

30.00.000.90

that the cause for justice triumph. That is the best punishment we can provide. As I say, the people may decide to go further than that.

QUESTION 2

Giving the thrust of your new strategy, indicating that you are determined to pursue an uncompromising, war in South Africa, what do you think now is the condition of Nelson Mandela and surely there are no possible chance now of negotiation?

ANSWER

Nelson Mandela is part of the struggle of our people, he has, he and the others who have been imprisoned for upward of 20 years very long, time, but they are prepared to see the struggle waged till victory; none would ever say nor any of them that let the struggle be abandoned or stop, that we can be released. The demand for

their release is independent of the ongoing struggle. The demand for their release

we feel that the country as a whole needs them this time, and they can make a

contribution towards a solution of the problems of SA. He can and we are trying to make the contribution too, by stepping up our armed struggle. But it should

never be supposed that they expect or they would stop our struggle, to allow them

out. It is true that the regime has said he must renounce violence so that he can

be released. He has refused. So the position is that we must pursue the objective

, we must pursue the objective of destroying the apartheid system, for the sake

of all our people in SA, in the interest of peace in this region. In the interest of what the international community would like to see, an end to apartheid system.

Q. What is your response to that?

Mr. President, If the ARC as you say steps up the pace of the military offensive against the apartheid regime? Does not that mean then run the risk of losing valuable support in the west, by the West turning around and say the ANC is simply

turning into another IRA or PLO. What is your response to that?

MSW

We have been at pains, always all the times to explain to our friends everywhere, #1

why the ANC embarked on the armed struggle, On the first instance we have spent 25

years doing that now. Our friends have come to accept that, we have also said if

apartheid persists and if the international community does not intervene by way of

sanctions, the conflict inside South Africa can only escalate. That it is impossible

for escalation not to take place; The only way we can interrupt that escalation is

by

imposition of international pressures in the form of sanctions. Our friends

understood this and they have been expecting it; I should say they have been -

expecting us to escalate, because we have no choice or no alternative. I don't think

that we will lose genuine opponents of the apartheid system. The genuine ones I

I mean those who really want to see an end to the apartheid system; I can't see us

lose their support. We have also said if I may add, that we have been forced into this position. Armed struggle was rammed down on our throats, on our unwilling

120.00....

QUESTION 12

Mr president Do you think the rift between the ANC and Inkhatha movement of Chief Buthelesi could be mended at this stage.

.MNSWER

Well of course there is nothing at the moment to suggest that it can be or that is going to be, let me put it like that way. There is nothing at the moment to indicate that the rift is going to be mended. The ANC by the very nature of its formation is committed to a united struggle of all our people and we believe that our people are basically united against anything about the ANC. It is their organisation. Chief Luthuli lived in that world. His work there and the work of the others John Duke, champion Mahlatshaba, they were born there. Nothing has happened to those people about the ARGO. It is Chief Buthelesi himself who is fighting his own battle of against the ARC. The ANC is preoccupied with the struggle to take much notice what he is saying.

QUESTION

Why is the ANC against Chief Buthelesi?

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ANSWER

What have the other homeland leaders done, have they attacked workers when they went on strike. Have they attacked the MNC when it hits SASOL. Have they killed students. Have they attacked the members of the UDF, killing them, what have they done. what have they said. No he is fighting something. We think we know what it is and we do not think he is going, about the right way. we do not think. he will succeed:

QUESTION 1%

What I wanted you to clarify Mr Tambo is whether the ANC has got any set ideology.

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party

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ANSWER

The ARC has consolidated the unity of our people; Unity of our people in general, around the freedom charter. That is our basic guide and we are all agreed about the: are guided by the freedom charter. It is conceivable: So the EEC we see no problem. We and we are a non-racial, democratic and united force when we win our victory. people within those parameters there will be divisions, people will form political parties on one form or another. and that will be permissible. That will not be the division about Freedom charter or its objectives. It will be that people see the situation differently at the time and have different approaches to the problems which the liberated SA will be faced with. And there could be many organisations of that kind formed and they will be exercising their democratic rights in a democratic society. So within those limits then so it is possible that there can be ideological differences between one group and the other. But the ARC is bound together, has been

