

National Treasurer

FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTION FROM THE
SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNITY RESIDENT
IN CANADA - Fund Raising project

Cam/022/0220/9

African National Congress (South Africa) Congrès National D'Afrique Du Sud

Canadian Mission
Box 302, Adelaide Postal Station
Toronto, Ont. M5C 2J4 Canada
Phone (416) 461-4255
Telex: 06-22199

Mission Du Canada
Boite Postale 302, Succursale Adelaide
Toronto, Ont. M5C 2J4 Canada
Tél (416) 461-4255
Telex 06-22199

David Gallagher,
Oxfam Canada,
251 Laurier Ave., West,
Room 301,
Ottawa, K1B 5H9.

20/1/81.

Dear David,

Enclosed, please find the following three sets of cheques:

- 1) Two post dated cheques worth \$360.00, from M. Carim.
2) One cheque dated December 31st., 1980, worth \$250.00 ((the tax deductible receipt is to be made out for the 1980 financial year) from K.M. Ebrahim.
3) ~~THREE~~ ^{four} cheques (three are post dated and one is dated January 1st., 1981), worth \$400.00 from A. Bhabha.

The total value of cheques submitted is \$1,010.00. As in the previous case, all the money has been raised in the name of the African National Congress, and is to be used for any of the ANC(SA) projects that Oxfam is involved with. The Chief Representative of the African National Congress, Mr. Yousuf Saloojee will be discussing these matters with you when he arrives in Ottawa ~~sh~~ shortly.

I look forward to hearing from you soon.

Yours truly,

ASaloojee

Anver Saloojee.

African National Congress (South Africa) Congrès National D'Afrique Du Sud

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11 December, 1980.

Oxfam Canada,
251 Laurier Ave. West,
Room 301,
Ottawa, K1P 5J6.
Att: David Gallagher.

Dear David,

Enclosed, please find the following cheques made out to Oxfam:

a) Three cheques covering the period November 1980 to December 1980, from Dr. E. Soni, Beech Clinic, 350 Beech Ave., Toronto, Ont., M4E 3J3.
The total donated is \$600.00.

b) Four cheques covering the period November 1980 to September 1981, from Mr. A.K. Patel, 21 Fourwinds Drive, Apt., 4, Downsview, Ont., M3J 1K7.
The total donated is \$360.00.

c) Twelve cheques covering the period January 1981 to December 1981, from Dr., F. Dindar, 3 Norhead Ave., Agincourt, Ont., M1S 2X5.
The total donated is \$3,000.00.

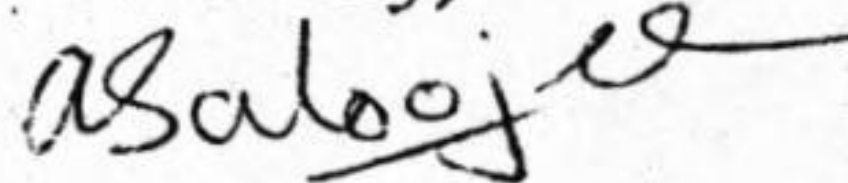
Overall, the total is \$3,960.00.

All the money has been raised in the name of the African National Congress of South Africa, and is to be earmarked for ANC projects.

Please ensure that tax deductible receipts are sent to these people at their respective addresses.

Should you require more information, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Yours truly,



Anyer Saloojee.

- cc. Mr. Yousuf Saloojee, Chief Representative, ANC.
- cc. Mr. Sidick Domingo, National Treasurer, ANC, Canadian Mission.
- cc. Mr. Thomas Nkobi, Treasurer General, ANC, [South Africa], Lusaka.

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (SOUTH AFRICA).

TORONTO UNIT.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT ON THE SPECIAL FUND RAISING PROJECT.

Money raised and sent out:

1) To Canadian Association for Southern African Relief	\$ 824.00
2) To Oxfam	\$ 720.00

Pledges to date:

1) A total of \$605.00/mth over 36 months	\$21,780.00
2) A total of \$50.00/mth over 35 months	\$ 1,570.00
3) A total of \$42.00/mth over 35 months	\$ 1,470.00
4) " " " \$50.00/mth over 24 months	\$ 1,200.00
5) " " " \$30.00/mth over 32 months	<u>\$ 960.00</u>

Total raised and pledged to date \$28,824.00

The money has been raised in the name of the African National Congress of South Africa, however the donations are being sent to NGO's that have a tax deductible status in Canada.

Over the duration of this undertaking, we will be approaching all the South African families in our area with a view to getting them to pledge a certain amount of money over a period of 36 months, to the movement.

Our intention is to raise approximately \$25,000.00 to \$30,000.00 per year over three years.

The fund raising team is made up of members of the South African community and members of the African National Congress (South Africa), Toronto unit.

All money raised by this special fund raising team has been earmarked for SOMAFCDL, and will be directed to the ANC by the NGO's upon our request.

Declared
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (SOUTH AFRICA).
TORONTO UNIT.

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10/8/80.

①

To: National Treasurer: S. Domingo.

From: Fund Raising Committee: A. Saloojee, K Bhabha, E Moola & G. Herman.

The objectives of the current fund raising drive are:

- 1) To raise funds from members of the South African community on an on going basis.
- 2) Through the fund raising process to raise the political awareness of the community.

In order to meet these objectives we set up a fund raising committee composed of four members of the ANC & 10 members of the community. Initially the members of this were skeptical of the ANC ~~note~~ noting that: (a) we have repeatedly called them out to raise funds for us & then have not followed through, (b) we only go to the community when we want money & have not historically reached out to them in other ways.

For my part I recognized & acknowledged some of their criticisms, & told them that we saw this ^{present} effort as the last attempt to raise funds in the community, if this one fails then we will not be able to go out again. In addition, I noted it was the responsibility of the committee as a whole to work out a plan to tackle the project. Thus, the success or failure of the project rests on the shoulders of the committee as a whole.

Having dealt with these initial questions we then moved on to business & after lengthy discussion the following points emerged:

- 1) We will use the educational project & the fighting fund as the two projects to concentrate our efforts on. It was thought that education was a good bread & butter issue that will appeal to all.
- 2) We draw up a master list of people to be tapped over the next few months.
- 3) Each non ANC person will initially take responsibility for five families & that he/she knows & deal with them. First a flyer on the school

project will be sent out; followed up by a phone call to set up an appointment; then the person with one or two of the five members go to raise the funds.

- 4) We are looking for long term commitments.
- 5) We will use all means available to raise the money - from meeting individual families to meeting groups of families in a semi-formal setting at which a presentation on the school project is made & a pitch for finances is also made.
- 6) All persons contributing will receive the proper tax receipts & any other receipts necessary.

The initial push will be relatively easy since we will be going out to people we know best. The second round will be a bit more difficult as we will be going out to people we don't know as well & the third round will be the most difficult as we will be going out to people we don't know at all. We are hoping for a mushrooming effect; i.e. we contact people to donate, then rope them into contacting others.

To date the push has been successful & the norm is \$30 - \$50/month over 36 months. Should we keep up this pace, then we can confidently predict that the income in the first year will be between \$15,000 & \$20,000.

cc) Chief Representative

**AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
(SOUTH AFRICA)**

BOX 302, ADELAIDE POSTAL STATION
TORONTO, ONTARIO M5C 2J4 CANADA
PHONE (416) 361-0193



**CONGRÈSE NATIONAL D'AFRIQUE
DU SUD**

BOÎTE POSTALE 302, SUCCURSALE ADELAIDE
TORONTO, ONTARIO M5C 2J4 CANADA
TÉL (416) 361-0193

June 1st, 1980.

Mr Dawood Saloojee,
15 Pindar Cr.,
Willowdale,
Ontario.

