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JANUARY 8, 1986

COMPATRIOTS:

As the New Year begins, we extend to you the warm revolutionary greetings of your vanguard movement, the African National Congress. We salute you also in the name of the people's army, Umkhonto We Sizwe.

We speak to you fully aware of the immense responsibility that rests on all of us to make the apartheid system of oppression and exploitation, repression and aggression a thing of the past. It is our singular honour that we have been charged with the serious responsibility to point the way forward in the coming period. It is a task which we approach with the same seriousness that has inspired you as you launched countless heroic mass battles during the year that has just ended.

The message of that year, the Year of the Cadre, is simple and yet momentous. It is that the end of the criminal system of apartheid is in sight. Nearly four decades of illegal rule by the heirs of Hitler is coming to a close and with it, centuries of colonial and racist white minority domination. There is nothing that the Pretoria regime can do that can change this historic outcome of our struggle.

Our uninterrupted forward march has thrown the apartheid system into an enormous general crisis from which it cannot extricate itself. One of the central features of this crisis is the rebellion of millions of our people against this criminal system. Even the most stubborn among the ranks of the enemy can now see that we are no longer prepared to live as slaves and are determined to liberate ourselves whatever the price we have to pay in human lives.

Confronted with the situation in which power is slipping out of its hands, the Botha regime could not rule in the old way any longer. Hence it has adopted new and more brutal ways of governing our country to save itself from destruction. These include the proclamation of martial law, handing over the administration of large areas of our country to the murderous army and police, the use of secret death squads, the assassination of our leaders, massacres, mass arrests, stringent control of the press, continuing external aggression and the murder of our people outside our country.

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Workers

We also seize this occasion especially to welcome most warmly the formation of the Congress of South African Trade Unions. We extend to its leaders, its affiliated unions and to the membership of those unions the revolutionary greetings of the ANC leadership, inside and outside prison and inside and outside our country, as well as those of our entire membership.

The struggle to form one democratic trade union centre has been hard and protracted. Many comrades, both from the trade unions and the broad movement for national liberation, have spent countless hours ^{working} to achieve the result that was consummated with the formation of COSATU. They all acted in this manner convinced of the need for the unity of the working class of our country, of the imperative to defend and advance the interests of this class and of the necessity for the organised, united and conscious workers to remain in the front ranks and as an integral part of the mass army of revolution that is today shaking the apartheid system to its very foundations. The formation of COSATU has therefore added enormously to the strength of the democratic movement as a whole and is a victory which this movement must defend at all costs.

We appeal to those democratic trade unions which still remain outside the fold of COSATU to reconsider their positions. We are convinced of the maturity and honesty of both their leaders and members. Accordingly we are certain that at this ^{critical} historic moment in the ^{history} fate of an entire people and region, they will find a way to overcome all obstacles that bar their way ^{joining} to COSATU.

Many problems remain to be solved to fashion the new trade union Congress into the instrument of working class and national liberation that the delegates visualised at the founding conference in Durban. These include the transformation of the general ^{unions} into industrial unions, and the organisation of the unorganised and the unemployed. These are important tasks whose realisation requires the active cooperation of the entire democratic movement. Their accomplishment, in cooperation with COSATU, is a task with which we charge this movement in its entirety.

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followers. We hail all ^{those of} its leaders and activists who are in prison and those who are facing trumped up charges ^{which include} of treason, murder, ^{and} public violence ~~and so on~~. We call on all our people to stand by these ^{patriots,} leaders and activists ~~in the same way and with the same unwavering courage that~~ ^{with which} that they have defended the UDF, its affiliates and its democratic perspectives.

Insert: churches

At this point, we would also like to pay special tribute to the women of Mamelodi, both as ^a that particular detachment of the democratic women's movement and as a force exemplifying the courage and determination of the hundreds of thousands of women who have stood at the centre of our mass struggles this past year, throughout the country.

The response of the apartheid regime to the peaceful march of the women of Mamelodi, which ended in a massacre, illustrates the fear that this regime has of the ~~united~~ ^{united} ~~might~~ ^{offensive} of the millions of the oppressed and exploited women of our country. This year, ~~as~~ we observe the 30th anniversary of the historic women's march on Pretoria, ^{an event which lives on as a} ~~It~~ ^{great source of inspiration for all our struggling people.} will be the task of our women folk to emulate the example we set ourselves three decades ago and last year, to unite and fearlessly join the mass offensive against the Botha regime in even greater numbers. ^{we should continue to work for the formation of a national women's organisation.}

During the momentous Year of the Cadre that has just passed we have also produced new organisational formations and adopted new ^{forms of struggle} ~~organised~~ practices ^{in keeping with} to respond to the heightened pace of our ^{revolution.} ~~struggle~~. We refer here to the mass ~~underground~~ combat units that we have formed to carry out various tasks, including those related to the destruction of the organs of government of the apartheid regime and ^{to} making the country ungovernable. We refer also to the measures we have taken, among other things, to protect our leaders and to maintain ~~a~~ revolutionary law and order in various ~~localities~~ ^x throughout the country.

