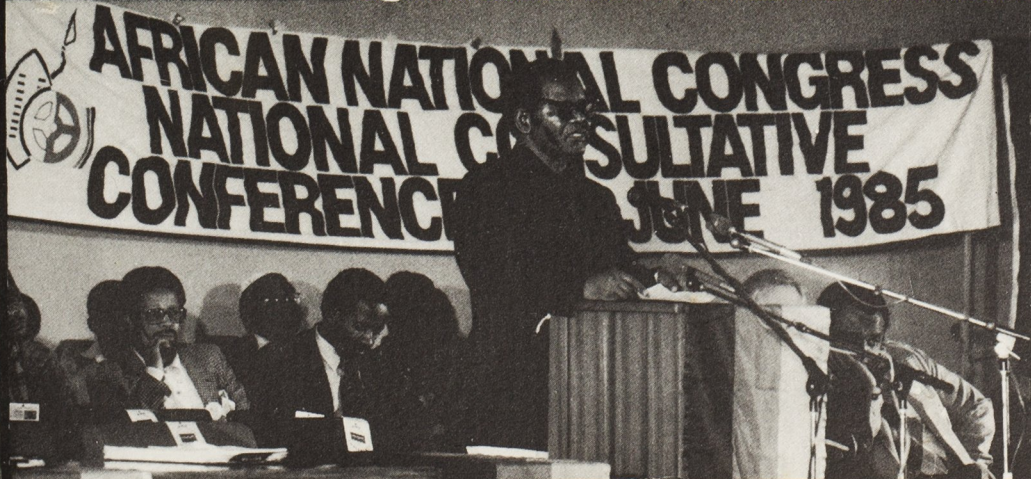


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FOR FREEDOM



Documents of the
**SECOND NATIONAL
CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE** of the
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
Zambia, 16 — 23 June, 1985



VICTORY TO THE ANC!

60p

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INTRODUCTION



The African National Congress held its Second National Consultative Conference in Lusaka, Zambia on June 16 to 23, 1985. It was a representative Conference of 250 democratically elected delegates representing all sections of our movement: the workers, the women, youth, media workers, soldiers — everybody.

For seven days our people discussed issues connected with our struggle, our strategy and tactics, our strengths and weaknesses. The mood and spirit of the Conference was that of comradeship and frankness. This Conference, which took place on the Ninth Anniversary of the Commemoration of the Soweto Uprising, also endorsed the principles enshrined in the Freedom Charter, whose 30th Anniversary we commemorated on June 26, 1985. It reaffirmed the decisions of the 1969 Morogoro Conference and re-endorsed the anti-imperialist positions of the African National Congress.

Indeed, this Conference has been described as a Council of War precisely because it charted the way forward to the intensification of armed struggle. It decided that the distinction between 'hard' and 'soft' targets should disappear. This was not a new idea. It had been discussed (like all other issues) in the numerous, continual regional pre-Conference discussions which involved everybody, including all those who were not elected as delegates to the Conference.

The question of intensifying armed struggle poses new challenges and responsibilities on the ANC and on the international community which — by the look of things and the nature of the violence of the enemy — is going to be more involved in that struggle for liberation.

One of these questions is the question of sanctions, comprehensive sanctions. In 1977 the UN called for sanctions. We are far from suggesting that sanctions will bring apartheid to its knees. All we are saying is that sanctions will weaken apartheid and that will enable us to fight against a weakened enemy. This will minimise the loss of lives, shorten the duration of our struggle and lessen bloodshed. This will be a contribution to our struggle and an act of solidarity with our people.


Another important decision, taken at the Conference, was the question of opening ranks at all levels inside and outside the country, to all South Africans who have come to join the ANC. Conference felt that the ANC composition at all levels should reflect the South African society — people who are sacrificing and fighting for the national liberation of the blacks, especially the Africans, and social emancipation of both the blacks and whites.

Conference also adopted a new Constitution and a Code of Conduct. A new National Executive Committee was elected and it was charged with the task of implementing Conference resolutions and leading the ANC in the coming battles.

These and many more resolutions and decisions were taken. This booklet makes public some of the decisions of the Conference. It is a reflection not only of what took place at the Conference, but of the thinking of the ANC in the Eighties. It is a summary of the experience accumulated by the ANC throughout its 73 years of existence — a pointer to a new path to the seizure of power. The apartheid system is in a crisis and the ANC is central to the solution of that crisis.



**Opening Statement of
Comrade President
Oliver Tambo at the
Second ANC National
Consultative Conference
June 16 to 23, 1985**



*Comrade Chairman,
Members of the National Executive Committee,
Fellow Delegates,*

We meet two days after Pretoria's assassination squads invaded the Republic of Botswana and murdered South Africans, among them members of the ANC, as well as citizens of Botswana and foreign nationals — men, women and children. Only last month the South African racists killed yet another comrade in Gaborone.

Today is June 16th, the 9th anniversary of the Soweto Uprising. The bloody repression that the Pretoria regime unleashed on that day continues. Inside our country, patriots are killed every day.

The moment has come when we should avenge these martyrs. The cause for which they perished will emerge victorious. The crime of apartheid which is responsible for their deaths must be suppressed. To honour their memory and in an act of rededication to the victory of the common cause, I request that we stand and observe a minute's silence.

Comrade Chairman,

It is indeed with great pleasure that I welcome all delegates to this historic National Consultative Conference of our movement. As I look round this hall, I can see that there are veterans who have been members of the ANC for anything up to half a century. There are others, young and dynamic, who reinforced our ranks a little more than half a decade ago.

Gathered here are professional revolutionaries, military commanders, commissars and cadres, diplomatic representatives, trade unionists, writers, peasants, royal persons, intellectuals and students, men and women. In this hall are present revolutionaries drawn from all the national groups of our country. We have come here from all corners of the globe, bringing with us our varied experiences, but united by a common and militant resolve to ensure that the 1980s do indeed become our Decade of Liberation.

What has convened here is more than a Conference of the ANC. It is nothing less than a South African National Congress, a true parliament of all the people of our country. Consequently, it carries on its shoulders serious responsibilities which are central to the future of our country.

It is no accident that our Conference takes place in the Republic of Zambia. Our host, the United National Independence Party, has been a friend and an ally of our organisation for more than two decades now. When some of the comrades present here left home, UNIP took them through secretly, at a time when this country was still a British colony.

Since then, these fraternal relations have grown even stronger. Our common suffering in the struggle for the total liberation of Africa has cemented the unity of our organisations and peoples and produced a degree of mutual solidarity which those of our comrades who live and work in Zambia know has permeated through to the masses of this country.

We meet under these excellent conditions, thanks to a decision taken by His Excellency Comrade President Kenneth

Kaunda and the Central Committee of UNIP, who, at very short notice, agreed without hesitation to our request to meet in Zambia. I am certain that Conference will agree that at the appropriate moment we should extend our heartfelt thanks to His Excellency President Kaunda and the Central Committee of UNIP.

The momentous importance of this occasion makes us feel all the more acutely the absence of comrades who are very dear to us and beloved among our people. I refer to the leaders and activists of our movement who are on Robben Island, Pollsmoor, Pretoria and Kroonstad, comrades who should have been with us as we meet here to discuss the future of our country and our people. We must and will surely ensure that next time we meet in Conference they too will be present as delegates.

Comrade Chairman,

The darkness that has shrouded our country for so long is now lit by flames that are consuming the accumulated refuse of centuries of colonialism and racism. For us, those flames are like beacons which draw us faster towards our goal. Botha prefers darkness and the night. But his nights are a festival of nightmares. All that his fearful eyes can see is a desolate road that ends in an abyss.

For our enemy, the age of illusion is coming to its ignoble end. The belief entertained for generations, that racial bigotry is an attribute of godliness, has come face to face with its own unique fate. The conviction that to be white was to be a missionary of civilisation, has given birth to a tidal wave whose strength will not abate until civilisation in our country is reckoned in the language of freedom and democracy. The pursuit of the certainties of a bygone age has itself become the grave-digger of fond hopes that injustice could be rationalised into a system of thought, implemented as a practice and imposed as a decree, and be accepted by the victims of that injustice. Illusions closely held for many a year, that white minority rule would last an eternity, are stalking all the enclaves of white South Africa, proclaiming everywhere that, in fact, they are illusions, fleeting shadows without substance. The apartheid system is in crisis.

Our people want freedom now. They want to govern and determine the destiny of their own country today and not tomorrow. They have lost patience with all ideas that their liberation can be postponed for any reason whatsoever. They measure the purpose of life by no other standard than that it should have been spent in the struggle for the liberation of our country. They have therefore shed all fear of death because the words **to live** have acquired the same meaning as the words **to be free**.

We who are gathered here are the trusted sons and daughters of these heroic masses. They sent us out of our country to commune with the nations of the world so that we could return to impart to them the revolutionary wisdom and skills of all those who have fought for freedom elsewhere in our universe. They knew that we would come back better prepared to promote the cause to which they are devoted and for whose success our forebears fought like the legendary titans. We who had a duty to teach are under an obligation to learn. Victory is knocking at the door. We have to absorb this lesson from the activities and sacrifices of our people. To absorb that lesson means to act now, and act in a decisive manner, to set our people free.

And so we have met today in a Congress of the democratic forces of our country to chart the path that will lead to the liberation of our people, today rather than tomorrow, sooner rather than later. That is the responsibility that rests on us all today.

This is not an emergency conference to overcome a crisis within our movement. We are not confronted by any crisis. We are meeting in a situation in which we have to determine how to use our advances at home and abroad to move further forward and to achieve victory. The challenges we face are ones that arise out of success. They impose on us the obligation to succeed even more, to succeed better and more quickly and to succeed to achieve victory. That is why, from the very beginning of the preparations of this Conference, our National Executive Committee sought to ensure that all of us should focus on the main task of elaborating ways and means for the intensification of the struggle for the victory of the national democratic revolution.

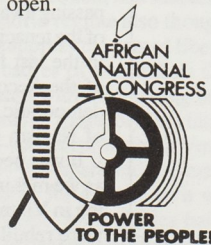
As we work to carry out this task, the masses of our people and the democratic movement of our country, afflicted by no doubts whatsoever, accept that, after this Conference, they will see our movement take qualitatively new initiatives consonant with the situation that obtains in our country.

As they see that situation, and while it has sufficient forces to fight back, yet the enemy has arrived in the position where its defeat has become inevitable. On the other hand, while we have more than adequate forces to gain victory, this outcome will only be assured if we move now to mobilise and utilise these forces to sue for that victory.

As Conference will see from the messages that will be presented here, the international community is also watching our proceedings closely, in the expectation that as a result of our deliberations, the suppression of the apartheid crime against humanity will have become that much more imminent.

The scribes of the enemy of our people are today poised over countless notebooks. They have already written that our Conference was a failure and of no consequence to the future of our country. Their counterparts in the special services are also busy implementing plans whose results they intend to be used exactly as proof of how miserably this Conference aborted. Vigilance must be our watchword. Commitment to and focus on the task of freedom must be the factors that inspire us in our work, in keeping with the same degree of intensity with which our people and the world anti-apartheid movement pursue the goal of the liberation of our country and the permanent transformation of our region into a zone of peace.

May I wish you all a happy and fruitful stay in Zambia, and success in the work which confronts us. We extend our congratulations to you that you were selected as delegates to this important Conference, and express our confidence that you will carry out your tasks in a manner befitting our movement, our revolution and our times. I declare the Second National Consultative Conference of the ANC open.



**Political Report of the
National Executive
Committee to the
National Consultative
Conference, June 1985
Presented by the
President of the ANC**



**Global Offensive
of Imperialism**

*Comrade Chairman,
Comrades, Delegates,*

This day, the opening of the National Consultative Conference of the ANC, is a great and moving moment in the history of our struggle for national liberation. The days we will spend here will live forever in the records of that struggle as marking a turning point in the history of all the people of South Africa. Our Conference itself will be remembered by our people as a council-of-war that planned the seizure of power by these masses, the penultimate convention that gave the order for us to take our country through the terrible but cleansing fires of revolutionary war to a condition of peace, democracy and the fulfilment of our people who have already suffered far too much and far too long.

History has therefore placed on the shoulders of the delegates here, both singly and collectively, a responsibility and a challenge which we must all discharge with all due seriousness. We greet and welcome you all and look forward to your constructive contributions in charting our way forward to people's power.

