

We pay tribute to all those who, in one form or another, have contributed to the advancement of our struggle for the isolation of South Africa internationally.

We greet the fraternal people of Namibia and especially welcome among the fighting ranks of our sister movement, SWAPO, the new Secretary General of SWAPO, Comrade Herman Toivo ja Toivo and his colleagues, whom the apartheid regime was forced to release from long terms of imprisonment. Their release and continued involvement in struggle will bring closer the day of freedom and independence of Namibia.

We pay tribute to the Frontline States and Lesotho for their prompt and principled actions in defending our right of struggle and ^{asserting} upholding the legitimacy and duty of ~~Africa~~ ^{the} Africa and the world to support our struggle.

We recognise the important contribution made by various international organisations, including the OAU, the United Nations and its Agencies the Non-Aligned Movement, the World Peace Council, to mention but a few. They are largely responsible for ensuring that ^{the} Apartheid ^{system} remains at the centre of world attention as "a crime against humanity".

We congratulate our Palestinian brothers and sisters for successfully overcoming attempts to liquidate the Palestinian struggle. We support the call by the PLO for an international conference to give due international recognition to a sovereign Palestinian homeland.

We condemn the continued efforts by the U.S. Administration to destabilise and overthrow the popular government of Nicaragua and express our firm and militant solidarity with the fraternal people of Nicaragua.

We express solidarity with the people of Grenada whose right to self-determination was grossly violated following the naked aggression by the U.S. army forces, and the removal of their duly-elected representatives.

We salute all people engaged in struggle for national liberation, especially in Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic, El Salvador and East Timor. We pledge solidarity with all those struggling to defend their sovereignty, including the peoples of Southern Africa, the Middle East, Afghanistan and Cyprus. We welcome the successes of the democratic

forces particularly in Latin America and are confident that the foothold of the Apartheid regime in the sub-continent will be totally eliminated.

Our people have come to appreciate and value the consistent solidarity and growing support given by the socialist countries, the Nordic States and other countries for our struggle.

Our ties with various governments, political parties and parliamentary groups in Western Europe and Australasia have grown stronger and we look forward to closer relations and increased reduction of apartheid institutions in these countries.

Not. Our greatest tribute goes to the millions of people involved in the ever-expanding work within the world-wide anti-apartheid movement. They constitute the solid base of support for our struggle internationally. It is through their daily, sometimes unknown efforts that governments and people are kept alive to, and mobilised in action against the numerous ploys of the South African racists to white-wash apartheid. In this context we welcome the mounting actions undertaken by the people of the United States, including outstanding personalities and government officials, in pressurising the Reagan Administration to reverse its support for the Pretoria racist regime.

We salute all these supporters and unsung heroes working for the cause of a ^{peace} peaceful world and ^{peace} closer fellowship of the human race.

Dear Compatriots,

Rumours emanating from the South African mass media have been circulating about "Talks" between the African National Congress and the Botha regime. We wish to state categorically that there have been no such talks. Your organisation at this juncture is more concerned to improve our capacity to accomplish the tasks we have set for ourselves in the unfolding year. In this respect we shall, as you know, be holding this year a National Consultative Conference from which we shall emerge united and doubly strengthened to carry our struggle forward.

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We salute and pay tribute to the many heroes and heroines of our country who have laid down their lives in the struggle for liberation, both inside and outside the country. We extend our greetings to the leaders and activists of our democratic movement who, despite arrest, detention and persecution by the enemy, have stood their ground and persisted in the common struggle to defeat and destroy the apartheid regime. Once more, we pledge our commitment to our leaders incarcerated in Robben Island, Pollsmoor and elsewhere that we shall not rest until the cause for which you have sacrificed so much emerges triumphant.

We greet the brother peoples of Namibia and especially welcome among the fighting ranks of our sister movement, SWAPO, Herman Toivo ja Toivo and his colleagues whom the apartheid regime was forced to release from long terms of imprisonment.

We salute all other peoples fighting for their freedom especially those of Palestine, El Salvador, Western Sahara and East Timor. We pledge our solidarity with all those struggling to defend their sovereignty, including the peoples of Southern Africa, the Middle East, Afghanistan and Nicaragua.

During this year, when progressive humanity will be observing the 40th anniversary of the historic victory of the peoples over the barbaric Nazi hordes, the erstwhile allies of the ruling group in our country today, we have added cause to intensify our offensive for justice and peace in our region and for a world free of the threat of a nuclear holocaust. The award of the Nobel Peace Prize to that outstanding son of our people, Bishop Desmond Tutu, can only increase the obligation on us to guarantee peace in Southern Africa and Africa by defeating the apartheid regime, the principal source of war and international insecurity and instability on our continent.

