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lenge not only to Christians, but also to people of other faiths in our country. While the evil and unjust apartheid system exists in our country, we cannot have peace, nor can the peoples of Southern Africa.

The fraternal peoples of Namibia and Angola, especially, have for years now known no peace because of Pretoria's brutal colonisation and occupation of their countries. Daily, our Namibian and Angolan brothers and sisters suffer death and destruction from the regime's bombs, bullets and bayonets. This war of aggression is being conducted by a regime from our own country. We have a responsibility to ourselves and the children and people of Namibia and Angola, to raise our voices in condemnation of the aggression. We urge upon the people of South Africa to demand and fight for the immediate withdrawal of all South African troops, mercenaries, Pretoria-backed bandits and special assassination groups from Angola, Namibia and other affected countries of Southern Africa. In this context, let the oppressed and democrats of our country assume their historic responsibility, recognising that the struggle in South Africa is the hope of the sub-continent.

We are entitled to expect that people of all faiths in our country, including the Christian, the Jew, the Hindu and the Moslem, will in fact act, and act now, in defence of justice, peace and life, against a system that is totally evil and inhuman.

Woman's Place is in the Battlefront
It will be our special task this year to organise and mobilise our womenfolk into a powerful, united and active force for revolutionary change. This task falls on men and women alike - all of us together as comrades in the struggle. We wish to stress the need, at the present hour, for the emergence on the political scene of a women's movement that is politically and organisationally united. Our struggle needs and demands this potentially mighty force.

Our struggle will be less than powerful

and our national and social emancipation

can never be complete if we continue to treat the women of our country as dependent minors and objects of one form of exploitation or another. Certainly no longer should it be that a woman's place is in the kitchen. In our beleaguered country, the woman's place is in the battlefield of struggle.

People Determined to be Free

We have come a long way from the time, as in the 50's, when we fought barehanded - disarmed and unarmed - against the military might and the trigger-happy army and police force of the apartheid regime. No black hand was allowed to touch a fire-arm or possess any instrument more lethal than a pen-knife.

Today, the racist regime's army and police generals who occupy a central position in Pretoria's state machinery, through the State Security Council, are making frantic efforts to recruit and arm the "Kaffirs, Coolies and Hotnots" of the SO's, to serve as cannon fodder in the defence of a system that has fallen foul of the times, a system that has enslaved and debased us these past 70 years.

It is not that the military might of the regime has declined. It is rather that the people, determined to be free, have taken up arms and, through their own army, Umkhonto We Sizwe, have moved on to the offensive.

Today, armed struggle is a vital, indispensable component of the struggle for national and social liberation in South Africa. Where the apartheid regime relies for survival on its fascist army and police, on black mercenaries, and on puppet armies and murderous puppet administrations who slaughter men as readily as they butcher children, the democratic majority in our country supports the People's Army - Umkhonto We Sizwe - whose rising sophistication will yet compound the survival problems of the apartheid system.

But the challenge confronting Umkhonto We Sizwe, in the face of current developments in Southern Africa, has never been greater. Therefore, in commending its units and commanders on the sustained offensive of the past year, we charge them, and call

upon our people, to carry the struggle to new heights, and sue for victory tomorrow rather than the day after tomorrow.

To this end, Umkhonto We Sizwe must deepen its roots and grow inextricably among the popular masses: among us - the workers, the peasants, the youth, the women; we, the unemployed, the landless, the homeless, and the starving millions.

Umkhonto We Sizwe must grow in size, in the spread and quality of its operations, and in the weight of every blow delivered. The armed struggle must grow. 'We shall achieve victory through a combination of* mass political action and organised revolutionary violence.

We address a special message to the white youth. Your future is in issue. The apartheid regime has no future. like Adolf Hitler and his war machine, after spreading death and destruction everywhere, the regime will be defeated and destroyed everywhere.

The Future Belongs to the Majority

The future belongs to the majority of the people of South Africa, black and white, who, in struggle, are today laying the foundations of a united, non-racial democratic South Africa in what will then, but only then, become a peaceful and rapidly advancing region of Africa.

Your proper place is among these builders of a new order in our country. Join them. Refuse to join an army whose sole function is to murder, murder, murder, African people everywhere.

It goes without saying that Black youth - African, Indian and so-called Coloured - must under no circumstances serve in Pretoria's army of violent repression and criminal aggression. The democratic movement should immediately take up this issue with our youth throughout the country.

