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We must unite all these forces both black and white, around the democratic perspectives for which so many people have already laid down their lives. OUCGâ\200\231. more we reaffirm that in the new South Africa? the people and all the people must shall govern. We shall together translate that fundamental democratic principle into the practice whereby each person shall have the right both to vote and to be voted to any elective or3ah in the new united and nonracial South Africa.

For us it is of especial importance that that new reality should reinforce and entrench what we are accomplishing now, in struggle : the building of a nation of South Africans. It must reject and enhance our oneness down the terrible and destructive idea and practice of defining our people by race? colour or ethnic group. The revolution will guarantee the individual and equal rights of all South Africans without regard to any of these categories and include such freedoms as those of speech, assembly, association? language, religion, the press, the inviolability of family life and freedom from arbitrary arrest and detention without trial. For all this the victorious revolution demands and must ensure thoroughgoing democratic practice.

For its own success; it imposes the obligation that all should be free to form and join any party of their choice without let or hindrance. But as a people and a movement, we must state it clearly that democracy in our country cannot succeed if it permits the organised propagation of ideas of fascism? racism and ethnicity. Apart from our own experience we can see in the name of communism tolerate the organised eustehenee of conceptions which led to the second world War and which have since been categorised and dealt with as a crime against humanity.

Of central importance also is the critical requirement that the new South Africa must guarantee the state see of our people freedom from hunger, disease, ignorance? homelessness and poverty. The democratic state will be representative of all the people of our country, and especially the oppressed working people who own neither land nor factories and neither the mines nor the banks; so it will therefore be called upon to ensure that the wealth of the country increases significantly and continuously and that it is shared equitably by all the people to ensure their material and spiritual upliftment and well being,



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The conflict in our country has been long and bitter. It has claimed too many lives already. While for 33 years the humblest of those killed emphasises the urgency of bringing the confrontation to an end. Our country calculates its strength and degree of success by the numbers of those it murders and massacres. The violence that our colonial and racist rulers have inflicted on us has never succeeded to bring us to surrender. Our resolve to free ourselves. The need for us to take up arms will drive us into prisoners of the idea of violence, slaves to the goddess of war.

And yet it is the opponents of democracy have their. We will have to wade through rivers of blood to reach our goal of liberty, justice and peace. Of this they boast with their demented refusal.

It is a manic desire to spit these

boasts. We shall fight on until the harshest of our volitions whatever the cost to

curse us.

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As we mark the 75th Anniversary of our liberation we must not let our commitment

to seize any opportunity that may arise, and to participate in a national resolution of the conflict in our country. This we would do in the interests of the masses of our people and those of South Africa as a whole with the specific aim of creating a democratic, non-racial and united South Africa.

Let those in our country who in the face of our mounting offensive have started talking about negotiations commit themselves publicly to this purpose. In addition; and of decisive importance they must demonstrate by practical deeds their willingness to this objective as well as their acceptance

of a rapid and irreversible process leading to the achievement of such a

South African society.

Those to whom we address this message as well as their friends and allies internationally, know exactly what they have to do. We know what practical steps they are obliged to take for the sake of our people and the world

community to accept them as a political formation that has abandoned the

doomed concept and practice of white minority domination in all its

guises. It is a grouping with whom it would be possible and indeed necessary

to 'Compatriots'

The objective is that which our forebears established: the total liberation of our continent, still awaits its accomplishment. We are called upon to build upon what the peoples of Africa have achieved among them ourselves. What

then is to do?



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In the process of this, we must ensure that we build up our combat forces truly into a people's army in its national and social composition, in its size, effectiveness and the nature of its operations.

It must

-continue to distinguish itself from the apartheid death forces by the bravery of its combatants, its devotion to the cause of liberation and peace and its refusal to act against civilians, both black and white.

But the people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, must in all its elements, act and act boldly against the apartheid enemy and create the conditions when our superior forces will finally overrun and overthrow the apartheid regime of terror.

Compatriots:

Our country is steeped in the worst crisis ever.

The apartheid regime,

and solely this regime, is responsible for this situation.

The crisis

will not end until the racist regime is removed from power and replaced

by a government elected by all our people.

Our country, from whom the apartheid regime claims to derive its authority, has a heavy responsibility to join the majority to bring about this

The white population of

result to

we have been encouraged in the recent past by positions taken by important sections of the white community to break out of the stranglehold of

the ideology and practice of white supremacy. Students, business people, religious leaders, women, politicians, academics and others who have begun to make this movement forward will need to. The rapidly worsening crisis

move faster and further than they have.

