intensify our efforts aimed at pooling our strength in one united democratic trade union centre. The working class of our country has demonstrated its combativeness in the unprecedented number of strikes that were waged during the past year. So that this militancy will not be dissipated we should now strive towards one union for each industry.

1985 falls on the eve of one of the most important events in the history of the international labour movement, the declaration of May 1st as international labour day. 99 years ago the workers of the world resolved to set aside this day, May Day, to mark the international solidarity and unity of the working class and as an expression of the unity of the human family. In recognition of the bonds that link the workers of South Africa with those of other lands, May Day was marked in a number of industrial centres throughout South Africa during 1984. In a magnificent show of international solidarity the black Mineworkers, who are amongst the lowest paid and most bitterly exploited of our workers, dipped into their ever-lean pockets and made na modest donation towards the strike fund of the British miners, who are waging a life and death struggle to save their jobs. We take this opportunity to commend this exemplary action on the part of our miners. Solidarity is a two way street and we shall receive it in equal measure as we give it.

We can and must find the means of harnessing the collective strength of the working class not merely to improve the immediate economic conditions of that class, but to bring about democratic change. The ANC lends its voice to that of democratic trade unionists who call for greater involvement on the part of workers and their unions within various mass political movements.

We must press on with the task of mobilising and organising our people wherever they are. Let there be a proliferation of mass organisations, drawing in greater and greater numbers of the unorganised. Our task with regard to the activisation of women is not yet completed. The Education Charter must become the common platform of teachers, parents and students in a mass campaign for a democratic system of education.

The offensive against the enemy's organs of government and dummy institutions must be extended to reach all corners of our country and

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At such moments, who among us did not feel the urgent need for us to talk to the enemy in the language he understands? Who has not seen that we too must take up arms as did our forebears, as did Bambata, Solomon Mahlangu, and Clifford Brown, only last year!

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All we are saying therefore, Fellow Combatants, is that we have it within our means to give ourselves the capacity to hit back at the enemy, arms in hand. No one but we, ourselves, will accomplish this task. We must all take it as a priority responsibility to build up the popular armed forces, to transform the armed actions we have thus far carried out into a people's war by helping to root Umkhonto We Sizwe firmly amongst the people and actively drawing the masses into the prosecution of a people's war.

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We salute and pay tribute to the many heroes and heroines of our country who have laid down their lives in the struggle for liberation, both inside and outside our country. We extend our greetings to the leaders and activists of our democratic movement who, despite arrests, detention, and every form of persecution by the enemy, have stood firm and persisted in the common struggle to defeat and destroy the racist regime. Once more, we pledge our commitment to our leaders incarcerated on Robben Island, Pollsmoor and other prisons, that we shall not rest until the cause for which they have sacrificed emerges triumphant.

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course of these and with increasing frequency, we have created a situation in various localities such that the democratic forces challenged the apartheid authorities for control of these areas.

This has recently occurred when we have developed the popular struggle to such a high level that the democratic movement has visibly emerged as the alternative power. What this means is that, in these various localities, we created conditions for us to transform these areas into mass revolutionary bases.

The land and the dispossession of our people of the land still remains the most burning national grievance. The injustice of this historic crime has been compounded by the racist's arrogant attempt to deprive the African majority of their South African citizenship, thus giving statutory endorsement to military conquest. The millions of our people in the rural areas, engaged as agricultural workers on farms carved out of their ancestral homes, remain the least politicised and organised. Their daily lives are dominated by the dictates of racist white farmers and Land Companies against whom they have absolutely no legal redress. The absence or weakness of basic trade union organisations, has made them the easy prey of the most ruthless exploitation and brutalisation. We charge all our people to give the special attention to the mobilisation and organisation of our rural masses. Basing ourselves on the needs of the people, and taking due account of the concrete conditions of their existence, we must devise suitable organisational structures and mechanisms to reach our rural massed and provide them with the organisational and political tools to defend themselves against exploitation and to assert their rights. As we said last year, we must place the perspective of seizing the land from the dispossessor in front of our rural masses and educate them to understand that this is a task that shall devolve primarily on themselves.

Compatriots,

In every single struggle that we waged in the past year, regardless of how peaceful they were, the enemy confronted us with its armed might.

Bantustans where the regime's puppets, not to content to do the dirty work of the Pretoria racists, have taken it upon themselves to impose even greater burdens on our oppressed people. The criminal ostentation of the Bantustan puppets who have erected mansions for themselves on the suffering of the millions who starve on their door-steps can no longer be countenanced. Millions of our people go without drinking water in Bophutatswana while the puppets boast of having turned the desert into a garden at Sun City! Who can find it in their hearts to forgive those who have bartered away our birthright only to turn their impoverished little fiefdoms into backyard brothels and playgrounds for the oppressor and his friends amongst the idle rich of the western world?

The cultural workers - artists, writers, musicians and poets - possess skills which they must increasingly place at the service of the struggle.