During this year we must continue to mobilise and march forward to people's power. By our actions we have plunged the enemy into its deepest crisis since the racist white minority put the apartheid regime in power. In this situation, relying on the strength that we have built up through our sacrifices, we must intensify our all-round offensive against the racists, relying on our vanguard organisation, the ANC, as the dynamising factor, the advance guard in our forward march towards liberation.

Twenty-five years after the enemy of the peoples imposed an illegal ban on the ANC, to wipe out an outstanding representative of our people that we had developed and matured through 50 years of struggle, we declare this year, 1985,

The call we are making to all the democratic and patriotic forces of our country is that this year we must all pay special attention to the task of strengthening our vanguard organisation, the African National Congress. Already we have made great strides in this regard. And yet the imperatives of our struggle demand that we move even faster towards the realisation of the task we mentioned even last year - to strengthen and expand the underground structures of the ANC, ensuring the active presence of our movement everywhere in the country.

Who are these revolutionary cadres about whom we speak? Where are they? They are not special people. They are there within the country, involved with us in our daily struggles, making the sacrifices that we must make in order to gain victory. They are the sons and daughters in whom we repose the greatest confidence because of their dedication to the people's cause, their discipline and fearlessness. They are in the factories, ~~the~~ mines, and the farms, the commercial establishments, the offices, the schools and residential areas. They are men and women, the young and the old, black and white.

They support and uphold the Freedom Charter, fight for the immediate and unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all other leaders of our people and accept that our path to victory lies through a combination of mass political action and organised revolutionary violence. Such are the revolutionary cadres of whom we speak.

This year we shall be observing the 25th anniversary of the banning of your organisation, the African National Congress, a quarter of a century after the Sharpeville massacre. The apartheid regime banned the ANC exactly because it wanted to deny us this dynamising factor in our struggle. Frightened by the fact that we have nevertheless defeated its efforts to destroy our mother body, this regime has now made mere membership of the ANC a treasonable offence.

This year, we must inflict even more defeats on the enemy by further strengthening the underground structures of the ANC, attracting into ~~its~~ ranks ~~the~~ thousands of revolutionary cadres ~~who are among us~~ ^{thus} and ensuring that the ANC grows this year into an even more formidable organised revolutionary force than it was when it was declared an illegal organisation 25 years ago.

by the racists against them, including the very young, they have stood firm in their demands. They have refused to break from the ranks of the broad democratic movement.

Through their actions, supported and reinforced by the workers and the parents, they have forced the apartheid regime to give ground on many issues. They have prepared themselves well for the even more intense battles that lie ahead. In saluting them, we can truly say that they have earned for themselves the honour of being called the Young Lions.

By deciding to observe this year as the International Year of the Youth, the apartheid regime has thrown a challenge especially at the youth of our country. Among the many crimes that this regime has committed and is committing against us, some of its most heinous have been against our youth and our children. The inhuman system of apartheid exacts a daily toll of enormous proportions on those least developed to withstand suffering.

On the shoulders of the apartheid regime rest such crimes as the high infant mortality among black children, the death and deformation of the young as a result of such diseases of poverty as kwashiorkor, the stunting of their growth through the use of child labour, especially on the farms, and the warping of their intellectual growth through the imposition of a racist system of education, and indeed the denial of real education to millions of young people.

Further to all this, there is the reality of the high level of youth unemployment, the deportation of the young to the Bantustans and the conditions of life which compel the youth to resort to crime. Our country is littered with the graves of young patriots who were murdered by the apartheid regime in 1976, in the years before and since then, to this day. And yet others, both black and white, are being drawn into the enemy armed forces, there to be taught how to hate, how to destroy and kill, how to lose all sense of human compassion and become transformed into marauding beasts of prey.

Then the self-same regime, which is responsible for all these crimes against the youth, with great impudence, decides to observe the International Year of the Youth, whose motto is : Participation, Development and Peace! We must take this Year as our own and use it as the vehicle through which to advance our own perspectives of youth participation in society, in development and in the struggle for peace. We have to use the gains we have scored in youth mobilisation and organisation to aim for even bigger successes that will

basing ourselves on the practical experience of the masses in struggle, we must continue, as we said last year, to help shift our posture from the defensive to the offensive and cultivate the spirit of rebellion and the frame of mind which puts to the fore the politics of revolutionary change. The programmes of action that we plan and execute must result in the initiative passing further into our hands and ensure that our mass democratic and revolutionary movement emerges even more forcefully as the alternative power in the country.