The eyes of our people and the rest of the world, both friend and foe, are focussed on this Conference. That is so because the crime of apartheid has persisted for too long. Almost everywhere, at home and abroad, the peoples are saying that the beginning of the end of the apartheid system has commenced. And everywhere there is an open recognition of the fact that this pioneer of the African revolutionary movement, the ANC, is and will be at the centre and the head of the process which will result in the overthrow of the white minority regime and the suppression of the crime of apartheid.

Aware of the historic importance of this Conference, I would like to express the profound appreciation of the National Executive Committee to the National Preparatory Committee, the Regional Preparatory Committees, the branches, camps, units and individual comrades who took up the work of preparing for Conference with so much enthusiasm and seriousness. That preparatory work has laid the basis for the success that this Conference must be.

The apartheid regime has survived for 37 years now. Born three years after the destruction of its fascist and nazi progenitor, this regime was an historical anachronism from the very first day of its existence, a remnant of an epoch that was passing away. That it continues to exist to this day is a measure of the tenacity of the forces of imperialism and reaction which, in the last four decades, have sought to reverse the results of the Second World War and to stop the process of the democratic transformation of our planet to which the defeat of Nazism gave a new and added impetus.

It was because of this global offensive of imperialism that as we met in Morogoro in 1969, a war of liberation was raging in Vietnam and the rest of Indo-China. The Arab peoples were rebuilding their forces in preparation of a renewed offensive to annul the gains that Zionist Israel had made during the six-day war of 1967. At the same time, we were still ex-

periencing the influx into our country of a new wave of European immigrants. These were the so-called freedom fighters from Czechoslovakia who fled to apartheid South Africa, there to be received by the Pretoria fascist regime with what it considered well-deserved accolades.

Portugal and Spain still suffered under the yoke of fascist dictatorships. For two years, the Greek people had been living under the tyranny of a military junta that had been sponsored by US imperialism. At the same time, the United States was engaged in feverish efforts to stop Salvador Allende's election as President of Chile the following year, a campaign that led to his assassination in 1973 and the victory of the counter-revolution.

As we met in Morogoro to confer about our own struggle, the peoples of Guinea Bissau, Angola, Mozambique and Sao Tome and Principe, as well as those in East Timor, still suffered under the yoke of Portuguese colonial domination. Zimbabwe was ruled by the white minority Smith regime whose illegal unilateral declaration of independence was a scant four years old.

Indeed, so confident was the counter-revolution of its strength in Southern Africa that the US government of the day could adopt, in 1969, the so-called National Security Study memorandum 39. Among other things, this official document said:

'For the foreseeable future South Africa will be able to maintain internal stability and effectively counter insurgent activity'. This infamous document went on:

'The whites are here to stay and the only way that constructive change can come about is through them. There is no hope for the blacks to gain the political rights they seek through violence, which will only lead to chaos and increased opportunities for the communists ... We can, through selective relaxation of our stance towards the white regimes, encourage some modification of their current racial and colonial policies ... At the same time, we would take diplomatic steps to convince the black states of the area that their current liberation and majority rule aspirations in the south are not attainable by violence and that their only hope for a peaceful and prosperous future lies in closer relations with the white-dominated states'.

The memorandum dismissed the liberation movements of Southern Africa as ineffectual and not 'realistic or supportable' alternatives to continued colonial rule. It ruled out any possibility of victory by these movements and questioned 'the depth and permanence of black resolve'.

Within our country, the Vorster regime was at the pinnacle of its power. It felt that the period of extreme reaction which the racists had unleashed when it banned the ANC, with Vorster as the general officer commanding the campaign of repression, had succeeded to smash the revolutionary movement. The Pretoria regime also thought that it had further secured itself by helping to suppress the armed liberation struggle in Zimbabwe, in which units and cadres of the Luthuli Detachment of Umkhonto we Sizwe had participated with outstanding heroism and skill. Despite the fact that the UN General Assembly had terminated South Africa's mandate over Namibia — a decision which Vorster dismissed as 'ridiculous and impracticable' — the apartheid regime felt that it could continue its domination of Namibia for as long as it wished.

In opinion polls, white South Africa hailed Vorster as an 'excellent' Prime Minister and helped him in 1970 to defeat the Herstigte Nasionale Party in the white general elections held that year.

It was in this situation that the Morogoro Consultative Conference was

Period of Extreme Reaction

1969 Morogoro Consultative Conference

convened in 1969. Yet when it met it was not in a mood of pessimism. Rather, it was characterised by high revolutionary enthusiasm to confront our problems frankly and squarely and find solutions so that we could further intensify the struggle and, in practice, demolish the misguided confidence that the apartheid regime and its allies shared.

Many who participated to ensure that the Morogoro Conference was the success that it was are no longer with us. I refer to such outstanding leaders, stalwarts and activists of our movement as Moses Malume Kotane, Uncle JB Marks, Yusuf Mota Dadoo, Mick Harmel, Duma Nokwe, Robbie Resha, Kate Molale, Flag Mokgomane Boshielo, MP Naicker Ngcapepe Ntunja and others. They left us a heritage of unwavering commitment to the people's cause, a spirit of self-sacrifice for the victory of our struggle and a revolutionary morality and practice which did not allow for personal ambition, factional conspiracies or cowardice and timidity in the face of an enemy counter-offensive. As we observe a minute's silence in their honour, let them serve as our example of the kind of cadre we must produce to carry their work forward to its successful conclusion.

Out of Morogoro came significant results, the most important being the reorientation of our movement towards the prosecution and intensification of our struggle inside South Africa, the restoration and reinforcement of unity within our own ranks and the integration of all revolutionaries within the ranks of the external mission of the ANC.

It is important to observe that, at Morogoro, our movement did not seek to underestimate the importance of or downgrade our international work. Indeed it could not, as the work that our movement had done, up to that point in our history, provided exactly the rear base from which we would carry out our internal work. The Morogoro Conference sought to ensure that we achieved the proper balance between our internal and our international struggle, with the internal being primary.

Once more, this Conference will have to address itself to this question, taking into account the altered circumstances of our struggle, the changed balance of forces at home and abroad and our immediate tactical, operational and strategic tasks. We shall come back to this issue later.

With regard to the issue of unity within our own ranks, the Morogoro Conference drew attention among other things to the importance of strengthening the links between the leadership and the membership, the necessity for the leadership to be accountable to the movement as a whole and the need to have clear strategic and tactical perspectives and a programme of work around which the membership would unite in pursuit of common objectives.

These questions remain important still. Conference will therefore need to make the necessary assessment to ensure that we have an organised and systematic way to ensure that, at all times, we enjoy maximum political and organisational unity within our own ranks and that all members are actually involved in activity which contributes to the advance of our struggle.

The question of open membership, as it has come to be called, is also on our agenda. In the period since the Morogoro Conference dealt with this issue, the National Executive Committee has raised it with the membership, at home and abroad, with a view to determine whether as a movement we still felt it was justified to keep the restrictions that were decided upon at Morogoro. There has been extensive discussion of this question. It should not be difficult for us to reach agreement and, building on what was decided at Morogoro, to take decisions that will take our

Need for Maximum Unity

The Struggle Mounts

movement and struggle further forward.

The decision of the Morogoro Conference helped us to overcome many shortcomings and to gear our organisation to make a more effective contribution to the mounting struggle inside our country and the anti-imperialist offensive of the peoples internationally. For, indeed, as the world forces of reaction basked in a passing glow of superior strength in 1969, the revolutionary and democratic movement was engaged in ever-mounting struggles to wrest victory from the oppressors and the exploiters. Five years after our Conference, the situation in our country, in our region and in other parts of the world was very different.

Already by 1969 the masses of our people had begun to stir, in the process of overcoming the reverses and relative lull imposed on us by the brutal counter-offensive that the enemy had unleashed and which had resulted not only in the banning of the ANC, but also in the Rivonia and other arrests, the assassination and execution of patriots and the systematic use of torture as an instrument of state power.

In particular, the youth and the workers were once more taking up the cudgels, engaging in boycott and strike actions during 1972 and 1973. Student organisations and trade unions were formed which served as the means to arouse the people and mobilise them to attain the level of mass activity which we had last seen with the general strike of 1961 organised to oppose the establishment of a racist republic and to demand one that was representative of all the people of our country. Black consciousness became a fact of our political life during this period.

In part, the resumed mass activity in our country was inspired by the stirring battles that our combatants had fought in Zimbabwe. Our successes in sending cadres of Umkhonto we Sizwe into the country through the machineries of the Revolutionary Council which had been established at the Morogoro Conference, raised the confidence of the masses of our people in their own ability to confront the apartheid regime successfully.

At the same time, our organised contact with the people had improved. The voice of our movement was also reaching our people through increased propaganda, both written and through radio. In short, both politically and militarily, our people were once more beginning to feel the organised presence of our movement among them and drew courage from this, to break out of the state of dormancy that the enemy had sought to impose on us through a policy of terror.

Outside our country, on the eve of our conference at Morogoro, the international democratic struggle had erupted with particular intensity especially in Western Europe and North America. In 1968, millions of people in these regions joined in mass struggles for the democratisation of their societies and in favour of a just world order.

But as we have said, the counter-revolution succeeded in Chile in 1973. Salvador Allende was murdered, with hundreds of others. Thousands of others were imprisoned, tortured and driven into exile. With the coming to power of the Pinochet junta, the Vorster regime found an ally in South America. However, these events did not and could not change the fact that the progressive forces were advancing. In 1972, the Soviet Union and the United States had concluded a treaty limiting strategic nuclear weapons. This was an important victory of the world peace forces which had been engaged in struggle for decades to save humanity from a nuclear holocaust.

In 1973, the Arab armies succeeded to inflict a major defeat on Zionist Israel for the first time in a quarter of a century, forcing US imperialism

International Developments

to seek new measures to protect its client state in the Middle East. At the same time, the prestige of the African liberation movements had grown to such an extent that for the first time, in 1973, the OAU Summit voted to sit the liberation movements at all OAU meetings as observers.

That advance within the OAU was also accompanied by the further improvement of our relations with the independent states of our region. In the years 1973-74, the ANC normalised its relations with the Governments of Botswana and Lesotho. This underlined the importance of the countries of our region in terms of their support for the cause of the liberation of our country.

Tribute to Independent States

In this respect, we should note and pay tribute to the sterling role that the independent states of our region have played in the furtherance of our struggle. Today, we meet in one of these, among people who assisted us even before their independence and who are today hosting this important gathering. All of these countries have, each according to its ability, including the latest among them to achieve independence, made it possible for us to survive outside the borders of our country and to advance our cause at home and abroad. We have to ensure that, at all times, we guard the fraternal relations that exist between them and ourselves, whatever strains these relations may come under now and again.

Other countries in our continent and Africa as a whole have also played an important role in the struggle against the apartheid regime, confirming the primary importance of our continent as our first rear base.

During 1973, in an outstanding victory for the world forces of progress, US imperialism was compelled to enter into agreements with the genuine representatives of the people of Vietnam, as a result of which US forces withdrew from Vietnam. The puppet regimes of Thieu and Lon Nol were left to fend for themselves.

This victory, in particular, symbolised the end of a chapter in world history which had been characterised by a determined drive by world imperialism, led by the USA, to impose its will on the peoples of the world. The collapse of this policy in the battlefields of Indo-China and in the streets of the USA itself, created increased possibilities for an accelerated progressive transformation of the world, including our region of Southern Africa.

Shift in Balance of Forces

It was in this situation that Portuguese fascism collapsed, thanks to the heroic struggles waged by the peoples in the African Portuguese colonies and the democratic forces in Portugal itself. That was in 1974, five years after the Morogoro Conference and five years after the US Government had reached its conclusion that 'the white (regimes) are here to stay'.

It was also during the same year that the leaders of the Zimbabwe liberation movement were released from Smith's dungeons in preparation for a negotiated settlement of the Zimbabwe question. Some of them had spent more than a decade in detention. Further afield, in Europe, again in 1974, the fascist military junta in Greece was defeated and democracy restored to that country.

Thus we can say that in the five year period after the Morogoro Conference the balance of forces had shifted radically in our favour, both regionally and globally. If in 1969 the apartheid leaders were rebelling in the permanence and invulnerability of their power, by 1974 they had to sing a different tune.

In that year, Pik Botha made the hollow promise that 'we shall do everything in our power to move away from discrimination based on race or colour ...' Vorster followed him a few days later pleading: 'Give South Africa a six-month's chance by not making our road harder than it is

already ...'

But, of course, the apartheid regime had no intention of addressing itself to the fundamental question of majority rule in South Africa. Rather, it was involved in a determined effort during 1974 to break out of its international isolation and to legitimise itself, particularly in Africa. Through this offensive, originally carried out in secret, which it described as detente, the racist regime sought to isolate the ANC from independent Africa, to defeat the strategy of armed struggle for the liberation of South Africa and drag Africa into a dialogue that would help to perpetuate the apartheid system.