for a democratic and newwraoial country has persisted to this day. We have said. 13 that all political prisoners must be released unconditionally so that they should participate in any discussion. There maybe about about the quest ion of aegotiatim We all know the response of the Pretoria regime which is that it will continue to impfison our leaderso , leadera ofnour people regardless what anybody sayso And therefore this destroys any prospect of negotititations as far as our people are concerned, as far as the ANS is concerned the kind of SA we are fighting for is 812

well known to everybody here. We want to see our country belong to all who live in i t black and white. We have said we ourselves we have proposed that a new democratic oonsitution should include and entrench bill of rights gurantee the rights of individuals certainly not group privilegese We have also said that the wealth of our country should be shared among our peepke to bannish hunger and poverty. The freedom charter itself specifically allows mixed economy. We are convinced that our people can live together in one South Africa as equals and at peace, and as Nelson Mandela has said when he was setenced to life immaisonment 23 years agb, these are ideals we are prepared. to die for; Thank you your excellg Ladies and Gent lemene

QUESTION 1

I have got the questions at first I would like you to explain what you mean by mass combat unitJe(As state& in Jan 8th statement)

and. the mccnd one is what is

the ANC going to when liberation eomes in regard to peeple responsible for massam torture eot insiqe and outside SA?

ANSWER

What has happended in the cause of the confrontations that are currently taking place in SA and have been going on now for the better part of 18 months is that the people have become increasingly organised to face the situation imposed on at them by the apartheid regime, and espically by the state of emeregenoyâ\200\230. So they at

are organised in gropps to deal with that situation: Fistly to defend themselves seooi-\202i-\202ly to attack; Basically in defence because the army and the police is the re

So with effects of these as mass combat nits which could be much larger than guerilla units and have no fixed size, size can vary but these are there, and as we say they will and they must multiply; It is the development along the lines of building â\200\234â\200\2303 the peoples war, carrying out the peoples ware i-\202ew in r egard to the a

second question.... I doat want to committ a future South African geverment te &

11,33}? 2,: 6:3;er done to those who have perpetrated crimes against the people of
SAAand outside. I think. that should be left to the people to decide at the#me,
when peace cease in our country. He should like to feel ihat pewĩ→\201iihere m lithe.
nnedto bring the criminals before the peoples courts, but dont went to anticipate
that kind of development, we have eaid that some of the perpetrators of brutal
crimes deserve to be punished, chances are that they should be punished in the
course of the struggle and the best punishxnent is to make sure that what they are
trying to defend is destroyedÂ«:

5.....wute

The fact that so far is confined to townships does not alter the fact that SA is involved in I war, just limited, but the war all the same because the army in in t: the actual fighting, shooting killing every day? Since perhaps August or September. The army was there nitieĩ-\\201i-\\201even before the state of emergency was declared, It i s a

war situation and in that situation hundreds have been killed, They are dead now massacres had been perpetrated against civilians, Scores of civilians been killed' lamelodiÃ©gaaeacre, UitenhagÃ©imaeeaaore, Botewanadheeeaaore, Qnueaetown a maesaere. That situation is beginning to drift out of the temshipsgmd not necesarily in a regular or predictable manner, but certainly we are beginning to see SouthAfrioans of all races going to bury their beloved ones who died in the SA eituation. Whites goin to bury the dead, africane indians, ooloureds. The whole of SA. ie beginning to bleed in the face of the persistence of the apartheid system. And intensification means more of this. And if I have been approached by a ANC unit and asked wether thegâ\\200\\230ehould go and plant the bomb at the supermarket I would have said of course not. But when our units are being forced with what is happening all around them it is understable that some of them could say well I have to face being discipled. But i am going todihie. I am going to do this after all president Bethe has obhi-\\201i-\\201i

Compihined that africens are killing themselves there. He has complained, It is an. afrixans killing africane. He president Bothe. President Reagan has also compleindl Aed I can understand in the circumstances which this kind of thing can happen, But all inell it means we are beginning to move me stormy times in SA Times which will involve us all. But it will be all because there is a fundamental problem of the apartheid system. And at some point I hope all south africans will turn agmie this system and simply decide to abolish it so that there should be no more bloodshed in our country.

QgESTION 6

Mr Tambo can you tell us what are your minimum demands from the SA goverment at thus moment, and can you foresed any theoretical possibility of your organisation puttix the marotorium on vdblence, to negotiate with. the SA goverment?