The trade unionists,

situation in our country demands this.

It demands that our white Compatriots should make a clean break with the past and themselves declare war on racism as the enemy of all the people of our country.

It requires that they unequivocally reject

the ruling group as unrepresentative of them, a cabal whose only interest is to continue to rule without regard to how many of our people, both

black and white, have to die in the process  
is that both black and white should come together in a massive democratic  
side, as equals,  
coalition to oppose the racists and to struggle side by side

The call of the day

for the birth of the new South Africa

organisations representative of these conscious and active masses ranging from street committees to COSATU the UDF the NECC and the QIP affiliates and

other deochtic formations;

also formed mass combat Chd's self-defence units which have played an

outs tanding role in destroying the organs of government and acting in the defence of the people. But as serious revolutionaries, we must carefully analyse our strength and weakness, discover our mistakes and correct them

In this regard we must say that we have not prepared ourselves; we cannot and must not in relation to the tasks of the anti-apartheid struggle and expanding the ANC and the people's army. Umkhonto we Sizwe must attend to the issues of the CVCC 39 Cater CCC1 CtCnCC than 1h

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The central task that the CC is to mount the concerted assault on the apartheid system despite the dangerous PG Cistance of the ChCmyo This that we organise lar3C political and military force that are united politically and organisationally and \200\235obllian nround the sal21C tactical and strategic goals we call on all revolutionary forces to attend to this task as a matter of

requires

strategic importance

We must accordingly \200\235C a careful assessment of the situation in the country he 31~ouhd 11C still have to cover

to determine the process of the made and

When necessary we must \200\231v our C31n01 StP\200\231Ch3thCh the street and

d  
area Committees and other alternative structures? expand and stabilize the  
mass organizations at the national level and the influence  
of our vanguard movement the AHCC

In some areas though in the towns and the countryside including the Bantustans  
we are still faced with the task of destroying the racist apartheid  
apparatus  
and making the advances we have achieved clear to the RSJOLUTION  
of the apartheid system

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During this past year? the Cnny todh fcmh Ct the DPOEâ\200\230Lâ\200\234GSS CC had made  
to

(destroy its political and administrative control of the people It'WCC especially  
worried at the level of unity we have achieved which enabled whole township  
and villages to act as one cohesive unit . The racialists we are concerned that;  
despite all their efforts to divide the people? our movement had continued  
to build on the one Gch<slvC iofccc lhcY thCrCfOCC tried once  
more to set us one solid front to the CPCCC the CICC and raise the level

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activity of those groups that it recruith from amon3 the black people

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The revolutionary masses therefore expect of our womenfol.11miraculous deeds which will help Simultaneously to liberate our people in their us, the true entirety and to emanopate the women themselves. representatives of our women are suoh giants as Queen Regent Labotsibeni, Charlotte Maxeke, Olive Sohreiner, Lilian Ngoyi, Ida Mntwana, Victoria Mxengep NOmkhosi Miniy Thandi Medise, Theresa Ramashamola and Marion Sparg we call on the women of our country to reproduce themselves in the mould of these heroian, to build and strengthen their democratic organisations and to raise the level of participation of the millions of our women in the struggle for our liberationo

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Black.mothers haye to live with the agony of having to bury their Children every dayo 'Too often they have to search for their sons and daughters who have perhaps been arrested or perhaps disappeared forever without

Across the barricades, the white mothers see their children traces transformed and perverted into mindless killers who will not stop at murdering the black unarmed, but willsxmeurturn their guns on the very mothers who today surrender their sons willingly or unwillingly to Theee black and white mothers must the South African death force reach across the divine created by the common enemy of our people and form.a human chain to stopâ\200\235 now and forever, the murderous rampage

of the apartheid systemÂ°

The enormity of the crime of apartheid and the physical threat it poses to the lives of millions of people throughout our region, demands of our religious community that its institutions must at last transcend The evil which holds us in bondage will their temporal limatations. neither by wished away, nor talked or shamed out of existenceÂ°

For the religious institutions truly to honour their sacredzmission, :must surely'nean that they act nowâ\200\235 together with the democratic forces of our country, to vanquish this evil LLt it never be said that when the moment of truth came? those who had the possibility to lead their fellow worshippers into action, failed to do so, and thus negated the very essence of their callingâ\200\235

Once more, we make an appeal to those among the black people who find themselves in the service of the enemy of all the people of our country to turn their tacks on the oppressorso soldier or policeman, clerical worlcer or administrator of some ethnic or racial institutionp soâ\200\224called.moderate or vigilante; African, soâ\200\224calle d