In this offensive, the apartheid regime and its allies sought, among other things, to utilise a faction which had emerged within our ranks and which posed as the true defender of the policy of our movement. This is the group which ultimately emerged in public under the name 'ANC (African Nationalist)'.

This faction resorted to the well-tried counter-revolutionary positions of anti-communism and racist chauvinism, in an effort to change the strategic orientation of our movement, undermine the unity of the democratic forces of our country and win recognition for itself by the most backward forces in world politics. By a policy of vilification and outright lies, it tried to discredit the leadership of our movement and to foment a rebellion from within the ANC in the hope that it would regain the positions it had lost at the Morogoro Conference. For its activities this faction won the public recognition of the Pretoria regime which showered praises on it as the genuine leadership of the ANC and of our people.

True to the traditions of the ANC and in the interest of the maximum unity of our movement and people, our leadership worked hard to show these people the error of their ways and to reintegrate them within the structures of our movement. Many of them had made important contributions to the advance of our struggle and were leading cadres of our organisation.

As part of this process, we held a Conference of the ANC in 1971 where the differences that had emerged within the ANC were discussed. That Conference reaffirmed the decisions taken by the Morogoro Conference as well as the general strategy and tactics of our movement. It also agreed that members of this faction should still be given specific tasks within the movement, taking into account their seniority. In the end, our efforts came to nothing as this group continued its factional activities.

Nevertheless, such was the level of consciousness and the commitment of the membership to the basic positions of the ANC, that this faction could not and did not succeed in its purposes. This important victory had important implications in the decisive struggle for the unity of our people and the broad movement for national liberation.

As we have said, it was during this period that the Black Consciousness Movement emerged as a distinct political and organisational force within our country. Naturally, the ANC had to define its attitude towards this force. In a statement issued after its second session in 1973, the NEC said:

'In the last few years ... there has come into being a number of black organisations whose programmes, by espousing the democratic, anti-racist positions that the ANC fights for, identify them as part of the genuine forces of the revolution.'

The NEC went on to elaborate the following important positions:

'The assertion of the national identity of the oppressed black peoples is ... not an end in itself. It can be a vital force of the revolutionary action

Counter- Revolutionary Faction

Black Consciousness Movement

involving the masses of the people. For it is in struggle, in the actual physical confrontation with the enemy, that the people gain a lasting confidence in their own strength and in the inevitability of final victory — it is through action that the people acquire true psychological emancipation.’

Proceeding from these positions, the ANC sought to establish relations with the forces represented in the BCM and to impart to them the collective revolutionary experience of our people contained in and carried forward by our organisation. Our aim was to establish close fraternal relations with this movement and encourage it to grow, but as an instrument for the mass mobilisation of our people into struggle.

The process I am describing was by no means easy and straightforward. Already, the idea was beginning to emerge among some circles, particularly outside our country, that the BCM could consolidate itself as, at worst, a political formation to replace the ANC and, at least, a parallel movement enjoying the same legitimacy as the ANC.

It was of primary importance that we should deny our opponents any and both of these possibilities. Despite the severe setbacks we had suffered during the sixties, the enemy had failed to remove the ideas and prestige of the ANC from among our people. This, together with the activities that we undertook within the country, meant that the youth whom the BCM was organising were at least conscious of the ANC, despite the fact that many had grown up without any direct contact with us. This served as a basis for us to score significant achievements in terms of building our relations with activists of the BCM and frustrating the scheme to build up a so-called Third Force.

It is also important at this stage to recall that during this period, our movement was confronted with strong pressure from within the OAU to unite with the PAC. The leadership and the membership jointly resisted this pressure because we were convinced that such unity must grow in struggle among forces that are actually confronting the enemy. We were, further, not prepared to lend credibility to a group which, even then, had discredited itself as a divisive factor within our broad movement, whose complete collapse would help to limit the possibilities of the counter-revolution to plant its agents among the masses of our people.

In our discussions, we should take all these historical experiences into account because, as we shall show later, the idea of a Third Force did not disappear and is still with us today. Its creation will remain a strategic objective of the forces of counter-revolution.

Creating a ‘Third Force’

In this regard, it is important to confront the matter objectively that within it, our broad movement for national liberation contains both a nationalist and a socialist tendency. Our national democratic revolution has both class and national tasks which influence one another. This is natural given the nature of our society and oppression and our historical experience. One of the outstanding features of the ANC is that it has been able to encompass both these tendencies within its ranks, on the basis of the common acceptance of the Freedom Charter as a programme that encapsulates the aspirations of our people, however varied their ideological positions might otherwise be.

The forces of counter-revolution continuously seek to separate these tendencies both politically and organisationally, set them at loggerheads and thus divide the national liberation movement. That is why the enemy always speculates about divisions between ‘Marxists’ and ‘nationalists’ within our ranks. It is on this basis that the PAC was formed, as well as the group we have spoken of which called itself ANC (African Nationa-

list). Our enemies had entertained hopes that the BCM would emerge, survive and grow as the organised representative of the 'nationalist tendency' within the national democratic revolution, independent of the ANC.

These issues are of relevance to this day particularly because certain elements within the country, which describe themselves as belonging to the black consciousness movement, have set themselves against the democratic movement. At the same time, significant numbers of democratic activists, particularly from among the youth, see the ANC as a socialist party and project it as such. Though it came into being later than the period up to 1974 that we have been talking about, it might be appropriate at this stage to refer also to the formation within the ANC of a 'left' faction which dubbed itself the 'Marxist Tendency' within the ANC. This faction came out in opposition to our ally, the South African Communist Party and sought to shift both SACTU and the ANC in a so-called left direction. Members of this group are no longer within our ranks. It is, however, true that some of their ideas have penetrated sections of the democratic movement inside our country. These need to be combated, once more, to ensure that this movement does not splinter into left and right factions.

Unity is Essential

We cannot over-emphasise the strategic importance of ensuring the unity of the ANC, the broad democratic movement and the masses of our struggling people on the basis of our programme, our strategy and tactics. In the five year period immediately following the Morogoro Conference, we can report that our movement achieved these objectives in the face of actual attempts to divide us.

We have already referred to the contribution that the BCM made to the activation of our people into struggle. This is a positive contribution that we must recognise and to which we must pay tribute. We should also recognise the significant input that the BCM made towards further uniting the black oppressed masses of our country, by emphasising the commonness of their oppression and their shared destiny. These views were built on political positions that our movement had long canvassed and fought for. Nevertheless, we must still express our appreciation of the contribution that the BCM made in this regard while recognising the limitations of this movement which saw our struggle as racial, describing the entire white population of our country as 'part of the problem'.

Taking into account the collective experience of our people, our principal positions and the tasks of our revolutionary movement, our Conference will also have to address itself to the question of the unity of the motive forces of our revolution and the need, at all times, to take correct positions on the national question.

Political and Military Struggle

We should also draw attention to the fact, whose organisational and operational implications will be spelt out in the NEC report as presented by the Secretary General, that the Morogoro Conference viewed our struggle as politico-military. The Revolutionary Council was mandated to conduct such a struggle. The document on strategy and tactics adopted at the Morogoro Conference discussed at length the issue of the relationship between the political and military struggles, emphasising the primacy of the former. In the actual conduct of our struggle in the period up to 1974, we concentrated on political work, especially on the task of establishing contact with our people at home and rebuilding our organised presence inside the country. On the military side, we also emphasised organisational work, namely, the building up of Umkhonto we Sizwe inside the country in terms of both men and materials.

We raise this question because we shall have to discuss it once again

Regrouping and Recovery

but in the light of our experience, the current situation and our perspectives. This issue bears not only on the conduct of our struggle inside the country, but also on such questions as our structure, the training and deployment of cadres and the exercise of the function of leadership. Thus we need maximum clarity on this issue so that we can proceed towards the seizure of power in the most effective and efficient manner possible.

When we entered the second five year period after the Morogoro Conference, we were better prepared to face the challenges that this period posed. With the benefit of hindsight, we could possibly describe the years 1969-74 as, for us, the Period of Regrouping and Recovery.

It was during this period that we fully took into account the fact that our reverses at home, particularly during the years 1963-1965, compounded by the death of our late President, Chief AJ Luthuli in 1967, had imposed on our External Mission, the task of representing and leading our movement as a whole, including its internal units. We had to carry out the process of reconstruction from outside. There were no structures inside the country to receive the units of the Luthuli Detachment that had trained outside. It was the response to this reality, the fact that this External Mission took on those internal tasks in a serious and determined manner that gave the period 1969-74 its distinctive character and enabled us to recover the possibility to move further forward, confidently, to exploit the greater possibilities that emerged in the next five year period.

We could perhaps characterise this latter phase as a Period of Consolidation and Further Advance. It was a period during which our movement worked to defend the gains we had made and to use those gains further to step up the struggle, finally to liquidate the achievements that the enemy had scored when it launched its campaign of extreme reaction in the early Sixties.

New Situation in Southern Africa

When the NEC considered the implications of the accession to power of Frelimo and the MPLA in their respective countries, it concluded that there has emerged in Southern Africa a new kind of state power. Fundamentally new types of property were being established and consequently, new social relations were emerging. For the peoples of Southern Africa, Mozambique and Angola were the latest examples demonstrating that exploitative relations are a transitional phase in the development of human society.

We were convinced that the option made by Angola and Mozambique for a socialist orientation of development was viewed by the imperialists as a declaration of war on their economic and ideological positions in a region that has traditionally been one of their preserves on the continent. Imperialism was therefore bound to use all means and methods at its disposal to seek to destroy the popular power that had come into being in our sub-continent.

We also concluded that the white minority regimes of Salisbury and Pretoria, together with their imperialist allies, saw in SWAPO, the Patriotic Front and the ANC, liberation movements that were determined to dismantle the colonial economic structures and install a new socio-economic order in the region. We were certain that the imperialists knew that such a victory would put an end to the continued plunder of our region by international capital and reinforce the advances made in Angola and Mozambique towards complete national and social emancipation.

As Conference will recall, Mozambique attained its independence on June 25, 1975. In this regard, we might consider sending a message from this Conference to the people of Mozambique on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of their independence. Angola became independent on

November 11 of the same year.

Between these dates and the time of the revolution in Portugal, a complicated situation obtained both in Mozambique and in Angola, with the forces of counter-revolution involved in a series of desperate assaults aimed at destroying Frelimo and the MPLA and preserving Mozambique and Angola as objects of imperialist plunder. The most determined counter-revolutionary offensive took place in Angola, spearheaded by an open invasion of that country by the racist army of the Pretoria regime and supported by US imperialism and puppet forces within Angola. At the same time, the progressive forces in Africa and the world were forced to wage an intense struggle for the recognition of the People's Republic of Angola.

Our National Executive Committee kept this situation under review continuously. We took the positions that we must defend the MPLA as the proven representative of the people of Angola, assert the legitimacy of the People's Republic of Angola, as well as support the right of the people of this country to determine their own path of development and to establish their own system of international relations.

In this way, supporting the positions of the MPLA, we came out against the notion of a government of national unity that would have legitimised the puppet UNITA and FNLA. We stood for the immediate expulsion of the Pretoria invasion force from Angola and fought against all imperialist intervention.

We were convinced that the counter-revolution had to be defeated. Failure to achieve this victory would have constituted a severe setback not only for the people of Angola, but also for the liberation struggle in our region and the process of the progressive renewal of our continent. Accordingly, we battled within the OAU in particular for acceptance of our positions, which coincided with those of many countries on our continent. The heroism of the people of Angola, the firm and timely support rendered to them by the socialist community of nations and the world anti-imperialist movement, coupled with the relative weakness of the forces of reaction, succeeded to save the People's Republic and thus further to shift the international balance of forces in our favour.

We should bear in mind that these events were taking place at a time when the Pretoria regime was engaged in its 'detente' offensive, using the Zimbabwe question in particular as a vehicle to gain acceptance for itself on the African continent. We opposed this manoeuvre, determined to ensure that, in the interests of our own struggle, the counter-revolution must not succeed.

We confronted the enemy offensive as a united movement, backed by our people inside the country, who had demonstrated their understanding, acceptance and support for the revolutionary perspective posed by Frelimo and the MPLA, by organising the 'Frelimo rallies' for which some leaders and activists of the Black Consciousness Movement had been arrested, sentenced and jailed.

