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Campatriats,

Once ci^re today, June 26thf we observe South Africa Freedom Day, a day,u;:h derives its prominence as one of our most important national days from the fact that, since 1950, many important battles uere launched on June 26th and great advances scared on this day.

This year, 1902, the historic year of the 70th anniversary of the foundation of our movement, the African National Congress, June 26th takes on added importance because it is the 30th anniversary of the

launching os the epoch making Defiance Campagn of 1952.

Loyal to the spirit of militant defiance uf unjust apartheid lams and committed to an unbending resolve to destroy the racist Pretoria regime, the National Executive Committee of your movement salutes all of yoj, dear compatriots, and greets you, on the occassion of South Africa Freedom Day.

As ue observe this day and furthpr steel ourselves for the task of liberating ourselves, a task which presses on us uith ever greater insistence and urgency, ue must drau courage from and emulate the heroism, the daring and spirit of self-sacrifice tha^ inspired the thousands of volunteers uho participated in tha Defiance Campaign.

It is clear that the Botha-Malan regime is determined to cling riio its illegitimate power at all costs and to ensure the perpetuation of white minority domination. Accordingly, this regime of terror is prepared to murder, massacre and carry out all manner of repressive measures to achieve its objectives.

In the twelve months since ue last spoke to you on the occassion of June 26th, South Africa Freedom Day, this regime has beSn responsible for many outrages against tha peopt&e of our country as well as those

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of Southern Africa a3 a mhalala. It has murdered outstanding patriots such as Joe Gqabi, Griffiths Mxenge, Neil Aggett and Petrus and Oabulimi Myawose. Others such as Frikkie Conradie and Joe Mavi have died

in suspicious circumstances. And now the same regime is preparing to murder Winnie Mandela and has sent her a forged letter purporting to come from our President, Comrade Oliver Tambo. During this period, the

same regime of terror has tried to liquidate yet more of our people in Botswana where its assassins shot and mounded a young woman refugee

and in London where it bombed the office of the ANC.

The same paid killers invaded the Republic of Seychelles and high-jacked

an Air India Flight. They have invaded Angola, occupied parts of this heroic independent African State and killed, maimed, and rendered homeless 300,000 innocent Angolan civilians. Its paid puppets in Angola, Namibia, Lesotho, Zimbabwe, Botswana and Zambia are busy

carrying out an extensive variety of criminal acts designed to destabilise these countries, overthrow their governments and replace them with Pretoria's own stooges.

All this is only part of the crimes perpetrated by the Botha-Malan regime of terror. Its continuing campaign of violence against the masses of our people under the pass laws and others of its oppressive laws.

Yet more of us are falling victim to the brutal policy of mass removals and deportations to death camps.

High prices, rents and fares coupled with low wages and landlessness continue to impose on us a life of misery and destitution, high infant mortality rates and so on.

For those of us who dare to stand up to this massive repressive and exploitative violence of the apartheid regime, the enemy's answer is swift and merciless. The enemy replies with detentions, torture and assassination, with tear gas and police batons, with imprisonment, bans and banishment.

Yet this self-same regime of oppressors and exploiters has the effrontery

to proclaim an interest in bringing about progressive changes in our country. Its leading spokespersons have even gone so far as to admit that the racist regime has been pursuing policies which have not only failed but were doomed to fail from the very word go.

Dear Compatriots;

We cannot allow ourselves to be deceived by this smiling face of fascism and racism. Behind the mask of a human face lies the cruel, murderous reality of a wounded beast which is prepared to fight to the last, using everything in its power to maintain and safeguard its positions.

It is the self-same smiling Botha who set up the Stay Commission which will ensure that the press is fully integrated within the apartheid regime's total strategy. Botha wants to carry out his anti-human policies under a veil of silence. He does not want his crimes to be known. Nor does he want it to be known that millions of us, under the leadership of the African National Congress, are engaged in active, heroic struggles

to liberate ourselves. Indeed, if Botha and his fellow fascists wanted to do something good for our country and our people, why would they want to control the press? Rather what they would seek to do is to allow the press to report freely and openly the positive things that the world is doing. But Botha knows that he intends to do nothing positive.

If Botha and Malan had thought they would bring about such changes as would defuse the explosive situation in South Africa, why would there have been need to appoint the notorious Rabbie Commission whose recommendations mean even harsher repression of the forces of change

in our country?

No, dear comrades and friends, it is clear from the recommendations of these commissions and the practical measures taken since then, as well as from the recommendations of the so-called President's Council, that our enemy is intent on reinforcing his positions to perpetuate his criminal rule. What of the recommendations of the President's Council!

Reflecting the thinking of its master, this council has come to the

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conclusion that white minority domination cannot be maintained and safeguarded if the racist regime depends solely on the white population. It has therefore been decided that the so-called Indian and Coloured sections of the black community should be bribed and co-opted to reinforce and strengthen the racist white minority in its efforts to monopolise power in our country, quite literally, the apartheid regime seeks to turn the millions of coloureds and Indians into mercenaries who will be used as cannon-fodder in the defence of the colonial domination of the overwhelming majority of the people of South Africa. Our coloured and Indian compatriots must and will reject and defeat these enemy schemes.