'Whatever you are paid to do,

to achieve these objectives the new democratic order will necessarily have to address the question of the ownership, control and direction of the economy as a whole to ensure that neither the public nor the private sectors serve as a means of enriching the few at the expense of the majority. The transfer of power to the people must therefore be accompanied by the democratisation of the control and direction of the economy so that indeed the people share in the wealth of our country; For the common goal

Compatriots:

the racists in our country have been and are afraid of and hostile to this democratic political and economic perspective. To our demand that all our people must enjoy equal and universal human rights, the forces of reaction raise the spectre of a danger and a red peril. The truth is that these opponents and defenders of white minority rule are enemies of democracy and have set themselves a life and

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death task of ensuring that

never shall power pass into the hands of the people.

This is our experience, which spans the last 20 years of a century. It includes many occasions when the representatives of our people, organised in the ANC, have offered to talk to the racist forces to reach a solution which would

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accommodate the interests of all the people of our country. It is therefore legitimate that on this historic Jubilee Day we should put the question: is it feasible today and in the future to enter into negotiations with self-confessed enemies of democracy with the aim of achieving a democratic South Africa?

That question virtually answers itself. It leads to one conclusion and one conclusion only. No negotiations are possible until all those concerned accept the need to create and build a democratic South Africa. That democratic transformation is the necessary condition for the solution of all the problems that face our country and our children.

This is an objective to which millions have committed themselves, for which many have sacrificed and for which we are prepared to die. It is one that we have always been prepared to attain by negotiation but which we are also

determined to achieve arms in handg iF the enemy compels us to

Fight our \*n2y through to victoryâ\200\234

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STATEMENT OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE; ANC  
ON THE OCCASION OF THE 75TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ANC,  
PRESENTED BY PRESIDENT OLIVER TAMBO 2 JANUARY 89 1987»

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Compatriots:

Today 9 January 8th 1987 your organisation, the Atpicah National Congress is 75 years old. Consequently, we are honoured to do more than observe an anniversary, because this is for us and for all our people a proud and historic Jubilee Year. The situation in Southern Africa is pregnant with the promise of epoch-making developments. It demands that we observe this Jubilee in an extraordinary way.

As we mark Jubilee Day, all of us know that a new spirit is abroad. Something outside of our experience is approaching. 75 years of organised political struggle against colonial and racist oppression in our country have brought the oppressed and the Oppressor alike very close to the moment of decision. The past cannot be remade. The future can no longer be denied. Each and everyone of us, South Africans, all have to decide whether we act in the present in defence of a terrible and outdated past or we engage in struggle for a future that we shall define

together as equals.

Dear friends, comrades and compatriots:

As we begin the New Year, we greet you all in the name of the National Executive Committee of your organisation, the ANCO. We salute you on behalf of the tens of thousands who cannot be with us today because they have perished in the struggle for freedom or because they have had to withdraw to some place near or far, the better to be able to continue;

to work for our liberation.

We speak for all these and for the entire people when we say a hail to all our heroes and heroines, living and dead, as we bring to a close the Year of the People's Army, Umkhonto we Sizwe. Hail to the young lions and all the patriots who have united in combat groups and confronted the enemy. Hail also to the glorious people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, which has just observed its the solemn notes of the Last Post sound in tribute to the martyrs who have surrendered life itself in order to secure for all of us freedom, democracy and peace.

25th anniversary. Let

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Never again shall racism and fascism succeed to impose themselves on the world-as the natural Order of things. In our country The perpetrators of a crime against humanity no longer enjoy the false dignity and privilege bestowed on them as the legitimate government of our country. Humanity marches side by side with us in an unstoppable advance to suppress and punish the crimes of apartheid.

Three quarters of a century of turbulent progress which have brought the frontiers of freedom to the borders of our country require of us to live up to our historic mission. We must set our face to the victory that will enable Mother Africa to rejoice that she is liberated in all her parts that she is free. It is that at 133

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she has reclaimed her inheritance. In the 20th century she has not known since the days when she had to surrender her sons and daughters as slaves for export.

Comrades:

We have reached a critical moment in our long march to freedom. Our goal is in sight. We must hold out for it with the discipline and conscious effort. Every battle we fight must become but a front in a generalised offensive against the retreating apartheid regime. Every demand we put forward in any form of our struggle must relate to and focus on the central objective of weakening the racists to facilitate their downfall. We must in our millions unite in a struggle and advance

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towards victoryâ\200\234

As we enter the decisive period ahead of usâ\200\234 we must aim for and achieve the greatest possible mobilisation; organisation and united action of the motive forces of our revolutions. The masses of the black workers, peasants, youth and students, women, and the entire oppressed people constitute these motive forces which must engage the enemy in a relentless and uninterrupted offensive.