Our democratic movement, our movement for national liberation, is part of a multi-million strong world alliance of forces which fights for national independence,

democracy, social progress and peace. On the other hand, the apartheid regime belongs

firmly within the camp of imperialist reaction, and is active within this camp to further counter-revolutionary goals.

We therefore have an international obligation to be active in the struggle to defeat the counter-offensive that the imperialists, led by the Reagan Administration of the United States, have launched. We too must raise our voice against the war-mongers within NATO who have brought humanity closer to a nuclear holocaust by sabotaging all efforts at nuclear disarmament and who have, instead, unleashed a new arms race and heightened international tension and insecurity. We too must struggle together with the world peace forces, especially because the Pretoria regime itself possesses nuclear weapons and maintains secret military relations with the most belligerent circles on the world scene.

We too must speak out, and have spoken out, against the attempts of the United States to impose its will on the peoples of the world. This policy has already resulted in the criminal invasion of Grenada, the undeclared war against Nicaragua and the direct intervention of the United States in El Salvador, in support of a gang of murderers. It has led to a reign of terror against the people of Palestine and their organisation, the PLO, as well as the people of Lebanon. It has helped Morocco to ignore the resolutions of the OAU and to maintain its colonial hold over the people of Western Sahara. This policy has further delayed the independence of Namibia and emboldened the Pretoria regime itself to seek to impose its will on the peoples of Southern Africa by force of arms.

Policy of Military Terror and Economic Strangulation

In this regard, through a policy of military terror and economic strangulation, the racists seek to compel the independent states of our region to surrender their independence and, as an important part of that surrender, to help evict the ANC from the whole of Southern Africa. Never was there a clearer illustration of the relationship between the struggle to liberate our country and the struggle to de-

fend the independence and sovereignty of the countries of Southern Africa. The peoples of our region share one common destiny. Certainly, that can never be a destiny of subservience to the criminal regime of Pretoria.

As the Maputo Frontline States Summit of March 1982 agreed, the only way forward for the peoples of our region is to support the ANC and SWAPO in our common struggle against the Pretoria regime and to repulse the offensive of this regime against independent Africa.

For some time now, especially since the Maseru massacre, spokesmen of the South African regime have repeatedly boasted of the intimate nature of their collaboration, and the happy relations they have, with the Government of the Kingdom of Swaziland. The people of Swaziland, like most in the rest of Africa, will have resented that claim, especially if, as we suspect, Pretoria has in mind collaboration in the fruitless attempt to liquidate the ANC by assassinating and harassing its members and supporters in Swaziland.

The trouble about any alliance with apartheid is that the liberation struggle is growing and destined to grow and advance, no matter which or how many members and leaders of the liberation movement are murdered or arrested in the doubtful interests of either white minority domination or good neighbourliness.

Of course the Botha regime is frantic about the emergence of the ANC as the alternative power on the South African political scene. The regime is frantic also because of its inability to block the powerful and evidently dangerous thrust of the ANC and the people towards the goal of liberation. The regime is therefore blackmailing African States into an alliance targetted on the destruction of the ANC.

ANC - Integral Part of the World
Revolutionary Process

But the ANC has grown among the people of Southern Africa in the past 70 years. It has always embraced and always will embrace them as allies and comrades-in-arms. It is a

child of Africa's determination to achieve and enjoy human dignity, freedom and national independence; it will never betray that parentage. It is an integral part of the world revolutionary process; it will stay in the revolution until final victory. 'The ANC is at once the life, the national awareness and the political experience of the popular masses of South Africa. As the people cannot be liquidated, neither can the ANC.

We take this opportunity to give a stern warning to some of our people against the dangerous temptation to work as enemy agents for the liquidation of the people's struggle.

The indestructibility of the ANC should however not induce complacency on our part. In order for the ANC to pursue and accomplish its historic mission effectively, we must be unceasing in our efforts to strengthen and expand its underground structures, ensuring its active presence everywhere in this country.

We Support Independent States of Southern Africa

We hereby extend our unequivocal support to the independent states of Southern Africa, including Seychelles, in the common struggle to defeat the aggressive policies of the Botha regime. The training, arming and deployment of counter-revolutionary bandits into Mozambique, Lesotho and Zimbabwe forms part of this aggression. We are greatly inspired by the heroic struggle of the people of Angola to expel the occupying South African forces from their country and to wipe out the puppet UNITA bandits. We salute the internationalist Cuban forces which have contributed so decisively to frustrate the schemes of the Pretoria regime and its ally, the Reagan Administration.