Dear Mr Dawood Saloojee,

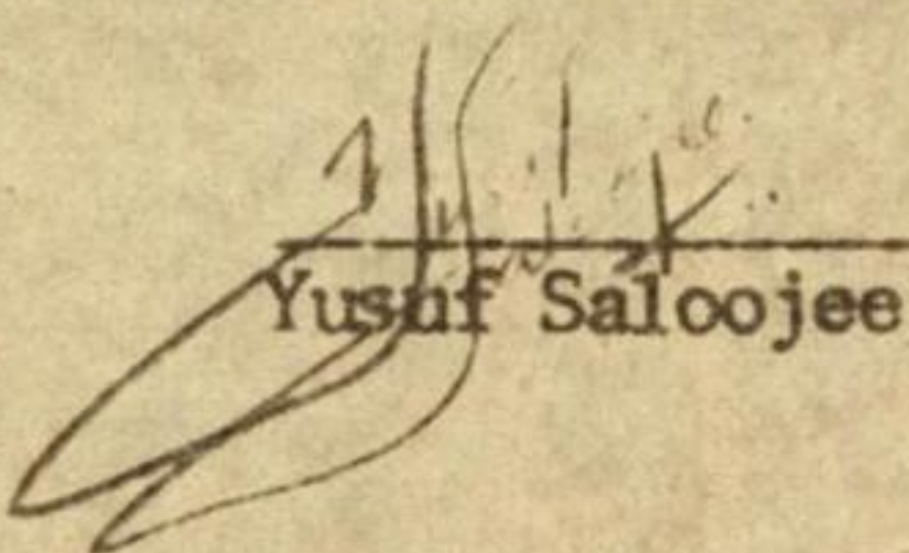
The struggle of our people in South Africa has reached new and unprecedented heights. The masses of our entire people; the Coloured and Indian students supported by their parents, the workers on the farms and in the factories and even religious leaders are confronting the racist Botha-Malan regime as never before. As you are probably aware their efforts are being backed up by the political and military units of the Africa National Congress. Each day we are moving closer to that glorious day of liberation for our entire people.

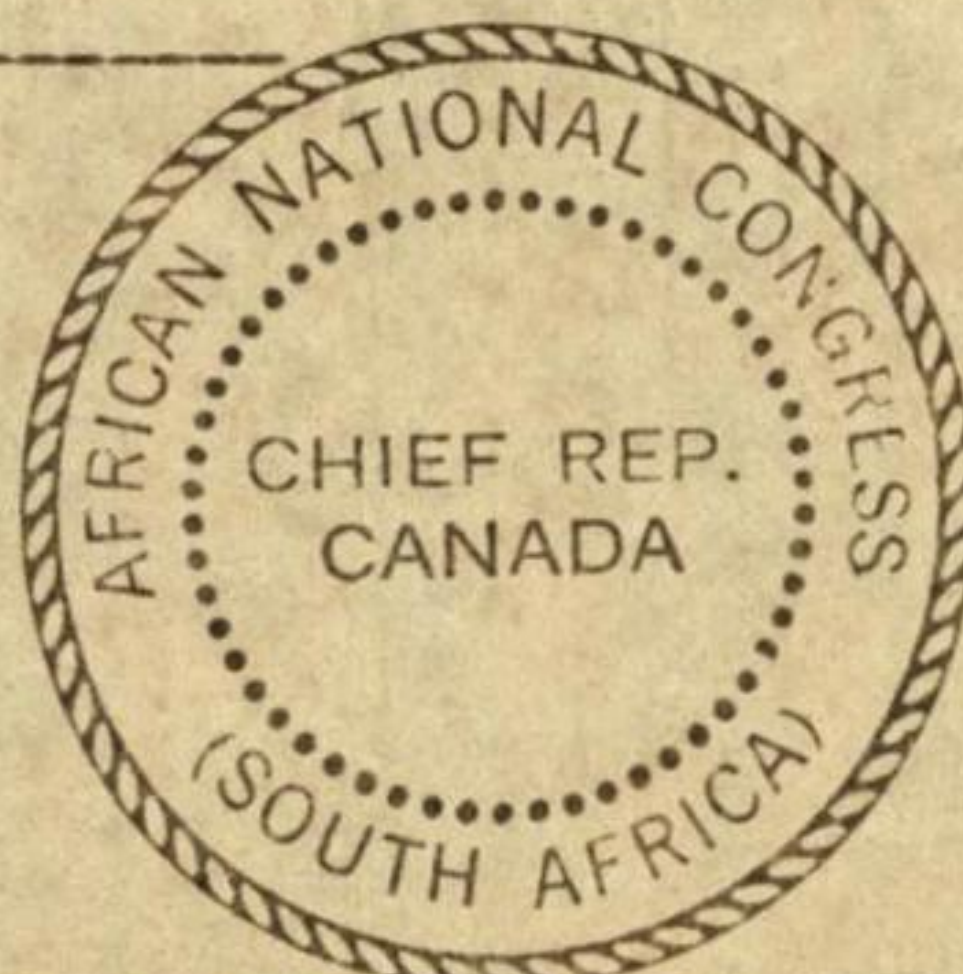
It is with this in mind that we appeal to you who have been a strong and committed South African patriot to raise funds for our movement and our struggle, amongst supporters of our movement and our peoples struggle.

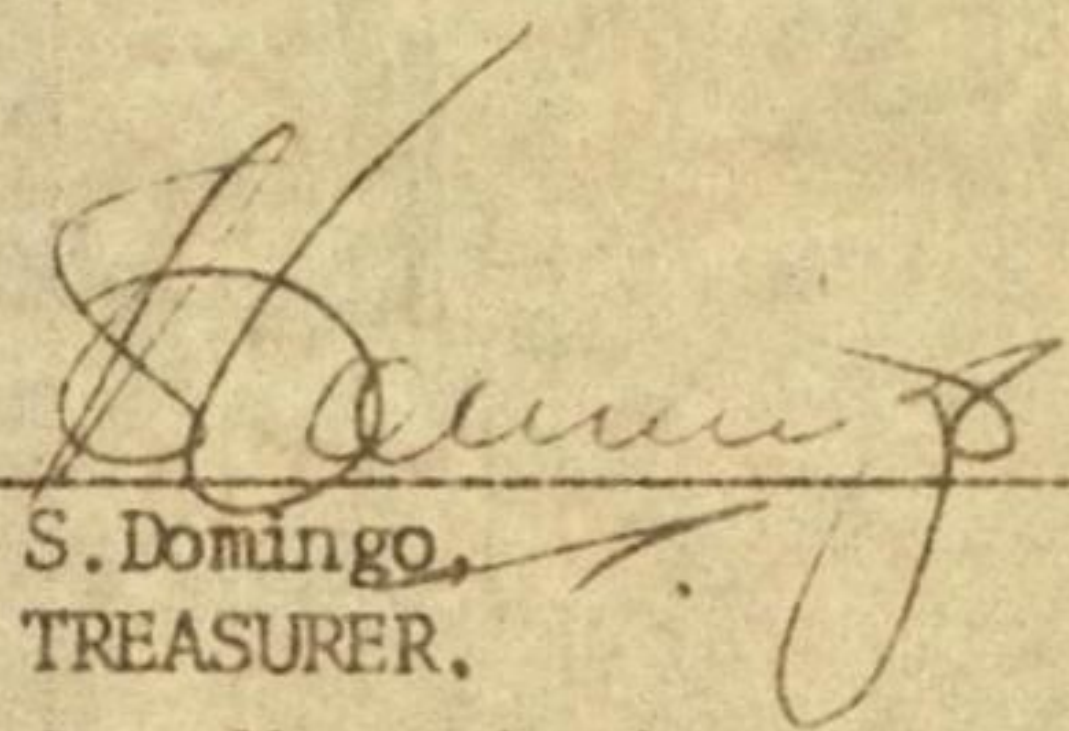
We authorise you to solicit funds on behalf of the African National Congress and feel confident that your efforts will be both enthusiastic and fruitful.

We also wish to place on record our deep appreciation for your willingness to undertake the above project.

Yours in the continuing struggle,


Yusuf Saloojee




S. Domingo,
TREASURER.

Canadian Mission,
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
OF SOUTH AFRICA

CC. TREASURER-GENERAL, THOMAS NKOB I, ANC(SA) HEADQUARTERS, LUSAKA, ZAMBIA.



African National Congress (South Africa)

Box 302,
Adelaide Postal Station,
Toronto, Ont. M5C 2J4

Provisional H.Q.
Box 1791,
Lusaka, Zambia

7th May, 1979.

Dear

Persuant to our discussions regarding the Finance Project and your participation in the Committee of Patriots, I have finally been able to finalise a date for the first meeting of this committee.

Although a few more members of our community have still to be contacted, it is possible to establish a date for this first inagural meeting to plan a strategy for action.

