmoor Prison backing up the universal demand for the immediate and unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners.

The challenges facing us are indeed considerable. Nelson Mandela, Walt

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Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Ahmed Kathrada, Elias Motsoaledi, Harry Gwala and others of our leaders are still in prison, held there by a regime which seems determined to keep them under lock and key permanently in defiance of the international community.

Yet others of our leaders and activists are facing various charges. Thousands have been convicted illegally and are now enduring the brutality of living in the enemy's dungeons. Unknown numbers are held under the emergency regulations and the so-called Internal Security Act.

This year we must take up the campaign with greater vigour than before

- for the immediate and unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners, for the immediate release of all detainees, the lifting of bans on individuals and organisations, including Cosas, the termination of all treason and other political trials, the lifting of the state of emergency, the scrapping of all repressive legislation and the withdrawal of all troops and police from the townships.

We know that the enemy will not listen to any appeals we make on any of these questions. We have no alternative but to resort to meaningful action to advance our demands. We have already tested the consumer boycott weapon and need to use it with even greater effect to halt the murderous and repressive rampage of the Pretoria regime.

In a heroic struggle, we have virtually lifted the ban on our vanguard movement, the ANC. We did not ask for the permission of the enemy to unfurl

Destroy

Apartheid

Structures

and raise the people's flag. We did not seek Pretoria's consent when we decided to speak openly in support of our genuine leaders.

Equally, to succeed in our campaign to challenge the enemy's repressive onslaught, we need the same daring. Whereas the enemy seeks at all times to impose on us a fascist legality, we must impose on our country our own popular legality. We are the alternative power. As such, we pursue goals and share aspirations that are diametrically opposed to those of the oppressive white minority regime and must ensure that our will, as that alternative power, prevails.

Proceeding from those positions we must use everything in our power to fight and defeat the enemy's campaign of repression, recognising that the edicts that emanate from the illegitimate apartheid regime are themselves illegal acts of banditry, carried out as part of the continuing commission of a crime against humanity. In action and through action we must compel the regime to end repression now.

In some areas of our country, having destroyed the puppet organs of government imposed on us by the apartheid regime, we have reached the situation where even the enemy has to deal with the democratic forces as the legitimate representatives of the people. The establishment of people's power in these areas, however rudimentary and precarious, is of great significance for the further advancement of our struggle.

In the past, as part of our rejection of the apartheid community councils, management and local authority committees, we correctly put forward the demand for democratic, non-racial municipal councils. We must take up this demand once more. In many townships, we have abolished the puppet institutions through struggle. These victories must be consolidated by democratising the whole system of local government. For every town and every city, there must be one local authority, elected by all residents, both black and white, on the basis of one person one vote. We shall have to engage in struggle to achieve this goal and will have to consider such ac-

tions as a national rent strike in our programme of action.

The Botha regime is set to introduce what it calls Regional Service Councils. This is yet another attempt to refine and entrench the apartheid system.

Furthermore, the issue which these Councils are meant to address, namely the provision of 'services' to all the group areas in each urban centre, does not answer the primary question of the right of all residents to exercise political control over their towns and cities as a whole. We are not fighting

and are not dying in order to have a better system of waste disposal. We are engaged in struggle for the inalienable right to govern our country in all its parts.

We can no longer accept the situation in which we exist in the urban townships as suppliers of labour to the white areas with no access to the wealth that we create and which goes to enrich and improve the white areas

of our towns and cities. In this regard, we should take the occasion of the

centenary of the city of Johannesburg, which falls this year, as one for the most determined offensive to ensure that the political situation changes in this prime example of the iniquity of the system of colonial and racist rule.

White South Africa feels it has every right to celebrate this centenary. We, on the other hand, confined in black ghettos on the periphery of the

city, have nothing to celebrate. We can no longer tolerate the situation in which we have no control over the city which we have built with our bare

The Land
Belongs to the
People

Emulate

Moshoeshoe

hands for a century. After a century of exclusion, let us begin a new era of democratic control of Johannesburg and all other urban areas of our country. In this way, we will proceed from people's power in the black areas to people's power over the entire municipal areas where we live.

We call on all our white compatriots in these areas to join this struggle. They too must participate in the offensive to abolish the apartheid institu-

tions in the white areas once and for all. It is not sufficient merely to call for the abolition of the Group Areas, Separate Amenities and other acts. Now is the time to take action to realise the objectives of one democratic council for each municipality, elected on the basis of one person one vote .

Our mass political offensive must of necessity also succeed to draw in the millions of our people in the countryside, both inside and outside the Bantustans. It is clear that, relative to the situation in the past, we have made considerable progress in mobilising and organising the people in the countryside.

This has resulted in our people in some of these areas joining the mass offensive during this past year. They did so in such numbers that even leading spokesmen of the Pretoria regime expressed concern at the level of activation of these oppressed masses. In addition, the people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, has taken the armed struggle both into the Bantustans and into the enemy rural military zones, striking blows that have worried the enemy and its puppets.

Much organisational and mobilisation work still needs to be done in these areas, raising to the fore such questions as the need to destroy the oppressive Bantustan system, to rise up against the blood-sucking white soldier-farmers and to address the central task of the landless masses seizing the land which rightfully belongs to them.

Thanks to our consistent opposition, the enemy now knows that it cannot even pretend that it will be able to maintain the Bantustan system. Hence Botha now talks of a common citizenship. It should therefore now be more than clear to those of our compatriots who may have been duped or bribed or persuaded to accept the Bantustans that the destruction of these criminal institutions is only a matter of time. They should consider whether the time has not come for them to join the masses of the people to destroy this system and regain their honour as patriots and their dignity as men and women of principle.

The planned so-called independence of the KwaNdebele Bantustan constitutes a grievous offence against our entire people, as does the Bantustan system as a whole. Our people, across the length and breadth of our country, must unite to fight against the imposition of this Bantustan on us. We salute our struggling people in this area and urge them to fight on to defeat the enemy's intentions of further entrenching the apartheid system.