At the same time, we must pay the greatest possible attention to the mobilisation and activation of the white population which should fuse with and become

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white compatriots have to learn the

truth that it is not democracy that

th eatens their illttlret Rather? it is raciet tyranny which poeee a dire peril

to their very survivaio

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coloured or Indian, the moment when you have to choose has come.

"Either you too go down with the doomed apartheid system or you live  
'on; a hero or heroine among your people, a proud combatant for the  
assured democratic Victory, never again to carry the lifetime badge  
of shame of a traitor and a sellout

The blood of the oppressed should

no longer stain your hands°

Comrades and Compatriots:

we meet move forward towards victory

Therefore we have to take the

war to the enemy°

we must attack the forces of apartheid in the areas

where their power is concentrated° striking powerful blows at the enemy's  
military economic and administrative structures and resources;

.All

the revolutionary work we do should be directed to ensure that we utilise

the strength we have accumulated to carry out this strategic offensive

in a determined manner; on a nationwide basis

we must create the

situation when the enemy will no longer have the possibility to withstand  
our assault

The nature of the tasks we have to carry out imposes special obligations

on the underground structures of the ANC and on Umkhonto we Sizwe.

In the 75 years of its fighting existence° our movement has established

its place as the force that has led the people as a whole under widely

different conditions but always correctly and consistently, towards

final victory

In the new'situation with the new tasks ahead of us,

we are certain that your movement? the ANC, will live up to'its  
responsibilities.

And so will your army Umkhonto we Sizwe, whose 25th Anniversary we  
have just observed°

The objective to transform our armed offensive

into a people's war remains one that we must pursue with the greatest  
vigour.

This is especially important in the light of the strategic



tasks that we have just been discussing

Our mass Military offensive

must aim to increase the number of casualties among the enemy's armed  
forces, to disperse and reduce these forces, make it increasingly impossible  
for them to defend themselves and undermine the material-economic base  
which enables the apartheid regime to maintain itself in power

Comrades and fellow freeedom fighters

As we have already said, we must unite in struggle and loose the advance towards victory. One of the principal tasks we face in this regard is that we should continue and consolidate our efforts to smash the apartheid state, to build people's power and construct organs of people's power in the townships. Our objectives must be to create mass revolutionary bases in all black areas throughout the

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country and to mount a strategic offensive against the "homelands" in its

strongholds in the towns and the cities.

The campaign to make the country unitary is a struggle against apartheid and must be

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result in the early stages of these bases must be the feature of the struggle. It is that the masses of the people should not only have a high level of political consciousness but should also be active in the struggle to build a new South Africa. The people should be organised

be characterised by a number

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into a mass democratic organisation which must ensure their mobilisation and activation;

It is also vital that each mass revolutionary organisation must have its command forces which will fight both to defend the people and to mount armed attacks against the enemy beyond the given area and throughout the country. These forces should be organised in one under Umkhonto we Sizwe must necessarily be based among the people and drawn from the people themselves; They must be inspired by the sole objective of acting against the racist system in furtherance of the

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a central role in thie'process as active pertncl193nts ln the struggle for  
their own liberationo He Lave also succeeded to orcLLe H.358 cemoc tic

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: Our white compatriots should thus join the majority of our people to render unworkable the apartheid organs of government within the white areas themselves

Manoeuvres such as those represented by the new styled

Provincial Councils, the Regional Service Councils and the so-called

Natal Indaba are nothing but manoeuvres to transfer responsibility to participate in the concerted attack against the sensitive

All white patriots have a

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and the

points of the apartheid system in the towns and cities

These fellow

South Africans know that, in the face of the undisguised dictatorship exercised through such agencies as the State Security Council and the

Joint Management Centres they have no "democracy" to defend but an

actual military tyranny

to overthrow

we take this opportunity to salute the white youth who have continued to wage a very important struggle against compulsory service in the

It is vital that this campaign against the racist army of repression and aggression should continue and grow, to deny the oppressors the war machine through which they wish to reduce our country and region into a wasteland

we must also continue to work to win over to the side of democracy

as many of the enemy soldiers as possible

Compatriots:

In your name we salute the nations and the peoples of the world who have over the years and especially in the recent past responded so well to our appeals to isolate apartheid South Africa and to render all-round assistance to the ANC and the rest of the democratic movement

of our country

As we mark our 75th Anniversary we can truly say that we have broken through a critical barrier

in terms both of world understanding of

what is to be done about the apartheid system and the unwillingness

of the international community to act so that in the current period this community should impose both unilateral and universal comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against racist South Africa. Where governments refuse to act, the public at large

The conditions therefore exist

should respond with people's sanctions

Now is the moment for deeds  
and not wordsa.