ANSWER

Well as I have said earlier, we have been ooneittent in saying that the best thing to do towards considering the pessihilitiee of a negotiated eettlemi-\\202nt the first we made in any other, but surely the first one, firdt step is that Nelson landela and other political prisoners should come out and. be part of this situation, we mean & And also think there is no reason why they eheuld not be released. Any way we are ' not asking for tooo much, the whgi-\\201gufaigg say they must be reteaeÃ©i-\\202. The regime is afraid of them, when the. regimet&& afraid of what is going on in the townships, they should be afraid of the escalation, so that is the first oneo Well about moratorium you know it is hardly ever necessary to have moratorium before serious talks began. And the moratorium can come aboutlas the results some stage being reached in the talks for ceasefire. But there is no reason why iÃ© the regime wanted to tatkl seriousl

throw its arms or s-ome hoe

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y they should insâ\\200\\231let that the ANC should

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now for the past 30 years by the freeÅm charter. So we have got a deep foundation
amÂ°nÃ© 0â\200\234? People around the freedom charter:

QyEST ION 18

preident Tambo, the American and the British govermente still maintain that dieives
ment will hurt the black people most. What could you say about this stance?

ANSWER

that we are

well the South African rand has been dropping to rock bottom over the recent period
In part that is a result of the international action influenced considerably by the
ongoing struggle. When the banks refused to extend loans nobody protested to those
banks that the African or blacks will suffer most. The concern of everybody was the;
'there was an economic crisis and we were not the issue at the time' What I am getting
at is that sanctions will create economic crisis, they are intended to create other
problems for running the apartheid/ state. Everybody understands including those who
use this argument. They understand perfectly well that under the apartheid system
we have done all the suffering, that was necessary but we can't suffer more simply
by an act that is intended to destroy the system. They understand
this

fighting and sacrificing, they know this, sacrificing our lives, they knew
and what will we sacrifice if there were sanctions, not our lives, we would save
our lives if there were sanctions. We would have an unfilled stomach, but we have
it now. We can't be hungry. It is not an honest argument it is hypocritical. President
'Reagan is now forcing sanctions on Libya. What is going to happen to Libyan
children. Prody is saying that SA is imposing sanctions against Lesotho, now this
great big mighty power terrorizing a small African country for its courage. It is
disgraceful. But who is saying that this action by SA will kill Lesotho people?
Hohndy, South Africa is allowed to do that, but when ask them to do it against SA
say we will suffer. It is not & honest. Sometimes they say the African states
they

will suffer. The African states in this region are independent states, they are led
by matured leaders, they know what they want and they don't

â\200\231 by their leaders, African

wants for their people and their countries. Who is speaking of half 9k di-\202am
And simply because the international community has been slow on this sanctions the
struggle

process the international community will know it has a role to play to interrupt that
process and help us to bring about an end to crime against the humanity

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in SA is now entering the phase of rapid escalation; We hope in the

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It was necessary whatever they decide they should decide together; We did not say we call on the students to stay out, we anticipated the boycott because it was highly unlikely the regime would respond to the demands that were being put across by the people and the students; No a request that the schools must be opened on the 28th precisely to enable the parents to talk to the students to go back in 2016 that has been rejected already; 80 we are beginning to move to a situation when the students act. They would now have the support of their teachers, parents and we will support them. So that is the position. We were reported as saying that we are opposed to the school boycott by the students. That was not correct, we are not opposed to it, but we agree on that it will be a good if there was agreement that they go back and so that if at least there is a boycott it is a united act not by individual groups at separate times, They should act together and move forward together. It was the basic generation and there was the second question, we have said that we are going to attack the economic installations and this could well be the target, but we are hoping that in the spirit of acting against the regime, helping to bring about the end of violence and the end to apartheid system, helping to bring about an end to a violent regime in SA and in the region, the business community will say we are no longer prepared to participate in the production of weapons; And we believe that the business community's contribution of what is produced. So they could help very much to hold back the SA regime in relation to the production of the armaments is up to its violence adventure everywhere:

QUESTION 13

The president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches Rector Allen Boesak has called on the people of South Africa not to cooperate with the team of the Commonwealth countries planning to visit South Africa. What is the ANC position to this call made by Boesak in 2017?

ANSWER

The former member of the ANC, this idea arose at the Commonwealth

conference. It was not clear and it is not very clear yet how the group would respond.