This year, we shall be observing the bi-centenary of the birth of that outstanding African statesman, King Moshoeshoe I. It would be well that those who consider themselves leaders of our people should seek to emulate Moshoeshoe's example. Thus they should strive to unite the African people and not divide them, work to satisfy the aspirations of the people and not betray them, fight arms in hand in defence of the interests of the masses and when necessary negotiate as genuine representatives of the people and not as beggars at the master's table.

The World Supports Our Struggle

Today, the voice of Moshoeshoe is calling on us to unite. The enemy is busy trying to set African against African, and black people against one another. It continuously seeks to impart racial and tribal connotations to the many conflicts that are a direct result of the apartheid system. The Pretoria regime not only hopes to slow down our struggle but also to demonstrate that we are different peoples who cannot live together in peace. The racists want to prove that we have to be separated into different racial and tribal compartments, controlled and presided over by the white minority regime.

We have to defeat these enemy schemes, resist all provocations and unite in the common struggle to liberate our country from racist rule. As Moshoeshoe foresaw, our strength lies in our unity. We must guard that unity like the apple of our eye.

Our movement and our struggle enjoy enormous world support. During the Year of the Cadre the international movement of solidarity with our fighting people grew by leaps and bounds. In this area we can also say that the apartheid regime has lost the strategic initiative. No longer can it even hope to hold its ground, let alone secure new gains for the apartheid system.

So desperate has its situation become that even those whom it counts as its natural allies have begun to distance themselves from the regime of murderers and to seek out the genuine representatives of our people.

At the same time, throughout the world, ordinary men and women inspired by our own struggle are carrying out new initiatives to isolate apartheid South Africa and to extend political and material support to the ANC

and the struggling masses of our country. Accordingly, this past year we have seen the inspiring upsurge of the solidarity movement in the United States under the leadership of the Free South Africa Movement, the imposition of sanctions by the international trade union movement in such countries as New Zealand, Australia, Sudan, Scandinavia, the United Kingdom, and elsewhere, trade union decisions to enforce the oil embargo, the resurgence of the international consumer boycott campaign and many other actions, in support of our struggle.

We have scored other important gains in the campaign to isolate apartheid South Africa. Many governments have taken various steps in this direction however limited at this stage. The refusal of the banks to roll over their loans to South Africa is an important victory of our struggle which has contributed to the further deepening of the crisis of the apartheid regime

Much remains to be done further to expand international action and to compel the governments of the major Western powers to heed public opinion in their own countries and internationally and impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa. The more we act to liberate ourselves, the more resolute international action will become. It is therefore our task both to intensify the struggle inside our country and to work with the world community further to arouse world opinion in favour of our cause.

Once more, we extend special greetings to our comrades-in-arms in Swaziland as well as the Namibian people as a whole. Locked as we are in a common battle against a common enemy, we shall continue to rely on our bonds of solidarity as an important factor inspiring our own actions. The struggle to achieve the immediate and genuine independence of Namibia is at the same time an important contribution towards our own liberation. Together we will win.

The Frontline
States Stand
Firm

1986: The Year
of Umkhonto we
Sizwe - the
People's Army

We have continued to derive great inspiration and encouragement from the principled and unflinching stand taken by the Frontline States as well as the Kingdom of Lesotho and Swaziland. These countries have stood firm in the face of growing threats and actual acts of aggression and destabilisation carried out by the Pretoria regime against them.

The people of Namibia and South Africa share a common destiny with these states and peoples. In pursuit of the common cause, we are committed to rid our continent of the apartheid monster, through struggle and to help transform our region into a zone of peace.

We take this opportunity to salute our friends throughout the world, in Africa, Asia, Latin America, in the socialist countries, in Europe and North America.

We greet also the PLO and the Palestinian people, the Saharaoui Arab Democratic Republic, the Farabundi Marti of El Salvador, Fretilin of East Timor as well as the embattled people of Nicaragua and the progressive forces organised in the Sandinista National Liberation Front.

To all the forces, to the nations organised in the OAU, the Non-Aligned Movement and the United Nations, we, the people of South Africa, pledge, during this International Year of Peace, that we shall discharge our historic responsibility to end the apartheid crime against humanity once and for all. With your support, we will achieve this goal sooner rather than later and with less bloodshed and destruction.

This year we shall be observing the 10th anniversary of the Soweto Uprising and the 25th anniversary of the formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe. These are events of historic importance in our struggle. They both emphasise the need for us to meet the repressive violence of the apartheid regime and the apartheid system with our own armed resistance. The continuing stubborn-

ness of the racist regime and its resort to ever greater and more brutal violence has made it a matter of extreme urgency that we launch a most determined military offensive.

To help concentrate our creative energies on the attainment of this goal and in the name of the National Executive Committee of your organisation, the ANC, we declare 1986 the Year of Umkhonto we Sizwe - the People's Army! Let this Year of the People's Army see us engulf the apartheid system in the fires and the thunder of a people's war! Let the Year of MK see us mount a military offensive that will push the enemy into a strategic retreat!

Let us use the opportunities that this Year gives us to replace each combatant who fell last year with a hundred more, and, building on our achievements, to create a formidable fighting force of the people, superior to the enemy forces because of the justice of our cause, the discipline of our combatants and the bravery and boldness of our warriors.

During the Year of Umkhonto we Sizwe - The People's Army:

Let us mount a determined mass political and military offensive!

Let us retain the strategic initiative!

Let us, in struggle, shift the balance of power further in favour of the revolution!

Let us turn every corner of our country into a battlefield!

Let us weaken the enemy and prepare to seize power!

Every patriot a combatant: every combatant a patriot!

Amandla Ngawethu! Matla ke a Rona!

People's power is within our grasp!