Going beyond our border, the Pretoria regime also seeks to co-opt independent Africa to serve its evil purposes. This is what lies behind the decision of this regime to cede land to Swaziland. Pretoria hopes that she will be able to use this bribe to turn Swaziland into its agent to assist the racist regime to fight against the millions of our struggling people, against the ANC and our people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe. We are convinced that Swaziland will similarly reject and defeat these enemy schemes.

Dear Compatriots;

As you can see and as you know, the enemy is determined to intensify its offensive against the ANC and the broad democratic movement of our country to deny us our long overdue liberation.

For this purpose, the apartheid regime is busy strengthening its links with the international forces of reaction, especially the Reagan-Administration of the United States and others. These forces are increasingly getting frightened of the strength of our movement and our determination to liberate ourselves, under the leadership of the ANC. Therefore international imperialism is engaged in frantic manoeuvres intended to strangle the apartheid regime economically, militarily, politically and otherwise as well as to weaken and destroy the ANC and Suidapo.

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we can have but one response to this offensive. We must ourselves intensify our confrontation with the apartheid regime and its allies.

We have to take the struggle to even higher levels. As we said in our statement to mark the 70th anniversary of the ANC, the democratic movement of our country has emerged as the alternative power and need  
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to seize the initiative out of the hands of the enemy by taking the battle to him rather than merely react to what the enemy is doing.

To achieve these objectives\* we must inscribe on our revolutionary banners the great slogan: Unity in Action! We must everywhere and at

all times seek to build and consolidate the greatest possible unity of oppressed people and oppressed people and the democratic whites.

We must everywhere and at all times seek to build and consolidate the greatest possible unity among the democratic organisational formations in our country, the trade unions, youth and student organisations, women's and community organisations, religious organisations and so on  
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Our strength lies in united action, action to destroy the apartheid regime and transfer power to the people, united action that is guided by our common resolve to ensure that the new South Africa that is envisaged in the Freedom Charter comes into being.

We are similarly faced with the task of ensuring that our democratic organisations grow in strength and in their capacity to lead the masses of our people into struggle. The accomplishment of this objective is central to our victory and is therefore an issue which cannot and should not be put off to another day. We accordingly charge all patriots of our country to apply all means at their disposal to accomplish this objective.

Equally important, we need to ensure that the ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe grow into powerful organisations that do more than they have done already\* Hence their underground structures have to be expanded and strengthened. More and more of our patriots have to join our ranks  
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inside country. We must be done to ensure that we protect our vanguard movement, the ANC and our people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe from  
infiltration by enemy agents and our underground units and structures from discovery by the enemy. Without the ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe  
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in the forward trenches of our struggle, we cannot win victory.

Therefore let us all, patriots and revolutionaries, men and women, workers, peasants, youth and religious people join hands to ensure that our outstanding creations, the ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe grow into formidable instruments for our liberation.

The perspective ahead of us is one of intensified confrontation with the apartheid regime. It is a period during which we must hit the enemy on all fronts and continuously, through both mass political struggle and armed combat. We must seek to ensure that all of us, in our millions, are engaged in struggle, in towns and the countryside, in the factories and the farms, in the schools, the churches, the mosques and temples.

Let us confront the enemy and force him into retreat.

On this important national day, on behalf of the National Executive Committee of our movement, the African National Congress, we wish to announce that the late Lillian Masekela Jigoyi, the great Heroine and leader of our people has posthumously been awarded the high rank Isitwalandwa/Seaparanknife..

We hereby also wish to confirm that our leader, Walter Sisulu has similarly been awarded the title Isitwalandwe/Seaparanknife as we announced on his 70th birthday on May 18th.

In congratulating these two great patriots, we call on all of you, dear compatriots, to emulate the example they have set for us, an example of militant opposition to the criminal apartheid regime, of loyalty to the principles set out in the Freedom Charter and of a firm commitment to the unity of the democratic movement of our country and its oneness with the world anti-imperialist movement.

Accordingly on this day and in your name, we send our special revolutionary greetings to the people of Mozambique who are observing the 70th anniversary of the formation of their vanguard party, Frelimo. We salute also the PLO and the Palestinian people who are currently confronting the Zionist armed forces which have invaded Lebanon, we greet also our comrades in arms of SWAPO and the People's Liberation Army of Namibia as well as the entire people of South Africa, who

salute the progressive forces of Mauritius which have man an outstanding victory under the leadership of the MMM. We greet the world forces fighting for peace, democracy, national liberation and social progress.

Long live June 26, South Africa Freedom Day!

Long live the victories scored in the Defiance Campaign!

Amandla ngauethu! Matla ka a rona!  
Ail power to the people!