

*file ANC statements*

# AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

(SOUTH AFRICA)

*Hum/052/0004/03*  
Telephone :  
Office : 28031

P. O. Box 2239  
DAR ES SALAAM  
Tanzania

Statement of the African National Congress of South Africa to the  
34th Session of the Ordinary Session of the Liberation Committee

Mr Chairman,  
Honourable Ministers,  
~~Diplomatic Corps,~~  
Comrades of the Liberation Movements,  
Distinguished Delegates,

① Allow us on behalf of the African National Congress of South Africa, its military wing, Umkhonto weSizwe and the struggling masses of our people to congratulate you, Mr Chairman on your election as chairman of this very important Session of the Liberation Committee Meeting which is taking place at this crucial moment of the history of the continent and region when the total liberation of the whole of southern africa is within sight and grasp.

2/ We also wish to take this opportunity to thank the Government, the Party and People of the United Republic of Tanzania under their able leadership of Mwalimu President Julius Nyerere for the warm welcome and hospitality accorded to our delegation. We are greatly impressed by the inspiring address<sup>es</sup> of H.E. Ndugu Kawawa Minister of Defence of Tanzania, *and the secretary of DAR*  
*HE Ndugu Kawawa*

3/ As we enter the new decade of the 80's we are inspired and imbued by the great victories scored during the decade of the 70's in Mozambique, Angola, Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde Islands, Indo-China, Asia and the Middle East and in Latin America.

4/ In Southern Africa, the map of Zimbabwe is undergoing radical changes even as we are speaking thus setting an escalated pace for this decisive decade for the region and for South Africa. The victory that is within the grasp of the heroic people of Zimbabwe is one that belongs not just to these brother people. It is victory which belongs to the progressive forces of the world. It is firmly based on the success scored during the seventies and constitutes the concrete contribution of the people of Zimbabwe to our collective ~~and~~ advance in one inter-dependent world-wide battle fought on many fronts. There is doubt that free, democratic and independent Zimbabwe will in due course assume her rightful place in in the international councils, contributing her equal share to the modelling of a peaceable world order which is just and democratic.

5/ The arrogant and brutal regime of Pretoria has announced to the world that should the Patriotic Front be elected to power in Zimbabwe, then it will ~~intervene and remove by force of arms~~



6) intervene and remove it by force of arms in order to instal its own chosen puppet. It has accordingly deposed thousands of its troops inside Zimbabwe for the realisation of that aim and also for the purpose of intimidating the population in favour of Muzerewa. All this is done with the explicit knowledge, connivance and approval and encouragement of Britain. Needless to remind you that this is in violation of the Lancaster Agreement chaired by the same imperial and colonial Britain. We demand the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the racist troops in order to allow the people of Zimbabwe free and genuine elections. The Smith's troops and Muzerewa's zealot scouts should be confined to agreed bases. It seems absolutely clear to us that at this crucial moment in the history of Zimbabwe, the international Community must render the maximum support to these brother people and that maximum alertness is needed on our part to thwart imperialist plots and manoeuvres. *We cannot allow Britain, Muzerewa, Smith and Pretoria to achieve by cheat what they could not win in the battle field and the negotiation table.*

Pretoria is doing everything possible to delay the inevitable independence of the people of Namibia under the tested leadership of Swapo. But we have no doubt that just as the fascist troops will be kicked out of Zimbabwe as happened before in Angola they will be kicked out of Namibia once again. The connivance of the gang of five which is pretending to be doing something when it is engaged in dupious negotiations with Pretoria must be exposed. These imperialist states are the main stay of Pretoria. *\* (2b) addendum*

9) *continuing* The wind of change is gathering strength like a whirl-wind. It is ~~sweeping~~ *sweeping the borders of FREEDOM down to the Limpopo river and there is no force on earth that can stop it from reaching Cape-Town within our life time. Certainly our people are determined to join the community of free nations of the world and assume the ir rightful place and fulfil their historic role. We are not under-estimating the enemy. We know from our own experience and from the engagements with him that we have already had. *that the struggle will be bitter and protracted* Plus we recall the wise words of the Tanzanian Foreign Minister delivered at the last session of this very meeting when he said*

10) "The forces of apartheid, racism and colonialism on our continent are gathering strength for a last ditch ~~stand~~ effort to stem the tide of African liberation. These die hard murderous minorities who will fight boldly and rapaciously.