Up to that time, these events represented the sharpest confrontation we had had with the apartheid regime in the struggle for the support of our region and of Africa as a whole. In a thousand battles and skirmishes, the question was being answered — would our continent march on from the victories in Angola, Guinea Bissau and Mozambique to new successes or would we fall back in the face of the enemy counter-offensive, submit to neo-colonialism and the perpetuation of white minority rule. It is no exaggeration to say that our movement played a role, however limited, in getting our continent to decide against any retreat, in favour

Counter- Revolution must be Defeated

1975 Conference

of a continued advance against racism, colonialism and imperialism.

To prepare for this heightened confrontation with the racist regime, our movement had met in Conference from the 17th to 20th March, 1975. When we welcomed the delegates to that meeting we said: 'At no time have we at brief notice assembled such a representative meeting attended by delegates from such remote places.' That Conference adopted a Declaration that frankly stated our positions in the face of the enemy offensive. We pointed out that:

'The enemy has already undertaken actions to enable him to maintain the sole right and power to determine the content, direction and pace of change in Southern Africa. The speed of advance of the African revolution is threatened by this counter-revolutionary manoeuvre. The very gains of that revolution, as represented by the reality of independent Africa, are themselves threatened with compromise.'

That is how serious the situation was when we had to convene once again in Morogoro.

We had timed our own Conference to precede the 9th Extraordinary Session of the OAU Council of Ministers which was being assembled to discuss Southern Africa. We had to work to ensure that the positions we adopted at our Conference gained the acceptance of our continent as a whole.

Africa's Need to Close Ranks

The African ministers resolved that our continent has 'as its important prerequisite the maintenance and strengthening of unity and solidarity of Africa in confronting the new situation in Southern Africa. The enemies of independent Africa realise that this unity is the most powerful weapon in the continent's arsenal. It is that unity and solidarity which Vorster, with his collaborators and supporters, are attempting to undermine. Therefore Africa's urgent need to close its ranks in facing South Africa's new tactics becomes self-evident.'

The ministers went on to reject Vorster's detente, reaffirmed their support for our movement and for armed struggle. They rejected the ban-tustans and called for the complete isolation of apartheid South Africa and characterised her as 'the final major obstacle to Africa's march to liberation'.

All this signified that Pretoria's political offensive into Africa had been defeated. The continent and our movement adopted the same positions. Ten months later, Pretoria's military offensive into Africa, in this case its invasion of Angola, was also defeated. The People's Republic of Angola had emerged victorious.

Both these results were of great importance to our struggle. They demonstrated that the Pretoria regime could not impose its will on the people of Africa. The myth of the invincibility of the South African army of aggression and oppression was destroyed and buried for ever. Young white South Africans began to question themselves as to whether they should allow themselves to die in defence of the apartheid system.

These victories had also conclusively demonstrated that our movement and struggle enjoyed sufficient support among the peoples of Africa for our continent successfully to defend and advance the interests of our revolution regardless of the means and methods our enemy used to subvert us and regardless of the support it had from its imperialist allies.

The events of 1974-1976, however, also confirmed the importance of independent Africa as our rear base and the need for us to ensure that at all times it remains a reliable rear base. The justice of our cause speaks for itself. At the same time, the ignominy of the apartheid system addresses itself directly to the hearts of the hundreds of millions of the African

masses on our continent. And yet, we have to be with these masses continuously, maintain contact with their brother governments and, in struggle, retain Africa on our side as territory hostile to the apartheid regime. Any weakness on our part in this sphere inevitably raises serious complications for our struggle.

Conversely, during this period, the victories of the national liberation movement in Southern Africa in particular, acted as an important factor in raising the level of militancy among our own people and spurring them further into action. Great, new possibilities emerged for us to reach into our country. Because allies with whom we had co-operated for a decade and more in the struggle for national liberation were now in power in Mozambique and Angola, a whole variety of other opportunities to increase our effectiveness emerged. One outcome of these developments was that, from 1975 onwards, we were able to establish an official presence in the Kingdom of Swaziland. Among the independent countries of Southern Africa, Malawi was the only one with which we had and have no relations. At the same time, and as a consequence of these developments, the political crisis of the apartheid regime began to emerge into the open.

Building on what had been achieved in the past, we continued to expand our contact with the masses of our people as well as their democratic organisations, including the trade unions and the Black Consciousness Movement as well as the religious community within our country.

This is the appropriate occasion to disclose that in the course of this work we had, by 1976, arrived at the point where the time had come for us to meet that leading representative of the BCM, the late Steve Biko. By this time Steve and his colleagues had arrived at the following positions:

- (a) That the ANC is the leader of our revolution;
- (b) That the Black People's Convention should concentrate on mass mobilisation;
- (c) That the BPC should function within the context of the broad strategy of our movement; and
- (d) That a meeting between the leadership of the BPC and ourselves was necessary.

Arrangements were made for us to meet Steve Biko in 1976. Unfortunately, it proved impossible to bring Steve out of the country for this meeting. Another attempt was made in 1977 but this also did not succeed. Subsequent arrangements also failed as, for instance, Barney Pitjana was arrested when he was due to lead another delegation. Steve Biko was of course subsequently murdered.

These events might be of historic interest now, particularly as the BCM as an organised force was severely affected by the bans imposed by the Pretoria regime on the BCM organisations in 1977. However, this experience proved the correctness of the positions we had taken to deal with the BCM not in a competitive spirit but to relate to it as part of the broad movement for national liberation. The achievements made in building our relations with this movement and giving its members access to our policy, strategy and tactics were of great importance in enabling us to defeat a determined attempt by the forces of counter-revolution to build a so-called Third Force, especially in the aftermath of the Soweto Uprising.

This Uprising of 1976-77 was, of course, the historic watershed of the period we are reporting about. Within a short period of time, it propelled into the forefront of our struggle millions of young people, thus immeasurably expanding the active forces of the revolution and inspiring other sections of our people into activity.

Stepping up the Offensive

The Late Steve Biko

The 1976 Uprising

Naturally, these heroic struggles had a profound impact on our organisation as well. They resulted in the accelerated expansion of our movement both inside and outside the country. That process of course resulted in increasing the relative proportion of the youth and students within our ranks. It brought into our midst comrades many of whom had had very little contact with the ANC, if any. It put at the immediate disposal of our movement militant cadres who were ready and yearning to carry out even the most difficult missions that the movement wished to give them. It increased many times over the responsibility we had to maintain large numbers of people outside our country.

Conference will discuss the question whether, as a movement, we have built of this new army of our revolution the kind of cadre that the new situation and the tasks that we face demand. The issue of a proper cadre policy that takes into account our human resources and our perspectives is of fundamental importance to our further advance.

In this regard, we would like to take this opportunity to pay glorious tribute to the older cadres of our movement, those that fought in Zimbabwe in 1967 and 1968, those who were the delegates at the Morogoro Conference. These same cadres manned the operations structures of the Revolutionary Council. They are the ones who were sent back into our country to carry out the organisational tasks that the Morogoro Conference and the Revolutionary Council had elaborated. Many of these are now serving long sentences in Robben Island.

Indeed, we could say that had it not been for the steadfast commitment and loyalty of these comrades to our organisation and our revolution, there might very well have been no ANC to join when the youth poured out of our country after the Soweto Uprising. The new situation that confronts us, the tasks that this Conference will decide upon, require that we pay attention to the question of utilising to the full the experience and maturity of these outstanding cadres of our movement.

The message of the Soweto Uprising was clear enough. It was that we had entered a new phase in our struggle, one that would be marked by an ever-sharpening confrontation between the masses of our people and the apartheid regime, one in which the mass offensive would, to all intents and purposes, be continuous and uninterrupted. It would also place the issue of the resumption of the armed struggle on our agenda, as an extremely urgent question in the face of the reality that the apartheid regime was using, and would continue to use, maximum force against our risen but unarmed people.

We have characterised the period we are discussing as one of Consolidation and Further Advance. As we have been trying to demonstrate, we had been consolidating our gains and on that basis taking further steps forward especially with regard to political work. We have also referred to the fact that from 1972 we had also been sending cadres of Umkhonto we Sizwe into the country to prepare exactly for the resumption of the armed struggle. In brief, we were getting better prepared to assume our place as the active vanguard force of our struggling people, within the country.

The Soweto Uprising demonstrated that our country was a veritable powder keg. A decade and a half after the military suppression of the general strike of 1961, the pent-up revolutionary fury of the people rose to the surface. It became possible to conclude that such uprisings would become a permanent feature of our struggle.

Our movement, as other revolutionary movements before it, has a responsibility to take advantage of such moments when the activity of the

Uprisings a Permanent Feature

masses is increased a thousand-fold, when the masses are prepared to fight to the finish for the destruction of their adversary. Understanding all this, it was however true that in 1976-77 we had not recovered sufficiently to take full advantage of the situation that crystallised from the first events of June 16, 1976. Organisationally, in political and military terms, we were too weak to take advantage of the situation created by the Uprising. We had very few active ANC units inside the country. We had no military presence to speak of. The communication links between ourselves outside the country and the masses of our people were still too slow and weak to meet the situation such as was posed by the Soweto Uprising. An outstanding role in this situation was, however, played by those of our comrades who were inside the country, many of them former Robben Island prisoners. Through their contact with the youth, they were able to make an ANC input, however limited, in the conduct of the bloody battles of 1976-77.

Some of them are with us in this hall today. But among them we would like to select for special mention the late Comrade Joe Gqabi, former Robben Island prisoner, member of the NEC and our first representative in Zimbabwe. This implacable enemy of the apartheid regime was assassinated in cold blood by agents of this regime in July 1981 because the racists knew what Joe was worth to our organisation and our revolution. They could see that the seeds he had planted among the youth in Soweto in 1976, hardly a year after his release from prison, and in the subsequent years, were bearing bitter fruit for the oppressors and, for us, magnificent combatants for the liberation of our country.

The participation of the comrades we have spoken about in assisting to guide the Soweto Uprising, once more emphasised the vital necessity for us to have a leadership core within the country, known by us and in touch with the people, dedicated, brave, with clear perspectives and thus able to lead. The need further to strengthen our leadership structures within the country continues to press on us with ever-increasing insistence. It is an objective that must be realised without much delay.

We have said that the Soweto Uprising also raised the urgent question of the resumption of armed struggle. Happily, in the period 1977-79, we were able once more to carry out military operations. This was thanks to organisational achievements inside the country, an improved organisational capacity outside and, not least, the availability of cadres whom we could prepare relatively quickly to return to the country. We should, of course, also mention that much of this we owed to the changed balance of forces in Southern Africa brought about by the collapse of Portuguese colonialism and the capture of power by our revolutionary allies.

We cannot over-emphasise the importance of those historic blows struck by units of the June 16th and other detachments of the people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe. The members of those units, such as Solomon Kalushi Mahlangu have, despite their youth, left us with a tradition of combat and fearlessness which inspires both the young and the old to the acts of peerless bravery which our people are displaying today.

Those early actions signalled that Umkhonto we Sizwe lives, and lives among the people, within our country. They signified the defeat of the strategy of our enemy which, for more than a decade, had sought to ensure that no trained unit of our army ever entered South Africa and if it did, that it would never carry out a single operation. They established, in action, the fact that there exist in our country two armies, one a people's army and, the other, an oppressor's army. They meant the defeat of all efforts to liquidate the armed struggle in our country.

Tribute to Joe Gqabi

Blows Struck by Umkhonto we Sizwe

Role of Socialist Countries

By the same token, they signalled the inevitability of our victory. After all, both Frelimo and the MPLA had liberated their countries through armed struggle. In Zimbabwe, the Smith regime and its backer and ally in Pretoria were running into serious problems exactly as a result of the escalation of armed struggle. The apartheid regime was pouring more and more troops into Namibia in a vain attempt to halt the armed liberation struggle conducted by SWAPO. It was therefore obligatory that, from the small but historic beginnings of 1977-79, we should escalate the armed struggle by delivering bigger blows and on a continuous basis.

It would be a grave error on our part if we did not, at this point, refer, however briefly, to the socialist countries. The period we are discussing once more confirmed these countries as allies we can always rely upon, a secure rear base without which our struggle would be even more difficult and protracted.

To this day, the socialist countries continue to play an important supporting role in many aspects of our work. Always willing to consider and respond to our requests, every day they demonstrate an unwavering commitment to see our revolution through to the end.

As a movement, we need to be conscious of this all the time and protect our friendship and co-operation with the socialist community of nations very jealously.

The forces of reaction are always busy trying to detach us from these countries, knowing very well that, were they to succeed, they would weaken our organisation and our struggle to such a degree that they could then defeat us. The conditions that US imperialism has arrogantly placed on the independence of Namibia aim specifically to achieve this objective, to deny the peoples of our region the enormous and disinterested support of the socialist countries and thus make us easy prey to continued imperialist domination.