The people of South Africa like the NRC were not prepared before hand for this decision. But we now know the circumstances in which it arose and we of course know that with the possible exception of Britain the other members are the great supporters of the campaign for sanctions. They support us, and many of them have taken action against the regime in the form of sanctions. And the group was therefore established in the situation in which commonwealth countries except Britain, were all

unanimous about meeting demands of the people of SA, for the imposition of sanctions
The ARC is hoping of getting to know in due course how the group is going to operate

We have not yet been contacted and we are keeping the matter under consideration.

In the meantime of course there is a lot of speculation at home about how the group
is going to operate, and I believe that Allen Beesak is really speaking in the

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questions you wanted to know about the Amazimtoti bomb. There is going to be more d?
these things in the situation of generalised conflict. There is going to be more
of
this, and. we must be better prepared for it and not be suprised. It is the developmat
of the crisis in SA; It is the inti-\202nsifioation of the conflict in SA; We are not
responsible. More people are going to die. In that some of them very regretable as
regretable as 43 who were massacred on March.the 21st. Just assaulted or those who
were marching to Pollsmer prisonb assaulted, klledg what all our people feel about
this they are very much aggrieved about it. They dont know what to do. I diint rejo\â\200
\234L

it is fair to say this, but there were celebrations in SA, among the black people.
I did'nt celebrate that beecause in any case I dont think.we have got a different iii
kind of morality. we dent lbï-\201t want to copy from the fascist regime, but our peeple
rejoioed

especially after lasers, Mamelodi, after Pblsmer march aftdr Qseesntoun,
after all this thingsï-\201They rejoieed, they celebrated we should know that, and the
people of SA must be prepared for this kind of a thing, that is the truth ef the
matter, truth of the matter is that our people celebrated, that is the truth of the
mattero

QUESTION 11

---~+- In your speech last night you called for the extension of the struggle
Allillli-\202

beyeng the black townships. Could you explain exactly what this mean,
Does this mean taking the struggle into white residential areas?

ANSWER

The struggle is taking place in some areas in SA. we call them townships. It has i-\202ab
been confined in these townships but those townships are not all SAa The people who
have died in those townships are dying for a happy peacefull South AfricaoTheir
blood is being shed for this%51t is happening in the circumstances of conflicts and
we are saying that if South Africans
must bleeed and die for the salvation of thet'
country let all of them dot Let the whole country experience this nonfliot. Lets am
â\200\230take it beyend the townshipSâ\200\234t3 Anywhere beyond the townships because th
ese are areas
'which are defined as townships. There aret&&&& other which are not, that is all &&h
that we mean. And it must spread across the country and that is what we mean, and as.

we think it make sensd because south africans must participate, must all be involvÃ©l in our attempts to solve the problems of our country. And all South Africans should know the problems of our country. The state of emergency is one of the problems of our countryo But as for many south africans it is happening in some black areas, in some black bmaok backyard. They should know that is happening there by eXperiensin some of ito

UESTION 12

There are 12 allien people living in the homelands or bantustans for that matter. That is one of the reality in SAÂ» Now you are opposed to bantustansTECan you tell us what will happen to the people living in the homelands when the ANC take over?

ANSWER

The South African regime, let us take the case of Kwandehele, that bantustan, therÃ© was no place in SA called KWandebele. There was no such place at all an the map....

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depend to a whole lot of unpredictable conditions, unpredictable

abandon its armed struggle. Theoretically cause there can be moratorium, theoretic;

lly it would

because it could not be conceivable one sided, we can stop our armed struggle 'but is a struggle against the violent system known as apartheid. Would the regime be able to stop that violence of apartheid system. We don't see how would they do that. But theoretically can be done because theoretically the regime can't take both steps to put an end to the apartheid system. They can take the initiative, they are the ones who hold power. They can take bold initiatives which would convince everybody. But now we have reached the end of the apartheid system, and we need only now to negotiate the mechanisms. 80 theoretically it can be done but only theoretically

QUESTION 7

Sir you have now done some what; the targets that you will approve of, You said for example you will not

approach supermarkets, schools, cinema. So you have also said

talked about the fact that so the escalation continues, that civilians might get caught in the crossfire. Now it would seem to me if you are limiting yourself only to military targets you can actually avoid hitting civilians in crossfire, only for example if you hit military camps, only where people wear uniforms. But let me ask you for example in your escalation would you include for example power stations, railway lines. In these cases you will have civilian presence and possibly that can be hit. Are these the sort of things are you talking about strategic targets?