PRESS CONFERENCE, LUSAKA, 9th JANUARY 1986

ADDRESSED BY COMRADE PRESIDENT TAMBO

Your Excellencies,

Ladies and Gentlemen of the Press,

Friends,

Yesterday, January 8th, we broadcast to the people of South Africa our traditional anniversary message explaining the political and military tasks facing our people this year, 1986. The representatives of the press should have received the full text of that message by now. Therefore there should be no necessity for us to go over all the issues raised in that statement.

The perspective contained in that statement is one of an escalating political and military offensive on our part. We must and will intensify our all-round attack on the apartheid regime.

It should therefore be clear that we are convinced that the Botha regime has no intention whatsoever to accede to the demands of the majority of the people of South Africa and the rest of the world. We know that this regime is intent on increasing its brutal repression of our people while playing around with what it calls reforms. But we say the apartheid system cannot be reformed; it must be abolished in its entirety.

You know that we have declared 1986 the Year of Umkhonto we Sizwe - the People's Army

- and have called for a rapid and extensive escalation of our military offensive. In this regard, we would like to reiterate that our military operations will continue to be directed against armed enemy personnel as well as strategic installations. We would also like to repeat that in the course of the spread of People's War, civilians will get caught in the crossfire. We do not derive any pleasure from this, but have to accept it as an inevitable consequence of any war.

The use of landmines in the white farming areas does not constitute a change in policy. These areas along the borders of our country have long been proclaimed and treated by the Pretoria regime as military zones. There are laws on the South African statute books which oblige the white farmers

in these areas to be part of South Africa's so-called security system. When the apartheid regime instituted these measures, we were among the few people to warn against its dangers. It puzzles us that we are, today, being criticised for carrying out armed action in these areas that have been turned into military zones by the racist regime.

We must also reiterate that we have no armed units based in neighbouring states and which engage in so-called cross border operations. The attacks that the Pretoria regime continues to carry out against the neighbouring countries will not slow down or stop the intensification of our military offensive inside the country.

The cause of the growing confrontation in our country is the continued stubbornness of the apartheid regime and not the refusal of the ANC to abandon the armed struggle. We have always been ready to negotiate a just solution of the South African question. It has always been the successive white minority regimes which have refused to accept that South Africa must be a democratic and non-racial country.

We are still faced with that situation to this day. We have said that all political prisoners must be released unconditionally so that they should participate in any discussion there may be about the question of negotiations. We all know the response of the Pretoria regime, which is that it will continue to imprison the leaders of our people, regardless of what anybody says.

The kind of South Africa we are fighting for is well known to everybody here. We want to see our country belong to all who live in it, black and white. We have said we ourselves would propose that a new democratic constitution should include an entrenched Bill of Rights guaranteeing the rights of individuals, but certainly not group privileges. We have also said that the wealth of our country should be shared among our people to banish hunger and poverty. The Freedom Charter itself specifically allows for a mixed economy. We are convinced that our people can live together in one South Africa as equals and at peace.

And, as Nelson Mandela said when he was sentenced to life imprisonment twenty two years ago, these are ideals we are prepared to die for.

Question: Firstly, I would like you to explain what you mean by mass combat units (as stated in the January 8th statement), and secondly, what is the ANC going to do when liberation comes with regard to people responsible for massacres, torture etc inside and outside South Africa?

President Tambo:

What has happened in the course of the confrontations that are currently taking place in South Africa and have been going on now for the better part of 18 months, is that the people have become increasingly organised to face the situation imposed on them by the apartheid regime, and especially by the state of emergency. So they are organised in groups to deal with that situation: firstly to defend themselves, secondly to attack - basically in defence because the army and police are there. In effect, these are mass combat units which could be much larger than guerrilla units. They have no fixed size, the size can vary. But they are there, and, as we say, they will and they must multiply. It is the development along the lines of building up People's War, carrying out the People's War.

With regard to the second question. I don't want to commit a future South African government to what will be done to those who have perpetrated crimes against the people of South Africa inside the country and outside. I think that should be left to the people to decide at the time, when peace comes in our country. We should like to feel that in peace, there is little need to bring the criminals before the people's courts; but I don't want to anticipate that kind of development. We have said that some of the perpetrators of brutal crimes deserve to be punished. The chances are that they shall be punished in the course of the struggle and the best punishment is to make sure that what they are trying to defend is destroyed, that the cause of justice triumphs. That is the best punishment we can provide. But as I say, the people may decide to go further than that.

Given the thrust of your new strategy, indicating that you are determined to pursue an uncompromising war in South Africa, what do you think the condition of Nelson Mandela is now, and surely there is no possible chance now of negotiation?

Nelson Mandela is part of the struggle of our people. He has - he and the others have been imprisoned now for upward of twenty years. A very long time. But they are prepared to see the struggle waged until victory. Nelson, or any of them, would never say: let

the struggle be abandoned or stopped so that we can be released. The demand for their release is independent of the ongoing struggle. We feel that the country as a whole needs them at this time, and they can make a contribution towards a solution of the problems of South Africa. They can. And we are trying to make a contribution, too, by stepping up our armed struggle. But it should never be supposed that they expect or would want us to stop the struggle so as to allow them out. It is true that the Botha regime has said

Nelson must renounce violence so that he can be released. He has refused to do that. So the position is that we must pursue the objective of destroying the apartheid system for the sake of all our people in South Africa, in the interests of peace in this region, in the interests of what the international community would like to see - an end to the apartheid system.

Mr President, if the ANC, as you say, steps up the pace of the military offensive against the apartheid regime, does not the ANC then run the risk of losing valuable support in the West, by the West turning around and saying that the ANC is simply turning into another IRA or PLO? What is your response to that?

We have been at pains, all the time, to explain to our friends everywhere why the ANC embarked on armed struggle. In the first instance, we have spent 25 years doing that now. Our friends have come to accept that. We have also said that if apartheid persists and if the international community does not intervene by way of sanctions, the conflict inside South Africa can only escalate. That is, it is impossible for escalation not to take place.