The proposed date for this first meeting will be ;

Thursday 31st May, 1979

Time 8 p.m.

Venue : ANC Office , 86 Parliament Street, Toronto.
Suite 405.

I hope that there is sufficient time for you to set aside this evening for the meeting. It is envisaged that the meeting will last two hours and that this committee will meet not more once in two to three months as the need dictates.

Should you have any difficulty making this meeting please call me at 444-3061 any evening.

Yours in Struggle,

Zaheer A. Bhyat.

Treasurer ANC (SA) Canada Mission.

120.
50/
6000

Agenda

1. Welcome To Office.
2. Introduce everyone.
3. George → address.

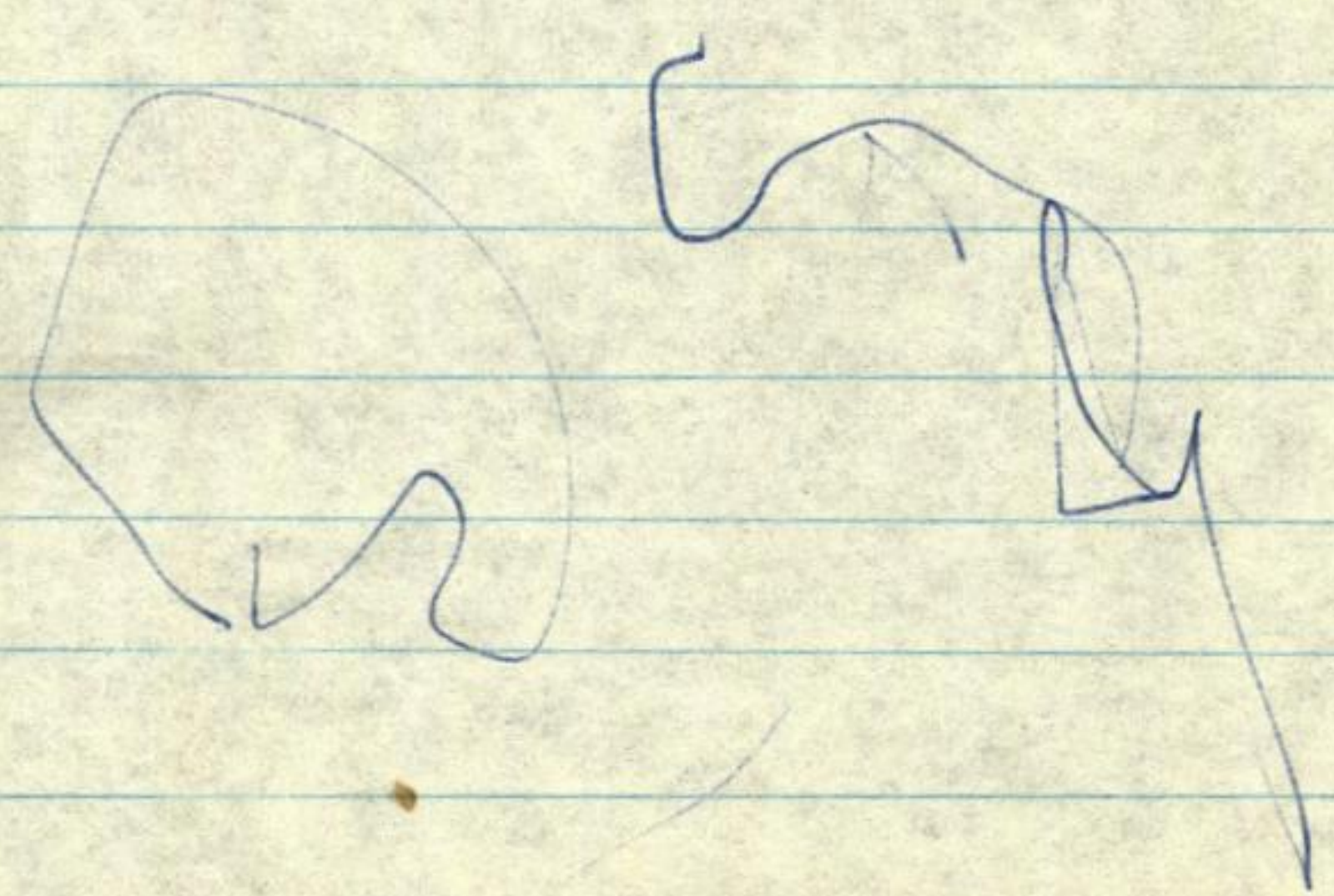
get. list. of NGO's
contributing to
ANW projects.

Formation of CHe.
CHe. name - (a) CHe. of S.H. laboratories /
(b).

4. How to → break up of Wshig.

5. Next. Wshig. → 2 months - assessment 1/ The 3rd

6. Time limit.



Minutes - 31 May, 78.

Present: F. Dinobu / R. Jacobs / Y. Jomant / A. Bulbulwa / Y. Deser
Ned. Nachanathan / A. Veerapan. / E. Moolu / K. Challen.
D. Dumbo / George Koenen / Zaher Bujat.

Agenda

1. Introduction + welcome by Zaher.
2. George's address. / opening remarks.
3. Break of history & identifying amongst members present.
4. Formation of Cde.
5. Next meeting.
- 6.

2. Comrade George gave a brief talk tracing the path of our struggle over the years. He made reference to those in exile + their role + tasks on the way in which they too can support the struggle.

* * Prepare listing of where monies are spent e.g.
School - costs / transport costs / family costs /
e.g. of support. eg. medicines for Angola /
for school +

* Supply news bulletin. (send to SAC + for redistribution)

- Σ - General statement of types of needs in Africa.
for which funds are required:
e.g. ~~school~~.

- ① - Preamble - conditions in S.A. dictate that A.N.C.
look after its people outside e.g. Clothing,
food, shelter, education, medicine, transport
for students traveling abroad, & internal health
clinic + maternity unit, - Social needs.
- Re: numbers of people ~~is~~ cannot be indication for obvious needs.
- ② - Specific projects:

e.g. School - range of education needs technical,
academic, elementary, for future
S.A.

- A.N.C. contributions e.g. food, clothing, medicines for Africa.
- Health - clinic Morogoro, Maternity
unit, Camps, rehabilitation centre.

- Recreation. needs.

- Agriculture. project food needs.

- Transport vehicles. + ferrying youth
out of boats etc.

⇒ Add photographs of Mangore school
from Sechabe.

⇒ Article from Jow on Masupatselas.
" for Sechabe re: needs.

- The target of raising funds is but a small part of overall ~~target~~ funding required by the movement. Which runs "into" millions of \$^u.

- Tarenda the out. efforts Canadian orgs have committed to assist with
eng. —→ Cuso

Oxfam.

OCW.

— Canada It has been commented upon that others support out of struggle but S.A. dit.
*use. Statement by T.G.

→ ~~to~~ Conclude → with O.R.

- Role of people in Exile + how they can contribute.

South African Patriots Cttee. Participants.

- * 1. Dr. M. Nadharaju
Check Address With Don.
- 12. Hamed Saloojee
7 Kennedy Ave.,
St. Catherines, Ont.
1-935-6927
- * 2. Farouk Dindar
3 Norhead, Agincourt.
M1S 2X5
292-6491
- * 13. Yunus Desai
889-3518
For Address check with Fire/ Yusuf
- * 3. Gerry Israelstam
* Sally Israelstam
53 Sandrift Sq.,
West Hill, Ont. M1E 4N5
282-8018
- * 4. Russell Jacobs
158 Micmac Cres. Willowdale.
M2H 2K2
493-9670
- * = Those Present at initiating meeting.
- 5. Vernon Johnson
250 McNicoll
Willowdale, M2H 2C7
491-4626
- * 6. A.K.(Fire) Bulbulia & Miriam Vania
Check New Address with Yusuf Ismail
- 7. Zeitoon Vania
Check Address with Fire Bulbulia.
- * 8. Ramy Veerapen
71 Parkwoods Village
Apt. 703,
Don Mills, M3A 2Y1
445-1731
- 9. Mohammed Carim
78 Grace St.
Scarborough.
438-0950
- 10. Stan Jonathan
16 Beaverhall Drive,
Don Mills, Ont.
445-5028.
- * 11. Yusuf Ismail
78 Fairway Heights Drive.,
Thornhill, Ont.
224-0963

12. Mr. Isaac Haff.

13. Peter Madisell, - 264-3443.

14. Yusuf Jomart. - 224-0963.
78 Fairway Heights. Thon L.Y.

O.K. ✓

15. Cassim Bhabha.

16. Yanna Desai. - 889-3518.

17. Hamed Saloojee.
St. Catharines. - 1-935-6927.

-

O.K. ✓

O.E.W. Niagara St. Exit.
North. ↙ 2 lights Nine St. Left.
3 Km. Kennedy Ave. on left.
7 Kennedy Ave.