ANSWER

still have to calculate on what the attack would

We have hit these targets in the past, we hit SASOL, we hit power station, lot of times oil depot. Many of this kind strategic installations. We have hit those but we took elaborate precautions against hitting civilians in the process. In SASOL for instance it took us a long time to plan it on such a way that no one should be hurt. And no one was hurt. Now there have been several others as you may remember, we have hit these targets and normally the reports was no one injured target destroyed but no one was injured. We would

mean in terms of civilians, it may not be possible in an intensified situation to avoid hitting the target simply because some civilians are going to be hurt on the process. This is what we mean. In an intensified escalating struggle it would not be possible

otherwise we will find ourselves doing nothing. And of course it is

not unusual. I mean why should we be so committed to avoid civilians being caught on the crossfire, why should we be more committed than people who have been waging war, we have not even stop thinking. How many children will be there, and yet that has been part of morality of the ANG for 25 years now. It helps to remember that we have borne this in mind, when there was going to be a departure we felt enough to say now we are moving away from the level of precaution, and will continue of course to calculate or what will mean to civilians, and we are absolutely certain that many civilians will be caught in the crossfire.

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Your Excellency, Ladies and Gentlemen ,repesantives of the preee,fr~ien11kg:and. Comralr
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Yemsierday,on the 8th We broadcast to the peeple of South Africa our traditional
anniveeary messengeri-\201xplaxning political and mi].itary tasks facing our people this y
ea:

The representative of the press should have recieved full text of that message by now
Therefore the should be no necceeity for us to go over the issues raised in the
statementoThe perspective contained in that statement is one of escaleting political
and military offensive on our own partÂ\$We must and will intensify our all round
attack on the apartheid systemÂ\$We are convinced that the Bethe regime has no intentiox
whatsoever to 6Â\$Â\$EÂ\$EÂ\$E>to the demands of the majority of the peeple of South Africao
and the rest of the worldeWe know that the regimei-\202&&i-\201thh&&i-\202& is intent on
increasing

its brutal repression of our people while playing around with what it calls reformea

But we say, the apartheid system cannot be reformed, it must be abolished totally.

You know that we have declared 1986 the year of Umkhento we Sizwe, the peoples army;

And have called for rapid and escalation of our military offesnive, In this regard we
would like to reiterate that our military operations will continue to be directed.&gi-
\201k

against armed ehemy personell as well as strategic installations. We would also liked:

to repeat that in the course of the Spread of the Peoples War civilians will be caught;

in the crossfirdÃ©i-\202e do not derive any pleasure from thisÂ\$IBut we havefio exceptÂ\$&
&&

it as an inevitable consequence of any war. The use of land mines in the white farming
areas doeegnot

constitute a change of policy. We have just stated, these areas along the borders of our country have long been proclaimed and treated by Pretoria regime as military zone. There are laws on the South African statute books which obliged the white farmers in these areas to be part of South Africa so called security system. When the apartheid regime instituted these measures we were among the few people to warn against its dangers. It puzzles us that today we are being criticised of carrying out armed action in areas that have been declared and turned into military zones by the racist regime. We must also reiterate that we have no armed units based on the neighbouring states and which engage in so called cross border operations. The operations or the attack that the Pretoria regime continue to carry out against the neighbouring countries will most certainly not slow down or stop the intensification of our military offensive inside South Africa. We have experienced cross border raids over the past six years now, cross border raids into African independent states. They have not helped either to resolve problems of South Africa or subdued these states, list of all to deter the people of South Africa who are w

committed to liberate themselves. The cause of the growing confrontation in our country is the continued stubbornness of the apartheid regime. And not the refusal of the ANC to abandon the armed struggle. We have always been ready to negotiate a just solution of the South African question. There has always been the aucoessive white minority regimes which had refused to coincide that SA must become a democratic and non-racial country. fhnxh'hug;;..

If therefore as we have always expected there is escalated conflict in our country today it is because the apartheid regime and the apartheid system persist in our country. That the situation of refusal to coincide the just demands of our people

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Â°Â°ntext of this speculation. The people are focusing on the apartheid regime and are directing all their efforts against the system. Now when a group comes to be involved in this kind of confrontation naturally the people want to know what kind of way and what possible ults, So there is uncertainty, certainly at home. 200\230hi-201&&i-202i-201i-202l&&&& and the ANC has of now said nothing about this. But I believe we shall

at due course say something about it. Let me add by saying that the members of the group fought very hard at the countries on which they come fought very hard to press for sanctions and that should inform their approach to their task whatever is going to turn out to be.