The only way we can interrupt that escalation is by imposition of international pressures in the form of sanctions. Our friends understand this and they have been expecting escalation. I should say that they have been expecting us to escalate, because we have no choice, no alternative. I don't think we will lose genuine opponents of the apartheid system. The genuine ones - I mean those who really want to see an end to the apartheid system - I can't see us losing their support. We have also said, if I may add, that we have been forced into this position. Armed struggle was rammed down our throats, down our unwilling throats, and there is only one way out: to move towards putting an end to the apartheid system.

At the time of the township violence last year, we were told that we are witnessing the ANC strategy of making the townships and the whole country ungovernable. We were further told that we are about to witness how

the strategy was going to force black on black confrontation, black killing black.

That has never been the strategy of the ANC. The strategy of the ANC was to make the country ungovernable and apartheid unworkable. The first move in that direction was to destroy the local structures of the apartheid system on which it was intended to build a structure, a constitutional structure, to serve urban Africans only.

That was the regime's plan. We said we must chop down the foundations of that structure so that we don't allow a situation in which there are constitutional provisions for separate groups in our country. This would be reinforcing and building on the foundations of the apartheid system. The people started by calling on councillors to resign. The majority resigned. Those who refused to resign were, of course, attacked. This

is the element of black versus black, and it was unavoidable. In the result, many councils have been destroyed and the regime has not been able to proceed with its plans. We have succeeded. They have not made special constitutional provisions to serve blacks in our country. We insist we are part of South Africa. It was never our policy to have black versus black - that is incidental. And black versus black also involves black policemen shooting civilians and children on the orders of their bosses. This was part of the component of black versus black.

The bomb at Amanzimtoti shortly before Christmas. The ANC has claimed it was not responsible. Do you have any ideas of who was responsible?

I don't know precisely what we could have said. I should have thought the ANC would have said they did not know at the time. That would have been a correct thing to say. I don't know if we said we were not responsible. But we did not know; we don't know yet. But I would like to comment about that. There is nothing in the ANC policy or strategy which calls for attacks on civilians - in supermarkets, schools, cinemas, unless these can in some way be regarded as military installations or establishments. Even so, the ANC would not attack children even if they were in the military zone or establishment.

Therefore there could have been no orders from above certain levels of the ANC for the Amanzimtoti attack. I think I have in the past made the statement that we will not attack supermarkets. This would be going for civilian targets. But having said that I want to remind Your Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, that the South African situation is one of violence. There is a war going on there. The fact that the war so far is confined to townships does not alter the fact that South Africa is involved in war, limited, but war all the same because the army is doing the actual fighting, shooting, killing every day, since perhaps August or September 1984.

The army was there even before the state of emergency was declared. It is a war situation, and in that situation hundreds have been killed. Massacres have been perpetrated against civilians: Mamelodi, a massacre. Uitenhage, a massacre. Botswana, a massacre. Queenstown, a massacre. That situation is beginning to drift out of the townships, and not necessarily in a regular or predictable manner. But certainly we are beginning to see South Africans of all races going to bury their beloved ones who have died in the South African situation - Whites,

Africans, Indians, Coloureds, all going to bury the dead. The whole of South Africa is beginning to bleed in the face of the persistence of the apartheid system. And intensification means more of this.

If I had been approached by an ANC unit and asked whether they should go and plant a bomb at a super-market. I would have said 'Of course not'. But when our units are faced with what is happening all around them, it is understandable that some of them should

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say, 'Well, I may have to face being disciplined, but I am going to do this. I am going to do this - after all, President Botha has complained that Africans are killing themselves over there. He has complained that it is all Africans killing Africans. President Reagan has also complained'. And I can understand the circumstances in which this kind of thing can happen.

But all in all it means we are beginning to move into stormy times in South Africa, times which will involve us all. And it will be all, because there is the fundamental problem of the apartheid system in South Africa. At some point I hope all South Africans will turn against this system and simply decide to abolish it, so that there should be no more bloodshed in our country.

Mr Tambo, can you tell us what are your minimum demands from the South African government at this moment, and can you foresee any theoretical possibility of your organisation putting a moratorium on violence, to negotiate with the South African government?

As I have said earlier, we have been consistent in saying that the best thing to do towards considering the possibilities of a negotiated settlement - surely the first step, is that Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners should come out and be part of this situation. There is no reason why they should not be released. Anyway, we are not asking for too much. The whole world says they must be released. The regime is afraid of them, when the regime should be afraid of what is going on in the townships, when they should be afraid of the escalation. That is the first step. Well, about a moratorium. You know it is hardly ever necessary to have a moratorium before serious talks begin. And the moratorium can come about as the result of some stage being reached in the talks. But there is no reason why, if the regime wanted to talk seriously, they should insist that the ANC should throw down its arms or somehow abandon its armed struggle. Theoretically, of course, there can be a

moratorium - theoretically. It would depend on a whole lot of unpredictable conditions, unpredictable because it could not conceivably be one-sided. We can stop our armed struggle, but it is a struggle against the violent system known as apartheid. Would the regime be able to stop that violence of the apartheid system? We don't see how they would do that. But theoretically it can be done because theoretically the regime can take steps to put an end to the apartheid system. They can take the initiative, they are the ones who hold power. They can take bold initiatives which would convince everybody that now we have reached the end of the apartheid system, and we need only now to negotiate the mechanisms for transfer of power. So, theoretically it can be done - but only theoretically.

Sir, you have said, for example, you would not approve of supermarkets, schools, cinemas as targets. You have also talked about the fact that as the escalation continues, civilians might get caught in the cross-

fire. Now it would seem to me that if you are limiting yourself only to military targets you can actually avoid hitting civilians in crossfire, for example, if you hit only military camps, only where people wear uniforms. But let me ask you for an example: in your escalation would you include power stations, railway lines? In these cases you will have civilians present who possibly can be hit. Are these the sort of things you are talking about as strategic targets?