			Response	
✓ 1.	Dr. M. Nadhanyan. ⁴⁹¹⁻⁵⁸²⁶ #13, 8 Esterbrooke, Willowdale. M2J 2C2.	Th. Ap. 12. / 8pm	O.K.	✓ <u>historical</u>
✓ 2.	F. Dinkel. 292-6491. 3 Norwood, Ry. Mount. M1S 2X5.	Th. Ap. 12 / 10pm.	O.K.	✓
✓ 3.	Gerry Israelstam. ⁴⁹¹⁻²⁸²⁻⁸⁰¹⁸ 53 Sandruff Sq. West Mt. M1E 4N5.	Sun. 3p.m.	O.K.	✓
✓ 4.	Russell Jacobs. 493-9670. 158 Alvarac Cres. Willow. M2H 2K2.	Mon. 8p.m. 16 Ap.	O.K.	✓
✓ 5.	Vernon Johnson. 491-4626. 250 McNicoll, W. M. M2H 2C7		O.K. X	✓
✓ 6.	Miriam Vann. / Fire. 661-1713. 33, Unit 6, 33 Fourmills Drive, Downsview M3J 1K7.	Weds. 25 Ap. 8-30.	O.K.	✓
✓ 7.	Zelton Vann. - 743-1733. 40 Engwood, Rexdale. Weston. M9M 1X3.	Weds. 25 Ap. 8-30.	O.K. X	✓
8.	Ramy Keenpen. 445-1731 71 Parkwoods Unit. #703, Dan Mills. M3A 2Y1.		O.K.	✓
✓ 9.	Mohamed Corim. 438-0950.		O.K. X	✓
10	Mr. Koch. 497-1849. 40 Godstone			
11.	Stan Jonathan. 445-5028. 16 Beaverhall Drive, Hwy Leslie / Smith - first Bannertowne.		X	✓

Farouk Dindar

Dr. Peter Modiselle
Abubaker Bhabha
Amin Bhabha
Yusuf Cajee
Dr. Keshavjee / Fred & Hussein
Ahmed Dindar
Dr. Poonasami
Dr. Raymond Issac
Dr. Nemi Pillay
Dr. Hoyuen
Dr. Ahnow
Dr. Jethalal Bhikoo

Fire Bulbulia / Yusuf Ismail / Yunus Desai

Isaac Joseph	Bree Bulbulia (Yusuf)
Yakoub Vania	Enver Garda
S. Desai	
Moosa Akhalwaya	
Shahed Ismail	
Aziz Motiar	
Khatija Bulbulia	
Rashid Bulbulia	
Chota Bulbulia	
Ebrqhim Bulbulia	
Solly Cassim	
Sakina Bulbulia	
Ismail Coovadia	
Aggie Valiallah	
Hamid Lachjporia	
Solly Patel	
Hassan Patel	
Soppy Bulbulia	
Yahya Coovadia	
Zuby Bamanya	
Abdulhay Garda	
Dr. Soppy Nongauza	
Dr. Cassim Bhabha	
Cassim Coovadia	
Fakir Sa}ie	
Dr. Moosa Coovadia	
Yunus Timol	
Dr. Ebrahim Soni	
Dr. Bashir Mosam	
Dr. Rawat	
Bhai Coovadia	
Dr. Cassim	
Boytjie Padachee	
Essop Coovadia	
Baboo Timol	
Jimmy Jamal.	

Sally and Gerry Israelstam

Dr. Bernice Krafchick
C.K. Govind
Dr. Mark Greenburg
Dr. Henry Stoffels
Isaac Pfaff
Norman & Cynthia Day
Dr. Docrat

Vernon Johnson

Basil Barnes
Victor Hommel
Vona Edross
Alfred Adonis
Marcus Cloete
Gerry Pieterse
Frank Agulhas

Rami Veerapen

Dr. Areff Manuel
Farouk Garda
Dr. Solly Boorani
John Kester
Allan Law

Ebrahim Moolla & Khalek Bhabha

Ebrahim/ Farouk/ Khalek

Dr, Yusuf Dawood
Samad Rawat
Reggie Lesch
Dawood Saloojee
Farouk Varachia
Moosa Ismail - Oshawa
Humphrey Caljee
Magnus Gunther
Ahmed Patel
Mohamed Bhabha
Ismail Omar
Mohamed Keshavjee
Pops Govind
Yusuf Essack
Shakir Essack
Yunus Mia
Amina And Mohamed Lala
Dr. Chips Maujee
Dr. David & Cynthia Cole.
George Herman

Dr. Motiar
Dr. Bismillah
Dr. Cassimjee
Dr. Ralph Corby

- All in Fergus Ontario.

Dr. 'Ned' Nadharaju

Pikkie Anamalay
Kenny Kuni
Booby Veerapen
Dr. Harry Maharaj
Dings Pillay

ANC - Balance left over

Dr. George Mbulekwa (Brantford)
Dr. Zami Conco
Dr. Stan Jonathan
Brian Harrod
Amanullah Khan
Dr. Gelb (Guelph)
Dr. Sikander-
Dr. Dalamba
Pat Pfaff
Dr. Jeena
Abdullah Nagdee
Ismail Patel
Dr. Danzigar
Dr. Vivian Rakoff (Ask Stan Jonathan)
Raymond Wagner - St. Catherines (Ask Hamed Saloojee)
Krish & Prem Pillay
Ramie Naidoo



African National Congress

(South Africa)

Box 302,
Adelaide Postal Station,
Toronto, Ont. M5C 2J4

Provisional H.Q.
Box 1791,
Lusaka, Zambia

11th April, 1979.

Treasurers : Winnipeg and Vancouver Units- African National Congress(SA)

Dear Comrades,

As you will undoubtedly^{ly} realize this past month has been a month of heightened activity for the ANC office. The direct result of this activity has been an increase in the financial drain on the treasury.

This then brings me to the purpose of this letter; namely, that we require funds desperately. This is not an idle statement since our funds are very low indeed and we will again be faced with high bills for the telephone, cables, and rent this month.

Thus far we have not received any funds from either of the two units outside Toronto, and I am appealing to your respective units to raise funds quickly so that our work does not falter as a result of the lack of funds.

Please attempt to undertake fund raising activities in the way of dances, bazaars, etc. to raise the necessary funds. The Toronto unit is soon to hold a dance and bazaar which we hope will stave the current financial impasse.

Enclosed is a copy of the guidelines for raising funds from the South African community and a letter which I hope will explain further this major project. This is a follow up from the discussions held during our last meeting in Toronto on the subject. I apologise for the long delay in forwarding this to you, but it was necessary to ensure that this project be carefully worked out so that we overlook as little as possible in its implementation.

Amandla Ngewethu !

Z. A. Bhyat
Zaheer A. Bhyat
Treasurer,
ANC (SA) Canada Mission.

cc. Chief Rep. ANC (SA) Canada.



African National Congress

(South Africa)

Box 302,
Adelaide Postal Station,
Toronto, Ont. M5C 2J4

Provisional H.Q.
Box 1791,
Lusaka, Zambia

Project Title: Political Mobilization and The raising of Financial Contributions from the South African Community Resident in Canada.

Project Guidelines

1. Preamble:

- Given the High level and increasingly favourable nature of the current stage of the struggle against racist oppression in South Africa,
- Given that the Sons and Daughters of South Africa , as cadre of Umkhonto We sizwe, are prepared to make the supreme sacrifice in facing the enemy in the task of bringing about a victory for freedom for all the peoples of South Africa,
- Given the call by our President, Comrade Oliver Thambo, who in a statement commemorating the birth of the African National Congress, says;

"The African National Congress calls upon all opponents of racial arrogance, domination and white supremacy to unleash this year, a determined assault on the artificial political, economic and racist barriers which go under the term apartheid or separate development, We invite all true patriots to join in this effort.....

