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ON 186 OCCASION OF 'EHE 761W ANNIVERSARY OF THE ANC
EQ%EEH'YEDE BY PRLSIDENI OLIVER 1'AM8011JANDAWRY 1'1957' If
Compatriotml . TVV_5A4V _:, _H1;3 M_ , . ' . fl. ,. ._,;:
Today, January 8th,198?, y3ur orga.nisation, the African National Congress
is 75 years old. Consequently, we are honour bound to do more than observe
an anniversary, because this is f9? u; and_fop 311 our people.a proud.ang:,
historic Jubilee Year. The situation.in Southern Africa is pregnant withw
the promise of epoch-making deyelopments. It demands that we observe
this Jubilee ln extramardinary ways, I
As we mark Jubilee Day, all of us know that a new spirit is abroad.
Something outside of our experLence,is approaching. 75lyea53 of organised
political struggle against colonial and racist oppresslpn_ln our country
have brought the oppressed and the oppressor alike_ver\$'plose to the
moment of decision. The past cannot be remade._TheAfutgre can no longer
be denied Each and everyone of us, South Africans all,' has to decide
whether we act).n the present in defence of a terrible and outdated
past or we engage in struggle fora future that we shall defl.ne '
together, as equals.' '

Dear friends, comrades and compatpiots:

As we begin the new Year, we greet you all ln;lh5 namejbf the Natiogal
Executive Committee or your Organisatiog; the ANC; 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 haA 10 A
withdraw to some place, near or far, the begter to be abl5 to continue,
y '

to work for our liberation.

we speak for 511 the5e, and for the entire people when we say - ha.11 to
all our heroes and heroines? llving and dead, as we bf ihg go a clw
the Year of the People's Army, Umkhonto HE Sizw5.'Aall_to the young
lions and al; the patriots wha have united in_comgat gkroups and
confroktd,ghe enemy._nail_agso to the glorious peqple's army,
Umkhonio we Sizue, which has lust observed-its 23th anniversary; Let
the solemn notes.of the Last Asst sound in trlbute to the martyrs
who have surrendem dlifei wlf ln arder to secure for 311 of us
freedom, demecra;y and,peaceq'

50n3chis,day,'9e salute also the foundihg fathers of our-movement 3 the peoples of Southern Atrica as a whale, whc set up thg ANC as thein .instrument. Lo serure cur emancipation and to contribute to the J.lberation of Africa in its entirety. Tanzanians and South Africans, Mozambicans 3L and Namibians, Angolans and Zimbabweans, Zambians and Batswana, Swazisil and Basotho have. since cons Litut.ed the bedrock on wh3ch our movement has grown from strength to strength._'fhng-t then, is Jubilee Day for all the" embattled peoples of our region, who hgve combined as they'did 75 years 3503 to confront the iniquitous-system of apartheid colonial and. racist domination, in unity. '

ghia great day, January 8th, stands as a watershed in the co5frontation between liberty and bondage_ in our cdunpry, our region and our continent. To celebrate it, must mean that we mounhgiggest assault againEt the Pretoria regime to bring nearer the victory of the cans 6 0f all prgressive humanity, namely the liquidation of the crime of apartheid and the total liberation of on? continent. M

Our cuntry cries out for freedom now, Our region demands liberation and peace. The continent calls for justice and human dignity while humanity commands that ii berty tor all must reign suprene. He force however well-armed however stubborn and whatever its opinion of itself, can withstand the united mig'3t 01 these billions of people.

u:

When the successors and the offspring of the Nazis took the reigns of racist power 4% years next year they thong qht, like their predecessors , that they had established a fascist dominion which would last a thousand years. :

8y our actions, we must and will ensure that the apartheid republic 13 as short-lived as its founders were ahort-sighted. The arrbgantly racist architects of the aparthrid system thounht the oppressed ar3 not sufficiently human to rebel against the inhuman 3ystcm they have imposed on our countrye 'ihev thnught the sub humans could and would be kept in their place by brute Farce. By rising up'in favour of justice, as haic turned :hn c- maniacal draams intg a nightmare.

The noble vision of 3912 has become a (ormicable 3orce bexore which the isetrayal oi IQ'C aad thw crime ox :9e8 can no Eonrcr r013 i-ts Own. The DFOCGSS or the emergence of an alternative pawer in our country has

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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 haxm'net' blow un til the entire apartheid edifice is completely demolisheh.