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Yet another vital task on the shoulders of the revolutionary cadres whom the fighting masses of our country have produced. This relates to the other pillar of our struggle - our armed offensive. Last year, we said that Umkhonto we Sizwe must deepen its roots and grow inextricably among the popular masses. We said that it must grow in size, in the spread and quality of its operations and in the weight of every blow delivered.

We must continue to pursue these goals, with our revolutionary cadres making sure that they give these objectives the necessary priority in their work. We must put in front of us the perspective of a people's war, a war waged by all the people against the white minority regime. Guided by that perspective, we must build up the mass combat forces that are training themselves in mass political action for even sharper battles and for the forcible overthrow of the racist regime.

It is the same forces that are involved in mass political action that must carry out the people's war. In the course of these mass actions, we have from time to time and with increased frequency, created the situation in various localities such that the democratic forces were in fact challenging the apartheid regime for the control of these localities.

This has happened when we have developed the popular struggles to a high level, drawing in the majority of the people into action as a conscious, purposeful and determined force for change, and built up the democratic organisations, the organised structures and the leadership to direct and sustain such struggles. What this means is that, in these various localities, we created the conditions for us to transform these areas into mass revolutionary bases.

It is most important that we all of us understand what we mean by such a mass revolutionary base. This is so because on the development of such popular bases depends the rate at which we can advance the people's war and therefore the speed with which we can bring our liberation closer.

the Year of the Revolutionary Cadre. Let this year see the greatest possible extension and strengthening of your organisation, the African National Congress.

Let it see us combine effectively mass political action and mass revolutionary violence. Let it see the fastest and furthest possible coordinated advance on all fronts towards the goal of people's power. The enemy has no possibility to stop us. Our future is in our own hands.

Forward with the Year of the Revolutionary Cadre!

Mobilise and March Forward to People's Power!

Amandla ngawethu! Matla ke a rona!

Ever since it came to power, the apartheid regime has lived in dread of the organised power of the working class of our country. That is why, in the past, it assassinated, imprisoned and banned leaders and activists of SACTU, the South African Congress of Trade Unions. Once more, the racists are resorting to the same measures because they are afraid of the workers using their organised strength and their assumption of their role as the vanguard force of the democratic movement of our country.

Even as it felt compelled to amend labour legislation to allow African workers to form legal trade unions, the apartheid regime continued to entertain the hope that the trade union movement would emerge tame, in fear of the bosses, de-politicised, controlled and directed by this regime. It even went on to enact legislation to enable it to achieve this result.

During this past year, as a result of our persistent work in previous years, as well as the political clarity and heroism of the black workers of our country, we demonstrated the utter failure of the enemy to produce a trade union movement which accords with its wishes.

During 1984, in addition to other important trade union struggles, we saw, for the first time in 38 years, black mineworkers join in a coordinated national offensive in this most sensitive of sectors of the South African economy. Basing ourselves on the struggles we fought and the gains we scored, we must ensure that the mining industry will never be the same again, in terms both of the organisation and consciousness of the workers and the balance of strength between these oppressed and exploited workers and the mine-owners.

In future, this is an objective we must aim for, wherever a struggle erupts, whether in a mine or a factory floor, a farm or a building site, whether on a building or transport site, a shop or a service centre. We have to emerge out of these struggles with stronger organisations of the workers, a higher level of political consciousness and a greater determination to fight on as a united force, towards people's power, whatever the cost to ourselves as individuals. This is the lesson that the heroic black mine-workers of our country handed on to the rest of our workers this past year.

Consequently, we take this opportunity to salute the workers of our country for their role in organising and participating in the historic stays-at-home in Soweto and in the Transvaal towards the end of last year. In these struggles the organised and conscious workers of our country demonstrated at the cost of their lives, their jobs and the right to remain in the urban

conditions for us to transform these areas into mass revolutionary bases.

In every single struggle that we waged in the past year, regardless of how peaceful they were, the enemy confronted us with its armed might.

At such moments, who among us did not feel the urgent need for us to talk to the enemy in the language he understands? Who has not seen that we too must take up arms as did our forebears, as did Bambata, Solomon Mahlangu, and Clifford Brown, only last year!

All we are saying therefore, Fellow Combatants, is that we have it within our means to give ourselves the capacity to hit back at the enemy, arms in hand. No one but we, ourselves, will accomplish this task. We must all take it as a priority responsibility to build up the popular armed forces, to transform the armed actions we have thus far carried out into a people's war by helping to root Umkhonto We Sizwe firmly amongst the people and actively drawing the masses into the prosecution of a people's war.