We extend our greetings to our comrades in arms of SWAPO, the People's Liberation Army of Namibia and the Namibian people as a whole and pledge to fight side by side with them until our continent is rid of all vestiges of colonial and white minority domination.

As we enter this New Year - we hail the

firm and positive role played by the frontline states and the forward country of Lesotho, despite Pretoria's destabilisation efforts and naked aggression against them. The dream of the total liberation of Africa is in sight.

We salute the resilience of the OAU in the face of concerted imperialist manoeuvres and call upon both the OAU and the non-aligned countries to increase their material and moral support for our struggle as well as that of SWAPO and the frontline countries.

Socialist Countries - Pillar of Support

The Socialist countries remain a solid pillar of support to our national liberation struggle. We are assured of their continued internationalist solidarity till the triumph of our revolutionary struggle.

In the past year we have succeeded in widening and deepening our support in the western countries. We are particularly cognisant of the consistent support we receive from Sweden and other Nordic countries, from Holland, Italy and Austria to mention a few. We are happy to report the establishment of a new office in Australia, at the supportive invitation of the Government and people of that friendly country.

Our efforts to win international support have been significantly sustained by a wide spectrum of anti-apartheid solidarity and mass organisations in almost all the western countries as well as the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. With respect to the latter continent, the bestowal of the Simon Bolivar International Award to our people's hero, Nelson Mandela, served the great purpose of laying a firm foundation for the future development of our relations with the peoples of Panama, Venezuela, Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador and other South and Central American countries.

We pay tribute to the progressive forces in the USA for their valiant efforts to achieve wide-scale US disinvestment in South Africa. On them rests the heavy responsibility to defeat the Reagan Administration's racist "constructive engagement" policy with Pret-

oria, and to curb and confine the aggressive character of American imperialism.

We salute the heroic struggle of the Palestinian people, fighting for their birthright under the tried and tested leadership of the PLO, and commend those Arab countries who are making a positive contribution towards the achievement of genuine and lasting peace in the Middle East.

We Pay Homage

On this historic 72nd Anniversary of the ANC, we pay undying tribute to the many patriots who have fallen in action since January 8th last year. Among these we remember with great affection, especially Comrades Dora Tamana, Yusuf Mota Dadoo, Rev. James Calata - great stalwarts whose contribution to our movement shall be remembered by all future generations. We dip our revolutionary banner in tribute to the heroic combatants of Umkhonto We Sizwe, including Comrades Jerry Mosololi, Simon Mogoerane and Thabo Motaung. We pay homage to the martyrs of our people like Saul Mkhize and Msize Dube - all of whom were murdered in cold blood by the Pretoria regime.

We salute all our leaders and activists incarcerated in Pretoria's dungeons, and greet all those who are banned and banished. We greet all our working people in the mines and factories, in the fields and highways, in offices, churches, schools, and hospitals and in various other socio-cultural services.

We greet parents, mothers and fathers who managed to raise families against tremendous odds in the face of the genocidal apartheid policies. The loss of life resulting from the operation of this system is staggering. The progress and victory of our struggle will redeem the situation. In the meantime, as a people, we need to address the problem of lack of respect for human life which is manifest in the growing number of deaths from unnatural causes in the ghettoes of our country.

We have just brought to its close a year that we observed as one of United Action. During this year, we built up the unity of 13

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our democratic forces as never before. We must defend and consolidate these gains. We must build on them as we move to the next stage of our struggle. The workers and peasants; women, youth and students - all of us black and white - must continue to engage in an ever-broader and united assault on the racist regime and its policies.

1984 - The Year of the Women

One of the principal tasks we have to accomplish this year is, as I have said, the organisation and mobilisation of our womenfolk into struggle. For this reason, in the name of the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress, I declare 1984 THE

YEAR OF THE WOMEN, and charge the entire democratic and patriotic forces of our country with the task of joining in the effort to mobilise our women to unite in struggle for people's power!

To all true patriots of our country, we extend best wishes for success in our common struggle during this,

THE YEAR OF THE WOMEN!

MOBILISE AND MARCH FORWARD
TO PEOPLE'S POWER!

Amandla ngawethu!

Matla ke a rona!

Power to the people!