We have hit these targets in the past. We hit Sasol; we hit power stations, lots of times we hit oil depots

- many such strategic installations. We have hit these, but we took elaborate precautions against hitting civilians in the process. In Sasol, for instance, it took us a long time to plan the attack in such a way that no one would be hurt. And no one was hurt. There have been several others, as you may remember. We have hit these targets and normally the report was - target destroyed, but no one injured. We would still have to calculate on what the attack on installations would mean in terms of civilians. It may not be possible, in an intensified situation, to avoid hitting the target simply because some civilians are going to be hurt in the process. This is what we mean: that in an intensified escalating struggle it would not be possible. Otherwise we would find ourselves doing nothing. And, after all, why should we be so committed to avoid civilians being caught in the crossfire, why should we be more committed than other people who have been waging wars; who have not even stopped to think: 'How many children will be there?' Yet this has been part of the morality of the ANC for 25 years now. It helps to remember that we have borne this in mind, and when there was going to be a departure, we were fair enough to say 'Now we are moving away from the level of precaution'. We will, of course, continue to calculate what it will mean to civilians. But we are absolutely certain that many civilians will be caught in the crossfire.

There is a growing split between the elder members of the ANC and the younger who don't want to draw a distinction between military areas and actual soft targets, and what about this ANC cell that carried out the attack in Durban? Did you in fact discipline the ANC unit for the Amanzimtoti bombing?

No, it is not correct. We were subjected to intensive propaganda by the South African radio, and other sectors of the media picked this up - that there is a gap between younger members of the ANC and the elder ones in terms of strategy and tactics and things like

that. Well, unfortunately, we did not allow the press to participate with us in the Consultative Conference that we held in Zambia in June. But afterwards we regretted that the conditions did not permit the press being there to see for themselves the level, the degree and the depth of unity about questions of strategy and tactics ...

Mr Tambo, you seem to be making excuses for this

Durban attack ...It is inconceivable, I think everybody would agree - that the ANC would not be aware of one of its cells carrying out (such an) attack. Did the ANC - yes or no - was the ANC involved in the Amanzimtoti bombing?

This forces me back to what I have already said. The South African army went into Maseru a few days before Amanzimtoti and killed nine people - not seven, not five, but nine. And before that women had been marching in Mamelodi, the army and the police came, shot them down and killed thirteen people. That is violence. In Queenstown they killed fourteen, and I told you about Botswana. Why must I be subjected to cross-examination about Amanzimtoti? Why? Is this Amanzimtoti more important than the scores, possibly more than 100 children being shot dead by the police

- just shot at? We are not talking about any of these massacres - and they are just bare massacres! The army goes to Lesotho and kills Lesotho citizens and then calmly says, 'It is not us'. And now I must be facing questions about whether it was the ANC or not and so on! I think this is a mistake we are making.

What we want to know is, Mr President, was the ANC responsible?

I have given you the broad outline of the ANC policy.

I have done that. What more do you want me to say?

I mean, the question of whether we have investigated who it is is not important. The bomb has exploded, and I defined the circumstances in which this had happened and our position. I cannot be answerable for every little thing that happens in the situation of generalised violence on the part of the regime. I don't think I have to do that at all ...

There is going to be more of these things in the situation of generalised conflict, and we had better prepare for it. It is a development of the crisis in South Africa. We are not responsible. More people are going to die, some of them very regrettably, as regrettably as the

43 who were massacred on March 21st - just assaulted; or those who were marching to Pollsmoor Prison

- assaulted, killed. All our people feel very much aggrieved about this. What should they do? I didn't rejoice over Amanzimtoti - it is fair to say this. But there were celebrations in South Africa among the black people. I didn't celebrate because in any case I think we as the ANC have a different kind of morality: we don't want to copy from the fascist regime, but our people rejoiced, especially after experiencing Maseru, Mamelodi, after the Pollsmoor march, after Queenstown; after all these massacres. They rejoiced, they celebrated. We should know that. And the people of South Africa must be prepared for this kind of thing. The truth of the matter is that our people celebrated!

In your speech last night you called for the extension of the struggle beyond the black townships. Could you explain exactly what this means? Does this mean taking the struggle into white residential areas?

The struggle is taking place in some areas in South Africa - we call them townships. It has been confined in these townships, but these townships are not all of South Africa. The people who died in those townships are dying for a happy, peaceful South Africa. Their blood is being shed for this. It is happening in the circumstances of conflict and we are saying that if South Africans must bleed and die for the salvation of their country, let all of them do it. Let the whole country experience this conflict. Let's take it beyond the townships. Anywhere beyond the townships, because these are areas which are defined as townships. There are others which are not, and that is all that we mean. It must spread across the country, and we think it makes sense because South Africans must participate, must all be involved in our attempts to solve the problems of our country. The state of emergency is one of the problems of our country. But as far as many South Africans are concerned, it is happening in some black areas, in some black back yard. They should know what is happening there by experiencing some of it.

There are 12 million people living in the homelands or bantustans. That is one of the realities in South Africa. Now, you are opposed to the bantustans. Can you tell us what will happen to the people living in the homelands when the ANC takes over?

... Let us take the case of KwaNdebele, that bantustan. There was no place in South Africa called KwaNdebele. There was no such place at all on the map. The South African regime conceived of the idea that originally there was a tribe called Ndebeles, it went sorting them out from all over South Africa, picking them out, forcing them to go and live in this place which was then named the KwaNdebele bantustan. Life means continuous persecution for these people. They were forced there and told they can't leave the place. Now, we want a united South Africa where people will live where they like. I am certain that many of those who are living in those bantustans, independent or not, will travel across the face of South Africa and live where they want to live. Already I think the regime has recognised that bantustanisation was a mistake and is a failure. And of course, our people have never accepted this bantustanisation. So there will be no problem about it. There may be a problem about those who are heading the bantustan administrations, those who are privileged. I think we can solve that problem. We are, I think, in the process of resolving that problem.

It was reported that the ANC met South African

students and parents in Harare to discuss the present crisis in black education. What was the position of the ANC when you met them? You have also resolved to intensify attacks against strategic economic installations. At the same time you are calling on the business community to stop manufacturing weapons for the regime. Why is there a need for this call?