Organisation in the Bantustans

To return to the internal, we must also report that throughout the period after the Morogoro Conference, we had been concerned about the organisation and activation of the masses of our people in the bantustans against the apartheid system as a whole, including its bantustan creations. Consequently we were of the view that, among other things, it was of vital importance that we should encourage the formation in the bantustans of mass democratic organisations where none existed, and urge that those which existed should be strengthened and activated. In pursuit of these aims we maintained contacts in such bantustans as the Transkei, Lebowa, Venda and Bophuthatswana. We are happy to welcome to this Conference one of the stalwarts who, for so long, held high the banner of genuine national liberation in one of these areas, an outstanding leader of our people, King Sabata Dalindyebo.

It was also in this context that we maintained regular contact with Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of the KwaZulu bantustan. We sought that this former member of the ANC Youth League who had taken up his position in the KwaZulu bantustan after consultations with our leadership, should use the legal opportunities provided by the bantustan programme to participate in the mass mobilisation of our people on the correct basis of the orientation of the masses to focus on the struggle for a united and non-racial South Africa. In the course of our discussions with him, we agreed that this would also necessitate the formation of a mass democratic organisation in the bantustan that he headed. Inkatha originated from this agreement.

Unfortunately, we failed to mobilise our own people to take on the task of resurrecting Inkatha as the kind of organisation that we wanted, owing

to the understandable antipathy of many of our comrades towards what they considered as working within the bantustan system. The task of reconstituting Inkatha therefore fell on Gatsha Buthelezi himself who then built Inkatha as a personal power base far removed from the kind of organisation we had visualised, as an instrument for the mobilisation of our people in the countryside into an active and conscious force for revolutionary change. In the first instance, Gatsha dressed Inkatha in the clothes of the ANC, exactly because he knew that the masses to whom he was appealing were loyal to the ANC and had for six decades adhered to our movement as their representative and their leader. Later, when he thought he had sufficient of a base, he also used coercive methods against the people to force them to support Inkatha.

Buthelezi and Inkatha

During 1979, in one of its sessions, our National Executive Committee considered the very serious question of how to respond to a request by Gatsha Buthelezi for him to lead a delegation of Inkatha to meet the leadership of the ANC. By this time, divergencies were becoming evident on such questions as armed struggle and disinvestment. After due consideration, the NEC decided that it was correct to meet the Inkatha delegation, once more to explain the position of our movement, and ensure unity of approach to the main strategic requirements of the struggle. An express and agreed condition for holding the meeting was that it would be secret and its deliberations confidential. However, Gatsha announced that we had met and explained the purpose, the contents and the results of the meeting to suit his own objectives, much to the delight of the commercial press of South Africa and other forces in the world that had, in fact, concluded that Buthelezi was possibly 'the Muzorewa' of the people of South Africa.

We have dealt with Chief Gatsha Buthelezi at some length because, although his efforts are doomed to fail, in a way he is our fault. We have not done and are not doing sufficient political work among the millions of our people who have been condemned to the bantustans. The artificial boundaries purporting to fence them off from the rest of our country do not make them any less a vital and integral part of the popular masses fighting for national liberation and social emancipation in our country.

Certain advances have been made with regard to the creation of a mass democratic movement in the bantustans, especially in the last twelve months. At the same time, it is true that, in the main, we have not succeeded to build this movement to the level of strength that is possible and necessary. We have not even succeeded to utilise fully the considerable experiences of such elders in our midst as Comrade Elijah Mampuru.

We have to build a mass democratic movement in the countryside and in this process, separate any existing mass organisations from their dihard counter-revolutionary leaders, redirect them to the only correct path of revolutionary action by the people themselves and, for this purpose, solve the actual political problems posed by this population in terms of their organisation and activation.

Bound as we are historically to work for the greatest possible unity of the oppressed masses, and without forgetting that these masses are our reliable base, we have to deal with any personalities within these bantustans who display a democratic consciousness, however limited.

The storm that erupted as a result of our meeting with the Inkatha delegation in 1979 demonstrated the absolute need for a clear and common understanding and an acceptance of the basic strategic and tactical positions of our movement by the membership of the ANC as a whole, our allies, the broad democratic movement of our country and the masses

of our people. It also became clear that, once more, whatever the ANC did was seen by the millions of our people as a matter of vital importance to their future and one over which they had a right and duty to intervene, to express an opinion, to influence. We had defeated the attempt of the apartheid regime to isolate us from our people and reasserted our position as the representative of these masses, recognised by them as such.

This showed that in the period up to 1979, we had succeeded to vanquish the efforts of schools of political thought, different from our own, to resurrect the idea of a 'Third Force'.

Subverting our Youth and Students

This idea was pursued with the greatest vigour in the period following the Soweto Uprising. Our opponents sought to use the enormous contribution that our youth and students had made to the struggle, to ascribe the role to the students of a vanguard force in our struggle. On the basis of this wrong thesis, desperate attempts were made by elements in the USA, independent Africa and Western Europe, to form some youth political organisation specifically as a counterweight to our movement, taking advantage of the political immaturity of some of the young people who had battled the apartheid regime with such daring and courage. It was out of these manoeuvres that the so-called South African Youth Revolutionary Council was born.

Attempts were even made to form an anti-ANC coalition composed of this SAYRCO, remnants of the BCM, the PAC, the Unity Movement and the Group of Eight, which we had expelled in 1975 when it adopted public positions which were completely at variance with the policy of our movement.

Through struggle, in which we put to the fore our policy, strategy and tactics, while continuing to engage in action against the apartheid regime, at home and abroad, we defeated this attempt to create a 'Third Force'. The majority of the youth who had left the country had, in any case, come into the ranks of the ANC as had the majority of the activists of the BCM.

In this context, we should also say that as part of the process of consolidation and further advance, acting together with our youth inside the country, we had encouraged the establishment of a number of mass democratic organisations of the youth.

It is also important to recall that many leading activists of the democratic movement were arrested and detained in 1977, following the banning of nearly a score of organisations. Since they were held together, these leaders had the opportunity to discuss the perspectives of our struggle. Thanks to the position taken by many of these, including leaders of the now-banned SASO, a majority view had emerged clearly in favour of the ANC as the authentic representative of our people.

Thus by 1979, the end of the period we are discussing, the ANC enjoyed maximum political and organisational unity. Inside our country its prestige was high. There was no serious formation which could pose itself as an alternative, both politically and militarily. Its capacity inside the country to act, both politically and militarily, had increased.

1979 — The Year of the Spear

It was in this context that we declared 1979, the centenary of the Battle of Isandlwana, the Year of the Spear. In the light of the armed actions which we had resumed in 1977 which were having the political impact we desired, it seemed clear to us that we could and should take advantage of this centenary to popularise the armed struggle using political means. This would serve the purpose of further mobilising the masses of our people for increased involvement in the armed struggle and, by evoking the heroism of our forebears, help further to inspire our people to make the sacrifices that armed struggle necessarily entails.

It is worth noting here that on this occasion, activists inside the country used the weapon of culture to popularise the ideas of the Year of the Spear. This drew our attention to the importance of this medium of communication and to its value in the formation of our people and new men and women. Unfortunately, up to now, our leadership in particular has not paid sufficient attention to this question, to give it the importance it deserves. Among its tasks, Conference will have to attend to this issue.

We also wanted to make certain that we oppose the enemy's view of Isandlwana, and therefore our resistance to colonialism, with our own revolutionary view. Thus we would engage this enemy in political struggle, interpreting the centenary in the context of our national struggle and not that of tribalism and the bantustans, which is what the apartheid regime was bound to do.

This initiative was also important in the further development of our struggle in that it signified that we were beginning to pass over from the defensive to the offensive. We were beginning to determine what the political agenda of the day should be rather than merely reacting to what the enemy was doing. This is a frame of mind that we still need to inculcate throughout the ranks of our organisation and the democratic movement as a whole. It is, after all, in the attack that we shall gain victory.

The period 1975-1979, which was so important in laying the basis for the rapid development of our struggle to date, was also one during which the crisis of the apartheid regime further deepened, resulting in the enemy having to adopt extraordinary measures to defend itself.

Apart from the developments at home marked by the resurgence of our movement and of the mass political and the armed struggle, the balance of forces had shifted further against the apartheid system internationally.

As we have said, already by 1975 we had defeated Vorster's 'detente' offensive. At the beginning of 1976 he was forced to withdraw his defeated army from the People's Republic of Angola. His puppet forces in Mozambique and Angola were not making much headway. Despite such atrocities as the Kassinga Massacre of 1978, the struggle in Namibia continued to escalate, SWAPO's position having been greatly strengthened by the birth of independent Angola. The offensive of the Patriotic Front also intensified, underpinned as it was by the popular victory in Mozambique.

Further afield, the Vietnamese liberation movement had finally won victory in 1975 with the collapse of the Thieu regime and the humiliating flight of the Americans remaining in South Vietnam. The Shah of Iran, originally placed on his throne by the CIA and since armed and developed by US imperialism as one of its counter-revolutionary strongmen in the Persian Gulf, was swept out of power by the popular masses in 1979. As an act of solidarity with our struggle, the new government of Iran, which was visited by an ANC delegation led by our Secretary General, imposed an oil embargo against apartheid South Africa. Up to this time, Iran had provided 90% of South Africa's oil imports.

In the same year, the democratic, anti-feudal and anti-imperialist revolution in Afghanistan had been saved, with the support of the Soviet Union.

In the Western Hemisphere, progressive changes took place in Nicaragua and Grenada with the victories of the Sandanista and the New Jewel Movement. The US took the first tentative steps to normalise its relations with socialist Cuba. The democratic forces had won in Spain, bringing to an end an era which had been imposed on the Spanish people by resurgent European fascism in 1939. The Soviet Union and the United States had concluded the second SALT Treaty.

Apartheid's Deepening Crisis

Anti-Imperialist Victories

All these events are important not just as a matter of historical record. We recall them because they marked a further shift in the balance of forces against imperialism and also reflected the extent of its weakness at that point in time. One outstanding result of this situation that accrued to the peoples of Southern Africa was that US imperialism was unable to intervene more extensively in Angola in support of the South African invasion of 1975-76.

In 1977, taking advantage of the adverse international situation for the Pretoria regime created by the murder of Steve Biko and the wholesale banning of popular organisations, but also bearing in mind that international imperialism was on the retreat, the progressive world pushed for and got the Security Council to impose a mandatory arms embargo against apartheid South Africa. This was the first such action to be adopted by the United Nations, despite the fact that the question of apartheid had stayed regularly on its agenda for thirty years up to that point.

Earlier in the same year, 1977, international imperialism had had to consider the issue of sanctions against racist South Africa, but this time over the issue of Namibia. The United States, in particular, felt that its political positions were too weak to allow it to use its veto to block these sanctions. It managed to have this proposal postponed by establishing the so-called Contact Group and, in 1978, getting the Security Council to adopt Resolution 435 as the operational plan for the implementation of the earlier Resolution 385 which called for 'free elections under the supervision and control of the United Nations ... for the whole of Namibia as one political entity'.

We should also bear in mind that already in 1974, under the Presidency of Algeria, the General Assembly of the United Nations had refused to accept the credentials of the Pretoria regime. The Western allies of this regime failed to stop this outcome and have, since, failed to reverse it. This was an important victory for our diplomacy, which was further reinforced by the recognition of the South African liberation movement by the UN as a legitimate representative of the people of South Africa. From this came the decision to accord us the status of official observer to the United Nations. In 1976, for the first time ever, we addressed the General Assembly of the United Nations, accepted fully as a representative of our people and entitled to be heard by the representatives of all nations of our globe.

Illegitimacy of the Regime

These developments had an important bearing on the central questions of our political posture on the illegitimacy of the apartheid regime and our own character as the alternative to the Pretoria regime.

The importance of these positions is confirmed by the fact that in the aftermath of the conclusion of the Nkomati Accord, the offensive against our movement among other things, aimed to challenge these theses.

But as we have said earlier, the position is that a large part of the international community views the ANC as the genuine representative of our people. Thus we enjoy observer status both within the OAU and the UN, as against the Pretoria regime whose status with regard to these two important international organisations the delegates are familiar with. We enjoy a similar status with regard to the Non-Aligned Movement and participate fully in its activities.

During the period we are discussing, the situation internally and externally was therefore developing against the Pretoria regime. As we have said, this deepened the crisis of the apartheid regime and brought it out into the open.