It is fitting that these developments have taken place during the Year of the Cadre and in keeping with perspectives that your movement, the ANC, put forward for that year. Our struggle has gained enormously by the emergence of these collectives of revolutionary cadres, which are organised, rooted among the masses, ready to pay the supreme sacrifice if necessary, committed to the perspectives of our movement as a whole and loyal to the leadership of that movement.

We salute ~~you~~ all members of these combat units and commend them for the courageous and disciplined manner in which they have carried out their tasks. We urge the masses of our people to persist in the positions they

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^{This} During the year, ~~when~~ we shall be observing the bi-centenary of the birth of that outstanding African statesman, King Moshoeshoe I, ~~It~~ would be well that those who consider themselves as the leaders of our people should seek to emulate Moshoeshoe's example. Thus they should strive to unite the African people and not divide them, ~~to seek~~ to satisfy the aspirations of the people and not betray them, to fight arms in hand in defence of the interests of the masses and when necessary to negotiate as a genuine representative of the people and not as a beggar at the table of a master. ~~Today, the voice of Moshoeshoe calls us to battle.~~ ~~No one who counts himself or herself a patriot can fail to respond to that urgent summons.~~

Accordingly, an urgent task we face this year is the rapid expansion and extensive activation Of Umkhonto we Sizwe within the country, drawing in the millions of our people into combat. Building from what we achieved last year, we must prepare for and conduct people's war with the people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, heading our mass military offensive. We have to increase greatly the number of guerrilla units of Umkhonto we Sizwe within the country. We must increase the numbers of our people organised into underground combat units, operating as a people's militia. We must further strengthen the links between the guerrilla units and the militia, to build a formidable mass army that can carry out both offensive and defensive tasks. We must draw on the resolve of our people in the mass insurrectionary zones to build up those forces while working to ensure that these zones multiply in number to cover our country in its entirety.

Once more, we call on our white compatriots, and especially the youth, to break ranks with the apartheid system, to refuse to serve in its armed forces and no longer to mortgage their future to a racist system that is doomed to destruction. We call on these white compatriots to win their place in the future democratic South Africa by joining the struggle to turn that future into reality. Together, black and white, we will destroy the monstrous apartheid regime and, as equals, rebuild our country for the benefit of all its citizens. The time has come that our white compatriots should join the mass democratic struggle in their millions. the crisis in our country does not permit of onlookers.

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establishment of people's power in these areas, however rudimentary and precarious, is of great significance for the further advancement of our struggle.

In the past, as part of our rejection of the partheid community councils, management and local authority (?) committees, we correctly put forward the demand for democratic, non-racial municipal councils. We must take up this demand once more. ~~The victories we have scored~~ ^{we have} in many townships, ~~of abolishing~~ the puppet institutions through struggle ^{these victories} must be consolidated by democratising the whole system of local government. For every town and every city, there must be one local authority, elected by all residents, both black and white, on the basis of one person one vote. We shall have to engage in struggle to achieve this goal and will have to consider such actions as a national rent strike in our programme of action.

The Botha regime is set to introduce what it calls Regional Services Councils. This is yet another attempt to refine and entrench the apartheid system. Furthermore, the issue which these Councils are meant to address, namely, the provision of services to all the group areas in each urban centre, does not answer the primary question of the right of all residents to exercise political control over their towns and cities as a whole. We are not fighting and are not dying in order to have a better system of waste disposal. We are engaged in struggle for the inalienable right to govern our country in all its parts.

We can no longer accept the situation in which we exist in the urban townships as suppliers of labour to the white areas with no access to the wealth that we create and which goes to enrich and improve the white areas of our towns and cities. In this regard, we should take the occasion of the centenary of the City of Johannesburg, which falls this year, as one for the most determined offensive to ensure that the political situation ^{changes radically} in this prime example of the iniquity of the system of colonial and racist rule ~~changes radically~~.

White South Africa ^{Feels it has every right} has ~~no~~ right to celebrate this centenary, ^{On the other hand} ~~whilst~~ ^{we}, ~~on the other hand~~, confined in black ghettos on the periphery of the city, have nothing to celebrate. Our task is to ensure that we no longer tolerate the situation in which we have no control over this city which we have built with our bare hands for a century. After a century of exclusion, let us begin a new era of democratic control of Johannesburg and all

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~~to assault the enemy~~
of thousands, ~~to pit their united strength against that of the enemy, in an~~
~~assault~~ for the seizure of power.

During this past year, it has become more than ever clear that the Botha-Malan regime is determined to rely on its forces of repression to maintain itself in power at all costs, regardless of how many people perish and how extensively the country is destroyed ^{in the process.} The racists boasts unashamedly of their ability and willingness to massacre millions of people and lay our country to waste rather than see it transformed into a democratic non-racial and peaceful entity.

Further to prepare its forces for the apocalypse, the Botha-Malan-Coetzee regime has sent young whites and black mercenaries into our townships with orders to murder, rape and destroy at will. And they have done exactly that, shooting infants, raping young girls and going on a crazed orgy of blood-letting.