Compatriotst'

The apartheid regime of terror has lost political cohtrol over the overwhelming majority of the black masses of our countiy. These masses do not accept the authority and the legitimacy of the white minority regime. The people correctly recognise all the policies or the racist regime as

efforts to defend and con

solidate th& apartheid system, whatever the guise

in which the Pretoria regime might present these policies.

The masses or our people have been inspired enormously by the ideas and democratic and nennracial South Atrica. It is

the realisation of this perspective that they see the fulfilment of their deepest aSpirationn.

the perspective of a unite3?

In

Genuinely motivated by these considerations,

they are taking their destiny

into their own hands by engag

ing the enemy in struggle, in their milliuns.

For this same reason, the people have daily been expressing their allegiance ation they have created, the A?rlcan

National Congress, the democratic pkrliaagcnt or the people of South Africa. chce they are

also part of the mass democratic forces of our

country and welcome our democratic organisations as among their true representatives.

to the premier instrUment of liber

Comrades and fellow freedQerightera:

In many parts of our country, you have given concrete I

sue? by destroying the enemyls

setting up organs of

arm to that emerging

alternative p structures or government and

peoale's power; The vains we have maGe in this

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regard, have meant that the apartheid.regime has lost its administrative

tCQntrcl over us in many areas of South Africa. This is a development

of immeasurable historical impartance for the success of our revolutionary

struggle. It uaa laid the hasi: far 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 important and central element in our strategic outlook. Our success in destroying the enemy's administrative control over large areas of our country 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, to rule by martial law.

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 common endeavour towards our democratic goal is represented by the fact that the noble vision of 1962 is now penetrating among our people and compatriots. Increasing numbers among them 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 determined according to ethnic and racial groups, with the union in dogmatic preconditions, can no longer be sustained. If anything is to be achieved, it is precisely that.

The architects of Lh: divisions, the privileges, the conflicts and the antagonisms of racism and apartheid, find themselves confronted with the reality that those whom this system has benefitted for \$0.10n5, have lost and are losing faith and confidence in its viability. Many of Qua white compatriots are Feeling their way towards acceptance of the . inevitability of the estaolishment of the n0n bacial order for which the majority of our people have fought for ?5 years. .

The organisers of the empire of racism knothhat what they consider their natural constituency is beginning to entertain sentiments that challenge the very reasons for she existence of the party of racism and fascism. I 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 deepmscatod fears among the captains Of the apartheid system.

They are terrified at the pvospect of the black and thte masses of cur country coming together to say - we shall, as equals, cnmpatriots and ' patriots, act as one, to bring the apartheid systew to an end and foster the birth of 9 new South Africa. As surely as the regime of terror has lost its pclihical control over the black masses, so also is it set to lose its political central aver the white pnpulation. -he day of the new Vocrtrekkers has came.

Compdtriots:

For :00 many a ion; year, racism and fascism in our country have presented themselves to the world at large as the epitome cf civilisaLion in our region and in Afyicav The most brutal reaction in the history of the colonial epoch has prsduced text after cht to convince mankind that those whv have perished in the struggla for human decency were but self seeking indivliuala OF 20 consequence.

On the nihnr hand. the appressors have strutted the globe, seeking to get racial domination; murdir nnd genccide approved as human advancement. We wha have struggled for ?E.ycars, and more, to.assert that ali our people, hath black and white, have a commcn right 60 &ife, liberty and happiness, have had to juatify our existence 5nd our cause,.But re can be preud ahath, in the end, the truth has triLzzxpnedJ oin/nuo.

9.

Never again shall racism and fascism successfully 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 crime 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 sights on victory, a victory that will enable Mother Africa to rejoice that she is liberated in all her parts, that she is free without qualifications, that at last she has reclaimed her integrity which she has not known since the days when she had to surrender her sons and daughters as slaves for export. Compatriots:

We have reached a critical moment in our long march to freedom. Our goal is in sight. We must reach out for it with an organised, disciplined and conscious force. 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 front 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 struggle and advance towards victory.