We salute and pay tribute to the many heroes and heroines of our country who have laid down their lives in the struggle for liberation, both inside and outside our country. We extend our greetings to the leadership and activists of our democratic movement who, despite arrests, detention, and every form of persecution by the enemy, have stood firm and persisted in the common struggle to defeat and destroy the racist regime. Once more, we pledge our commitment to our leaders incarcerated on Robben Island, Pollsmoor and other prisons, that we shall not rest until the cause for which they have sacrificed emerges triumphant.

We take pride in the fact that the international conscience, in the face of the Nobel Peace Committee has seen fit to award to a black South African - Bishop Desmond Tutu, the Nobel Peace Prize. This is the second instance that our people have been given this honour within 23 years. The first South African was our beloved Chief Albert Luthuli.

There is no doubt that this is a tribute to our selfless dedication and resistance to one of the most cruel and inhuman systems the world has ever known. The award should be an inspiration to all our religious communities to get the heresy of Apartheid expunged from the statute books and from our lives.

CHIEF.

T- DRAFT NEC STATEMENT FOR JANUARY 8th, 1985.

Compatriots:

A New Year has begun, bringing with it fresh hopes and novel challenges. I am sure that I express our collective conviction when I say that we are all of us certain that when this year ends, we shall have moved closer to our cherished goal of total liberation.

The hopes we nurture are based on our continued adherence to this objective, We can and will meet the new challenges, successfully, because we are committed to make the necessary sacrifices in the struggle to liberate ourselves. The bells that rang in the New Year were, for us, a call to battle, summoning us to ever greater involvement and persistence in the struggle for democratic change.

Today, January 8th, 1985, we observe and celebrate 73 years of the existence of your organisation, the African National Congress, as well as welcome the New Year. We mark this day with our heads held high because, in the year that has passed, once more, we demonstrated that, as a people, we are determined to free ourselves.

We have the will to insert and are inscribing into the book of the history of humanity a chapter headed "the final collapse of the epoch of colonial and white minority domination". To write that chapter, in practice, will demand of us that we emulate the example of the hundreds of patriots who were willing to perish in the past year in the struggle to emancipate our people and our country.

On behalf of the National Executive Committee and the entire membership of the African National Congress, we extend to you, compatriots, our best wishes for the greatest successes in our common endeavours during the year that has just begun.

1984 saw us take bold steps forward in our struggle against the apartheid regime. As the year closed, it was clear that through our efforts and sacrifices, we have succeeded further to shift the balance of strength within our country in favour of the forces fighting for national liberation in South Africa and genuine peace in Southern Africa. Truly we can say that millions of our people responded magnificently to the call we made last year - mobilise and march forward to people's power!

Thus as we carry out our tasks during 1985, we must have among us these disciplined and dedicated revolutionary cadres, members of the ANC, champions of the people's cause. Our struggle needs them because they will ensure that our forward march can never be stopped. As a strong and organised detachment of our general offensive, they will enable us to use every victory to score even bigger successes.

Further to improve our capacity to accomplish these and other tasks, we shall *this year*, as you know, be holding ~~this year~~ a National Consultative Conference from which we shall emerge doubly strengthened, united and dedicated to the victory for which so many of our people have sacrificed.

Compatriots:

We are still faced with the necessity to accomplish the tasks we set ourselves during the Year of the Women. We must continue to struggle for the unity of the democratic trade union movement, for the organisation of the unorganised and the unemployed, for even greater involvement of the organised workers in the struggle for the seizure of power by the people.

We must press on with the task of mobilising and organising the masses in the countryside for the destruction of the Bantustan system and the seizure of land from the exploiters. Our tasks with regard to the activation of the women have not been completed. We must advance our work on the Education Charter to provide the teacher, the student and the parent with a common platform in our campaign for a democratic system of education as well achieve new successes in the organisation and activation of all our youth.

The offensive against the enemy's organs of government must be intensified and extended to reach all corners of our country and all population groups. Equally we cannot slow down our struggle to refuse that the enemy imposes on us the burden of an economic crisis that is not of our making. Nor should we let up with regard to the struggle against the militarisation of our country and against the aggressive policies of the apartheid regime. The very fact of the arrest and detention of our leaders, some of whom have been charged with treason emphasises the continuing importance of the struggle for the immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners.

These and other goals that we gave ourselves last year remain with us. We charge all members of the ANC with the responsibility at all times to be with the people and among the people in the forefront of all these struggles. Everywhere,

lead us to the birth of a society which would defend and advance the genuine interests of the youth.

We draw great inspiration from the advances we made during the Year of the Women towards the fulfilment of the task we set ourselves last year, the task of organising and mobilising our womenfolk into a powerful, united and active force for revolutionary change. New democratic women's organisations have emerged. Greater numbers of our womenfolk have been drawn into struggle.