QUESTION 14

I noted the word in your statement that 200\230i-202g held a national conference in JHB on "education, Else where in your address you refer to raising of flags on SA soil. I want you to give us some indication, was you saw the ANC developing its strategy on mobilisation in the coming years within SA?

ANSWER 1

When we speak on this occasion of January 8th we speak to our people, as people who with us are involved in the struggle. When they do things like this conference we are not there physically, but we are part of them. That is why we say we held this conference in JHB. What strategy are you talking about because we have elaborated a programme of action which is an expression of our strategy, in fact what strategy are you talking about....

QUESTION 14

You said the raising of flags in deliberate defiance of the 1!! in SA indicate your high profile and that your organisation is operating above ground.....

ANSWER

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and the

we by hundreds of our people

Well to make the country ungovernable and apartheid unworkable involve defiance. He referred to acts of defiance, '&&&&&&,' atmosphere is actually one of defiance, not only defiance 200\230hi-201hhh&hbg&hk but defiance of the regime. The conflict that is taking place is a challenge to the authority of the regime. So it is basically an act of defiance and this act of defiance is expressed in various centres of action, like Queenstown, when the youth carrying wooden AK 47 It was an act of defiance and we are encouraging this defiance. Part of the progress for this year for instance is to focus on passing 202& laws. That will involve defiance So defiance is fundamental to a strategy of making the country ungovernable and the apartheid system unworkable; It is fundamental to the intensification of our overall struggle whether at the level of the workers or the ministers of religion &1 who have issued that statement known as Kairos. There is a lot of defiance in that 200\230this is an important component in our overall strategy in the struggle of our people? as a whole.

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quesem â\200\235'8

There is a growing split between the elder members of the ANC and the younger who I; want to carry out targets directed or they dont want to draw distinction between military areas and aetual soft targets, and that in fact what about this ANS cell carried out the attack in Durban, Did you infect discipline the ANC unit for the Amazimtoti bombing?

AN swam

?No it is not correct, we were subjected to intensive propaganda by the South Africa: radio, and other members of the media ofcourcee peeked this up, that there ie'a gap between the younger members of the ANC and the elder ones, in terms of strategy and geoties and things like thatQWell unfortunately we didâ\200\231nt allow the press to part id.

pate with us in the consultative conference that we held in Zambia in June. But afterwards we regretd, that the conditions didâ\200\230nt permitt the press being there to

see for themselves, the level, the degree and.the depth of wnity about questions of strategy and tactics..o...o...

QUESâ\200\230Iâ\200\230IOHJ

Hr Tamho you seem to be making excuses fer this Durban attack. An RIC unit could carry out, as the more people earried away. It is incenoivable I thtuk-everybody â\200\230would agree that the ENG would.not be aware of ene of its cells carrying out att ack

in the aftermath. Did the ANC(Yes or No) was involve in the Amazimtoti bombing?

â\200\230KSWER

This forces me back to what I have already saidoThe South African army went into laseru, a few days before and kill 9 people not 7, net 5 but 9. and before that women had been marching at Mamelodi, the army and the police came, shot then down killed 13 people. That is violenodtIn Queenstown they killed 14 end I told you show; Botswana. why must I be subjected to oiÃ©§3M3xamination about Amazimi-â\201oti, Why. Is t hha

more important than the scores, possible more than 100 children been shot by police these all. We are not talking about any of

Just shot at. We are not talking about

â\200\230theeee massacres and they are just bear massacres; The army goes to Lesotho and k ilh;

Lesotho citizens and come and say it is not us, and now I must be facing questions

Whether it was the ARC or not and so on. I think this is a mistake we are makingee

QUE ST ION 10

What weâ\200\230hnt to know Mr president, was the ANC responsible?

ANSWER

I have given yeu the broad outline of the ARC. I have done that; What more do&.you WANT ME TO SAY. I mean the question of whether we have investigated, who it is, is not impotent. The bomb has exPloded, end I defined the circumstances in which.this had happened and our position; I cannot be answerable for every little thing that happens in the situation ef generalised violence on the4hpart of the regime.I dont 'think I had t

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e do that at 311' Ybâ\200\234 see because having deeposed and asked all the...