We charge our cultural workers with the task of devising the means of giving voice, not only to the grievances, but also to the profoundest aspirations of the oppressed and exploited, through their craft. A country and a people experiencing the birth pangs of a new social and political order can ill-afford artists who stand aloof from the struggles of the people. Basing themselves on the concrete experiences of the people, whose lives they share, our artists can transform their medium into one more front of our all-round offensive against the structures and institutions of oppression. Let the arts be one of the many means through which we cultivate the spirit of revolt among the broad masses and enhance the striking power of our movement, and posterty the future we entropy

The vital cutting edge of our mass offensive is Umkhonto We Si_{Z} we, the people's army. To (render it) more effective, MK must deepen its roots and grow inextricably amongst the popular masses. Only in this manner can the perspective of people's war be translated from an ideal into reality. Guided by this perspective we must build up the mass combat forces that are training themselves in mass political action for even sharper battles and the forcible overthrow of the racist regime.

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In the last instance the people's war must be waged by the self-same popular forces who are today involved in mass political actions. In the

Our people have come to appreciate and prize the consistent solidarity and support given by the socialist countries for our struggle. We have no doubt that they will remain our close allies till final victory.

Our ties with various governments, political parties and parliamentary groups in Western Europe and Australasia have grown stronger and we look forward to closer relations and increased reduction of apartheid institutions in these countries.

Dear Compatriots,

It is now 25 years since the illegitimate regime in our country proscribed the organ of our people - the African National Congress. However through our relentless, daring and death defying actions we have made the ANC the household word in South Africa. In recognition of this fearless spirit and self-less dedication of our people to the cause of our liberation, and in order to spur our nation into greater onslaught on the enemy and its institutions.

We declare this year, 1985, The Year of Mass Mobilisation (The Year of the People?). Let this year see the greatest mass political action in all provinces and districts of our country. Let it see the fastest and furthest possible coordinated advance on all fronts towards the goal of people's power. The enemy cannot stop us. Our future is in our hands.

Forward with the Year of Mass Mobilisation !

Mobilise and March Forward to People's Power !

Amandla Ngawethu ! Maatla ke a rona ! Power to the People !

Sons and Daughters of our Land,

In the past year we have achieved new victories in the drive to isolate the apartheid regime and to win world-wide support for our struggle. We wish to pay tribute to all those who, in one form or another, have contributed to the advancement of our struggle.

We greet the fraternal people of Namibia and especially welcome among the fighting ranks of our sister movement, SWAPO, the new Secretary General of SWAPO, Comrade Herman Toivo ja Toivo and his colleagues, whom the apartheid regime was forced to release from long terms of imprisonment. Their release and continued involvement in struggle will bring closer the day of freedom and independence of Namibia.

We pay tribute to the Frontline States and Lesotho for their prompt and principled action in defending our right of struggle and upholding the legitimacy and duty of Africa and the world to support our struggle.

We recognise the important contribution made by various international organisations, including the OAU, the United Nations and its Agencies the Non-Alighned Movement, the World Peace Council, to mention but a few. They are largely responsible for ensuring that Apartheid remains at the centre of world attention as " a crime against humanity".

We congratulate our Palestinian brothers and sisters for successfully overcoming attempts to liquidate the Palestinian struggle. We support the call by the PLO for an international conference to give due international recognition to a sovereign Palestinian homeland.

We salute all people engaged in struggle for national liberation, especially in Ghad, Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic, El Salvador and East Timor. We pledge solidarity with all those struggling to defend their sovereignty, including the peoples of Southern Africa, the Middle East, Nicaragua, Afghanistan and Cyprus. We welcome the successes of the democratic forces particularly in Latin America and are confident that the foothold of the Apartheid regime in the sub-continent will be totally eliminated.

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our people, some of its most heinous have been specifically against our youth and children.

It is a matter of record that the scandalously high infant mortality rate amongst black children; the death and deformation of our young as a result of malnutrition; the stunting of their growth through the use of child labour; the warping of their intellectual development through Bantu | Education are all directly attributable to the policies of the apartheid regime.

South Africa is littered with the graves of young patriots who were massacred by the apartheid regime in 1976 and in the subsequent years. This self—same regime, which bears responsibility for these crimes, has, with great impudence decided to observe the International Year of Youth, whose motto is: Participation, Development and Peace! We call upon the youth to take this year as their own and to use it as a means to advance our own perspectives of youth participation in society, in development and in the struggle for peace. The gains we have scored in youth mobilisation and organisation already provide a basis for greater advances toward the emergence of a society which will defend and promote the genuine interests of our youth.

Compatriots,

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When we declared 1984 as The Year of the Women, we set ourselves certain specific tasks to carry out in the course of the year. We have just dealt with some of the outstanding achievements during this period. We draw great inspiration from the advances we made in the task of organising our womenfolk into a powerful, united and active force for revolutionary change. New democratic women's organisations have emerged. Greater numbers of our womenfolk have been drawn into struggle.

Nevertheless we are astill ffaced with the necessity of accomplishing other tasks we set ourselves, particularly the struggle for unity within the democratic trade union movement. During this 30th anniversary of the South African Congress of Trade Unions, let us mark the year with the consolidation of the gains we have thus far registered. We need to

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