As we enter the decisive period ahead of us, we must aim to achieve the greatest possible mobilisation, organisation and united action of the motive forces of our revolution. The masses of the black workers, peasants, youth and students, women, the entire oppressed people _ constitute these motive forces which must engage the enemy in a united and uninterrupted offensive.

At the same time, we must draw attention to the mobilisation and activation of the white population which should fuse with and become part of the noblest forces of the democratic revolution. Our united compatriots must learn the truth. It is not democracy that threatens their future. Rather, it is racist tyranny which poses a dire peril to their very survival.

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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. Once more we reaffirm that in the new South Africa, the people - all the people, 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 organ in the new united and non-racial South Africa. , &

For us, it is of special 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: provide and enhance our oneness, breaking 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 thorough-going 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 cannot in the name of democracy, tolerate the organised sustenance 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 masses 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 ordinary working people who own neither land nor factories and neither the mines nor the banks. 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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To achieve these objectives, the new democratic order will wecesaarigv I
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 economy as a 37holo to ensure that neithr; r lthe gublic nor tho private
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 Cnmpatriots:
 The racists in our ccuntry have been and are arraid- of and hcstilc to- this
 democratic political and :cononic perspective. f0 our .demand that all our
 \$90910 must enjay equal and inalienable human right.a, the forces 3933
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 reaction raise the spectre or a black dan3er and a red peril. The truth is
 that these proponents and defenders of white minority rule are enemies of '
 democracy and have set themselvw a lire and death task of. ensuring that
 never shall power pass into the hands of the peop.le. 1Q N,w 3.3. 3
 3 9 3'24 ,3 :rl'
 This is our 9xpcrIENCE, which spans threenquarters o; a century. It includes
 many occasions when the reprcs c-ntativea ofgaur peopl e? organised lnIthe A&C,
 have offercq to talk go the racist forces to reach a aolut193'which would
 accommodate Ehc interes a of all the peeple of our country. It is therefnre
 legitimate that. on this historic Jubi lee Day, we should put the quastion -3
 is it possible today and in the future 50 enter into negotiations with
 self-confcsscd enemies of deabracy7hltp the aim of creating a democratic;
 South Africa? , - : " 1 '
 That question virtually answers itself; It'pcingg to one cdhqlusion'and one
 conclusion only. No negotiations are possible until all thos& concerned accept
 the need to create and build a dumocraticISouth Africa. Tbat7democrgtic
 transformation is the necessary coneition for the Solution.OFTall'the
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 problems that 1: cc our country and our region. . '
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 This is an objective to which millicnd ha v9 committed thcmselves, for which
 many have pcrishoa, 2nd fer which we are prepar d to die. It is one that we '
 have always been prepnr (.u to attain by nugotiar on but which we. are alga
 detemincd to IaIChicvf: am: in hand, 5.1I the enemy compels us .0 '
 fight our. way? through tut; victoryf
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 The conflict in our country has been long and bltzc. It has claimud too many
 lives already, Uhilc? For us, Lhc numbcrs ofgthgsc 3111 .ed r'phaaj 02 lh;
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 need for us to .Laku up arms wili never Lran33orn us into prispncrs of thu
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 through rivers of 5.300:
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 boastn, u: shuil (1'1, an ant!) the (Laorr.ii revolution triumphs, What",
 the cost to ourselves
 As ws mar? Lhu 75th Ant.iaalsary of our movement we rciterate. our.cozmilt nL
 to 33120 anv opportunlll that nzxy arisc, Lo pqrtICLPasN in a nc3oti atcd
 resolut ion of the conilict in our country. This we would do in the intercsp
 of L e was sea of our pcaplo and those of Souhhern Africa as a whblc, with
 thgrspc cl? calm o? creatinr a democratic, nonmracial and united South.gfrl;a,
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As we have alrtidy'Said; w. hush unite in atruggle and tovctrer advance towards victory. One of the brincipnl Wasls uc facq ln thl3 yugard l5 that is abculd continue and escalatu our offensi'c td Is:.za.so.wtl;c organs of perlhcld state power and construct organs of prnplc 3 power in their place_ Our objectivm must be to create mass rcvolutionary base a in all blac" areas throughout the country and to mount a strategic offensive a5alnst tho unemy lnI _lts put' .3. 3

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strongholds .5.n the towns and the citigIs., I. _.