In 1978, the once mighty John Balthazar Vorster lost his premiership of

apartheid South Africa to his colleague of long-standing, PW Botha. He was kicked upstairs and made State President. The following year, in 1979, he left the Presidency in even worse disgrace than the year before and died in obscurity, despised by many of his erstwhile friends as a fascist leader who had failed.

In 1977, responding to the changed balance of forces and wishing to assert his leadership and the constancy of his policies, Vorster had called a snap white general election. His party won with majorities which were the largest in its entire history. The fact that Vorster could tumble in a period of two years from the most popular white Prime Minister to a retired and discredited politician reflected the seriousness of the crisis confronting the apartheid regime, the speed with which this crisis was developing and the intensity of the conflicts that these developments were generating with the ruling group.

Vorster had in fact taken a series of measures to protect his regime and the criminal system he sought to perpetuate. One of these, which served as the catalyst in his downfall, was the secret political and information offensive through which the Pretoria regime tried to buy itself international acceptance. When this was exposed, the leading groups among the fascist party feared that the prestige of this party among the white population would suffer permanent damage and thus further worsen the crisis of the apartheid system. Scapegoats had to be found and sacrificed. Therefore Vorster and other leading fascists such as General van den Bergh and Connie Mulder were sacrificed.

But, in fact, PW Botha inherited and continued the policies of his predecessor, carrying to their conclusion initiatives that Vorster had taken. One of these concerned the bantustans. When Angola and Mozambique attained their independence, the Pretoria regime decided to accelerate its plans with regard to the bantustans. In a so-called Summit Meeting in November 1973, the bantustan leaders had agreed that they would not accept 'independence'. Three years later, in October 1976, Pretoria proclaimed the Transkei an independent state. Clearly, the paymaster had the power to change the minds of his employees as he wished. The Transkei was followed by Bophuthatswana in 1977.

The Pretoria regime presented this process as one of decolonisation and wanted the world to accept that the African majority was regaining its right to national self-determination. For our part, it was vitally necessary that we ensure that the international community should reject these bantustans as the mere extension of the apartheid system that they are.

During its 'detente' offensive, the Pretoria regime had used some of the bantustan leaders to try to open the doors for itself internationally. When he led a delegation of the South African regime to the United Nations two or three years earlier, Pik Botha had included Kaiser Matanzima. In those years, we successfully fought against the acceptance of these bantustan leaders as representatives of our people and got the international community to reject the entire 'separate development' programme. Similarly, we succeeded to ensure the rejection by the whole world of the so-called independent bantustans when Pretoria proclaimed them as such.

This was a serious blow to the Pretoria regime. And yet Botha, who had ousted Vorster because of the 'failures' of the latter, continued with this policy, pushing Venda into so-called independence in 1979 as well as the Ciskei in 1981. After all, PW Botha had no other options.

Vorster had also appointed the Wiehahn and Riekert Commissions to consider labour questions, including job reservation, influx control, trade

Non-Recognition of Bantustan Independence

union rights and so on. Both these commissions reported to the new racist Prime Minister who proceeded to accept recommendations for relaxation of job reservation to meet the requirements of the capitalist economy and for even tighter influx control. This was despite the fact that since 1978 Crossroads had become a national and international symbol of the policy of influx control and forced removals and a focus of the struggle to resist this policy. To this day, despite Vorster and despite Botha, Crossroads continues to stand firm, having served to inspire the whole effort for the formation of mass democratic community organisations.

Further, having been forced to recognise the right of African workers to belong to trade unions, the Botha regime nonetheless legislated to impose further controls on the trade union movement to ensure that this movement does not emerge as an independent, democratic formation.

It was also Vorster who, in 1977, announced the project to amend the racist constitution and to try to co-opt sections of the black people through the creation of a tri-cameral parliament. In the same year, as Defence Minister under Vorster, PW Botha announced in public the so-called total strategy for the defence of the apartheid system.

Perhaps more than anything else, the pronouncement of this posture, the admission that the apartheid regime needed to mobilise all available resources for the defence of white minority rule, signified the extent to which the racists felt that the initiative was slipping out of their hands.

Responding to this situation, increasingly the focus of state policy centred on so-called 'national security', leading to the elaboration of measures for the management of the crisis in which the apartheid system was immersed.

The extent of that crisis was made patently clear to the Botha regime when the component parties of the Patriotic Front won the elections in Zimbabwe in 1980, taking almost all the African seats. The desperate efforts of the Pretoria regime to keep the Smith regime in power had come to nothing. Equally, the last-ditch attempts to avoid complete defeat by sponsoring a puppet regime, failed miserably.

Five years after Frelimo and the MPLA had assumed power in their respective countries, events in our region had, once again, confirmed the inevitability of our own victory. The Pretoria regime remained the only one of its kind on the African continent. Botha was therefore not wrong when he proclaimed that the independence of Zimbabwe and the assumption of power by a Patriotic Front government had changed the strategic position of apartheid South Africa. So frightened was he that he even announced that he would call a national conference representative of all the people of South Africa, both black and white, to consider the future of our country.

The masses of our people responded to this announcement by demanding the release of Nelson Mandela and the rest of our leaders, stating unequivocally that if Botha wanted to discuss the solution of the problems of our country, then it was with these leaders that he should negotiate. The leadership of our movement, for its part, called on the people not to attend Botha's conference. That was the last that anybody heard of this bold initiative, exactly because the racists knew that were they to proceed with it, they would have nobody to confer with.

Thus we can say that when the period we have described as one of Consolidation and Further Advance came to an end, ten years after the Morogoro Conference, nobody could doubt the ascendancy of our struggle. In 1980, one Dr Chester Crocker, at that time no more than a university professor, said:

Racists Lose the Initiative

Demand for Mandela's Release

'I would say (the whites in South Africa) don't have a long period of time, that the current window of opportunity could be shorter than they realise ... You mention large-scale revolutionary warfare. I would argue that the options are more likely to be in the area of urban rioting, of large-scale strikes, perhaps general strikes, of passive resistance efforts and things of this nature, consumer boycotts. The South African state is weakest in that area.'

Decade of Liberation

Thus began for us a decade which our own people inside the country characterised as the Decade of Liberation.

If we may jump to more recent events, this week the US Senate voted to repeal the Clark Amendment which the US Congress had adopted ten years ago. That Amendment had prohibited any military involvement of the US Government against the People's Republic of Angola. We have now come to the point where powerful forces within the same US Congress are willing and ready to free the hand of the Reagan Administration to engage in any military adventures against heroic Angola that it may choose.

As we began the Decade of Liberation, the most aggressive and reactionary forces of imperialism had gained or were gaining the upper hand in the countries of the West, including and ultimately in the United States. These forces began to resuscitate the cold war everywhere. They assumed an active posture against the progressive movement throughout the world and launched an economic and political offensive against the ordinary people and the democratic movement within the imperialist countries.

As a result of these policies, the process of detente between the socialist countries and the imperialist world came to a halt. New nuclear weapons have since been deployed in Europe. International tensions increased as did the danger of a nuclear war. To this day, the US Government has refused to ratify the SALT-II Treaty. The arms race continues to escalate.

US Offensive

A determined effort was set afoot to roll back socialism, to reverse the victories of the national liberation movement and to force the peoples of the world to succumb to the wishes of imperialism. Hence we saw the complicated situation that arose in Poland. The offensive against democratic Afghanistan continued and intensified.

The US openly invaded Grenada, funded and assisted the removal from power of the progressive forces led by Michael Manley in Jamaica and has laid siege to Nicaragua. At the same time, it is actively involved in a campaign to defeat the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front in El Salvador and openly supports the most reactionary and murderous regimes in Central and South America.

US imperialism has also helped to sabotage all efforts to resolve the problem of Western Sahara by giving maximum support to King Hussan of Morocco to defeat the Polisario Front. In the Middle East, it has encouraged the forces of reaction to liquidate the PLO and permitted Zionism to invade the Lebanon in an effort to turn it into a pacified dependency of this ally of racist South Africa.

As a token of their intent to intervene everywhere in their own interest, US imperialism and its allies have established Rapid Deployment Forces which are designed to reach any part of the globe quickly.

In an interview he gave during 1980, while still campaigning for the Presidency, Reagan's assertion that the Soviet Union was achieving world domination was challenged by a journalist. He replied:

'... You have forgotten, even though the Russians did not do it directly but through their proxies, there is Ethiopia, there is South Yemen, there

is Angola, there is Mozambique, they have moved and advanced their positions — and in the Caribbean we are seeing by way of Cuba the export of revolution to the point that our sea-lanes for the essential things we must have, particularly in minerals and energy, are much endangered right now if the Soviets should decide to adopt that course ... (To) say that they have lost ground in Latin America, I think is to ignore the reality there. Right now, Colombia, Bogota, is having a great infiltration of the same kind of people that have brought the downfall of other countries there in Central America, the moving into Africa, Afghanistan, Iran — once the great bulwark between the Soviet Union and their advance southward to the Indian Ocean is shattered and gone ... (The) communists are the menace to civilisation in the world today ... (As) Pope Pius XII said at the end of World War II, when the Soviet Union — when it looked as if the world might go into a thousand years of darkness: "... The American people have a great genius and capacity for performing great and generous deeds. Into the hands of America, God has placed afflicted mankind." I want to see — I want to help us get back to those fiercely independent Americans ... and I believe in their greatness and I believe this country has a destiny.'

Hitler, too, believed that Nazi Germany had a destiny to cleanse an afflicted world. He therefore set out to destroy socialism in the Soviet Union, to stamp out all progressive and democratic forces in Europe and to colonise people.

That, also, was the awesome meaning of the words that Ronald Reagan uttered. If they chilled and horrified the forces of progress throughout the world, they were like music in the ears of PW Botha. They signified that when Reagan assumed the Presidency of the United States, the Pretoria regime would have a powerful ally in Washington and would have the United States behind it in any action to remove what Reagan referred to as 'Russian proxies' in Angola and Mozambique. Like the Iran of the Shah, which Reagan described as the 'great bulwark between the Soviet Union and their advance to the Indian Ocean', apartheid South Africa would also win a place in US strategy as a bulwark between the Soviet Union and its 'advance' into Southern Africa.

Thus we were to come face to face with the world forces of counter-revolution in a way that we had not experienced in the period 1974-1979. Like the great Vietnamese people before us, whose experiences were studied by a delegation of our movement which visited Vietnam in 1978, we had to win this life-and-death confrontation first and foremost in the battlefields of our motherland, but also in the streets of the United States and the other imperialist countries which back the Pretoria regime.

In 1978-79, we undertook an extensive review of our internal work, our structures handling this sphere, and our strategy and tactics. As a result of this review, we were better prepared to enter the Decade of Liberation, to build on the achievements we had scored and to help create the situation in which we can sense that victory is not far away.

1980 — Year of the Charter

Our observance of 1980 as the Year of the Charter was an important stepping stone in the process of that preparation for victory. The struggles of the previous ten years had resulted in the activation of millions of our people and the formation of many democratic organisations. Many of the struggles that our people had waged were around local issues. The situation had therefore arisen in which it was necessary and possible to bring the mass movement together, to influence it to act as one and to focus the minds of our people beyond local to national issues.

To produce these results, it was necessary that we should, in the first

instance, achieve the political unity of the masses of our people and their democratic movement — therefore what better to do in observing the 25th Anniversary of the Freedom Charter than getting the masses of our people, in a sense, to re-adopt the Charter as their perspective of the South Africa they were fighting for, their lodestar, as we said when we proclaimed the Year of the Charter.

As we have said, it was also during this year that the struggle for the release of political prisoners took root within the democratic movement as the Free Mandela Campaign. The combination of these two campaigns, the Freedom Charter and the Free Mandela, gave the active and conscious masses of our people the common political base from which to proceed and enabled them to unite behind the authentic leadership of our people.

These results, which were and are of decisive importance to our struggle, also meant that the democratic movement was projecting a consistent perspective in opposition to the enemy's political programme, especially the 'separate development' programme, and declaring its rejection of the leadership that the enemy had appointed to help administer its schemes and to pose as the genuine leadership of our people.

By the time that the 20th anniversary of the proclamation of the fascist and racist Republic of South Africa came, in 1981, we had managed to ensure the political cohesion of large sections of the democratic movement, enough for this movement to act together in opposition to the celebrations that the enemy was planning. More than this, the masses of our people could, on the basis of the Freedom Charter, pose the vision of an alternative democratic Republic to challenge the racist Republic which had brought untold suffering to the majority of our people for two decades.