"Let us stop being Bantus, Coloureds, Indians and Whites.
Let us be what we are, Africans in Africa.

"It is our hope, it is our aim, that we should observe the 25th Anniversary of the Freedom Charter, which says that "South Africa belongs to all who live in it," and that we can together re-affirm our commitment to the principle of "one country, one people, one government - a government of the people of South Africa. "

- That given all of the above, it is our duty as cadre of the ANC and patriots of South Africa to mobilise our people in Canada to contribute in whatever forms they can towards the freedom of our country and homeland.



African National Congress

(South Africa)

Box 302,
Adelaide Postal Station,
Toronto, Ont. M5C 2J4

Provisional H.Q.
Box 1791,
Lusaka, Zambia

2. Objectives:

In keeping with the contents of the preamble, the following are the objectives of this project;

- a) To raise direct financial contributions from the South African community resident in Canada for the political struggle in South Africa led by the African National Congress,
- b) To appeal to as wide a spectrum of our community as possible to contribute towards achieving the freedom of our homeland,
- c) To elicit this support on an annual basis to meet the established target,
- d) To politically mobilise our people through this project and raise the political consciousness of the community at large.

3. Target:

Given that there is resident in Canada some 10-20,000 South Africans representative of every sector of our population it is in keeping that an annual contribution of between \$20,000 and \$30,000 based on the following approximate calculations;

- a) Appealing to 150 people seeking a contribution of \$200.00 each per annum or more;
- b) Appealing to 200 people seeking a contribution of \$150.00 each per annum or more;
- c) Appealing to 300 people seeking a contribution of \$100.00 each per annum or more;
- d) Any one or a combination of the above and contributions of any lesser amounts.

4. Approach:

The following are suggested and recommended approaches in the accomplishment of this project;

- a) To enlist the support and concrete assistance of democratic



African National Congress

(South Africa)

Box 302,
Adelaide Postal Station,
Toronto, Ont. M5C 2J4

Provisional H.Q.
Box 1791,
Lusaka, Zambia

mindful South Africans, supportive of the ANC and representative of the entire South African community.

- b) To call upon selected South Africans, as in a) above, to form a committee to be headed by the ANC cadre in the particular region, or unit area, for the purpose of working out a strategy for the successful accomplishment of the project;
- c) To ensure that members of the community approached for contributions be protected as to identity where and when necessary;
- d) To ensure that all contributions be made payable to the "African National Congress (SA)";
- e) To ensure that all contributions are receipted and acknowledged by the treasurer of the ANC;
- f) To ensure that where necessary and requested confidentiality of donors be maintained;
- g) To ensure that the Treasurer of the Mission of the ANC in Canada be informed of all contributions and contributors, to maintain the integrity of all concerned, and of all progress regarding this very crucial and important campaign.

5. Conclusion:

Comrades and fellow patriots, this task before us is of the utmost importance and it requires the concerted effort of all true patriots of our country. It has been said that, progressive countries and democratic forces all over the world contribute to the freedom struggle of the South African people and that the only people not supporting the freedom struggle are the South Africans living abroad. Here I wish to paraphrase Comrade Thomas Nkobi, the Treasurer General of the ANC;

"No nation worth its salt can be proud of receiving contributions from others while we cannot contribute to our own freedom." Let us dispell that notion and show the world and our people at home that we can indeed hold our heads up high in the certain knowledge that we too are contributing to our own freedom. Let us show that we can stop being "Bantus, Coloureds, Indians and Whites", and that we can and will be what we are "Africans in Africa."



African National Congress

(South Africa)

Box 302,
Adelaide Postal Station,
Toronto, Ont. M5C 2J4

Provisional H.Q.
Box 1791,
Lusaka, Zambia

Dear Friends,

Perhaps the most heinous crime committed on the continent of Africa in this century has been that perpetrated by the racist South African regime against the children of Soweto, Cape Town, Gugulethu, and a dozen other centres in that country. Hundreds of our children were killed and hundreds others were injured. Thousands have been jailed and tortured and thousands have fled the regime and country to seek refuge and to prepare to come back to fight another day for a South Africa in which all men can live in freedom and peace.

The African National Congress of South Africa has led the struggle against the Pretoria regime for many decades and as the struggle has intensified so too have the needs and responsibilities of the national liberation movement. The recent past has seen the responsibilities of the ANC mount at a pace only matched by the speed of repression by the regime. The responsibilities arise not only out of the needs of those seeking refuge from the terror of the state but also out of the needs of those leaving to join the liberation movement.

Those who have left range in age from as young as seven and eight to those in their twenties and older. Those who were in elementary school, high school, and workers, are all amongst those who have come to the ANC. Their needs have to be taken care of. Such basic and fundamental needs as schools, transportation to neighbouring countries, medical supplies, food, clothing, bedding, housing, recreational supplies, and a hundred other needs are the responsibility of the ANC since these are our children and it is our struggle the children are waging.

It is not possible, for obvious reasons, to indicate just how many people we refer to above but suffice to state that there are many more than the state has killed and their numbers increase each day. The ANC has appealed for assistance to meet the needs of the day from friends all over the world; from governments, non-governmental agencies and support organizations as well as international bodies. The responses have been good but insufficient - ours in one of many struggles for freedom the world is witnessing today.

Our struggle receives assistance from others but the question arises - what are we doing for our freedom struggle? To this end the ANC in Canada, where the largest South African exists outside of our homeland, has embarked on a project to raise assistance from all patriots of our homeland to help in the attainment of freedom for our motherland. Canadian agencies

are helping as the attached statement indicates, but the needs are tremendous.

In Tanzania the ANC has begun the Luthuli Institute - a secondary school where our children will be taught. Nearby a health clinic is under construction, while in Zambia an agricultural farm is being operated to feed our cadre. In Botswana a transit camp is being operated to assist our fleeing young people. Supplies of medicine, clothing and food are raised abroad to help the movement meet these urgent priorities. Apart from the school in Tanzania, two other institutes are projected in nearby countries to facilitate the education of our young people.

The above are but a small sampling of the needs the ANC has to meet. While other governments and agencies assist with some projects the needs are far from being met. This is where we South African patriots must play our part. We are all in exile since Apartheid in its myriad forms was the chief mover in our departure from our homeland. As exiles, whether voluntary or involuntary, we too have our part to play, we too have our contribution to make and we must make it in the ways open to us.

The cost of liberation and freedom is immense. The school in Morogoro, Tanzania, is to cost well over a million dollars, and this does not include the running costs. A single field ambulance costs over \$15,000. Approximately 500lbs. of medical supplies such as penicillin cost over \$2000.00. A maternity clinic with as few as fifteen beds costs over \$100,000, exclusive of running expenses. These costs are only a bare sampling of the costs incurred by the ANC to meet the needs created by the Apartheid regime.

The ANC mission in Canada raises funds to operate an office in Canada, while also raising funds for material aid needs but the funds for maintaining an office are often diverted to meet the needs of our people in Africa. The ANC has sent many thousands of pounds of goods, and clothing to Africa but money is always short and the needs long.

Brothers and Sisters it is incumbent upon us to assist in our struggle and to paraphrase the Treasurer General of the ANC, Thomas Nkobi;

"No Nation worth its salt can be proud of receiving contributions from others while we cannot contribute to our own Freedom".

We must, as the President of the ANC, Oliver Tambo, has said;
"...stop being Bantus, Coloureds, Indians, and Whites. Let us be what we are, Africans in Africa."

Freedom will not be heaven sent, we have to participate actively to make it happen.



African National Congress

(South Africa)

Box 302,
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RE : CONTRIBUTIONS MADE TO THE ANC BY CANADIAN ORGANIZATIONS
IN THE YEAR 1979 FOR SPECIFIC PROJECTS.