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The campaign to make the country ungpvernable and apartheid lunuorkabl must result in thctlrr53nc' of th: cc bases which must be characterised lby a numbur of xcatures. Ond or these is t l35 the masses oi thu people should nct oniu hav; a high level cf pnlitical conscloosnw as but should also be _act.l_ve ln the sta'-uggle to liberate thomSulv s. ?urthermorc, thu poop3c should be organised into mass democratic organisations which must ensure their mobilisation and

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It l3 also vital that uach mlss rcVolutionary base must have its combat fcrccs which Hlll act bath to defend the people and to mount anacd attacks against

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'he cncnv beyond the 5lVln area and throughout t&t,roawtry. lnese t'orces, organised ln :n& vnder Umkaonto nu Sl2v3, must neccs Isarily be based among ' ?.hc people and drasn tron th' people themselves.lhcyInust be insplrtd by the sols obj; ccti v: or acting: fajnst ltho racist regimeIln 'urvherancc cf the #

aim of angagin; in people 3 war.

or central iFPCFt\$nC u also, is that each as 35 ruvcclutionaryI Ibase Has to have strong Unacratound'hmits of our snvenctnt, the A90, to enable it to cr-tm cl5l its vancrru sunctions as we mount a new assault age inst 'h-z apartheid 3 l3;.inu. As re hvv: said bc:xorc, the Organised structures of_ the ANC must thcrselvcs continu: t0 enjoy the complete Confidt ncc of the peopluI exactly :causu thuy r.r-- coupo:ud 01 our best 3005 and 6nu3htcr.e uho havrI no other' purpo& \$to scrv5 Ch; uass 3.

in many parts or our country, we havn already made important advances towards thu craation cf thusc wuss revolutionary bases. Nu have destroyad many of thc anus?" a organsI or :-90 rthcid ruln.-Thc nausea of-the peopl have played a et-ntra- rolu ln thls process as active participants ln the struggle for thqir own'lllbcration. w- have also auCCucdun to crnzatu mass democratic 'u

n V ?uocItI-JI'.

organisations representative of the conscious and active masses, ranging from street committees to COSAUE, the UDF, the HECC and their affiliates and -v -'.lt

other democratic formations. 4 Iv HI ._. "n . 35.3353'

us also termed mass combat and self-defence units which have played an outstanding role in destroying the enemy's organs of government and acting in defence of the people. But as true revolutionaries, we must carefully analyse our strength and weaknesses, discover our mistakes and correct them. I . .

In this regard, we must say that we have not progressed as far as we can, and must insist on that task of strengthening and expanding the ANC and the people's army Umkhonto we Sizwe, inside the country. we must attend to the economic issues even greater priority than in the past.

Comrade:

The Central task that faces us is to mount the most concerted assault on the apartheid regime, despite the desperate resistance of the enemy. This requires that we organise large political and military formations that are united politically and organisationally and mobilised around the same tactical and strategic goals. We call on all revolutionary forces to attend to this task as a matter of strategic importance. I

We must accordingly conduct a careful assessment of the situation in the country to determine the progress we have made and the ground we still have to cover. Where necessary, we must consolidate our gains, strengthen the structures and area committees and other alternative structures, expand and stabilise the mass organisations, reinforce the combat units and broaden the influence of our vanguard movement, the ARC. '

In some areas, both in the towns and the countryside including the Bantustans, we are still faced with the task of destroying the racist governmental apparatus and making advances we have achieved elsewhere. We urge the revolutionary forces to use the resources at our disposal to engage the enemy in these areas as well.

During this past year, the progress we had made to destroy its political and administrative control of the people. It was especially worried at the level of unity we have achieved which enabled whole townships and villages to act in concert; although the racist were concerned that the efforts to divide the people, our movement had succeeded to weld our people into this organisation. Therefore, they tried once more to set us one against the other. to increase the size and raise the level of activity of the organisation recruited from among the black people 4,1 3'3'..I"-,33 1h ; ,. . 3. .1 I -';'V:' 2.32.. (r; . I

'mese anew activities once more atp'nasise the strategic ixlportahoe of the unity of. the black washes, the principal native farce of our ' 'i'evolqtion. As we mark Durj 75th mauversary, we mt. draw attent ion ,, to the: decl slve importance of en: uring the conscims and mbreakable ,. unity of. the struggling peohle.