But, as we must, we have refused to submit. Whatever the scale of violence that the enemy imposes on our country, we will continue to say that we will never surrender! RATHER we will match the enemy's repressive force with an armed offensive conducted by the people as a whole. The masses armed will confront and overwhelm state terrorism in a tidal wave of people's war that will sweep the tyrannical fascist regime of Botha off the face of the earth.

We must fight. We must organise and arm ourselves to fight better. We must fight better to stop the enemy's rampage and to inflict casualties on its armed personnel.

Accordingly, an urgent task we face this year is the rapid expansion and extensive activation of Umkhonto We Sizwe within the country, drawing in the millions of our people into combat. Building from what we achieved last year, we must prepare for and conduct people's war with the people's army, Umkhonto We Sizwe heading our mass military offensive. We have to increase greatly the number of guerilla units ^{of Umkhonto We Sizwe as well as the} ~~of our people organised into underground~~ ^{men} combat units, operating as a people's militia. We must further strengthen the links between ^{these} the guerilla units and the ^{and the} ~~militia~~ ^{mass combat units,} to build a formidable mass army that can carry out both offensive and defensive tasks. We must draw on the resolve of our people in the mass insurrectionary zones to build up this force while working to ensure that these zones multiply in number to cover our country in its entirety.

have taken, of giving the necessary protection to these units and the coope^ation which the further advancement^t of our struggle demands.

The year that has just ended has also seen the further escalation of the armed struggle. Even the enemy has been forced to admit that our armed offensive has reached new, unprecedented levels. This has been achieved thanks to the exemplary bravery of the guerilla and militia units of Umkhonto We Sizwe, the mass underground combat units and the masses of the people in general. On this historic day, we extend the heartfelt saluations of the entire revolutionary movement of our country to all these units and to all who have dared to uphold the option of revolutionary violence in the face of the brutal, reactionary violence of the enemy.

^{While} Though it is true that we have lost many cadres in the confrontation with the forces of repression, qualitatively, victory on the military front belongs not to the enemy but to the people. This is so exactly because not only did we ^{successfully} succeed to step up our armed offensive but ^{also - and this is} of even greater importance for the advance of our struggle ~~is the fact that~~, in the face of the harshest enemy repression, we have succeeded to enlarge the popular forces inside our country, organised to wage the struggle arms in hand.

~~That call to battle is a command to all of us to take up arms against the brutal apartheid regime.~~ This past year we made significant strides towards the transformation of our armed confrontation with the apartheid regime into a people's war. Organised underground combat units which have sprung up in our midst have waged countless battles with the enemy's armed forces and carried out direct action against agents and puppets of the Botha regime. We pay tribute to the brave warriors who have laid down their lives in the course of this struggle, certain that their example of self-sacrifice will be followed by the millions of our people.

These underground combat units have played a central role in the mass campaign to make South Africa ungovernable, to destroy the apartheid organs of government and to reduce the capacity of th racist regime to rule us. ^{Of crucial importance in this regard has been the creation of} They have therefore been crucial in creating mass

^{men} insurrectionary zones in many parts of our country, areas where the masses of the people are not only active, but are also ready, in their hundreds

Fellow Workers,

During the year 1986, we shall mark two historic anniversaries in the annals of working class struggles, at home and internationally: the 40th anniversary of the great mineworkers' strike of 1946 and the 100th anniversary of May Day, international workers' solidarity day. These two important occasions mark, firstly, the strong bonds that link the workers of South Africa with those of all other lands, and more especially importantly, the leading role of working class in the world-wide struggle against oppression, racism, exploitation and imperialism. binet

In connection with the 40th Anniversary of the great miners' strike, we call upon the entire democratic movement and especially the trade union movement, to ^{draw on} highlight the revolutionary traditions of the African mineworkers, ^{in order to enhance the contribution of workers to the cause of national and social emancipation.} and the atrocious conditions of their life and labour, through seminars, articles, lectures and pen-portraits of that outstanding working-class revolutionary, the late Uncle J B Marks, who led this historic miners' strike of 1946.

re right up to its...; May Day in SA has

It is totally unacceptable, dear comrades, that ^{right} ~~the~~ May Day ^{remains} ~~remains~~ ^{an} unrecognised in South Africa up to its 100th anniversary. We therefore fully support the workers' demand that from 1986 onwards, May Day should become a fully paid public holiday, and again call upon the entire democratic movement to support the organised trade union movement to realise this demand.

That outstanding product of the creative initiative of the masses of our struggling people, the United Democratic Front, has borne the brunt of the futile terrorist onslaught of the Botha-Malan-Coetzee regime to defeat our mass offensive and to suppress our democratic organisations. The enemy is terrified out of its wits at the strength, popularity and determination of this broad front for a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa. To this day, the threat of prohibition hangs over the UDF. Yet we are convinced that, having more than survived the assassination and imprisonment of its leaders, the cold-blooded murder of its followers, the banning of its meetings and so on, the UDF will overcome ^{all} ~~any~~ attempts by the enemy to wipe it out of existence. Practice has more than ^{amply} ~~amply~~ demonstrated that the struggling masses of our country need the UDF as an instrument to maintain, advance and deepen our united action.