CompatriotsSÃ©

Through Our sacrifices, We have advanced Close to our Victory.  
have both the will and the organised forces to move ever nearer to  
The enemy of the peoples has no possibility to recapture  
success.  
the strategic initiative,â\200\235 This situatiOn; WhiCh we oUrselfes have  
created, demands of us that we seize the timeo

we

It Obliges us to take

the battle to the enemy, to advance in the attack

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On behalf of the National Executive Committee of your movement, the  
African National Congress? we preclaintthis, our historic 75th Jubilee  
Let us all, young  
Anniversarry the Year of AdvanCe to Peopleâ\200\230sâ\200\230Powero  
and old, black and.whiteyvpolitiCal activist and armed combatant, unite  
in a concerted offensive against the apartheid regime in the town and  
the countryside.  
and admanistrative poWer baSe of the racist regime, and thus take a  
giant and strategic step forward towards the capture of power by the

Let us act to Corrode the political, econdmic, ndlitary'

people.

Score new victories during the historic Year of AdVance to

People 5 Power!

Guarantee our victory by advancing in the attack:

Long live the 75th Anniversary of the ANC

â\200\230Amandla ngawethu!

hMatla ke a rona!

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unorganised workers must be drawn into the trade union movement and  
As we  
all the organised should unite under the umbrella of COSATU.  
have said in the past, we do not believe there can be any obstacles  
so formidable that they can act as a barrier blocking any democratic  
union from joining COSATU.

we salute the workers of our country especially for the outstanding  
Struggles they waged in the past year, among others, the May Day and  
Youth Day general strikes and the campaigns for the release of political

These actions confirmed the political maturity

prisoners and detainees.  
we must build on these gains,  
and the leading role of the workers  
emphasising the unity of the working Class, its forward role in our  
struggle and the need for it consciously to make the necessary sacrifices

to secure the liberation of our people as a whole.

The rural masses have taken important strides to organise themselves.  
The level of mobilisation and the extent of revolutionary activity  
that these heroic fighters have attained is one of the most important  
achievements of our broad movement for national liberation in the recent

we should never forget that our people in the countryside were

past.  
the first this century, to raise the banner of armed rebellion during  
the Bambatha Uprising and later in Pondoland, the Transvaal and elsewhere.

At the founding conference of our movement 75 years ago, they were  
represented by those traditional rulers who enjoyed their confidence  
because they had not yet been corrupted, as some are, by the monthly  
salaries that the apartheid regime now hands out to administrators

Today, these masses are representing themselves

of the Bantustan system.  
in the common struggle through their own activity.  
this development to ensure that the rural areas are organised and further  
activated, as in KwaNdebele and Lebowa, to enable them to clear the  
countryside of all apartheid institutions of power, including the  
Bantustans, to join the armed struggle and to repossess the land as

We must reinforce

part of our nationwide advance towards victory.'

Our glorious youth and students have continued to hold high the banner  
of struggle:

To them we extend the warmest tribute and the revolutionary

admiration of our entire people.  
for and bring our emancipation so near, our youth have become eminent  
targets of the enemy's forces of repression.  
campaign and demand of the apartheid regime to "Let our children go!"

Because they have dared to fight

we must wage an unrelenting

-14...

For the battles ahead, the mass organisations of the youth must be strengthened, from the base upwards, from local units to national structures. Of major importance is the need continuously to attend to the issue of raising the calibre of the leadership of the youth; to impart to them the skills that are necessary for them to carry out their tasks as the shock troops of the revolution.

It is also vital that we further reinforce the unity of the black youth as a whole and strengthen the integration of the youth struggles within the broad democratic movement. To the youth, the young lions of our revolutionary struggle, we address a special word.

Dear comrades, you who have paid such a high price to bring us to where we are today, have a responsibility to fight on with the same boldness, bravery and determination that you have shown. You are right to be impatient for victory. You are justified to seek that all those who share a common interest in liberation, should act with the same tenacity that you have displayed.

You are correct to demand victory now.

The victory we seek is one that will be brought about by our people as a whole, in the interests of the entire people.

In part, you must therefore act as the yeast to energise and dynamise the people as a whole and act together with them and not separate from them.