We salute all these and especially the fighting women of Sebokeng and other townships who stood in the forefront of the struggles we waged last year. It is important that we draw the correct lessons from this experience to ensure that in our continuing offensive the millions of women of our country take their place in the battlefront of struggle.

During this past year, we also took our struggle forward by beginning to carry out another strategic task we had set ourselves. As you will recall, last year we said we must begin to use our accumulated strength to destroy the organs of government of the apartheid regime.

We have now set out upon this path and have done much to demonstrate our resolve to render the country ungovernable. This has not only meant the destruction of the community councils. Our rejection of the apartheid constitution meant, in its essence, that we reaffirmed our rejection of the illegitimate rule of the Botha regime. Other struggles, including those around the issue of education as well as the stays-at-home, themselves pitted our democratic power against the power of the forces of oppression, racism and counter-revolution, for the defeat and replacement of the latter by the former.

In this coming period, we shall need to pursue the task of reducing the capacity of the apartheid regime to continue its illegal rule of our country with even greater vigour. In order to advance, we have to weaken this regime. To weaken it means to destroy its organs of government everywhere and as part of our continuing mass offensive.

We salute all the patriots of our country who have, by their deeds, helped to focus the minds of the revolutionary masses on this central task. In this regard, we need to repeat what we said last year that those who elect to serve in the institutions of the apartheid system must expect to face the wrath of the people.

Important and wide-spread demonstrations in the United States against the related racist policy of "constructive engagement" of the Reagan Administration and the campaign of repression of the Botha regime emphasise the determination of the international community to fight on our side until South Africa is liberated. The world has gone further to join us in rebuffing the attempts of the apartheid regime to project itself as reformist. *international*

Accordingly the United Nations and all other important international fora rejected Botha's amended apartheid constitution as null and void and affirmed the need for majority rule in a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa. It is clear that we have the possibility to intensify our international offensive in the New Year, further to isolate the apartheid regime, strengthen our own ties of solidarity with progressive humanity and thus further complicate the situation of the apartheid regime within our country. *sub*

During the current year it is obligatory that we continue to march forward to people's power. It is clear that we have the determination and the organised strength to achieve this objective.

But the questions we need must answer in this regard are, at what pace shall we effect that forward march! What distance shall we cover! The answers to those questions depends on how much we succeed to strengthen the other two pillars of our struggle, to ensure the all-round vanguard activity of the underground structures of the ANC as well as the further expansion of Umkhonto we Sizwe inside our country and the escalation of our armed offensive. ✓

With regard to these two decisive elements in our revolutionary struggle, we should neither dramatise our shortcomings nor blind ourselves to the reality that we have not advanced on these two fronts at a pace corresponding to our advance on the other two.

To move forward with the greatest speed and to cover the greatest distance in our forward march to people's power, this year we must pay particular attention to the task of building a strong underground organisation of revolutionary cadres, drawn from the fighting masses and integrated among them.

The dynamising factor in our situation is the revolutionary cadre. The force that is capable of bringing together the various strands of our struggle, to assist in their further development and coordination into one fist of struggle, is such an underground revolutionary organisation which we, the struggling masses, must consolidate and expand.

Because we mobilised and did march forward we managed to weaken our enemy and force it onto the defensive. Despite all attempts, the apartheid regime could not hide the fact that we inflicted on it a succession of defeats and began to take the initiative out of its hands. As we said last year, it is in the attack that we shall find victory.

By attacking, we defeated the efforts of the racist regime to mobilise the so-called Coloured and Indian sections of the black population to accept its apartheid constitution. In this manner, we frustrated the drive of the Botha-Malan clique to widen its social base by recruiting these sections of our people to join the racist white minority as junior partners for the perpetuation of apartheid.

This was a victory of great importance for the further advancement of our struggle. Not only did it serve to raise the degree of isolation of the oppressive regime but it also meant that we succeeded to expand and strengthen the forces that are committed to the struggle for the victory of the democratic revolution in our country.

By refusing to be dragooned into acceptance of the schemes of the enemy the "Coloured" and Indian people were demonstrating in practice their determination to fight side by side and in unity with the African majority, to sue for a common victory against a common enemy. They expressed, in action, the furtherance of our strategic goal of uniting the black oppressed on the basis of shared perspectives about the future of our country and the realisation that we are united by a common destiny. By boycotting the apartheid elections last August, the "Coloured" and Indian people were asserting the truth that no section of the black people can be free while another is oppressed.