This was the first time since 1961 that we had the possibility to test the readiness of our people, in their millions, to act in unity on the fundamental question of state power in our country. The increasing political and organisational unity of the people had already been demonstrated in such campaigns as the Fatti's and Moni's, the Red Meat and the Ford Motor Company struggles.

In this regard, we should also mention that in 1980 we experienced the massive involvement of the 'Coloured' people in the mass struggle. Of particular importance is the fact that this struggle took place in the Western Cape, the main area of concentration of these black masses and, historically, the main stronghold of Trotskyism in our country. Furthermore, these 'Coloured' masses acted together with their African brothers and sisters. The stay-at-home, called in the region for the days June 16 and 17 of that year, succeeded because both sections of the black population supported it. Even when the fascist police shot down 40 patriots at the end of June that year, the only result was to weld the 'Coloured' people even more firmly to the mass forces of our revolution, committed to the objectives spelt out in the Freedom Charter and loyal to the leadership of our movement.

This is the period when the Labour Party, with whom our movement had been in contact, responded to mass pressure to the extent of bringing about the downfall of the CRC, declaring its adherence to the Freedom Charter, supporting economic sanctions and announcing its intention to co-operate with the ANC. It is of course clear now that the leadership of this Party, even after it had changed with the demise of Sonny Leon, could not withstand the combination of enemy terror and bribes, and it abandoned these positions. By the time it deserted to the side of the enemy, it was clear that large sections of the 'Coloured' population had come

1981 Anti-Republic Campaign

over to the side of the democratic revolution and that there was no significant organised political force in their midst capable of challenging the policy, strategy and tactics of our movement.

The Anti-Republic Campaign of 1981 turned out to be a great demonstration of the political and organisational unity of the democratic movement of our country, an affirmation of the acceptance of the Freedom Charter, our strategy and our tactics and an assertion of the authority and prestige of our movement in the eyes of our people.

What the fascists had intended to be a celebration had, for them, turned into a demonstration of how much the masses of our people, including many whites, accepted the leadership of our movement without question.

At this time, we began to summarise the results of 20 years of struggle by saying that the people had lifted the ban on the ANC and imposed on our situation their own system of legality. This was an expression of the inevitable process of our emergence, in practical political terms, as the alternative power, the formation which commands the loyalty of the majority of the population of our country.

1981 was, for us, the Year of the Youth. Nevertheless, it was dominated by the events of which we have just spoken, as well as by the rejection by the Indian people of the South African Indian Council on the same basis and to the same extent as our people had rejected the racist Republic of South Africa.

Despite what we have said, it is also equally true that, five years after the Soweto Uprising and 20 years after the formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe, our youth was in the forefront of our struggle as never before. In particular, they had carried the armed struggle forward in a manner and with results which enormously expedited the political outcome that we have been talking about.

An American publication issued in 1981 has this to say: 'As South Africa enters the 1980s, perhaps the most dramatic trend in black politics is the resurgence of the African National Congress. The ANC's renewed prominence was symbolised on the night of June 1, 1980, by the glow from burning SASOL oil-from-coal plants, which could be seen by people in Johannesburg, some fifty miles away.' It then quotes the *Rand Daily Mail* as saying that 'South Africa has entered a state of revolutionary war.'

Proud inheritors of the patriotic traditions and fearlessness of the heroes of Isandlwana, whose centenary we had celebrated in 1979, the youth not only made our armed struggle a matter of daily life in South Africa during the first half of the Decade of Liberation. They, together with the rest of our people, ensured that the combatants who died in the frontline, such as those who fell in Silverton, vilified by the enemy as terrorists, were buried as great heroes.

During 1982, the historic 70th Anniversary of the ANC gave us the opportunity, once more, to celebrate the memory of these and other heroes and to take up the theme of Unity in Action of all the oppressed masses and the democratic movement that has been the hallmark of the ANC since it was founded. Unity in Action and United Action, which was our main slogan for 1983, constituted a perspective which we put in front of the masses of our people to encourage them to proceed beyond temporary alliances to stable and continuous co-ordination of the common offensive for the overthrow of the apartheid regime.

The United Democratic Front, that outstanding example of the political maturity of our people, is a product of the years that our country's forces of progress have spent first, to mobilise the masses of our people into action and to draw them into mass organisational formations, second, to

Youth in Forefront of Struggle

70th Anniversary of ANC

UDF — Mass Instrument of Change

ensure that these masses adhere to a common political platform and, third, that this political unity finds expression in the kind of organisational unity which enables the people to move as one mass political army of revolution, under one command, focussing on the central question of all revolutions, whether peaceful or violent, the question of state power.

We take this opportunity to salute the countless patriots of our country who acted correctly and at the right moment, to make the UDF a reality, as a mass instrument of democratic change which inscribed on its banners the fundamental issue which we are about, namely the struggle for the birth of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

Over the years, as we worked to build this mass political army of revolution, it became ever clearer that the entire progressive movement of our country had a responsibility to ensure that the women of our country should be active in this political army in their millions. The ANC Women's Conference held in Angola in 1981 made an important contribution towards the realisation of this objective.

During 1984, our Year of the Women, we devoted even more attention to this important issue. Further progress was achieved in the mobilisation and organisation of our women. The position has now been firmly established in our movement that the liberation of women is an essential element and an integral part of our struggle for national and social emancipation. The end of the Decade of Women, this year, does not and cannot mean the end of the struggle for the liberation of women. We must continue this fight and ensure the active and conscious involvement of the women of our country at all levels of our mass offensive.

In 1976, not long before the Soweto Uprising exploded, we accepted an invitation by the Frelimo Party to tour parts of the People's Republic of Mozambique. The purpose of this tour was to help in the mobilisation of the masses of the people to support the struggle for the liberation of Zimbabwe. The specific problem was that in the areas we had to visit, and did visit, the people wanted to mobilise for the liberation of South Africa and were happy to leave the task of the liberation of Zimbabwe to other areas of the country. Acting together with the Frelimo Party, we had to persuade these masses that the immediate task confronting all of us was the freedom of Zimbabwe.

We accepted the task we were given by our revolutionary allies because as anti-imperialists, as internationalists and as Africans we were vitally interested in the independence of Zimbabwe, a country in which many of our own combatants were buried and where many others had been serving imprisonment or had been in death cells for nearly ten years.

Some of these comrades are at this Conference today. We salute them and are happy to report to them that even as we seemed to be diverting the people of Mozambique away from our own struggle, we knew that the emancipation of the people of Zimbabwe would return them to our ranks. We wanted to receive them back into our midst with the honour due to them, as we receive them today, as combat veterans who would visit Mozambique to say to these brother people that Zimbabwe is free: now is the time to crack the hardest nut of all, the apartheid regime in Pretoria. These comrades, members of the Luthuli Detachment, some of whom had to endure many years as condemned prisoners, still have a journey to make — a journey to Mozambique to complete a task that could not be completed in 1976.

When Reagan spoke about the destiny of the United States in 1980, he spoke about the export of counter-revolution. Hammered and battered, bled slowly and having confronted the brutal face of the counter-revolution

1984 — Year of Women

Task to Free Zimbabwe

for many years, by 1984 the independent countries of our region had to take some important decisions. The question that confronted them was the same that had faced Africa ten years before.

The difference between 1974 and 1984 was, of course, that the frontiers of freedom covered almost the entire border of South Africa. With the forces of reaction on the ascendancy in the greater part of the imperialist world, the same question was posed in circumstances in which it was difficult to answer in the forthright manner that Africa had replied a decade earlier.

Nkomati Accord

And so the People's Republic of Mozambique signed the Accord on Nkomati in March 1984. At the height of the offensive of the revolutionary movement inside South Africa, externally the same movement had to retreat — and here I am not just referring to ourselves but to the entire liberation and progressive movement of our region and indeed of Africa. The forces of counter-revolution which had described the Mozambique revolution in 1980 as an affliction and which had thought in 1969 that the 'only hope (of the independent states of our region) for a peaceful and prosperous future lies in closer relations with the white-dominated states', could justifiably claim that they had scored a victory.

What had gone wrong? Why was it that in 1975 Africa could resolve that no matter how strong the enemy counter-offensive, we should not retreat and in 1984 be forced to accept retreat? The answer of course lies in the reply that Reagan had given to a journalist in 1980.

Given the offensive posture of US imperialism, the Botha regime also felt that for the first time in five years, the balance of forces was shifting in its favour. Consequently, it resolved that the opportunity had come for it also to go on the offensive, to shift that balance further in its own favour, in keeping with the global drive of its most powerful allies. It thought it was possible to reverse the advances that the national liberation movement had achieved from 1975 onwards and set out to realise this result, acting in concert with the rest of the imperialist world.

The accomplishment of this task was made all the more urgent by the fact that within our own country our own actions and those of the masses of our people were further deepening the crisis of the apartheid regime which had surfaced with such drama a few years before. To change the balance of forces in favour of reaction therefore meant and had to mean that the ANC had to be weakened decisively if not destroyed altogether. By August 1983, we knew that the US Government was convinced that the ANC would be driven out of Southern Africa or completely annihilated if it did not abandon armed struggle, surrender and join the so-called reform process in South Africa as a peaceful political formation.

Pretoria Regime's Offensive

The softening up process had started less than two weeks after Reagan was inaugurated as President of the United States. Our comrades were attacked and killed in Matola. Joe Gqabi was assassinated six months later. Griffiths Mxenge was murdered in Durban, the same city where Joseph 'Mkhuthuzi' Mdluli had been killed five years before. Ruth First, the Nyawose's and other comrades were killed in cold blood. Our people as well as nationals of Lesotho were massacred in Maseru on December 9th, 1982. One after the other, patriots such as Neil Aggett, Mohammed-Allie Razak, Bheki Zachariah Mvulane, Sipho Mutsi and Andries Raditsela, were to die in police custody, from attacks carried out by the bantustan administrations, from repressive measures carried out by the Pretoria regime, in ambushes laid by counter-revolutionaries in Angola and yet others, not necessarily members of the ANC, but opponents of apartheid such as Frikkie Conradie and Joe Mavi, in mysterious

circumstances.

The South African army returned to Angola where it remains to this day. The puppet forces went on the rampage throughout Southern Africa, in Lesotho, Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe. Where none could operate, as in the Seychelles, the Pretoria regime sent in its own forces, reinforced by mercenaries. Swaziland signed a secret agreement with Pretoria.

The countries of Southern Africa came under intense pressure to sign so-called non-aggression pacts with the express aims of compromising the independence of these countries and recruiting them to join Pretoria in carrying out police activities against the ANC. The offensive spread wide with the bombing of our office in London and demands by Pretoria that the various governments of Western Europe should close down our offices. In the United States, a veteran of genocidal war of aggression against the people of Vietnam, now turned Senator, chaired widely publicised hearings in the US Senate designed to stigmatise the ANC as a terrorist movement and an agent of the Soviet Union, exactly to justify a concerted imperialist offensive to destroy us.

Pretoria scuttled the ceasefire conference that it had agreed to hold with SWAPO. The implementation of Resolution 435 became impossible as the United States arrogantly sought to barter the independence of Namibia for the withdrawal of the internationalist Cuban troops in Angola.

From the most unexpected quarters we heard that South Africa was an independent state and the ANC no more than a civil rights movement with no right to engage in armed struggle. We were told that we should wage struggle exclusively by political means and seek an alliance with the big capitalists of our country. At the same time, we should distance ourselves from the South African Communist Party and the Soviet Union and reorientate our international relations towards the imperialist countries. And all this was diametrically opposed to the positions firmly held in Southern Africa and throughout the continent that the solution to the problems of our region lay with the destruction of the apartheid regime and therefore with all-out support to the ANC and SWAPO to carry out their historic missions.

But fortunately, we had already alerted our people to what was likely to come and called on them to fight on. We had charged them with the task to make the country ungovernable and to defeat the cunning enemy manoeuvre represented by the amended apartheid constitution. And to that call and that challenge our people have responded with unequalled enthusiasm, persistence and courage. So we come to the perspectives that confront this historic Conference, our organisation and our people.

Our Strategic Tasks

It is clear to all of us present here that we have the possibility actually to make this our Decade of Liberation. That requires that we must in fact and in practice accomplish the strategic tasks that we have set ourselves and which our strategic objective of the seizure of power demands. We have spelt out these tasks before and publicly communicated them even to the masses of our people. As the general command of our revolution, we should carefully identify the decisive theatres of action on which we should concentrate in order to achieve purposeful movement forward.

The apartheid system is in a deep and permanent general crisis from which it cannot extricate itself. The apartheid regime cannot rule as before. It has therefore brought its military forces into the centre of its state structures and is ready to declare martial law when the need arises. The widespread and increasing use of the army in the effort to suppress the mass struggle in our country, even before martial law is invoked, reflects

the depth of the crisis engulfing the racist regime.