You must act as a disciplined revolutionary force which can move ahead if needs be, but is, at the same time committed to the strategic and tactical perspective of united mass action, as distinct from isolated but uncoordinated actions by different groups, at different times and places. Therefore you have a responsibility to seek unity and to work for unity.

You must be the best representatives of democratic practice within your own organisations and in the mass movement at large.

we

are fighting to have a people's government, elected by and accountable  
to the people,

Our organisations must assume the same character

In our conduct, we must never seem to be acting contrary to the under-  
standing of what the masses of the people see as their interests

.. 21..

for our emancipation

The blood he shed on our soil is and will forever

be a fountain of freedom for all our people

On this historic day

we make an undertaking to the brother people of Mozambique and our

entire region that; at Mbuzini, where the fellow combatant, Samora

Machel lost his life, we shall erect a monument that will symbolise

the common suffering of the people of Southern Africa a tribute to

their heroism and a solemn affirmation that we share a common destiny

of liberty, peace and social progress

we extend our fraternal greetings to the brother people of Namibia and

their vanguard organisation SWAPO

Our movements have the common

obligation to lead our respective peoples in the confrontation with

the last bastion of racist tyranny on our continent

The historic

advances made by our Namibian comrades-in-arms are a factor of decisive

importance to our struggle

we too must contribute to the just cause

of the Namibian people by intensifying our offensive in our sector

of struggle. Together we will win

In a similar manner, we greet

also our allies in the struggle, the PLO, the Polisario Front the

Farabundo Marti Liberation Front the Frelimo their respective peoples

and others who are fighting for their genuine national emancipation

and the consolidation of their independence

we salute the CAD and the people of Africa the Non-Aligned Movement?

our friends in the world socialist community, in the Nordic and other

European countries and in North America

we greet also our allies

in the world anti-apartheid as well as the peace movement

Together

with all these forces we shall advance inexorably towards victory

Many of our leaders have been held hostage by the apartheid regime

for almost a quarter of a century now

Since they were captured and

illegally imprisoned, they have been joined by thousands of others, young and old, women and men patriots drawn from all the racial groups in our country as well as some internationalists originating from other countries.

The continued imprisonment of all these is a grievous offence against justice, an intolerable challenge to all who love freedom. We all must strive harder to secure their immediate and unconditional release so that they can make what will be an inestimable contribution to the liberation and the reconstruction of our country



The architects of the divisions, the privileged, the conflicts and the antagonisms of racism and apartheid find themselves confronted with the reality that those whom this system has benefitted for so long have lost and are losing faith and confidence in its viability. Many of our white

compatriots are feeling their way towards acceptance of the inevitability of the establishment of the non-racial order for which

the majority of our people have fought for 75 years.

The organisers of the empire of racism know that what they consider their natural constituency is beginning to entertain thoughts that challenge the very reasons for the existence of the party of racism and fear. The knowledge that they can no longer count on the unity of the white population and its attachment to the ideas and the practice of white

domination has given birth to deep-seated

of the apartheid system.

They are terrified at the prospect of the black and white masses of our country coming together to say we shall; as equals, compatriots and patriots, act as one to bring the apartheid system to an end and foster the birth of a new South Africa. As surely as the regime of terror has lost its political control over the black masses, so also is it set to lose its political control over the white population. The day of the new

Voortrekkers has come.

Compatriote:

For too many a long year, racism and fascism in our country have presented themselves to the world at large as the epitome of "civilisation" in our region and in Africa. The most brutal reaction in the history of the has produced text after text to convince mankind that those

colonial epoch

who have perished in the struggle for human decency were but self-seeking individuals of no consequence.

On the other hand, the oppressors have traversed the globe seeking to get racial domination, murder and genocide approved as human advancement. We who have struggled for 75 years and more to assert that all our people, both black and white, have a common right to life, liberty and happiness, have had to justify our existence and our cause. But we can be proud that in the

end

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the truth has triumphed.

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Oh this day, we salute also the founding fathers of our movement ~ the peoples of Southern Africa as a whole who set up the ANC as their instrument to secure our emancipation and to contribute to the liberation of Africa in its entirety' Tanzanians and South Africans, Mozambicans and Namibians, Angolans and Zimbabweans, Zambians and Botswana, Swazis and Basotho have since constituted the bedrock on which our movement has grown from strength to strength. This then is Jubilee Day for all the embattled peoples of our region; who have combined as they did 75 years ago to confront the iniquitous system of apartheid colonial and racist domination, in unity.