We salute all its leaders, its affiliated organisations, its members and its

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As we have said before, we must ^{retain} ~~seize~~ the strategic initiative, ~~and keep it in our hands~~. This requires that we step up our military offensive. Apart from confronting the army of occupation in our areas, ^{it is essential that we carry out} we need to carry our offensive ~~into the white areas~~ with even greater determination. We need to mount a continuous assault on the economy to deny the enemy the material base which gives it the means to conduct its campaign of terror, both inside and outside ~~the borders of~~ our country.

The charge we give to Umkhonto We Sizwe and to the masses of our people is: attack, advance, give the enemy no quarter - an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth!

We must organise ourselves and fight with the boldness and fearlessness ~~that was~~ displayed by the warriors that Bambata led into battle 80 years ^{ago} this year. That uprising inspired the delegates who met six years later to form ^{the} ANC. To emulate their example today means that every patriot must become a combatant and every combatant a patriot. The true representatives of that noble tradition of combat are those such as member of the Zulu Royal House, who elected to serve in the glorious ranks of Umkhonto we Sizwe and is now imprisoned by the apartheid regime.

Once more, we call on our white compatriots, and especially the youth, to break ranks with the apartheid system, to refuse to serve in its armed forces and no longer to mortgage their future to a racist system that is doomed to destruction. We call on ^{them} these white compatriots to win their place in the future democratic South Africa by joining the struggle to turn that future into reality. ^{The business community must stop producing weapons of death for the murdering of our people.} Together, black and white, we will destroy the monstrous apartheid regime and, as equals, rebuild our country for the benefit of all its citizens. The time has come that our white compatriots should join the mass democratic struggle in their millions. The crisis in our country does not permit of onlookers.

Those among the black people who have been dragooned or bought to serve in the armed forces of the enemy should refuse to serve as cannon fodder, as assassins in the pay of a regime which holds them and their people in contempt. To these we say, prepare to turn your guns against the common enemy of the people. When the bells of victory toll, you too must be counted among the liberators of our country.

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This year we must take up the campaigns with greater vigour than before - for the immediate and unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners; for the immediate release of all detainees, the lifting of bans on individuals and organisations, including COSAS, the termination of all treason and other political trials, the lifting of the state of emergency ^{the withdrawal of} and the scrapping of all repressive legislation and all troops and police ^{from} out of the townships.

We know that the enemy will not listen to any appeals we make on any of these questions. We have no alternative but to resort to meaningful action to advance our demands. WE have already tested the ~~weapons~~ ^{weapon} of a consumer boycott and need to use it with even greater effect to halt the murderous and repressive rampage of the Pretoria regime.

In a heroic struggle, we have virtually lifted the ban on our vanguard movement, the ANC. WE did not ask for the permission of the enemy to unfurl and raise the people's flag. We did not seek Pretoria's consent when we decided to speak out openly in support of our genuine leaders.

Equally, to succeed in our campaign to challenge the enemy's repressive onslaught, we need the same daring. Whereas the enemy seeks at all times to impose on us a fascist legality, we must impose on our country our own popular legality. We are the alternative power. As ^{such} an ~~alternative~~ power we pursue goals and share aspirations that are ^{dramatically} opposed to those of the oppressive white minority regime.

That regime has no moral or political right to impose its will on us, We, the majority, the representatives of justice and democracy in our country, have the will, the right and the strength to ensure that our view, as the alternative power, prevails. Proceeding from those positions we must use everything in our power to fight and defeat the enemy's campaign of repression, recognising that the edicts that emanate from the illegitimate apartheid regime are themselves illegal acts of banditry, carried out as part of the continuing commission of a crime against humanity. In ^{action} ~~we must all say~~ ^{and throw action we must compel the regime to} end repression now.

In some areas of our country, having destroyed the puppet organs of government imposed on us by the apartheid regime, we have reached the situation where even the enemy has to deal with the democratic forces as the legitimate representatives of the people. ~~As we have said,~~ ^T the

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other urban areas of our country. In this way, we will proceed from people's power in the black areas to people's power over the entire municipal areas where we live.

We call on all our white compatriots in these areas to join this struggle. They too must participate in the offensive to abolish the apartheid institutions in the white areas once and for all. It is not sufficient merely to call for the abolition of the Group Areas, Separate Amenities and other acts. Now is the time to take action to realise the objective of one democratic council for each municipality, elected on the basis of one person one vote.

Our mass political offensive must of necessity also succeed to draw in the millions of our people in the countryside, both inside and outside the Bantustans. It is clear that relative to the situation in the past, we have made considerable progress in mobilising and organising the people in the countryside.

This has resulted in our people in some of these areas joining the mass offensive during this past year. They did so in such numbers that even leading spokesmen of the Pretoria regime expressed concern at the level of activation of these oppressed masses. In addition, the people's army Umkhonto we Sizwe, has taken the armed struggle both into the Bantustans and into the enemy rural military zones, striking blows that have worried the enemy and its puppets.