We have to achieve the broadest possible political and organisational unity batman the worl:.rs and the stud; nts. the mm and the youth; the urban and the rural masses, the Old and the yomg; Africazl,l. so-called Colmrea and Indian. Nq elaaents from among mrselves should. seek to lmg their vims on ottersf We should rely on politicaln work to organise and robilise the nasses of the peeple into united action. In this my, we will enaure that we defeat the enemy' s efforts to divide us. and frustrate our advan ce tmrds victcry.

We need that unity mum the met; demoratic mm: itself. This unvement has gram in struggle into at forhddahle force. It is; the pride of our people. mesa masses expect oorrectly tmt it will cohtinue to carry out its tasks as we march to vir'tory. For this to mien, . the mass damatj c Wt needs to maintain and enmnce its

- Unity around a dancers tically- agreed program of action with clearly set. tactical anc3 strategic majestives ' ' 3 3 ' 3

,We 5310111131 therefcr-e take an nemmmry mmsures to entrant , within- the. ranks of the name dancer; blc mmmnt, the depth of unity whch our nwxent hes rucrke ed fer far Vinee-(martars of a century. 9332 11151 t cmtnt a3! mnifesimcions of factionalism, rwwlutimy arrorgance

_ and imzividmzlism. At a time; 13:31:31 the angry is marking td hit me: - am emsh us, any dismity mung cm: ranks can only serve the ln eyes ts of the forces of maction. '

meradis and 0cm: atrints .

In ttus caning gx-zricd, the revolutionary contlrirmtioh of the wozking class to. the camcn struggle wi 3l he of even greater mrtance than in the past. (the? mrkers will rave to raise; their level of particv- pation ihkall spheresofi our struggle, at the wrkplace and in the mmzunity; in the political as inthe military mnfmntaticn. 131:9 butter ta be able to carry out these taska, we 3711.53: wmk hard further to build and str engthen the dmratic trade thigh mvmat. The

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.1 _ :umrgenised m_rkers must be dram into the trade union noveuent and an the organised sheum unite mder the mbrella of cosAm. As we have said in the met. we do .not believe there am be any obstacles :so fomidable that they can act es a harder blocking any demratic t V union from joining OOSA'IU. . t

We salute the workers of 'mr oomtzy especially for the outstanding struggles they waged in the past' year. among otters; the May Day and Youth Day general strikes and the canpeignstfor the release of political prisoners and detainees. These actions confirmed the political maturity and the leading role of the workers. We nustbuild on these gains, ._ :eniphasising the unity of the writing class. its forward role in our lstruggle and the need for it omsciously to make the necessary sacrifices to secure the liberation of our people as a whole.

. The rural messes lave taken mrtant strides to- organise menselves. The level of mbilisation and the extent of revolutionary activity that these heroic fighters have attained is one of the met inpoxtant aohievenents of out bteed mvment for national. liberation in the recent pest, We shoulci neVer forget. thet our people in the mmtryside were the first this century, to reese the banner of. armed rebellion- during the Banbathe Uprising and later. in Pohdoram. the 'Itransvaal and elsewhere. at the fmhding confetehoe of our mvenent 75 years ago, they were representei by those traditional eulers who enjoyed their confidence btause they had not yet been corrupted as some are, by the annual): salaries that the amrtheid regime now hands out to administrators of the Bantustan system. deay, these masses are representing themselves in the camera struggle through their mm activity. " m must reinforce this develogmnt to aneure that the rural areas are organised and further 'activised, es in KmuNdebele and Lehowa. to emhie then to clear the- Vcount-ryside of all agartheie institutions of pamer, including the _ Bentustans, to join the eamed struggle and to repossess the land as part of 'our. nationwide advahce tmrreds _victoxy.- ., - ' Our glorioue youth and students have contunied to hold high the tamer of struggle. To them we extend the warmest tribute and the revolutionary admi ration of our entire people. Because they have dared to fight for and bring our mancipation so near, our youth be we became eminent targets of the enemy s forces of repression. We rmst wage an unrelenting czunpaign and demand of the apartheid regime to "Let our children go!" v 6.0-." n

'21'14_ t ' .i

For the battles ahead, the mass organisations as the youth must be strengthened from the base through 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. For the youth the young lions of our revolutionary struggle, we address - a special word. Dear Waders, you who have paid such a high price to bring us to where we are today, have a responsibility to fight on with the ear : boldness, bravery and determination that you have shown it is right. It is a responsibility to seek that all those who share the same goal with the same mission that we agree to 3351 dammit victory.