<u>Name of Organization</u>	<u>PROJECT</u>	<u>AMOUNT</u>	<u>MATCHED BY CIDA</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
CUSO	- School	\$10,000	\$10,000	\$20,000
CUSO	- Research & Information	\$15,000	\$15,000	\$30,000
CUSO	- History of SACTU	\$ 7,500	\$ 7,500	\$15,000
OXFAM	- Botswana Transit Camp	\$5,800	\$17,400	\$23,200
Oxfam	- Fruit and Veg. Farm	\$20,000	\$40,000	\$60,000
MATCH & CCW	- Child Care Clinic	\$ 2,500	\$ 7,500	\$10,000.
		<u>\$60,800</u>	<u>\$97,400</u>	<u>\$158,200</u>

Project Funding Pending Final Decision

CCODP	- Mobile Clinic	\$20,000	\$20,000	\$40,000
SUCO	- Printing	\$10,000	\$10,000	\$20,000
		<u>\$30,000</u>	<u>\$30,000</u>	<u>\$60,000</u>

Where is South Africa headed in the next five to 10 years?

Having lived and engaged in research among liberation forces in Southern Africa in 1978, I would answer differently from most observers whose impressions are based upon information disseminated in the United States. I believe that what are customarily seen as apartheid's strengths are in fact its weaknesses: The end of the white redoubt is now on the agenda.

To be sure, the regime's might should not be underestimated. Unlike countries that have experienced revolutions in the 20th century, South Africa is industrially advanced and technologically sophisticated. The white minority numbers 4.4 million, not 230,000 as in Rhodesia, and would battle with dogged courage. Jimmy Kruger, the Minister of Justice, Police and Prisons, has argued that no people — the Afrikaners included — willfully surrenders power without a military fight. (I take him at his word.) The Afrikaners' Calvinist creed is that God placed them in Africa to fulfill a spiritual mission. The terrain, a vast expanse of open land and rolling veld, is inhospitable to guerrilla warfare.

These obstacles to change have converged to form a mythology, which is not inimical to the regime's interests, about the tenacity of the white bastion. The mythology masks the essential point that in time, the economy, manpower and geography will all redound to the advantage of liberation forces.

A highly integrated modern economy is vulnerable. As the United States blackouts of 1965 and 1977 demonstrated, one interruption in power can trigger breakdowns, paralyzing an entire region or metropolitan area. Since South Africa's weapons are largely produced at home, insurrectionists are bound to attack their enemy's source of supplies.

Black labor is the backbone of the economy. Because of the rising tide of political consciousness, the black working class is a threat; the blacks challenge the status quo by work stoppages, strikes and sabotage. Black homelands, or Bantustans, are potential locales of political fervor. Black youth, their upward mobility blocked, is already frustrated. The coloreds and Indians identify increasingly with blacks. Nonetheless, the whites are welcome to stay, the black majority has made it clear, and in fact are needed to help run the economy.

The terrain may not be optimal for a guerrilla struggle, but what terrain is? Such warfare has been waged successfully in mountains, jungles, bush country, deserts and urban areas.

In a large country, whose black and white communities are interspersed, it will be difficult to stop guerrilla bands from inflicting serious damage on the economy and population. Since border countries favor the insurgents, defense forces must guard South Africa's 1,262-mile land frontier against infiltration. Further, the liberation forces are inspired by their knowledge that Mozambicans, Namibians and Zimbabweans have advanced toward their political goals by armed victories.

Consider, too, the tremors in the white redoubt since 1976: the Soweto riots, the murder of the black leader Steve Biko, convulsions in the econ-



omy deriving from the world recession, corruption that has disgraced top Government officials, and now the cut-off of oil from Iran, the source of 90 percent of South Africa's supply. A ruthless security apparatus notwithstanding, the reality today is quickening political mobilization, an active underground movement and the first throes of a protracted armed struggle.

Umkonto We Sizwe, or Spear of the Nation, the military wing of the banned African National Congress, a liberation movement, is crossing the Limpopo River into South Africa, caching weapons, and fighting when detected. Guerrilla incidents are on the rise in the northern Transvaal. Because of the security hazard and a lack of economic opportunity, rural whites are flocking to cities; at least 25 percent of border-area farms are unoccupied. And the war is spreading to urban centers. An explosion in a posh shopping area in downtown Johannesburg injured several whites. Such bombings, as well as fatal shootings and arson, are increasing.

Although a negotiated settlement is of course preferable to violence, what is desirable is not likely. While the black majority is taking up the cudgels to liberate itself, Americans should ponder the consequences of our policy toward South Africa, and derive lessons from Iran, where a few months ago the United States did not envision the unfolding events. Americans must be sure that their Government stands foursquare behind the black majority in South Africa. That is morally right and politically wise, for apartheid is beleaguered, its end in sight.

James H. Mittelman is assistant professor in the political science department and the Institute of African Studies, at Columbia University.

NEW YORK TIMES: MARCH 18/79.

Guerrilla operations mount in S. Africa

Special to the Guardian

Luanda, Angola

South African black workers hurrying to their jobs in the port city of Durban last week discovered supplementary reading material on the way.

An explosive device planted in a hedge in the downtown area went off Nov. 27 spraying a batch of pamphlets urging the workers to join Umkonto We Sizwe, the armed wing of the African National Congress (ANC). The workers were so eager to get their hands on the pamphlets that by the time South African police arrived on the scene there were none left. The device, meanwhile, had been tucked away into a nearby dustbin.

Although reports by the bourgeois press to the outside world are extremely limited, this incident did not take these workers completely by surprise. The incidence of petro-bombings and arson by liberation forces has remained high ever since the 1976 Soweto uprising. Bombing incidents in South Africa reached about one every five days earlier this year.

South African liberation forces recently engaged in armed

clashes with government troops; guerrilla actions intensify.

The South African defense ministry, meanwhile, alarmed about its loosening grip in the border area and an exodus of white farmers, has taken several steps to shore up its control in these regions.

In the urban areas, at the same time, Brigadier Hendrik de Witt, the new deputy police commissioner in charge of riot control, announced that security forces have stepped up their operations to control "terrorism."

The South African security agencies admit that there has been a steady stream of guerrilla actions since mid-1977 reflecting the training of young people by guerrilla forces following the Soweto uprising. The South African government itself estimates that some 4000 young South Africans went over to the guerrillas during this period—and many have infiltrated back into the country.

What has happened in the last few weeks? The Rand Daily Mail reported Oct. 28 that "security forces in Bophutatswana bantustan yesterday killed two terrorists and launched a massive ground and air manhunt for a



Scurato, LNS

"THE SILENCED MAJORITY"

third after they clashed inside the country about 300 kilometers from Johannesburg."

The paper quoted a security official as saying that the guerrillas were apparently bound for Johannesburg.

Writing about the same incident, the London Daily Telegraph reported Nov. 1 that South African helicopters were searching the bush terrain near the Rhodesian border looking for the black guerrillas. "A white police sergeant was shot when the gang ambushed a police patrol on Monday night," the paper said.

The following day the Daily Telegraph supplied further de-

tails. "Blacks trained as urban guerrillas are mounting a full-scale infiltration operation into the northern Transvaal through Botswana, South African security police believe," it reported. "Their mission is to reach Soweto and other black townships in and around Johannesburg and Pretoria in preparation for a major campaign of urban terrorism, sources said."

"Two gangs of guerrillas armed with Russian-made automatic weapons, hand grenades and explosives were intercepted in the northwest Transvaal in the past six days," the Telegraph added.

Meanwhile, the South African government is known to be extremely worried about the situation in the border areas. Along the northern borders, for example, the Daily Telegraph reported, every second farm has been deserted by the white farmers, for example. The government, anxious to have white farmers controlling the farms near the uneasy borders with Rhodesia and Botswana, is reportedly considering steps to lure the whites back.

The Citizen newspaper, whose links with the ruling Nationalist Party have been documented,

reported Oct. 18 that Prime Minister Botha met with representatives of the Agricultural Union to discuss measures to control farms along the borders.

"It is generally recognized," the Citizen reported, "that white occupation of rural areas especially border areas is necessary for the security of the country. The Congress requests that special steps be taken to keep existing border farmers on their farms as far as possible and that measures be considered to settle young farmers in these areas."

In the cities, in a related development, the government has concentrated on beefing up its so-called security forces. Brigadier Hendrik de Witt noted that "our main aim now is to stop riots before they start."

The brigadier noted that security forces in the cities have been expanded and that "there is now a riot control unit in virtually every police division in the country."

He also stated that many units are also operating along the border with Swaziland and Mozambique to curb the guerrillas from infiltrating the country after undergoing military training in neighboring states. S.R.