Our victory over the enemy in August also meant that the understanding had triumphed among us that apartheid cannot be reformed. When we stayed away from the enemy's polling booths, we both denounced Botha's so-called reform programme as a sham and a deceitful manoeuvre and committed ourselves to struggle to uproot and destroy the apartheid system in its entirety.

These were important victories which we must consolidate and upon which we must build. They must serve as a base from which we advance towards new successes, in unity, putting to the fore the revolutionary perspective of the seizure of power by the people and the building of a new society in a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

areas, the correctness of the perspective we put forward last year that the offensive of the working class is, and must be, an integral part of the national liberation struggle.

Thus, in spite of everything that the enemy did, including the shooting down of our people in cold blood, the deployment of thousands of armed soldiers to invade our townships and the arrest and detention of many leaders and activists, we scored major victories over the apartheid regime. Frightened by our success in paralysing industry and commerce in an area that is the economic heart of South Africa, the capitalist owners of property decided to speak out. Through their organisations, they drew the attention of the ruling group to the fact that not all was well, and that the continued use of old methods of repression would only serve to inspire the black workers further to intensify their offensive.

For us the victories represented by the stays-at-home signify more than the inability of the racists to realise their wishes. They mean that we have taken a decisive step forward in the use of the power of the organised and democratic-minded working class to advance not only the fight for the economic interests of this class, but also the cause of the political emancipation of the people.

In action, we also dealt a deadly blow to a negative tendency that had emerged within the democratic movement of our country which we spoke about last year. We refer to the tendency which had set out to detach the organised working class from the political struggle for people's power and to separate it from the rest of the democratic movement.

We have demonstrated in practice that it is both necessary and possible for all classes and strata among the oppressed masses to unite in action, under the leadership of the working class, in pursuit of common objectives. We salute the trade union leaders and activists of our country who, as patriots and defenders of the people's interests as a whole, did so much to give concrete meaning to, and advance in action, the perspective of a united people's struggle for the victory of the national democratic revolution.

The student and working youth of our country have once more confirmed their place in our hearts as the pride of the nation. These relentless fighters for a South Africa that we can proudly call our own have, throughout this past year, swelled the ranks of the mass movement by joining this movement in hundreds of thousands. Despite the campaign of murder and terror unleashed

In action and in many areas, we have laid down the foundations for the emergence of mass revolutionary bases, human settlements whose main political feature is the active involvement of the majority of the residents in the struggle for democratic change, a deep-seated commitment to fight continuously for that change until victory is won, and the reality that we have destroyed the enemy's organs of government or rendered them ineffective.

We have created this kind of situation in areas such as Mdantsane, Crossroads, Lamontville, Sebokeng, Sobantu and Tembisa among others. We have to extend this experience to encompass other areas as well. Wherever we as black people live, we must transform our locality into a mass revolutionary base.

This means that in addition to what we have said, in such areas we must also use the democratic power that we have accumulated through struggle to defend and advance the interests of the people. We must use our organised mass strength to assert in practice that we have emerged as the alternative power.

At the same time, we must take advantage of the level of political consciousness of the people, their willingness to sacrifice and their readiness to take up arms, to set up secret military bases among these masses, under the leadership of our vanguard organisation, the African National Congress.

In every single mass struggle that we have waged in the past year, regardless of how peaceful any of these struggles have been, the enemy has confronted us with its armed might. At such moments, who among us has not felt the urgent need for us to talk to the enemy in the language he understands! Who has not seen that we too must take up arms as our forebears did, as did Bambata, Solomon Mahlangu, and Clifford Brown, only last year!

All we are saying therefore, fellow combatants for the liberation of our country, is that we have it within our means to give ourselves and to increase our capacity to hit back at the enemy, arms in hand. There is nobody but ourselves to accomplish this task. Once more, we repeat that the revolutionary cadres that have been formed and steeled in the course of the struggles we have waged, underground members of the ANC, must take it as a priority responsibility to build up the popular armed forces, to transform the armed actions we have so far carried out into a people's war by helping to root Umkhonto we Sizwe among the people and involving these masses in the prosecution of a people's war.

In making this review we must be careful neither to belittle our achievements, to dramatise our shortcomings nor to allow our wishes to distort our understanding of objective reality. As fighters for freedom, we must seek out the truth because it is our reliance on the truth and our rejection of all falsehoods, however comforting these may be sometimes, that enables us to overcome our mistakes and weaknesses, respond correctly to objective reality and utilise our victories correctly.

We wish to repeat here what we said last year. We said that our struggle rests on four pillars. These are first, the all-round vanguard activity of the underground structures of the ANC; second, the united mass action of the people; third, our armed offensive spearheaded by Umkhonto we Sizwe; and, fourth, the international drive to isolate the apartheid regime and win world-wide moral, political and material support for the struggle.