Much organisational and mobilisation work still needs to be done in these areas, raising to the fore such questions as the need to destroy the oppressive Bantustan system, to rise up against the blood-sucking white soldier-farmers ^{and addressing} as well as the central task of the ^{landless masses} ~~tillers themselves~~ seizing the land which rightfully belongs to them.

Thanks to our ^{convincing} ~~unwavering~~ opposition, the enemy now knows that it cannot even pretend that it will be able to maintain the Bantustan system. Hence Botha now talks of a common citizenship. It should therefore now be more than clear to those of our compatriots who ^{may have been} ~~were~~ duped, ^{or persuaded} ~~or~~ bribed to accept the Bantustans that the destruction of these criminal institutions is only a matter of time. ^{They should consider whether the time has not come} ~~Now is the time for~~ them to join the masses of the people to destroy this system and regain their honour as patriots and their dignity as men and women of principle.

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Our movement and our struggle enjoy enormous world support. During the Year of the Cadre the international movement of solidarity with our fighting people grew by leaps and bounds. In this area we can also say that the apartheid regime has lost the strategic initiative. No longer can it even hope to ^{hold} its ground, let alone score new gains for the apartheid system. So desperate has its situation become that even those whom it counts as its natural allies have begun to distance themselves from the regime of murderers and to seek out the genuine representatives of our people.

inspired by own struggle
At the same time, throughout the world, ordinary men and women, are carrying out new initiatives to isolate apartheid South Africa and to extend political and material support to the ANC and the struggling masses of our country. Accordingly, this past year we have seen the inspiring upsurge of the solidarity movement in the United States under the leadership of the Free South Africa Movement, the imposition of sanctions by the international trade union movement in such countries as New Zealand, Australia, Sudan, Scandinavia, the United Kingdom, and elsewhere, trade union decisions to enforce the oil embargo, the resurgence of the international consumer boycott campaign and many other actions, in support of our struggle.

Much remains to be done ^{further} to expand international action and to compel the governments of the major Western powers to heed public opinion in their own countries and internationally ^{and} to impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa. We must continue to make significant gains on this front as well. The more we act to liberate ourselves, the more resolute international action ^{will} become. It is therefore our task both to intensify the struggle inside our country and to work with the world community further to arouse world opinion in favour of our cause.

We take this opportunity to salute our friends throughout the world in Southern Africa and the rest of Africa, Asia, Latin America, in the socialist countries, in ^{Western} Europe and North America. Once more we extend special greetings to our comrade-in-arms in SWAPO as well as the Namibian people as a whole.

We greet also the PLO and the Palestinian people, the Sahraoui Arab Democratic Republic, the Farabundo Marti of El Salvador, Fretilin of East Timor as well as the embattled people of Nicaragua and the progressive forces organised in the Sandinista National Liberation Front.

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anti-pass campaign. They themselves must stop demanding passes from the African workers, ^{Neither should they take advantage of the migrant labour system & victimise the workers. Rather they should work for the immediate abolition of this criminal system.} and be ready to take such consequences as the apartheid state may visit on them as a result. [^] This [^] but one way in which they can contribute to bring about the change they have been calling for. Words [^] are no longer sufficient. Now is the time for action. No more passes! Away [^] with the badge of slavery! [^]

We need also to extend that spirit of defiance to other areas of struggle. To maintain the offensive, we have to address with maximum vigour the entire issue of the enemy's attempts to suppress the democratic movement.

Not only must we refuse to submit, as we did with such outstanding courage during this past year but we must also carry out actions to make certain that the enemy pays the full price for this repression.

During this past year, we sharply escalated our offensive on this front. Many of those detained went on hunger strike, demanding an end to their illegal imprisonment. Mass meetings and demonstrations took place calling for the release of detainees and political prisoners. Our people in the Western Cape mobilised themselves in their thousands to march on Pollsmoor Prison backing up the universal demand for the immediate and unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners.

We called for and organised the magnificent consumer boycotts to address the issue of enemy repression. Accordingly, we boycotted white shops to compel the enemy to lift the state of emergency, pull out its soldiers and police from the townships, release detainees, and ^{political prisoners.} ~~so on~~. We have made a good beginning. We must step up our offensive.

The challenge facing us are indeed considerable. Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Ahmed Kathrada, Harry Gwala, ^{Elias Motsoaledi} and others of our leaders are still in prison, held there by a regime which means to keep them under lock and key until they die, as it did with the late Braam Fischer.

Yet others of our leaders and activists are facing ^{various} charges of treason, murder and other charges. Thousands have been convicted illegally and are now ^{enduring} suffering the brutality of living in the enemy's dungeons. Unknown numbers are held under the emergency regulations and the so-called Internal Security Act.