11) Both the nature of the enemy and his preparations for war on the other, and our own imperatives, which I have outlined, require of us ~~steadfastness~~ *steadfastness* of purpose, thorough organisation and national sacrifices."

12) The African National Congress is engaged in intensive preparations for the harsh battles that lie ahead. This is being done in the way of the implementation of our own decision taken on the 16th Dec 1961 to take up to arms in the struggle for ~~our~~ *the* realisation of our cherished goals contained in the FREEDOM CHARTER. This decision was taken after serious consideration and assessment of our situation after 50 years of militant mass non-violent forms of struggle. Today almost 20 years later we look back with pride at the correctness of that decision.



\* We of the African National Congress are convinced that all attempts to roll back the forward march to freedom and liberation will fail. Thanks to the heroism of the people of Southern Africa supported by OAU and progressive mankind. This is ~~so in~~ ~~SA~~ particularly so, as in SA itself, the struggle of our people under the leadership of the ANC has continued to advance steadily during this year, drawing into political activity a cross-section of ~~of~~ the population both in the urban and rural areas of our country. Despite the difficulties of operating under the conditions of fascist repression and the consequent set backs we have had to suffer as a result we have managed to <sup>increase</sup> ~~ensure~~ our presence inside South Africa for the purpose of helping to speed-up and consolidate legal, semi legal, and illegal organs and organisations for the mass mobilisation of the people as a basis for armed struggle. More than ever before our people are beginning to feel and be encouraged by their collective strength whose beginnings were seen in the Soweto uprisings. In <sup>the</sup> ~~the~~ face of naked terror and ever tightening police control, the black workers, the youth and intellectuals, the urban and rural masses are ~~are~~ demonstrating their defiance of apartheid terrorist rule.

The enemy has been forced to admit that this generalised opposition and resistance to its rule is aggravated ~~by~~ and sustained by frequent combat confrontations with the ~~its~~ units of the military wing of the ANC Umkhonto we Sizwe. The strengthening of our movements internal machinery has enabled us to carry forward our basic task of political mobilisation, providing both direct and indirect leadership and guidance to mass organisations. It has also enabled us to strengthen and consolidate the organisational and combat capacity of MK. In various parts of our country the underground units of our organisation are fulfilling the sacred tasks <sup>placed</sup> ~~placed~~ on them. These tasks are both organisational and military. In most cases we have decided deliberately <sup>at</sup> ~~at least~~ in this point in time to leave it to the enemy to acknowledge them. <sup>we are carrying</sup> ~~At this~~ stage in our struggle it is not possible nor is it desirable to separate the armed struggle from the mass political struggles.



Mr Chairman as early as 1953 our prominent leader Comrade Mandela under the appropriate title "The shifting sands of illusion" wrote

" talk of democratic and constitutional means of struggle can only have a basis in reality for those people who enjoy democratic and constitutional rights. We must accept the fact that in our country we cannot win one single ~~struggle~~ victory of political freedom without overcoming a desperate resistance on the part of the government, and that victory will not come of itself but only as a result of a bitter struggle by the oppressed people for the overthrow of racial discrimination..... no organisation whose interest is identical with those of the toiling masses will advocate conciliation to win its demands.....the only sure road to the goal of freedom leads through the uncompromising and determined mass struggle for the overthrow of fascism and the establishment of democratic forms of Government".

The people of South Africa are not bluffed by Botha talks of cosmetic changes and his so-called <sup>triumph constellation</sup> formation of Southern African States. His basic strategy remains that of total war strategy. The more the enemy speaks of reforms, the more he perfects and expands his instruments of repression. The more ~~he~~ declares peace, the more he prepares for and actually carries out war. The more he broadcasts that change is taking place or imminent the more things remain the same and worsen.

Mr Chairman, the present armed struggle being waged by our people under the leadership of the African National Congress is the continuation of the same battles fought by our people in Isandlwana, blood river, in the valleys and hills all over our country by our forebears over hundred years ago. As we marked the centenary of the battle of Isandlwana our militants of Umkhontwe Sizwe increased their attacks on the enemy's instruments of brutal power. The ANC pledged that this time <sup>our people</sup> it will not lay down <sup>their</sup> its arms until the enemy is overthrown and the people's birth-rights are ~~restored~~ restored.