In our review so far we have said that during the Year of the Women, we made the greatest progress in terms of strengthening the second of these pillars. We succeeded to raise the united mass action of the people to even higher levels.

It is also an undeniable fact that we also achieved new victories with regards to the fourth element, namely, the drive to isolate the apartheid regime and to win world-wide moral, political and material support for our struggle. In this regard, we should mention a few salient successes.

As we have said, the apartheid regime and its allies, especially the Reagan Administration, failed to drive the ANC out of the region of Southern Africa. Instead, twice during the year, the Frontline States met and reaffirmed their support for the ANC and SWAPO and our common struggle against the apartheid regime. These positions were also endorsed and upheld by the 20th Summit Meeting of OAU Heads of State and Government.

Similarly, the efforts of the apartheid regime to break out of its isolation have ended in failure. The new government of New Zealand adopted firm positions against the apartheid system, forcing the Pretoria regime to withdraw its diplomats from that country. Botha's visit to Europe provoked such demonstrations against these unwelcome visitors that their hosts and friends, the governments of the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany and others, had no choice but to speak out against the racist system in our country.

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This includes those in the Bantustans, some of whom seem to have made it their full-time occupation to preach about the unity of the black oppressed while they man institutions imposed by the enemy to perpetuate our oppression and actually carry out actions designed to slow down our forward march. They now talk about unity because they want the people to spare the organs of apartheid rule in the Bantustans.

A sense of fear is beginning to grip the paid employees of the apartheid regime because they can see that our mass offensive is also taking root in the countryside. We have managed to build new democratic organisations outside the urban areas. At the same time, we have witnessed mass actions in these rural areas including student strikes, bus boycotts and demonstrations by the unemployed, demanding jobs.

It is however clear that we have to do a lot more to achieve the goals we set ourselves last year - to launch a nationwide offensive against the Bantustan system of the Pretoria regime and to mobilise the rural masses around the question of land. We have however made a beginning which we must sustain and from which we must build, to draw the millions of our people in the countryside into struggle.

This past year, the enemy made a determined effort to liquidate the armed struggle. By seeking to impose so-called non-aggression pacts on the peoples of our region, Pretoria thought it would make it impossible for Umkhonto we Sizwe to continue with its operations. The racists thought they would restore the situation which obtained before 1961 when they had a monopoly of arms.

We have however demonstrated that the plans of the enemy were but the empty dreams of a desperate man. We have continued with the armed struggle, whatever difficulties we may have experienced during the year. In action, we kept to our strategic outlook of combining mass political action and organised revolutionary violence.

Equally, the efforts of the apartheid regime, about which we warned last year, to compel the independent states of our region to help evict the ANC from the whole of Southern Africa have been frustrated. The ANC is here. It is inside South Africa in the same way that Umkhonto we Sizwe is inside South Africa. The enemy will not remove us. Rather it is the apartheid regime that will be removed from the face of the earth by ourselves, the millions who constitute the revolutionary and democratic forces of South Africa.

Fellow countrymen and -women,

The strength of any organisation lies in the calibre of its individual members and units. In order to advance in keeping with the momentum of our struggle we must improve the quality and expand the quantity of our membership. We need cadres of unquestionable loyalty, dedication and understanding of our struggle. *I*n order to achieve such a high standard and spur our nation into greater onslaught on the enemy and its institutions,

we declare this year, 1985, The Year of the Cadre!

Let this year see the greatest mass political action in all provinces and districts of our country. Let it see the fastest and furthest possible coordinated advance on all fronts towards the goal of people's power. The enemy cannot stop us. Our future is in our hands.

FORWARD WITH THE YEAR OF MASS MOBILISATION!

MOBILISE AND MARCH FORWARD TO PEOPLE'S POWER!

AMANDLA NGAWETHU! MAATLA KE A RONA! POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

Sons and Daughters of our land,

It is an undeniable fact that we achieved new victories with regards to the fourth element, namely, the drive to isolate the apartheid regime and to win world-wide moral, political and material support for our struggle. In this regard, we should mention a few salient successes.

As we have said, the apartheid regime and its allies, especially the Reagan Administration, failed to drive the ANC out of the region of Southern Africa. Instead, twice during the year, the Frontline States met and reaffirmed their support for the ANC and SWAPO and our common struggle against the apartheid regime. These positions were also endorsed and upheld by the 20th Summit Meeting of OAU Head of State and Government.