The Freedom Charter

We, the People of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know:

that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people;

that our people have been robbed of their birthright to land, liberty and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality;

that our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood, enjoying equal rights and opportunities;

that only a democratic state, based on the will of all the people, can secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief;

And therefore, we, the people of South Africa, black and white together—equals, countrymen and brothers—adopt this Freedom Charter. And we pledge ourselves to strive together, sparing neither strength nor courage, until the democratic changes here set out have been won.

THE PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN!

Every man and woman shall have the right to vote for and to stand as a candidate for all bodies which make laws;

All people shall be entitled to take part in the administration of the country;

The rights of the people shall be the same, regardless of race, colour or sex;

All bodies of minority rule, advisory boards, councils and authorities shall be replaced by democratic organs of self-government.

ALL NATIONAL GROUPS SHALL HAVE EQUAL RIGHTS!

There shall be equal status in the bodies of state, in the courts and in the schools for all national groups and races;

All people shall have equal right to use their own languages, and to develop their own folk culture and customs;

All national groups shall be protected by law against insults to their race and national pride;

The preaching and practice of national, race or colour discrimination and contempt shall be a punishable crime;

All apartheid laws and practices shall be set aside.

THE PEOPLE SHALL SHARE IN THE COUNTRY'S WEALTH!

The national wealth of our country, the heritage of all South Africans, shall be restored to the people;

The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the Banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole;

All other industry and trade shall be controlled to assist the well-being of the people;

All people shall have equal rights to trade where they choose, to manufacture and to enter all trades, crafts and professions.

THE LAND SHALL BE SHARED AMONG THOSE WHO WORK IT!

Restrictions of land ownership on a racial basis shall be ended, and all the land redivided amongst those who work it, to banish famine and land hunger;

The state shall help the peasants with implements, seed, tractors and dams to save the soil and assist the tillers;

Freedom of movement shall be guaranteed to all who work on the land;

All shall have the right to occupy land wherever they choose;

People shall not be robbed of their cattle, and forced labour and farm prisons shall be abolished.

ALL SHALL BE EQUAL BEFORE THE LAW!

No one shall be imprisoned, deported or restricted without a fair trial;

No one shall be condemned by the order of any Government official;

The courts shall be representative of all the people;

Imprisonment shall be only for serious crimes against the people, and shall aim at re-education, not vengeance;

The police force and army shall be open to all on an equal basis and shall be the helpers and protectors of the people;

All laws which discriminate on grounds of race, colour or belief shall be repealed.

ALL SHALL ENJOY EQUAL HUMAN RIGHTS!

The law shall guarantee to all their right to speak, to organise, to meet together, to publish, to preach, to worship and to educate their children;

The privacy of the house from police raids shall be protected by law;

All shall be free to travel without restriction from countryside to town, from province to province, and from South Africa abroad;

Pass Laws, permits and all other laws restricting these freedoms shall be abolished.

THERE SHALL BE WORK AND SECURITY!

All who work shall be free to form trade unions, to elect their officers and to make wage agreements with their employers;

The state shall recognise the right and duty of all to work, and to draw full unemployment benefits;

Men and women of all races shall receive equal pay for equal work;

There shall be a forty-hour working week, a national minimum wage, paid annual leave, and sick leave for all workers, and maternity leave on full pay for all working mothers;

Miners, domestic workers, farm workers and civil servants shall have the same rights as all others who work;

Child labour, compound labour, the tot system and contract labour shall be abolished.

THE DOORS OF LEARNING AND OF CULTURE SHALL BE OPENED!

The government shall discover, develop and encourage national talent for the enhancement of our cultural life;

All the cultural treasures of mankind shall be open to all, by free exchange of books, ideas and contact with other lands;

The aim of education shall be to teach the youth to love their people and their culture, to honour human brotherhood, liberty and peace;

Education shall be free, compulsory, universal and equal for all children;

Higher education and technical training shall be opened to all by means of state allowances and scholarships awarded on the basis of merit;

Adult illiteracy shall be ended by a mass state education plan;

Teachers shall have all the rights of other citizens;

The colour bar in cultural life, in sport and in education shall be abolished.

THERE SHALL BE HOUSES, SECURITY AND COMFORT!

All people shall have the right to live where they choose, to be decently housed, and to bring up their families in comfort and security;

Unused housing space to be made available to the people;

Rent and prices shall be lowered, food plentiful and no one shall go hungry;

A preventive health scheme shall be run by the state;

Free medical care and hospitalisation shall be provided for all, with special care for mothers and young children;

Slums shall be demolished, and new suburbs built where all have transport, roads, lighting, playing fields, creches and social centres;

The aged, the orphans, the disabled and the sick shall be cared for by the state;

Rest, leisure and recreation shall be the right of all;

Fenced locations and ghettos shall be abolished, and laws which break up families shall be repealed.

THERE SHALL BE PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP!

South Africa shall be a fully independent state, which respects the rights and sovereignty of all nations;

South Africa shall strive to maintain world peace and the settlement of all international disputes by negotiation—not war;

Peace and friendship amongst all our people shall be secured by upholding the equal rights, opportunities and status of all;

The people of the protectorates—Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland shall be free to decide for themselves their own future;

The right of all the peoples of Africa to independence and self-government shall be recognised, and shall be the basis of close co-operation.

Let all who love their people and their country now say, as we say here: "THESE FREEDOMS WE WILL FIGHT FOR, SIDE BY SIDE, THROUGHOUT OUR LIVES, UNTIL WE HAVE WON OUR LIBERTY."

NEW YEAR MESSAGE BY COMRADE PRESIDENT OLIVER TAMBO
ON THE OCCASION OF JANUARY 1979, THE 67TH ANNIVERSARY
OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICA

Fellow countrymen, Militants of the African National Congress and of the struggle for liberation in our country - Cadres of Umkhonto We Sizwe inside South Africa and outside - Comrades-in-arms in different parts of the world, Friends, Allies, supporters and sympathisers. We greet you on this 67th birthday of the African National Congress.

January 8th, 1979 is a day on which we are recalling the first steps which were taken along a new road by our forefathers, a day which comes at a time when power in our region is visibly changing hands. As we mark and observe this anniversary of our liberation movement, the African National Congress, the air still resounds with the echo and whine of the bullets of Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres who have during this past year been striking a series of telling blows against the enemy. This day also comes at a time when our fraternal liberation movements - SWAPO of Namibia and the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe have reached the very threshold of power. In Zimbabwe, a generalised offensive is unfolding and the days of the racists and their stooges are strictly numbered.

Today, sixty-seven years after the great inaugural conference in Bloemfontein, the tasks which our founding fathers set themselves - the overthrow of white minority domination and the creation of a democratic South Africa - are yet to be accomplished. But, indisputably, we are making significant progress towards the attainment of our cherished and historic goal of liberation in our country. More than ever before, we are confident of victory.

Thanks to the international support and solidarity our movement has organised and mobilised over the years, the racist Vorster/Botha regime stands isolated in the international community today. World opinion has denounced and castigated the apartheid regime. Even its erstwhile supporters must publicly spurn it to avoid international opprobrium.

On the other hand, the justice and legitimacy of the struggle of the millions of oppressed in our country has won firm and widespread international recognition. Throughout this past year, as our people sustained the offensive against the repressive and violent system of racist oppression and exploitation, there were striking examples of the growing international acceptance of the African National Congress as the authentic leader of the liberation movement in South Africa, the representative of the real interests of all the people of South Africa. This recognition of the leading role of the African National Congress and its allies in the liberation movement is itself a tribute to the indomitable spirit and indeflectible determination of all the oppressed and exploited, as well as all true democrats of our country, who have stayed in the field of struggle, growing from strength to strength over a period of many decades, the African National

Congress being throughout this time the expression of their united strength, and the spearhead of their drive towards a new South Africa. In turn, we salute all the friendly peoples of the world with whom we share the common objective of a new world order.

The African National Congress, the mass of our people and the world progressive community, including the United Nations and the majority of its member countries, comprising OAU, the Socialist countries, the non-aligned group of nations and countries and governments in Western Europe. We are all together involved as partners and allies in the noble task of removing from the face of the earth, an outrageous scourge, a social cancer in the form of the apartheid regime and the violent structure it has created to perpetuate itself. Today, this regime is sponsoring and spreading death and destruction and terror all over Southern Africa. But victory and the future belongs to the forces for progress and peace, not to racists, baaskapists, colonialists, and aggressors.