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We met the parents, and they told us of the consultations they had been having in South Africa on this question. The consultations involve the students as well as the children. They had to try to consult everybody else and they wanted to consult the ANC. So, first of all we approved of the fact that there should be consultations about this bantu education. It is an offence against our people, and all of them want it to be abolished. Students decided that the best way of doing that is to stay out of it, also as part of the general struggle to abolish the apartheid system. So the students are going beyond the abolition of bantu education. It is also, for them, a political struggle.

Consultation was necessary to ensure united action even if it be that students stay out for the whole year. The ANC commended them on that practice of consulting.

As far as the ANC itself is concerned, we explained that the ANC regards boycott as a weapon of struggle. We have used it in the past. We have encouraged the students when they boycotted schools; they have taken the initiative, but we support them. We have never called on the students to boycott schools. We have supported their decision to boycott because this was part of the fight, and we accept that it is a weapon. Therefore, we would accept what the conference decided because it was a conference involving the students themselves, teachers, parents and the UDF.

It was necessary that, whatever they decided, they should decide it together. It was highly unlikely that the regime would respond to the demands that were being put across by the people and students. Now, a request that the schools must be opened on the 28th precisely to enable the parents to talk to the students to go back - that request has been rejected already. So we are beginning to move to a situation where if the students act, they will now have the support of their teachers and parents, and we will support them. So, that is the position.

We were reported as saying that we are opposed to the school boycott by the students. That was not

correct. We are not opposed to it, but we agree that it would be good if there was agreement that they go back so that if there should be a boycott, it would be a united action, not by individual groups at separate times. They should act together and move forward together. That was the basic consideration.

And there was the second question. We have said that we are going to attack economic installations and the armaments industry could well be the target, but we are hoping that in the spirit of acting against the regime, helping to bring about an end to the apartheid system, helping to bring about an end to a violent regime in South Africa and in the region, the business community will say 'We are no longer prepared to participate in the production of weapons'. And we believe that the business community's contribution to the production of armaments is up to 60% of what is produced. So they could help very much to hold back the South African regime in its violent adventures everywhere.

The President of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, Reverend Allan Boesak, has called on the people of South Africa not to co-operate with the team of the Commonwealth countries planning to visit South Africa. What is the ANC position on this call made by Boesak?

The Commonwealth group of eminent persons: this idea arose and was decided upon at the Commonwealth Conference. It was not clear and it is not very clear yet how the group would operate. The people of South Africa, like the ANC, were not prepared beforehand for this decision. But we now know the circumstances in which it arose, and we, of course, know that with the possible exception of Britain, the other members are great supporters of the campaign for sanctions. They support us, and many of them have taken action against the regime in the form of sanctions. And the group was therefore conceived in the situation in which Commonwealth countries, except Britain, were all unanimous about meeting the demands of the people of South Africa for the imposition of sanctions.

The ANC is hoping to get to know in due course how the group is going to operate. We have not yet been contacted, and we are keeping the matter under consideration. In the meantime there is a lot of speculation at home about how the group is going to operate, and I believe that Allan Boesak is really speaking in the context of this speculation. The people are focusing on the apartheid regime and are directing all their efforts against the system. Now, when a group comes to be involved in this kind of confrontation, naturally the people want to know in what kind of way, and what are the possible results. So there is uncertainty, certainly at home. And the ANC has, as of now, said nothing about this. But I believe we shall, in due course, say something about it. Let me add that the members of the group fought very hard - rather, the countries from which they come fought very hard - to press for sanctions and that should inform their approach to their task, whatever it is going to turn out to be.

I noted the word in your statement that we held a national conference in Johannesburg on education. Elsewhere in your address you refer to raising of flags on South African soil. I want you to give us some indication of how you see the ANC developing its strategy on mobilisation in the coming years within South Africa?

When we speak on the occasion of January 8, we speak to our people, as people who are, with us, involved

in the struggle. When they do things, like this conference, we are not there physically, but we are part of them. That is why we say we held this conference in Johannesburg. What strategy are you talking about, because we have elaborated a programme of action which is an expression of our strategy?

You said the raising of flags in deliberate defiance of the law in South Africa indicates your high profile and that your organisation is operating above ground ...

Well, to make the country ungovernable and apartheid unworkable involves defiance. We referred to acts of defiance by thousands of our people and the atmosphere is actually one of defiance - not only defiance, but defiance of the regime. The conflict that is taking place is a challenge to the authority of the regime. So it is basically an act of defiance and this act of defiance is expressed in various centres of action, like Queenstown, when the youth carried wooden AK-47s. It was an act of defiance, and we are encouraging this defiance. Part of the programme for this year, for instance, is to focus on pass laws. This will involve defiance. So, defiance is fundamental to a strategy of making the country ungovernable and the apartheid system unworkable. It is fundamental to the intensification of our overall struggle, whether at the level of the workers or the ministers of religion who have issued that statement known as Kairos. There is a lot of defiance in that. This is an important component in our overall strategy and in the struggle of our people as a whole.

Mr President, do you think the rift between the ANC and the Inkatha movement of Chief Buthelezi could be mended at this stage?

Well, of course, there is nothing at the moment to suggest that it can be or that it is going to be, let me put it that way. There is nothing at the moment to indicate that the rift is going to be mended. The ANC, by the very nature of its formation, is committed to a united struggle of all our people and we believe that our people in Natal are basically united in their support for the ANC. It is their organisation. Chief Luthuli lived in that part of our country, that world. His work there, and the work of others before him - John Dube, Champion (Mahlathamnyama), Selby Msimang and others, is part of our history. It is Chief Gatsha Buthelezi who is fighting his own battle against the ANC. But the ANC is too preoccupied with the struggle to take much notice of what he is saying.

Why is the ANC against Chief Buthelezi?