Similarly, the efforts of the apartheid regime to break out of its isolation have ended in failure. The new government of New Zealand adopted firm positions against the apartheid system, forcing the Pretoria regime to withdraw its diplomats from the country. Botha's visit to Europe provoked such demonstrations against these unwelcome visitors that their hosts and friends, the governments of the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany and others, had no choice but to speak out against the racist system in our country.

Important and wide-spread demonstrations in the United States against the related racist policy of "constructive engagement" of the Reagan Administration and the campaign of repression of the Botha regime emphasise the determination of the international community to fight on our side until South Africa is liberated. The world has gone further to join us in rebuffing the attempts of the apartheid regime to project itself as reformist.

Accordingly the United Nations and all other important international for a rejected Botha's amended apartheid constitution as null and void and affirmed the need for majority rule in a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa. It is clear that we have the possibility to intensify our international offensive in the New Year, further to isolate the apartheid regime, strengthen our own ties of solidarity with progressive humanity and thus further complicate the situation of the apartheid regime within our country.

The victories we scored during the year have plunged our opponents into an even deeper political crisis. Apart from denying them the chance to expand their social base, as we have said, they further sharpened the contradictions and conflicts within the ruling group and exposed the utter bankruptcy and failure of the overall political programme of the racists. These are important successes as they help further to weaken the enemy and enhance our possibility to defeat it. *Cake*

Through struggle, we have forced the apartheid regime into a situation of confusion, indecision and an inability to define for itself any consistent direction of state policy. This situation has arisen because the efforts of this regime to project itself as a representative of the so-called forces of moderation, gradual and peaceful reform, have ended in failure. According to this tactical manoeuvre, the racists sought to present themselves as a reasonable and acceptable alternative to the revolutionary alliance headed by the ANC, on one hand, and the fascist coalition of the HNP and the Conservative Party on the other. *Cake*

Knocked out of balance by the intensity of our offensive, the white minority regime lurches from side to side, fumbling for an equilibrium that it can no longer regain. On one day, it pretends to be concerned about the condition of the black majority and, on the next, pledges itself to the maintenance of white minority domination. *Cake*

Correctly, we have taken this confusion on the part of the enemy as a signal that we must escalate our offensive, having rejected its so-called reform programme as nothing but an attempt to buy time for itself to find new ways to maintain its illegal rule over our country. *Cake*

At the same time, the posturing of this regime has angered large sections of the diehard racists among the whites who see the maintenance of the apartheid system as a holy crusade. Moved by their attachment to the benefits that accrue to them from the system of the national oppression and the super-exploitation of the black majority, the political representatives of this tendency in white politics are challenging the Botha regime for the allegiance of especially the Afrikaner population. *Cake*

Knowing that in any case they themselves believe, as Jaap Marais and Andries Treurnicht do, in the perpetuation of the apartheid system, Botha and Malan are forced to demonstrate that they are the most reliable defenders of Afrikaner and white interests. Thus is the mask of deceit torn off their faces, *Cake*

as they try to regain the confidence and support of important sections of the white population which have already ceased to trust the Botha-Malan clique.

The obvious confusion of this clique is also forcing some of those who supported it against the HNP—Conservative Party coalition, correctly to doubt its ability to find any solutions to the crisis gripping the apartheid system. These are beginning to advance their own solutions, based on the dawning realisation that no solutions to the problems of our country can be found without the participation and the consent of the democratic majority and the genuine leaders of this majority. *End*

There are yet others from among our white compatriots, those who are more far-sighted, who have decided to break with a system that is so patently criminal and join the democratic movement of our country. Moved by the noble perspective of a South Africa that shall belong to all its citizens, black and white, these have chosen, as we said last year, to take their place among the builders of a new order in our country. We salute them and welcome them into the ranks of the forces of progressive change of our country. *End*

The erosion of the support of the Botha regime within its own constituency as well as the growing divisions and conflicts among the whites are important results of our continuing offensive. They signify that we are coming closer to the realisation of our goal. *End*

To compound the problems of the ruling group and thus further weaken it, requires that we continue on the attack, giving the enemy no time to regroup and recover. It also means that we must take advantage of the situation we have forced on the enemy to attract to the side of the democratic forces ever greater numbers of our white compatriots, on the basis of the supremely just perspective contained in the Freedom Charter and the inevitable defeat of the apartheid regime and the liquidation of the criminal system it upholds.

Compatriots:

It has been necessary to discuss the progress we have made in the past year to see the extent to which we accomplished the tasks we had set ourselves. This is necessary because, clearly, we could not fulfil all these objectives within the course of one year. During this year, we shall have to pursue them with even greater urgency, taking advantage of the advances we made during the Year of the Women.