We warn the Western powers, that unless they forthwith discontinue their political, economic and military support for the Vorster-Botha-Smith regimes, white minority racist rule, with or without its puppets and stooges, will have ruined all the much vaunted western interests in Southern Africa long before the oppressed and exploited masses destroy this white domination, which they will.

It is not without significance that the vicious campaigns of terror unleashed upon our people by the Vorster-Botha regime have only served to stoke the fires of revolution.

Our students and teachers have maintained a magnificent unity in the fight against Bantu Education and dare challenging many of the expressions of white racist arrogance. Our youth who have often spearheaded this militancy have kept alive the spirit of the 1976 uprisings.

The Black working-class has used its most powerful weapon, the withdrawal of its labour power, on numerous occasions to prevent the manoeuvres of the exploiters who have sought to make the working people pay for the crisis of their capitalist system. Our people in Crossroads, Clermont and other places that the racists had earmarked for demolition have by their vigilance and the support of the masses stayed the hand of the racist persecutor.

Despite the difficulties and hazards involved, units of Umkhonto We Sizwe, are spreading their armed presence in the country, and the enemy provokes them at its peril, as recent experience has demonstrated; for, to the armed attacks and brutal force the enemy uses against the people, the people have now to respond with armed force. What is more, the experience of our lifetime, including the experience of June 16, 1976 and after, teaches us that the issue of power and peace in our country, as elsewhere, will be resolved in our favour only by an

effective combination of political and armed activity, however, is not targetted, not on persons, but on the racist system - except when persons go out of their way to defend the system.

The churches have in the past encouraged and participated in the practice of violence against our people by urging and collaborating with apartheid, itself a brutally violent system which can have no future. Recently, however, to significant measure, church leaders are identifying themselves with the cause of justice, regardless of the consequences. Many among them, in South Africa and abroad, have come to realise that however much they abhor all violent system, defended and upheld with the unrestrained use of armed force, does not lend itself to peaceful ways of dismantling it. On the contrary, it can only breed counter-violence - at the very least, as perfectly natural process. But what is more, systems of the South African racist type have outlived their time by decades. There is no place for them today, except perhaps as detonators of large-scale war.

The African National Congress is, demonstrably, a peace-loving people's movement because the majority of the people of South Africa whom it has led for decades love people. We all recall the policy of non-violence which governed the militant struggles of the 50's, led by the African National Congress. It was the armed police who opened fire on the unarmed people in Sharpeville and Ngquba Hill in 1960. It was the armed police, urged on by Vorster himself, who murdered, not just 300, but nearly 1,000 children in Soweto alone in 1976.

The people of Mozambique, Zambia, Botswana, Angola and Namibia have died in their thousands, all killed by the Ian Smith and the Vorster-Botha regimes who are attacking in close collaboration both in the planning and in the attack. Southern Africa, as a matter of stark reality, is at war.

We have all failed to reach our cherished goal of peace the soft way. It is clearly impossible to avoid the hard way to peace.

In our message to our people today, we call attention to the lesson of our own history, our own times; to the reality of our own situation: Nothing will change except at the instance of the majority of our people of all races and social strata: Nothing will change without enduring and sustained sacrifice on our part. Nothing - no force on earth, can deny us the victory of our just and united struggle. As we observe this anniversary of the formation of the African National Congress, the expression of the spirit of unity of the oppressed, we invite all our countrymen in their various organisational formations to seek and find ways of co-operation and collaboration in the quest for justice in our country, for liberation. The enemy of freedom for peoples has evolved a divisive structure which has found support among some of the victims of that structure.

The African National Congress calls upon all opponents of racial arrogance, domination and white supremacy to unleash this year, a determined assault on the artificial political, economic and racist barriers which go under the term apartheid or separate development. We invite all true patriots to join in this effort. It is our hope, it is our aim, that we should observe the 25th anniversary of the Freedom Charter on June 26 1980, under the banners of a people united in the declaration of the Freedom Charter, which says that "South Africa belongs to all who live in it", and that we can together re-affirm our commitment to the principle of "one country, one people, one government - a government of the people of South Africa". In this connection, the declaration of support for the African National Congress by the Labour Party is of great historic significance and will rank among the outstanding milestones in the march of the South African people towards a common nationhood, rich in its variety and experience, grounded on the strongest foundations of human equality and non-racialism.

This great initiative taken by the Labour Party, will surely be followed by all who believe we are fellow-countrymen, seeking a just future for ourselves and our children, a just future for mankind.

Let us in South Africa learn to stop being Bantus, Coloureds, Indians and whites. Let us be what we are, Africans in Africa. Let those who are committed racists, who came to this continent determined to keep Africans in chains, to be perpetual white masters over Blacks - let them persist in their role as foreigners on African soil.

But the ANC, the majority of us in South Africa, supported by the world community, will continue to convince them by our struggle that there is no longer any place in Africa for the enemies of Africa, and no longer any place in the world community for racists.

The ANC is launching a three year programme which will culminate in the observance of its 70th anniversary on January 1982. A programme which will reflect our struggle and activities in all fields, rising from strength to strength and reaching on that date a scale worthy of the heroes and martyrs of our struggle - worthy of the courage and dauntless determination of our youth, workers, peasants, women, intelligentsia and other social forces who represent the vast majority of our people.

It is our conviction and hope that 1982 will find the ANC with a membership representative of a cross section of our entire population, a membership which will include a substantial percentage of those South Africans now living under the doubtful privilege of being "White".

In looking forward to the challenging tasks of the next three years, we cannot overlook the year of the great Isandlwana.

One hundred years ago, King Cetshwayo's people's army spoke to the invading enemy with their spears. At the battle of Isandlwana, it engaged and defeated the pride of the British colonial army - a feat which has gone down in history as one of the most glorious and spectacular achievements in the world struggle to resist foreign domination. Faced with the might of superior arms our heroic warriors knew no fear. They shed rivers of blood to remain a free people in the land which was theirs.

In war which was deliberately provoked by the enemy, the people's army gave clear notice that a time comes in the life of a people when there is only way out - the way of challenging oppression by force and violence.

In doing so, they added a glorious page to the long history of our people's heroic resistance to the robbery of the land of our fore-fathers. Isandlwana has left us with a heritage whose spirit of no surrender, whose spirit of sacrifice and discipline, inspires and guides our whole nation in the battles to come, a heritage which is a challenge to all of us - the children of Isandlwana.

This great battle was one of many battles fought in the 200 years during which, in different parts of the country, stretching from the Western Cape to the northernmost reaches of the Transvaal, our people, spear in hand, fought war after war in defence of their land, our freedom and for peace. Isandlwana was the highest point in the protracted struggle. It was, for the spear of our people a moment of glory!

Today, 100 years later, let us salute this weapon of our people and pay the highest tribute to the brave and gallant men who brought honour to the cause of justice and pride to all opponents of colonial plunder and national oppression.

Because of the central role played by the people's weapon, the spear, in the country wide struggle that culminated in that historic victory, the African National Congress has decided to proclaim the year 1978 as THE YEAR OF THE SPEAR.

It is a year in which our people must, as never before, take up the challenge of the spirit of Isandlwana. In this, the Year of the Spear, let us commemorate and remember the great battles fought by our people, in every factory, farm, kraal and home. Let us make 1979 a year in which every man and women, and all our youth and children learn the true meaning of the great tradition of Isandlwana and other battles fought by our people in decades and centuries of resistance.

Let us spread the message of defiance and resistance to all forms of racist rule. And let us popularise our cause - the cause of a new South Africa. Let us spread the spear, which is the symbol of Isandlwana, to every corner of our land.

Finally, on this day we salute our leaders, and brothers and sisters in enemy jails. We salute Solomon Mahlangu. We salute militants of the African National Congress, the various forces fighting exploitation and oppression in our country - in the cities and in the countryside. We wish you and all our friends a great year - THE YEAR OF THE SPEAR!

Let us all go forward in rising levels of intensity of struggle to the Year of the Spear, 1979, to the year of the Freedom Charter, 1980, to the year of the 70th anniversary of the African National Congress, 1982.

AMANDLA! MAATLA!

POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

8th January 1979.

LUANDA, People's Republic of Angola.