This great day, January 8th, stands as a watershed in the confrontation between liberty and bondage in our country, our region and our continents. To celebrate it must mean that we mount our biggest assault against the Pretoria regime to bring nearer the victory of the cause of all progressive humanity namely the liquidation of the crime of apartheid and the total liberation of our continent.

Our country cries out for freedom now. Our region demands liberation and peace. The continent calls for justice and human dignity while humanity commands that liberty for all must reign supreme. No force however well armed however stubborn and whatever its opinion of itself, can withstand the united might of these billions of people.

When the successors and the offspring of the Nazis took the reins of racist power 40 years next year they thought, like their predecessors that they had established a fascist dominion which would last a thousand years.

By our actions, we must and will ensure that the apartheid republic is as short-lived as its founders were shortsighted. The arrogantly racist architects of the apartheid system thought the oppressed are not sufficiently human to rebel against the inhuman system they have imposed on our country. They thought the subhumans could and would be kept in their place by brute force. By rising up in favour of justice we have turned these maniacal dreams into a nightmare.

The noble vision of 1912 has become a formidable force before which the betrayal of 1914 and the crime of 1948 can no longer hold its own. The process of the emergence of an alternative power in our country has



-20...

One of our greatest achievements, dear compatriots is that we, the oppressed, have succeeded to build an alternative and indestructible system of international relations between our people and those of the rest of the world

It is a system of relations based on the noblest of human aspirations for a world of peace, friendship and cooperation among free peoples.' as a beacon on a mountain top

It is an element in a new world order which shines

In its permanent light all can see clearly the nasty brutishness of the external relations which our oppressors have sought to maintain ~ relations based on racial superiority and extermination, aggression, The hour of war and murder, underhand dealings and the perpetual lie has come when the world especially the US, the UK, the PRC, France and other major western powers must finally say: no longer will they associate themselves with and encourage the pursuit of such relations Surely the time is upon us when and the commission of these crimes the democratic movement of our country should everywhere take its place as the rightful representative of our people

The peoples of Southern Africa are locked in the final stages of mortal combat with our common enemy it can and must to realise without further delay the hopes and the

In action? our region is doing what

aspirations of the patriots and the masses who established the ANC

The sacrifices the people of Southern Africa are willing

75 years ago to make for liberation? justice and peace are truly inspiring ~ More than ever the international community should give all out support to all the peoples of our region as part of the world offensive against

the apartheid system forces of our country should themselves mount a vigorous campaign against the wanton acts of aggression committed by the Pretoria rulers against

It is equally imperative that the democratic

the neighbouring countries

The late President of the People's Republic of Mozambique, Samora Machel and others who have been murdered by the Pretoria regime and its agents, will forever remain examples of that steadfast refusal of the peoples of our region to surrender to racial and colonial domination,

fascist tyranny and state terrorism

Samora Machel was a towering

giant of the African Revolution,

He dedicated his life to our own

liberation

His ideas and his deeds are a material force in the struggle

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These are the guidelines that must instruct our behaviour over such questions as the people's courts and the education crisis

â\200\230With regard

to this crisis, we have to proceed from the position that this is a national issue requiring the united action of the students, teachers and parents â\200\224 indeed the united attention of the entire revolutionary movement.

Any action we take must represent the united view of all these forces democratically arrived at

And we must proceed from

the position that our task is to win a revolution

The school, the college, the university is for us more than a place for formal education

It is also our assembly point, the location

at which we marshal our forces, organise them and take the opportunity to give the order of the day

we must fight the enemy for the right

to be at our respective institutions of learning

within which we

should build and organise our democratic structures and within which we should

introduce the system of people's education which is a decisive element in the future of our country and people

To return to school must therefore be seen as a revolutionary act which puts us in a better position further to advance the struggle for a people's education in a society in which we, the people, shall govern

How difficult this struggle is is of course emphasised by the fact that, as nowhere else in the world, we have heavily armed soldiers and police inside and outside our classrooms trying to deny us the right to learn and teach, and attempting to impose on us a surrender we will never accept

The mothers of the nation the womenfolk as a whole, are the titans of our struggle

The oppressor and the exploiters see in black womanhood

nothing but the calloused hands of the washerwoman the cleaner, the

agricultural and factory worker:

their white sisters are themselves

domesticated possessions kept as objects for reproduction

Our revolutionary

movement has long recognised the fact that an oppressive social order

such as ours could not but enslave women in a particularly brutal way°

One of the greatest prizes of the democratic revolution must therefore

be the unshackling of the women

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These enemy activities once more emphasise the strategic importance of the unity of the black masses, the principal motive force of our

As we mark our 75th Anniversary, we must draw attention to the revolution, to the decisive importance of ensuring the conscious and unbreakable unity of the struggling people.

we have to achieve the broadest possible political and organisational unity between the workers and the students, the women and the youth, the urban and the rural masses, the old and the young; African, so-called Coloured and Indian.