The lessons of our struggle is that the strategy of the prosecution of the struggle in South Africa must have the armed struggle at its centre whilst continuing the mobilisation of our people for mass militant political struggle that will feed the armed struggle and sustain it. The African National Congress has already adopted this strategy. The United Nations has accepted the legitimacy of the armed struggle by the people of our country. The Organisation of African Unity at its Mauritius Summit declared its support for armed struggle in our country. There can be <sup>no</sup> going back. Only Margaret Thatcher, President Carter and world imperialism ~~fear~~ fear the armed wrath of the people of South Africa. The victory of the people of Zimbabwe is an added ~~exax~~ call to our people to complete the victorious struggle. We have no intention of shirking this responsibility. Surrender would be betrayal of the sacrifices that have been so heroically made by our people for centuries of bitter and cruel struggle. We would be letting down the victories of the people of the area, of africa and the world. We have no alternative but to escalate the struggle till final victory. No amount of sacrifice will deter us from our chosen road.



The lessons of our history and our knowledge of the enemy confirms our perspective of our struggle that confrontation and not dialogue will restore our birth-rights. It is in pursuance of this perspective of our struggle that the militants of U<sup>M</sup>khonto we Sizwe have scored stunning victories over the forces of reaction in Orlando, Moroka and recently in Ermelo in lightning attacks on the enemy's main stay of power. Our fighters have maintained the high moral and uncompromising fighting spirit, <sup>even in jail,</sup> as shown in the Pietermaritzburg so-called "treason trial in which our young hero James Mange was sentenced to death. We call upon the international community to demand ~~his~~ that his captors should not assassinate him. He should be accorded the status of prisoner of war as agreed in the amended Geneva Convention.

Our fighters never give in to the enemy even when kept in maximum security prison like Alexander Mounbaris, Stephen Lee and Timothy Jenkins. With ~~the~~ help of the underground machinery of the movement they were able to walk out of Pretoria maximum security prison and join the fighting ranks. Once again the enemy was given the taste of defeat.

Mr Chairman, we wish to draw the attention of the international community to the kidnapping of our cadre Victor Matlou who was on his way to Lesotho from Maputo on an international flight. He is presently kept incommunicado in detention under the notorious so-called section 6. It is a crime that has serious implication for all those who are opponents of apartheid. Comrade Matlou must be released and the fascist to be made to respect international norms. The plane had over flying rights <sup>over S.A. agreed by the same regime</sup> role as

The African National Congress true to its/overall leader of the people of South Africa continue to bring our people together, consult with them, directs the struggle, gives them its own assessment of the situation in our country and calls on them to close ranks. We call upon our people to find ways of united struggles against their common enemy. The African National Congress has always been pre-occupied with the effort to bring our people together. <sup>in a</sup> The ANC insists as Nelson Mandela said that "no true alliance can be built on the shifting sands of evasions and illusions...". <sup>We are still guided by the principle of unity in action against the regime inside the country</sup>

Mr Chairman we wish in conclusion to quote the New Year message of our President General Comrade Oliver Tambo when he said "In this Year of the Charter we must address ourselves afresh to the question of <sup>this</sup> the illegitimacy of the <sup>a</sup> apartheid regime. We must state the point boldly that ~~the~~ regime has no right to rule our country. The <sup>a</sup> apartheid regime has brought untold suffering to the vast majority of ~~the~~ people of South Africa

— These crimes against our people, against Africa and against humanity are perpetuated by a regime devoid of any legitimacy to rule our country because as the Freedom Charter states, "it is not based on the will of the people". All our struggle at all levels this year <sup>are</sup> must be ~~based~~ accompanied by the call "Forward to a People's Government!"



We hail the victories that are consistently being scored by the Sahrawi people under the dynamic leadership of Polisario. Their just struggle for independence and the right to self-determination will certainly be crowned with victory.

Our support also goes to our comrade-in-arms of Palestine under the leadership of the Palestinian Liberation Organisation the PLO in their just struggle against zionist occupation and oppression.

We can hardly conclude without paying tribute to the frontline States, the Organisation of African Unity, to the Socialist Countries, to the Scandinavian Countries, to the ~~Countries of~~ Non-aligned Countries, and ~~all the Anti-apartheid movements~~ to the United Nations and all the Anti-apartheid movement for the increasing support that they are rendering to our just struggle. We fully appreciate the great sacrifices that are made by the Frontline States in support of the liberation movements.