The combined mass political and military offensive that we must conduct this year at a heightened level and in a systematic manner, ^{of us to} requires ~~that we~~ continue to work even harder to realise the tasks that we set ourselves during the Year of the Cadre. Of particular importance in this regard is the task ^{we} as [^] said last year, of building a strong underground presence of well-organised revolutionary cadres, drawn from the fighting masses and integrated among them. We must continue to strengthen and expand the underground structures of the ANC, ensuring the active presence of our movement everywhere in the country.

As part of our all-round preparation for the days ahead, as you know, your vanguard movement, the ANC, held its Second National Consultative Conference, ~~outside our country~~. This was a very important event in the history of our struggle. It consolidated our unity as never before and clearly pointed the way forward to victory. Its results constituted a decisive defeat for the enemy which had hoped that at the end of the day our movement would be paralysed by internal disputes and endless power struggles. As we left the site of the Conference, we were better prepared to carry out the tasks you have entrusted to us - to march at the head of the millions of our people, for a decisive assault on the partheid regime of terror, to dislodge it and transfer power to the people.

The most important outcome of our Conference was the strategic and tactical line of approach drawn up for the prosecution of the revolutionary struggle at the given stage. ^{The endorsed the fundamental perspective of our} Our delegates, [^] after thorough-going discussions on the ^{revolution, that the} current situation once more endorsed that key factor for the victory of ^{our} our struggle ^{is the} of the oppressed and exploited - in particular the working class. ^{political mobilisation and organisation of all} ^{manes}

[^] Our success therefore lies in the political mobilisation and organisation of all these oppressed and exploited masses into a solid national democratic front embracing all genuine patriots and revolutionaries. Taking into account the balance of forces in our situation, the intransigence of the white ruling clique and violent nature of the partheid system, conference underlined the need and urgency of intensifying and ^{transforming} expanding the armed struggle ^{as into} ^{a real people's war} component parts of our overall strategy for the defeat of the Botha-Malan regime. In actual fact this is a direct response to the general mood of our people who are daily being mowed down by the trigger mad police and security forces of the apartheid regime.

Our strategy therefore is one that must combine a heightened mass political ^{advance} offensive on all fronts and an escalated military ^{offensive} onslaught. The combination

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to abandon their forward march, allow themselves to be diverted from their goal of one person one vote in a united South Africa, or in any way to cooperate with it in the execution of programmes aimed at the perpetuation of the apartheid system.

Taken together, these factors signify that strategically the enemy is on the defensive. This does not mean that the Botha regime has lost the ability to launch a counter-offensive. The critical point is that while any such counter-offensive may gain the enemy some tactical advances, at the same time, it can only result in further worsening its strategic position.

The fact that the Botha regime has lost the strategic initiative, and is therefore on the defensive all along the line, is of decisive importance for the further advance of our struggle. We have forced the racists into this position through consistent struggle both inside and outside our country. We ~~must~~ derive encouragement from this major victory which is of truly historic importance.

At the same time, the principal conclusion we should draw from this situation is that through our sacrifices, we have prepared the conditions for us further to transform the situation to that position when it will be possible for us to seize power from the enemy. In brief, the central task that faces the entire democratic movement is to take the initiative into our hands and maintain it permanently until we have emancipated our country.

This we can achieve only by going on the offensive on all fronts, continuously and boldly. It also requires that we fight on with a clear purpose in mind, with a definite perspective of our strategic and tactical goals so that we can deploy and utilise our forces to the best advantage.

Our strategic goal must be to shift the balance of strength decisively in favour of our struggle, through the further ripening of the revolutionary situation beyond the point where the regime is not able to rule in the old way to the stage where it is in fact unable to govern. This means that in the attack we must aim further to weaken the Botha regime drastically, to sap its strength, to take away from it even the capacity to launch a limited counter-offensive.

Simultaneously, while on the march, we must build our forces into an ever more formidable united mass army of liberation, an army that must grow in strength continuously, able to deliver and actually delivering bigger blows at every stage and fighting as a conscious force with its eyes firmly fixed on the goal of the destruction of the partheid regime and the transfer of power to the people.

To take the strategic initiative into our hands and ^{retain it} keep it with us, ^{therefore,} therefore, means that we must ⁱⁿ (assume and) ^{stay on the} maintain an offensive posture. We must refuse to go back to the defensive. We must elaborate and pursue a programme of action whose central focus has to be the imposition of the will of the democratic majority over the racist minority, however desperate and stubborn the resistance of this minority.

The programme of action we are speaking of is one that must combine a heightened mass political offensive and an escalated military onslaught. The combination of these two elements in our strategy is a necessary condition for the further advance of our struggle. What we need and must work for is a determined mass assault on the apartheid regime combined with an equally resolute armed assault against the oppressor regime.

We take this opportunity to salute our students who have continued to march forward in unity and in an uninterrupted offensive, undeterred by the illegal banning of their organisation, COSAS. They have found new organisational ways and means to keep the students in the front ranks of the struggling masses of our country. Their victory is a victory of the entire democratic and revolutionary movement of our country and is worthy of the young lions of ^{the} struggle that our students and working youth have become.