No elements from among ourselves should seek to impose their views on others.

we should rely on political

work to organise and mobilise the masses of the people into united action.

In this way, we will ensure that we defeat the enemy's efforts to divide us and frustrate our advance towards victory.

we need that unity within the mass democratic movement itself.

This

movement has grown in struggle into a formidable force.

It is the

pride of our people.

These masses expect correctly that it will continue

to carry out its tasks as we march to victory.

the mass democratic movement needs to maintain and enhance its own unity around a democratically agreed programme of action with clearly set tactical and strategic objectives.

For this to happen,

we should therefore take all necessary measures to entrench, within the ranks of the mass democratic movement, the depth of loyalty which our movement has won for for three-quarters of a century.

combat all manifestations of factionalism, revolutionary arrogance  
At a time when the enemy is working to hit back

and individualism.

and crush us, any disunity among our ranks can only serve the interests

We must

. of the forces of reaction.

Comrades and compatriots:

In this coming period, the revolutionary contribution of the working class to the common struggle will be of even greater importance than The workers will have to raise their level of partici-

in the past.



pation in all spheres of our struggle, at the wor place and in the  
The  
community, in the political as in the military confrontation.  
better to be able to carry out these tasks, we nmst work hard further  
to build and strengthen the democratic trade union movement.

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taken a deep and permanent hold. The house of iniquity which the racists constructed is disintegrating and crumbling into a heap of rubble. This historic development demands that we and the risen masses must deliver hammer blow after hammer blow until the entire apartheid edifice is completely demolished.

Compatriots:

The apartheid regime of terror has lost political control over the overwhelming majority of the black masses of our country. These masses do not accept the authority and the legitimacy of the white minority regime. The people correctly recognise all the policies of the racist regime as efforts to defend and consolidate the apartheid system, whatever the guise in which the Pretoria regime might present these policies.

The masses of our people have been inspired enormously by the ideas and the perspective of a united, democratic and non racial South Africa. It is in the realisation of this perspective that they see the fulfilment of their deepest aspirations.

Genuinely motivated by these considerations, they are taking their destiny into their own hands by engaging the enemy in struggle, in their millions. For this same reason, the people have daily been expressing their allegiance to the premier instrument of liberation they have created, the African National Congress, the democratic parliament of the people of South Africa. Hence they are also part of the mass democratic forces of our country and welcome our democratic organisations as among their true representatives.

Comrades and fellow freedom fighters,

In many parts of our country, you have given concrete form to that emerging alternative power by destroying the enemy's structures of government and setting up organs of people's power. The gains we have made in this regard, have meant that the apartheid regime has lost its administrative control

over us in many areas of South Africa. This is a development of immeasurable historical importance for the success of our revolutionary struggle. It has laid the basis for us to make a decisive advance towards our common goal.

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We have in previous years spoken of mass revolutionary bases as a very

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important and central element in our strategic outlook. Our success in destroying the enemy's administrative control over large areas of our country

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constitutes a high point in the struggle for the emergence of these bases.

The enemy realises that its loss of control spells doom for the apartheid system; That is why it has had to resort to military control. The imposition of a national state of emergency, halfway through the Year of the People's Army and, later, the proclamation of the edict turning the press into a voiceless irrelevance, were elements of the programme to impose military control on the people, the rule by martial laws.

This was part of the process which has already resulted; among other things, in the establishment of the so-called State Security Council, the use of the army in the countryside, the

black urban townships as well as the schools

and the creation of what the enemy calls Joint Management Centres. There is today hardly a country in the world that has to bear the level of

militarisation the apartheid regime has imposed on our society.

We have obliged the enemy to fall back on its instrument of last and desperate

resort: military dictatorship. Through struggle, we have forced the enemy to admit openly, and in practice, that finally its authority derives from the force of arms.

Fellow citizens:

Part of our movement towards our democratic goal is represented by the fact that the noble Vision of 1912 is also penetrating among our white compatriots. Increasing numbers among these are coming to realise that their security and their legitimate hopes for a happy future rest in the emergence of a democratic South Africa. The idea that social and political

relations in our country must be defined according to ethnic and racial groups, with the white group in dominant positions, can no longer be

sustained. If anything is â\200\235outdatedâ\200\235, it is precisely that idea.

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