- ---nw-.._a-mn

"15-141 graft "

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 mass and act together with and not separate from them. You must act as a disciplined revolutionary force which can awe and be awed. It needs to be, but is, at the same time, attuned to the strategic and tactical perspective of united mass action, as distinct from militant but uncoordinated actions by different groups, at different times and places. Therefore you have the responsibility to seek unity and to work for unity. You must be the best representatives of the democratic practice within your own organisation and in the mass movement at large. We are fighting to help the 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 wasting our time to the understanding of what the masses have the people see as their interests.

2-715",

'These ere'thefguideiinesv-tmt met imtmct Qure'rbehavimr over such
'questime as the people's mete-andthe. educatida crisis. With regard
rteithis crisis, we have. td-pfoeee'advifxmnmthe positim that this is a
national issue reqmrihgithe (1111,1326.aetyhahpfj the students, teachers
and parents ' 4. indeed the. united attention 05 (the entire trevoluttmaxy
mvenent. AE-iy actidn we take wet represent the united view'of all
these forces, dextetratically arrived at. Wrau
the petition that our task is to win a x_evqlutim. , ..

"-nD-om D .W-

The school, the college, the mitersity is'fer: us more than a place
for forml education. It is also our assembly point the location
at which we- marshall our tomes, organise than and take: the opportunity
to give the order of the hay. We Rust fight the emery for the right
to be at our respective institutions of learning, 'eithin which we
shduld build and organise aw: dmatic structums and within which
Tie should introduce the hystcm of people- 5 education which 15 a decisive
' elmaht in the future 05 our ommtry and people.

To return to schciol mst Unrefere m seen as a' Wham act which
puts us in a better position futther to advance the stmuggle for a
people's education in a .society in 1111mm; the mite, shall govern.
aw difficult this struggle is is of mseieptignised by the fact
that, as nwhere 22-15:. in the work, we have heavily armed soldiers
and police inside aha outside our classrogis trying totdeny us the
right to learn am teach, and attmptirg to impose on us a surremier
we will never accept

The mothers of the reticn._ the mnenfoik a5 'a maple. are the titans
of our struggle. The oppressore and the exploiters see in black mnanmod
enothi'ng but me callousedhariis- of the washenman, the cleaner, the
agricultural and factory writer: their white sisters are themselves ,
damsticatal msessions kept as objects for reproduction. Our revolutimaz
' armament has lmg recenmism the fact that an cppres'sive social order
such as ours could not but. enslave mm in a partlcularly brutal way.
One- of the greatest grizes of the democratic revolutioh must therefore
be the unsmckling of the mm

- '16

A the. zevelutmry msSeSu therefore uqxict bf our me: kudraculms
deeds mieh W111 help 51111111211901:le to liberate our people in their
1 lentiretyandxt0mancipate the mmen Waives. For us, the tme
:epresentatives of. our mm are such giants as Queen Regent Iabotsibeni,
amlotte Mamke, Olive schremr. Lilian Ngoyi, Ida mtmna. Victoria
Mmmge, W51 Mini,. 'mandi bbdise." 'lheresa Ranashamla and Marion Spam.
We call an thewemen tof our coxmtzy to reproduce timelws 'in the
mould of these heroihes; lo buildand strengthen their 'damcratic
organisations and to raise the level of participation of the millions
of our men in the struggle for our liberation. ' '
mack mzstme tq ligefwith the agony of having to bury their childre:
every day; Tao often they have to search fer their sons and daughters
who have perhaps been arrested tor pemps disamafe forewar without
trace. Across the barricades the white anthers see their chilafen
transformed and perverted into "Wlas'ekihers who will 7101: Stop at
humming the black manned, but will smly turn their guns on the very
mthers who tcday surrmdr their eons wil lingly o: umillingly to
the South African death force. These black m white mothers 'imst
reach across the divide created by the camtzn many of our petple' and
. form a human chain to stop, new and fore'ver, the mderous rampage
of the apartheid system. I
The enemzity of the crime'of apartheid smiths: physical threat it poses
to the lives ef millionsof peeple througmout our "region, derands of
our reliqims 00111111111123: that its institutims must at last transamd
their tenporal limitations. The evil which holds us in bondage will
neither by wished away, ror talked or shaved out 'of existence.
tFor the re; 1910119 institutions: truly to honour their sac ed mission.
__must surely man that they act now,- together with the dementia forces
sf our cmmmy. toy vanquish this evil; enet it never be said'gtiiiEt'when
- the meat of truth came, those Who-haci the- wesihiliity '10 lead their
fellow mrshippers into actimys failedzvteldo .90, Yard thus negated the
ivery' essence of their- caliingu. i: .-
Once more, we make an appeal to tinge among the black people who find
themselves in the eervice of the enemy of all the people of em: country
to turn their: make on the oppressors. Whatever you are paid to do,
soldier or policamn, clerical worker or achrdnistrhtor of same ethnic
or raciwi in tltution, srrcallted smderute or vigilante; African, weallexi
s; v; :V-i : ... humwwtm