What have the other homeland leaders done? Have they attacked workers when they were on strike? Have they attacked the ANC when it hit Sasol? Have they killed students? Have they attacked the members of the UDF, killing them? What have they done? What have they said? No, he is fighting something. We think we know what it is, and we do not think he is going about it the right way. We do not think he will succeed.

What I want you to clarify, Mr Tambo, is whether the ANC has got any set ideological pattern ...

The ANC has consolidated the unity of our people, unity of our people in general, around the Freedom Charter. That is our basic guide and we are all agreed about that. So in the ANC, we see no problem. We

are guided by the Freedom Charter. It is conceivable, of course, that when we win our victory and we are a non-racial, democratic and united people, within those parameters, there will be divisions; people will form political parties of one form or another, and that will be permissible. That will not be division about the Freedom Charter or its objectives. It will be that people see the situation differently at the time and have different approaches to the problems which a liberated South Africa will be faced with. There could be many organisations of that kind formed, and they will be exercising their democratic rights in a democratic society.

So within those limits, then, it is possible that there can be ideological differences between one group and another. But the ANC is bound together, has been now for the past thirty years, by the Freedom Charter. So we have got a deep foundation among our people around the Freedom Charter.

President Tambo, the American and British governments still maintain that disinvestment will hurt the black people most. What could you say about this stance?

The South African rand has been dropping to rock bottom over the recent period. In part, that is a result of the international action influenced considerably by the ongoing struggle. When the banks refused to extend loans, nobody protested to those banks that the Africans or blacks will suffer most. The concern of everybody was that there was an economic crisis and we were not the issue at the time.

What I am getting at is that sanctions will create an economic crisis, they are intended to create other pro-

blems for the apartheid state. Everybody understands, including those who use this argument - they understand perfectly well that under the apartheid system we have done all the suffering. That was necessary, but we can't suffer more simply by an act that is intended to destroy the system. They understand that we are fighting and sacrificing - they know this - sacrificing our lives. And what will we sacrifice if there were sanctions? Not our lives. We would save our lives if there were sanctions! We would have an unfilled stomach, but we have that now.

It is not an honest argument. It is hypocritical. President Reagan is now enforcing sanctions against Libya. What is going to happen to Libyan children? Nobody is asking. South Africa is imposing sanctions against

Lesotho - this great big mighty power terrorising a small African country for its courage. It is disgraceful. But who is saying that this action by South Africa will kill Lesotho people? Nobody. South Africa is allowed to do that. But when we ask them to do it against South Africa, they say we will suffer. It is not honest.

Sometimes they say the African states will suffer. The African states in this region are independent states. They are led by their leaders, African leaders, matured. They know what they want and what they don't want for their people and their countries. Who is speaking on their behalf? And simply because the international community has been slow on this sanctions question, the struggle in South Africa is now entering the phase of rapid escalation. We hope that the international community will know it has a role to play to interrupt that process and help bring about an end to this crime against humanity.

January 9th, 1986, Lusaka, Zambia

MANIFESTO OF UMKHONTO WE SIZWE

Issued on December 16, 1961

Units of Umkhonto we Sizwe today carried out planned attacks against Government installations, particularly those connected with the policy of apartheid and race discrimination.

Umkhonto we Sizwe is a new independent body, formed by Africans. It includes in its ranks South Africans of all races. It is not connected in any way with a so-called 'Committee for National Liberation' whose existence has been announced in the press. Umkhonto we Sizwe will carry on the struggle for freedom and democracy by new methods, which are necessary to complement the actions of the established national liberation movement, and our members, jointly and individually, place themselves under the overall political guidance of that movement.

It is, however, well known that the main national liberation organisations in this country have consistently followed a policy of non-violence. They have conducted themselves peaceably at all times, regardless of Government attacks and persecutions upon them, and despite all Government inspired attempts to provoke them to violence. They have done so because the people prefer peaceful methods of change to achieve their aspirations without the suffering and bitterness of civil war. But the people's patience is not endless.

The time comes in the life of any nation when there remains only two choices: submit or fight. That time has now come to South Africa. We shall not submit and we have no choice but to hit back by all means within our power in defence of our people, our future and our freedom.

The Government has interpreted the peacefulness of the movement as weakness; the peoples' non-violent policies have been taken as a green light for Government violence. Refusal to resort to force has been interpreted by the Government as an invitation to use armed force against the people without reprisals. The methods of Umkhonto we Sizwe mark a break with the past.

We are striking out along a new road for the liberation of the people of this country. The Government policy of force, repression and violence will no longer be met with non-violent resistance only! The choice is not ours; it has been made by the Nationalist Government.

ment which has rejected every peaceable demand by the people for rights and freedom and answered every such demand with force and yet more force! Twice in the past 18 months, virtual martial law has been imposed in order to beat down peaceful, non-violent strike action of the people in support of their rights. It is now preparing its forces - enlarging and rearming its armed forces and drawing the white civilian population into commandos and pistol clubs - for full-scale military actions against the people. The Nationalist Government has chosen the course of force and massacre, now, deliberately, as it did in Sharpeille.

Umkhonto we Sizwe will be at the front line of the people's defence. It will be the fighting arm of the people against the Government and its policies of race oppression. It will be the striking force of the people for liberty, for rights and for their final liberation! Let the Government, its supporters who put it into power, and those whose passive toleration of reaction keeps it in power, take note of where the Nationalist Government is leading the country!

We of Umkhonto we Sizwe have always sought - as the liberation movement has sought - to achieve liberation, without bloodshed and civil clash. We do still. We hope - even at this late hour - that our first actions will awaken everyone to a realisation of the disastrous situation to which the Nationalist policy is leading. We hope that we will bring the Government and its supporters to their senses before it is too late, so that both Government and its policies can be changed before matters reach the desperate stage of civil war. We believe our actions to be a blow against the Nationalist preparations for civil war and military rule.

In these actions, we are working in the best interests of all the peoples of this country - black, brown and white - whose future happiness and well-being cannot be attained without the overthrow of the Nationalist Government, the abolition of white supremacy and the winning of liberty, democracy and full national rights and equality for all the people of this country.