^{In this regard, a} The question of primary concern to us ^{all that} is ~~the one~~ of education. We have stated our demands on this issue in clear, unequivocal terms. What we want is one democratic, non-racial, free and compulsory system of education. The broad principles underlying that system of education are contained in the Freedom Charter.

This year, we shall be observing the 10th anniversary of the Soweto Uprising. We shall therefore cast our minds back on a period from then onwards ^{during} when thousands of our youth ^{were} have been killed and maimed in the struggle for a democratic system of education in a democratic country. A whole generation is growing up ^{and has} having known nothing but daily violence ^{in meted out} in meted out.

13.

of these two elements in our strategy is a necessary condition for the further advance of our struggle. What we ~~need~~^{continue} ~~and~~^{must} work for is a determined mass offensive on the apartheid regime combined with an equally resolute armed assault against this obnoxious system. This was the spirit that dominated our conference. This is the ~~mood~~^{order} of the day!

It will therefore be clear that the strategic and tactical thinking and approach of our movement has not ~~changed~~^{altered}, nor are there any ~~serious changes~~^{fundamental} ~~in our situation that warrant such a change~~^{any}. This restatement of our position is done primarily to clear rumours circulating that the ANC and the Botha regime are holding secret talks. As yet there have been no such talks. *Adel portion*

Whilst leaving the door open for such an eventuality we believe that such rumours and speculation should not be allowed to divert us from our main strategic line of action. Our struggle is one, what has actually happened is that the ANC has met some groups from inside i.e. the businessmen and the Progressive Federal Party to exchange views on the current political and economic crisis bedevilling our country today, on the possible way out, and the future of the South. This is in keeping with our policy of meeting all groups or individuals who are genuinely seeking a solution to the national issues facing all of us. These discussions were quite cordial, frank and fruitful for all parties involved. For one thing they helped to eliminate some of the fears and misconceptions people have about the ANC. We got to understand one another better. This is a healthy exercise.

It is today abundantly clear to all who look at our situation soberly that apartheid has proved to be a national disaster. The Pretoria rulers have no cure to the cancer that is eating deeper and deeper into our society. Many people, black and white, have come to realise this fact.

In the circumstances, the Freedom Charter, our corner-stone policy document, has emerged as the only realistic answer in our efforts to build a truly democratic non-racial society for all our people - black and white. We all belong to this beautiful and rich country. What is wrong is not the colour pigmentation of its people, but rather the racial policies pursued by all the successive white ruling groups. It is therefore our common task to remove this scourge of racism and fascism and build a happier South Africa for all.

14.

The time has come that as part of our mass offensive to make apartheid unworkable, once more, we boldly confront the issue of that badge of slavery, the pass laws. We support the demand made inside the country that passes must go, now! To this day, as we all know, these remain the principal means by which the Botha regime governs us, the methods it uses to decide who we are, where we shall live and work, what the future of unborn generations shall be. The time has come that we should say no longer shall we allow ourselves to be given special labels in the country of our birth.

The cry must ring out through the length and breadth of our country this year - away with passes! By destroying this badge of slavery and humiliation, we shall free ourselves of this intolerable burden of oppression and thus move further forward to our goal of making apartheid unworkable and our country ungovernable.

This is an immense offensive which must spread to every corner of our country, encompassing cities, towns and the countryside. It must involve both men and women alike and produce the most formidable united mass action that our country has ever seen.

We have the organised strength to achieve this. As we have said, during the past year, despite extreme repression, we succeeded to expand our organised strength, reaching even to small rural towns. Those organised forces have the responsibility to move the millions of our people as one to destroy once and for all the pass laws, influx control and our forcible removal to the Bantustans.

We must not be misled by the ^{enemy's} promises of the enemy that it is ^{to} abolishing influx control and introducing ^{positive} what it calls orderly urbanisation. Nor must we be taken in by promises of a so-called common citizenship. The Botha regime has no intention whatsoever to see the black majority live in our country as equals with our white compatriots. ^{As far as} ^{is concerned,} To this regime, South Africa will never belong to all who live in it, black and white. ~~Once more we will be treated to a meaningless game whereby old bottles will be given shining new labels. The contents will remain the same old poison of white minority domination.~~

Of late, the white business community has also been very loud in demanding change. We call on ^{them} these business people to join this mighty

21.

To all those forces, to the nations organised in the OAU, the Non-Aligned Movement and the United Nations we, the people of South Africa, pledge, ^{during this International Year of Peace} that we shall discharge our ^{historic} responsibility ~~to ourselves and the rest of~~ humanity to end, ~~once and for all~~, the apartheid crime against humanity, ^{once & for all}. With your support, we will achieve this goal sooner rather than later and with less bloodshed and destruction.

This year we shall be observing the 10th anniversary of the Soweto Uprising and the 25th anniversary of the formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe. These are events of historic importance in our struggle. They both emphasise the need for us to meet the repressive violence of the apartheid regime and the apartheid system with our own armed resistance. The continuing stubbornness of the racist regime and its resort to ever greater and more brutal violence has made it a matter of extreme urgency that we launch the most determined military offensive that our country has ever seen.