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1'.

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In the process of this. We must ensure that 115' buildup 01.1: mt
forces truly 1111:: a people' s '13me in its national and social ompositim.
111' its size, effecuvehess and the Mtura of. its upgmtiw. It must
mmmmmm ital! summmmmbyue

bravery of its cmbatants. its devotion t6 the cause of ilberatlm
and peace 511;! its refusal to act against civilians, berth black and
white. But the people' 5 amy, Wm we \$121113, met in all its
elemnts, act and act boldly against the apartheid enemy and create
the conditcns when our superior forces will finally overrun and overthrm
' I the apartheid 15491115 0:: terror. '

I'Wtriot: I ' I

Our country is eteeped in the 110151; 5313151553.- 'Lhe apartheid regime,
and solely this regime. is reepoihible for this situation. The crisis
will not 9316 until the racist regime is termed from power 5116 replaced
by a gmerment ulected by all 'our peeple. 119 white pomlation of
our comztry frm whan the apartheid regime claims to derive its authority.
has a heavy responsibility to join the majority to bring about this
result.

We have been encouraged in the recent pest by positions taken by mportan:
sections of '11:: "white canmmity to break out. of the strangiemmm of
the ideologye 1:: practice :35: mite supremacy. 1125 trade unionists,
students. business people, religious leaders, m, pcliticiahs, academics
and others whc have. begun to make this Went 1' onward will need to
trove faster and further than they have. (me rapidly 16155111119 crisis
5ituat3' .en in 0111' cotzhtzfy dam this.

It derande that our white empatnots 12mm make a Clean break wlth
the past anti thwaives declare war on racism 31:3 the 5115:1131 of all the
people of 43.3: 001 mtry. It requires that they uneqmmca) y reject
the ruling greup :15 unrepresenbwive of then, a cabal 13316155 only interest
is to cemtinue to rule without regard to bow man)? Of our 9509-5, both
black and white, have to die 1:: the erocees '3 The call of the day
.15 that hnth W :15): am?! white; 532011143 51:59 together in 5 11:55:33,113, denncratm
mention to (31.19055 1335 136.19% and! 13;; 5131115515 33.125 137521139, 5.5 eqlla33,
for the birth at the new South Atrica.

cm white cathatriots shmlldthus join une'mjoritmr cur 'pecple m
reneer unmmahze the apartmm organs of govermeht within the white
areas twelves. Menoeumes such as three pepresehted by the newstyled
Prmdncial Gomcil s, the Reglcm1 Servzexi'fbuncnls and the so-called
Natal mam are nothing- but nahoeuvres..All white pairiots have a
responsibility to participate in the Concerted attack against the sensitive
points of the apartheid system .in the tagsanci cities. These fellow
South Airicans, know that, in the face of the undisguised dictatorship
exercised thrngh such agencies as the State Security Council and the
Joint Managa ant Centres, they have no "denocracy" to defend but an
actual military tyranny to overtime'w. .. -

We take this: ippoztuhity tl) salute the white youth who have continued
" to mge a very 31111217121111: struggle against cmpulsory service in the
ra'cis t army of repression and aggressxon. It is .vital that this mnpaign
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 :llwa also continue to work to win: over -to.the side of demeracy
as neny of the eneny soldiers es possible. '

-, Cmmtriots:

In your mm, m. :s'alute the natiens and the peoples of the world who
have over the 'yeers and eSpecial ly in the recent past, resporried so
well toour appeals to isolate apartheid Southhfica and to render
._all--rcun'd assistance to the ANC and the rest of the amperatic moment
of our emmtry.