We appeal for the support and encouragement of all those South Africans who seek the happiness and freedom of the people in this country.

Afrika Mayibuye!

Issued by command of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

THE FREEDOM CHARTER

We, the People of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know:

that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people;

that our people have been robbed of their birthright to land, liberty and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality; that our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood, enjoying equal rights and opportunities; that only a democratic state, based on the will of all the people, can secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief; And therefore, we, the people of South Africa, black and white together - equals, countrymen and brothers - adopt this Freedom Charter. And we pledge ourselves to strive together, sparing neither strength nor courage, until the democratic changes here set out have been won.

THE PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN!

Every man and woman shall have the right to vote for and to stand as a candidate for all bodies which make laws;

All people shall be entitled to take part in the administration of the country;

The rights of the people shall be the same, regardless of race, colour or sex;

All bodies of minority rule, advisory boards, councils and authorities shall be replaced by democratic organs of self-government.

ALL NATIONAL GROUPS SHALL HAVE EQUAL RIGHTS!

There shall be equal status in the bodies of state, in the courts and in the schools for all national groups and races;

All people shall have equal right to use their own languages, and to develop their own folk culture and customs;

All national groups shall be protected by law against insults to their race and national pride;

The preaching and practice of national, race or colour discrimination and contempt shall be a punishable crime;

All apartheid laws and practices shall be set aside.

THE PEOPLE SHALL SHARE IN THE COUNTRY'S WEALTH!

The national wealth of our country, the heritage of South Africans, shall be restored to the people;

The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the Banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole;

All other industry and trade shall be controlled to assist the well-being of the people;

All people shall have equal rights to trade where they choose, to manufacture and to enter all trades, crafts and professions.

**THE LAND SHALL BE SHARED
AMONG THOSE WHO WORK IT!**

Restrictions of land ownership on a racial basis shall be ended, and all the land re-divided amongst those who work it to banish famine and land hunger;

The state shall help the peasants with implements, seed, tractors and dams to save the soil and assist the tillers;

Freedom of movement shall be guaranteed to all who work on the land;

All shall have the right to occupy land wherever they choose; People shall not be robbed of their cattle, and forced labour and farm prisons shall be abolished.

ALL SHALL BE EQUAL BEFORE THE LAW!

No-one shall be imprisoned, deported or restricted without a fair trial;

No-one shall be condemned by the order of any Government official;

The courts shall be representative of all the people;

Imprisonment shall be only for serious crimes against the people, and shall aim at re-education, not vengeance;

The police force and army shall be open to all on an equal basis and shall be the helpers and protectors of the people;

All laws which discriminate on grounds of race, colour or belief shall be repealed.

ALL SHALL ENJOY EQUAL HUMAN RIGHTS!

The law shall guarantee to all their right to speak, to organise, to meet together, to publish, to preach, to worship and to educate their children;

The privacy of the house from police raids shall be protected by law;

All shall be free to travel without restriction from countryside to town, from province to province, and from South Africa abroad; Pass Laws, permits and all other laws restricting these freedoms shall be abolished.

THERE SHALL BE WORK AND SECURITY!

All who work shall be free to form trade unions, to elect their officers and to make wage agreements with their employers;

The state shall recognise the right and duty of all to work, and to draw full unemployment benefits;

Men and women of all races shall receive equal pay for equal work;

There shall be a forty-hour working week, a national minimum wage, paid annual leave, and sick leave for all workers, and maternity leave on full pay for all working mothers;

Miners, domestic workers, farm workers and civil servants shall have the same rights as all others who work;

Child labour, compound labour, the tot system and contract labour shall be abolished.

THE DOORS OF LEARNING

AND OF CULTURE SHALL BE OPENED!

The government shall discover, develop and encourage national talent for the enhancement of our cultural life;

All the cultural treasures of mankind shall be open to all, by free exchange of books, ideas and contact with other lands;

The aim of education shall be to teach the youth to love their people and their culture, to honour human brotherhood, liberty and peace;

Education shall be free, compulsory, universal and equal for all children;

Higher education and technical training shall be opened to all by means of state allowances and scholarships awarded on the basis of merit;

Adult illiteracy shall be ended by a mass state education plan; Teachers shall have all the rights of other citizens;

The colour bar in cultural life, in sport and in education shall be

abolished.

THERE SHALL BE HOUSES,

SECURITY AND COMFORT!

All people shall have the right to live where they choose, be decently housed, and to bring up their families in comfort and security;

Unused housing space to be made available to the people;

Rent and prices shall be lowered, food plentiful and no-one shall go hungry;

A preventive health scheme shall be run by the state;

Free medical care and hospitalisation shall be provided for all, with special care for mothers and young children;

Slums shall be demolished, and new suburbs built where all have transport, roads, lighting, playing fields, creches and social centres;

The aged, the orphans, the disabled and the sick shall be cared for by the state;

Rest, leisure and recreation shall be the right of all;

Fenced locations and ghettos shall be abolished, and laws which break up families shall be repealed.

THERE SHALL BE PEACE
AND FRIENDSHIP!

South Africa shall be a fully independent state, which respects the rights and sovereignty of all nations;

South Africa shall strive to maintain world peace and the settlement of all international disputes by negotiation - not war;

Peace and friendship amongst all our people shall be secured by upholding the equal rights, opportunities and status of all;

The people of the protectorates - Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland - shall be free to decide for themselves their own future;

The right of all the peoples of Africa to independence and self-government shall be recognised, and shall be the basis of close co-operation.

Let all who love their people and their country now say, as we say here;

THESE FREEDOMS WE WILL FIGHT FOR, SIDE BY SIDE, THROUGH

OUT OUR LIVES,
UNTIL WE HAVE WON OUR LIBERTY.'

Adopted at the Congress of the People, Kliptown, South Africa, on 26th June, 1955.

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