To help concentrate our creative energies on the attainment of this goal and in the name of the National Executive Committee of your organisation, the ANC, we declare 1986 the Year of Umkhonto we Sizwe - the people's Army. Let this Year of the People's Army see us engulf the apartheid system in the fires and the thunder of a people's war! Let the Year of MK see us mount a military offensive that will push the enemy into a strategic retreat! Let us use the opportunities that this Year gives us to replace each combatant who fell last year with a hundred more, ^{and, building} to ~~build~~ on our achievements, to create a formidable fighting force of the people, superior to the enemy forces because of the justice of our cause, the discipline of our combatants and the bravery and boldness of our warriors.

During the Year of Umkhonto we Sizwe - the People's Army:
Let us mount a determined mass political and military offensive!
Let us ^{retain} ~~seize and maintain~~ the strategic initiative!
Let us, in struggle, shift the balance of power further in favour of the revolution!
Let us turn every corner of our country into a battlefield!
Let us weaken the enemy and prepare ~~ourselves~~ to seize power!
Every patriot a combatant: every combatant a patriot!
Amandla Ngawethu!
Matla ke a rona!
People's power is within our grasp!

5.

ⁱn the streets ~~meted out~~ by the armed killers of the apartheid regime.

We owe these young lions of our struggle and the nation as a whole, an obligation to push the education campaign further forward, to aim for victory on this front during this year, the 10th anniversary of the Soweto Uprising. We ~~have already~~ held an important national conference ^{in Schermerbeek} on this question and adopted decisions that are of singular significance to the entire democratic movement and to us as a people.

Above everything else, what we shall need ^{in order} to realise the programme of action we set ourselves, is the maximum unity of the students, teachers and parents and of the entire democratic movement, including the community and student organisations, the trade unions, the youth and women's movement, religious and all cultural and sports organisations. United in action, we have the ability to ⁱwin our struggle for an alternative system of education, to secure the release of all student leaders and activists imprisoned by the Pretoria regime, to force the lifting of the ban on COSAS and to win all the other demands that we have agreed upon.

Of great importance also is the need for us to ensure that we have a strong, organised youth and student movement reaching into all schools and all areas of our country, capable of continuing to organise all our youth to act with the same discipline and unity, on a national scale, that we have seen in the past. The need to succeed in carrying out our programme of action requires that we meet this organisational task as well.

To honour our students and working youth whose blood has drenched our motherland, to pay everlasting tribute to their inestimable contribution to the cause of national liberation, social justice and peace in South Africa, and to strengthen their organisational capacity and resolve to continue the onward march towards victory, ^{we} I hereby declare, ~~on behalf of~~ ~~the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress~~, June 16th, South Africa Youth Day. We call upon our youth and students throughout the length and breadth of our country to make adequate preparations to make this annual national day one of rededication and heightened struggle. We further charge the entire democratic movement to rally around the working youth and students of our country to ensure the observation, in a revolutionary manner, of June 16, South Africa Youth (and Students) Day.

2.

Despite these extraordinary measures ^{which are not only} designed ^{but also to} to safeguard the system of racist rule ^{and} unite the white minority behind this system, the reality is that the white power bloc has never been as divided as it is today. Conflict, indecision and fear of the revolution within this bloc has now also extended to within the ranks of Botha's own cabinet.

An important part of the crisis afflicting the racist system is the deep-going problems confronting the apartheid economy which is today in dire straits from which it cannot recover. ^{For us,} We, the oppressed and exploited, know the bitter meaning of this crisis. We know the harsh reality of retrenchment, unemployment, a galloping cost-of-living and banishment to the Bantustans and resettlement camps.

Now, our white compatriots are themselves beginning to feel the weight of the burden of the economic catastrophe brought about by the apartheid system. White unemployment is increasing. Many conscripts return to civilian life without jobs and with no prospect of employment. Thousands of small and medium businesses have collapsed. Individual bankruptcies have multiplied without stop.

Completely unable to deal with this enormous general crisis, Botha has increasingly lost contact with reality. Illusions are taking the place of facts. The hollow dreams of a tyrant appear to him to be the very essence of policy. Botha relies on bombast and bluster to hide the fact that he is no more than a fleeting shadow on the world stage.

The fact of the matter is that the Botha regime has lost the strategic initiative. It has no policy and can have no policy either to save the apartheid system from sinking deeper into crisis or ^{to} extricate this system from that crisis. Its ^{political} ~~ideological~~ programme ^{its ideological platform has collapsed} has been reduced to a shambles. All it can do now is to react to events from day to day, without any consistent plan and without any overall objectives, except to keep itself in power for as long as possible.

^{can no longer guarantee a bright future for} It ~~has nothing to offer~~ the white social forces on which it rests, ^{which} can ~~convince these white people that they have a bright future.~~ At the same time, the Botha regime is confronted with our mass revolt. Consequently it cannot count on the masses of the people to stand by passively while it tries out one ^a apartheid experiment or another. Nor can it expect the people