.l .!

T. .1

115wa 1115HK our ?5th Anniversazy. we can truly say that. we have broken
thromh a critirai heirier 5m tame both of. warm understerxiing of
. what 15th be gone about the amrtheid. ey- 325m and the unwillingness
of the international c:c(nmnity to act. The conditicme therefore exist
that in the mxrrent write, the mmity should impose both unilateral
and univere 51 camreheneive and hendatory s motions against racist '
Sent?) hf: me. there governnments refuse to actl the public at lazrje
311011151 respe l lth people's sanctiene. Now is the mmment fox: deeds
and not wards. I '

'J'FJ' . 1

hkzo-

: One of 6513' great achievements, dear outpatriots, is that we, the oppressed, have succeeded to build an alternative axaindestructible system of international relations when our people and those of the rest of the world. It is a system, of relations based on the noblest of- hurrah aspirations: 'a milk! of peace, friendship and cooperation among free peoples. It is an element in a new world order which, shines as a beacon on a mountain top. '

In its 'penumbra, all can see clearly the nasty brutishness of the external 'relations which our 'oppressors have sought to maintain '- relations based on racial superiority and domination. aggression. war and murder, underhand dealings and the perpetual lie. the hour has come when the world, especially the US, the UK, the FRG, Hence and other major Western powers, must firmly say; no longer will they associate themselves with and encourage the pursuit of such relations and the commission of these crimes. Surely the time is upon us when 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 cannon enemy. In action, our region is doing what it can and must to realise without further delay the hopes and the aspirations of the patriots who established the ANC 75 years ago. The sacrifices the peoples of Southern Africa are willing 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. It is equally imperative that the democratic forces of our country should themselves mount a vigorous Campaign against the wanton acts of aggression perpetrated by the Pretoria rulers against the neighbouring countries.

The late President of the People's Republic of Mozambique, Seton Moises - ,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

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 fellcm-oonbataht, gawm
, Maehel lost his life, we shall erect a monument that will symbolise
the Campn 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. - . - . 1

We extend our militant greetings to the brother people of Namibia and
their vanguard organisation. MP0. Q1: mvaxents have the honour
obligation to lead our respective peoples in the cpwfrontatmn with
the last bastion of racist tyranny on our continent. . The historic
advances made by our Namibian comrades are a factor of decisive
importance to our struggle. We too must contribute to the just cause
of the Namibian people by intensifying our efforts in the 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. Frelin, um: respective peoples
and others who are fighting for their genuine: national emancipation
and the consolidation of their independence. "

1 We salute the GAL! and the people of Africa, the Non-aligned Movement,
our friends in the world. socialist organisation, in the Nordic and other
European countries and in North America, We greet also our allies
in the world anti-apartheid well as the peace. mvaxent. Together
. with all these comrades 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 hundreds 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 wet strive harder to secure their immediate and unconditional
release. We hope that they can make what will be an inestimable contribution
to the liberation and the reconstruction of our country.

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-,...r;L-. ly.

h Mough our sacrxfmee. we have T'thslldse to Our victory. V We
have both -th&s:25111' and

the organised forties to move ever pearer to
smceSs.

The angry of the peoples has no 'peSSibility to recapture
the strategic initiative; mus situaum, mph we ourselves have
created,-derrmds of us that we seize the time. 'It obli
the battle to the anew, to ladvance in the attegk.

gesmtotake

On behalf of tm National Executive Gariiiitteeiofffyogr mt, the
African National Congrees,

we proclaimhthis; our historicism Jubilee

Mnivm'sary. the Yew bf 23:3me to People's Fewer

. Iet us all, young

and old, black and'white,

political actiirist andeamed mrbatant, unite

Marantee our victoty by advancing in the attack! e -

lmg live the 75th Amiversgry of the ANC

Awamila ngawethu! -'Matla ke a ram!