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And South Africa consists of the idea that originally there was a tribe called

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' Ndebeles, went sorting them out from all over South Africa, picking them

and forcing them to go and live in this place and then they called it the bantustan

There is one of continuous persecution for these people. And the South African govt

boast that this is another bantustan. But this is what happened to many of the people

in those bantustans; They were forced there and told they should live there; Hows

we want a united South Africa where people will live where they like; and I am certain

that many of those who are living in those bantustans constituted now as a bantustan

independent or not will travel across the phase of South Africa; They will go and

live where they want to live. Already I think the regime has recognised that

the bantustanisation is a mistake, of course was done to divide us. They recognise this

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And. our people has never accepted this bantustanisation, so there will be no problem

about it. There maybe a problem about those who are hearing the administration, who

are privileged. I think we

can solve that problem. We are I think on the process of

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resolving that problem.

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QUESTION 1e

It was reported that the ANC met South African students and. parents in Harare to discuss the present crisis in black education; What was the position of the members when you met them? You have also resolved to intensify attacks against

strategic economic installations, And at the same time. Calling on the business

community to stop manufacturing weapons for the regime. Why is there a need for this

call?

ANSWER

We met the parents, and they told. us of the consultations they have been having in SA on this question. The consultations involve the students as well as the children

And they had to try and consult everybody else and they wanted to consult the ANC

So first of all we approved of the fact that there should be consultations about this bantu education, it is an offence against all our people; and all of them want it to be abolished; Students decided the best way of doing that is to stay out of it

It is also as part of a general struggle to abolish the apartheid system. So the students are going beyond the abolishment of the Bantu Education. It is also for them a political struggle, And now that consultative was necessary so that what ever is agreed upon is agreed upon by everybody. We can take a common action in it. Whether it be they stay for the whole year. The ANO recommended them on that practice of consulting. As far as ANGO itself is concerned we explained that the matter regards boycott as a weapon of struggle; we have used it in the past We had encourage the students when they boycotted schools, they have taken the initiative but we support them; We have never called on the students to boycott schools. We have supported their decision to boycott because this was part of the fight and we accept that it is a weapon, therefore we would accept what the conference decided because it was an

THE conference involving all the students themselves, teachers and the parents?

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throats, and there is only one way out to move towards putting an end to apartheid system. we throw away out that.

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QUESTION 5

At the time of the township violence last year we were told that we are witnessing the ENG strategy of making the townships and the whole country ungovernable, and we strategy was going to force we were further told that we are about to witness the black on black confrontation, black killing black;

ANSWER

That has never been the strategy of the N86. The strategy of the ARC was to make 'the country ungovernable and apartheid unworkable. The first move on that direction was to destroy the local structures of the apartheid system on which it was intended to build a structure, a constitutional structure to serve urban areas. That was the regime's plan, and we said we must chop down the foundations of that structure. So that we don't allow the position in which their constitutional provisions for one group and another in our country. This will be a reinforced building at the foundation of the apartheid system. Therefore the people started attacking or calling for councillors to resign, well the majority resigned and those who refused to resign were of course attacked; This is the element of black vs black, and it was the results many councillors have been destroyed, and also the regime:

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he not been able to proceed with its plans, we have succeeded to this point. They have not made special constitutional provisions to serve the blacks in our townships country. We insist, we are part of SA; It was never our policy to be black vs black; that is incidental. And black vs black also involves black policemen shooting civilians and children on the orders of the regime. It was part of this component of blacks vs blacks;

QUESTION#6

Tell me, the bomb at Amazimtoti, shortly before Christmas. The ANC has claimed saying that it was not responsible. Do you have any idea who was responsible?
ANSWER

I don't know precisely what we could have said. I should have said, the ANC would have said they did not know at a time. That should have been a more honest thing to say; I don't know if they said they were not responsible, but they did not know, we don't know yet. But I would like to comment about that. When I had to comment about Amazimtoti bomb, there is nothing in the ANC policy or Strategy which calls for attacks on civilians, in supermarkets, schools, cinemas. These there can be a

way be regarded as military installations or establishments; Even so the ANC would not attack children even if they were in the military zone or establishment. That

Therefore there could have been no orders above from above certain levels of the ANC for the Amazimtoti attack. I think I have made the statement to the effect that

we will not attack supermarkets. This will be going for civilian targets. So But I

having said that I want to remind your excellency, ladies and gentlemen, that the SA situation is one of violence. There is war going on there.