Despite massacres and murders that are carried out daily by Botha's assassination squads, the masses of the people are engaged in a widespread struggle which the enemy cannot suppress and which is driving the enemy ever deeper into crisis. Of decisive importance is the fact that this mass offensive is directed at the destruction of the apartheid state machinery, at making apartheid inoperative, at making our country ungovernable.

International Solidarity

Internationally also, the movement of solidarity with our movement and our struggle is growing and increasing its effectiveness. Already, many countries consider the ANC virtually as a government and work with us as such. On the other hand, the process of the isolation of the racist regime is developing rapidly especially and notably in the United States.

In this respect, we should also mention the extensive political and material support that we enjoy from the Non-Aligned countries, the Nordic and other Western countries and the international anti-apartheid movement. Our relations with these important world forces have also contributed greatly in further weakening the Pretoria regime and strengthening our movement and struggle.

The key to our further advance is organisation. Our NEC addressed itself to this question in its last January 8th statement when it proclaimed this, the Year of the Cadre. The fact of the matter is that despite the enormous impact we have made in developing the struggle to the level it is today, our organisation inside the country is relatively weak.

Need for a Strong Revolutionary Organisation

We need a strong organisation of revolutionaries because without it, it will be impossible to raise the struggle to greater heights in a planned and systematic fashion. Without such a strong revolutionary organisation, we cannot take advantage of the uprisings we have spoken about and which are a reality of the mass offensive of our people.

We have to discuss carefully the question why we are not as strong as we can and should be, review our experiences and draw the necessary conclusions. One thing that is clear is that we have to realise that we have in fact developed many cadres inside the country who understand our policy very well, who are in daily contact with the situation and our people and are committed to our organisation and struggle. It is vital that these cadres should be properly grounded in our strategy in its entirety, so that they can in fact advance all our strategic tasks.

It is very important that our leadership, by which we mean all those whom we consider the most mature among our ranks, must begin to involve itself directly in this work of internal organisation. We have to be in daily contact with our people.

We must also move with all due speed to tackle the tasks posed by our perspective of people's war. In this respect, we would like to mention in particular that we have to take the question of mass revolutionary bases very seriously. We shall also be discussing this issue when we consider the document on strategy and tactics.

As a result of the strength and tenacity of the people's offensive, many areas in our country are emerging, perhaps in a rudimentary way, as such mass revolutionary bases. The people are engaged in active struggle as a conscious revolutionary force and accept the ANC as their vanguard movement. They are organised in mass democratic organisations. They have destroyed the enemy's local organs of government and have mounted an armed offensive against the racist regime, using whatever weapons are available to them. What is missing is a strong underground ANC presence as well as a large contingent of units of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

We must correct this weakness in a determined and systematic manner because it is within these mass revolutionary bases that we will succeed to root our army. It is the risen masses in these areas who have to be organised into larger formations of Umkhonto we Sizwe, turned into organised groups of combatants, and who have to replenish and swell our military ranks. We have to bear in mind the fact that the comrades we are training outside constitute the core of our army. They are the organisers and the leaders of the mass army that we have to build inside the country. They are our officer corps. We cannot deploy them forever as combat units. For obvious reasons, no army in the world fights with combat units composed of officers. Ours will be no exception.

Cadre Policy

The question of the kind of cadre we are producing assumes greater significance with each passing day. The level of struggle demands that we deploy inside our country as many of our cadres as possible. As we succeed to do this, these cadres will constitute an important component part of our internal structures and therefore of the ANC as a whole. They must therefore be what the ANC wants them to be. This cannot be left to chance.

It is a good thing that Conference will be discussing the question of cadre policy. Our decisions in this regard will have to be implemented seriously and consistently. All other decisions we take at this Conference will only have real meaning if we have the cadres to implement them with the sense of purpose that everything we decide here will require.

We are raising questions which might be organisational. But they are central to the solution of the question of how we raise the struggle to higher levels. Anyway, they are issues which require our most serious reflection.

We would also like to raise the question of the release of political prisoners. But in the first instance the NEC would like to report at this Conference that over the years, we have tried our best to keep in contact with these outstanding leaders of our people and activists of our movement. In this we were assisted by the great ingenuity and daring that these comrades showed in themselves ensuring that we kept in contact. When the need arose, we have consulted them on important questions of our revolution. Their constant steadfastness and their calibre as leaders was demonstrated only recently when they turned down Botha's offer to release them on condition that they renounced violence.

By its actions the Botha regime has admitted that it is finding it difficult to withstand the internal and international pressure for the release of our comrades. We can take pride in the fact that, through consistent campaigning, we have utterly defeated all attempts by this regime and others before it to blot out the memory of these heroes of our people by keeping them behind bars for such a long time.

Our National Executive Committee is of the considered view that we must do everything in our power to secure their release. Their release would have an enormous impact on the advance of the people of our country towards a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa, apart from meeting the profound humanitarian concern that their return to the ranks of the people is long overdue.

As Conference knows, of late there has been a fair amount of speculation about the ANC and the Pretoria regime getting together to negotiate a settlement of the South African question. This issue has arisen at this time exactly because of our strength inside the country, the level of our struggle and the crisis confronting the Botha regime. The NEC is however convinced that this regime is not interested in a just solution of the South African question.

Release of Political Prisoners

The Issue of Negotiation

Rather, it is interested to use the question of negotiations to divide our movement, demobilise the masses of our people by holding out the false promise that we can win our liberation other than through its overthrow. It also seeks to improve its image internationally. In any case, it is clear that no negotiations can take place or even be considered until all political prisoners are released.

However, the NEC is of the view that we cannot be seen to be rejecting a negotiated settlement in principle. In any case, no revolutionary movement can be against negotiations in principle. Indeed, in our case, it is correct that we encourage all forces, particularly among our white compatriots and in the Western world, to put pressure on the Botha regime to abandon the notion that it can keep itself in power forever by the use of brute force.

The growing crisis of the apartheid system is, in any case, causing some sections of the white population to consider ways in which they can defuse the situation. Among these are elements from the big capitalists of our country, representatives of the mass media, intellectuals, politicians and even some individuals from the ruling fascist party. Increasingly these seek contact with the ANC and publicly put forward various proposals which they regard as steps that would, if implemented, signify that the racist regime is, as they say, moving away from apartheid.

This poses the possibility that our movement will therefore be in contact with levels of the ruling circles of our country that it has never dealt with before. It is absolutely vital that our organisation and the democratic movement as a whole should be of one mind about this development to ensure that any contact that may be established does not have any negative effects on the development of our struggle.

ANC Holds the Key

Yet another significant result of the growing strength of our movement is that many Western countries are also showing interest in establishing and maintaining relations with us. Our policy on this kind of question has of course always been clear. In principle we can have no objection to establishing such relations. However, there are important tactical questions to consider about the timing of these developments and the form that the relations we may establish should take. The NEC would be happy to see us come out of this Conference with a consensus as to how our movement should handle these important questions of our revolution which, once more, confirm the centrality of the ANC in the solution of the problems of our country.

These events draw attention to the fact that we have to act in a manner that accords with the responsibilities that rest on our shoulders, with regard both to the short and the long term. If we seriously consider ourselves as the alternative government of our country, then we need to act and operate both as an insurrectionary force and a credible representative of a liberated South Africa.

With respect to the issues we have just raised, it is clear that we have to improve the quality of our diplomacy and therefore the training of our representatives and their staff. We need also to tap and utilise in a better way the intellectual cadres available to us, both inside and outside our country.

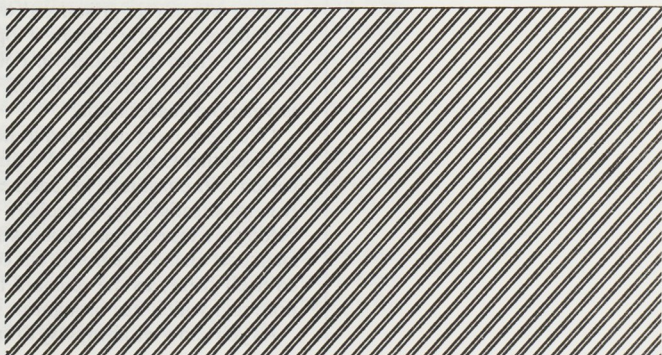
The scope, spread and intensity of our struggle has also thrown up a large leadership corps of our democratic movement. It is important that we pay close and continuous attention to the issue of maintaining close relations with these leaders, educate the masses of our people to understand and accept our own positions and at all times ensure that we are, as a movement, providing leadership on all major questions, in accordance

with our position as the vanguard movement of our struggling people.


That, in any case, is the main lesson of our last 16 years of struggle since the Morogoro Conference. It is that we must act as a vanguard force, the repository of the collective experience of our revolutionary masses in their struggle for national liberation. We must be organised to act as such. We must focus on the offensive, instruct ourselves that we will win and enhance our position as the front commanders of our millions-strong army of revolution. Through 16 years of persistent struggle, we have placed ourselves in a position where we can discharge this responsibility and finally achieve the great dream of our people, the liberation of our motherland.



*Comrades Dan Tloome, President Tambo and
Treasurer General Nkobi.*



**Communique of the
Second National
Consultative Conference
of the African
National Congress
presented by
President Oliver Tambo
at a press conference,
Lusaka, Zambia,
June 25th, 1985**



The Second National Consultative Conference of the ANC has taken place. It opened on June 16th, the ninth anniversary of the Soweto Uprising of 1976 and closed on the 23rd. We had originally planned to finish on the 26th of June, our Freedom Day, which this year is also the 30th Anniversary of the Freedom Charter. But so extensive and thorough were the pre-Conference discussions among the members that it was possible to conclude our work three days earlier than originally planned.

The venue of the Conference was Zambia. We would like to take this opportunity to thank H.E. President Kaunda and the Central Committee of UNIP most sincerely for allowing us to hold our Conference in this country. We are especially grateful for the invaluable assistance that they extended to us at very short notice to ensure that we had all the material requisites for a Conference of the size that ours was. We shall forever be indebted to the Zambian people and their leadership for this outstanding contribution to our struggle.

The Conference was attended by about 250 delegates representing our entire organisation. They came from every country in the world where we have members. They were drawn from all the national groups of our country. Among them were the leaders of our movement, all our diplomatic functionaries — the chief representatives, commanders and other members of our army, political organisers, trade unionists, administration, production, health and cultural workers, propagandists, students and other members who are employed outside the ranks of our organisation.

We met under the theme: 'From the Venue of the Conference to Victory'. Therefore the central tasks of our Conference were to assess our situation especially inside South Africa and agree on the measures we need to take in order to achieve victory over the apartheid regime. We characterised the Conference as a council-of-war for the obvious reason that even as we opened our meeting, the continuing massacre of our people loomed large in our minds, highlighted by the criminal invasion of Botswana and the murder of innocent people in Gaborone. Whether we wanted war or not, the Pretoria regime was telling us in action that the only way we could stop the blood-letting was to go to war.

Our Conference was fortunate to be addressed by our leaders who are in prison and whom Botha is still refusing to release. Shortly before it opened, we had received a message from the leaders in Pollsmoor and Robben Island Prisons signed, on their behalf, by Nelson Mandela. Here is what our leaders said:

'We were most delighted to hear that the ANC will soon have another Conference. We sincerely hope that such an occasion will constitute yet another milestone in our history. It is most satisfying, especially in our present position, to belong to a tested organisation which exercises so formidable an impact on the situation in our country, which has established itself firmly as the standard bearer of such a rich tradition, and which has brought us such coveted laurels.

As you know we always try to harmonise our own views and

responses with those of the Movement at large. For this reason, we find it rewarding indeed to know that, despite the immense distance and the years which separate us, as well as the lack of effective communication channels, we still remain a closely knit organisation, ever conscious of the crucial importance of unity, and of resisting every attempt to divide and confuse.

We feel sure that all those delegates who will attend will go there with one central issue uppermost in their minds: that out of the Conference the ANC will emerge far stronger than ever before. Unity is the rock on which the African National Congress was founded; it is the principle which has guided us down the years as we feel our way forward.

In the course of its history, the ANC has survived countless storms and risen to eminence partly because of the sterling qualities of its membership, and partly because each member has regarded himself or herself as the principal guardian of that unity. All discussions, contributions and criticism have generally been balanced and constructive and, above all, they have been invariably subjected to the over-riding principle of maximum unity. To lose sight of this basic principle is to sell our birthright, to betray those who paid the highest price so that the ANC should flourish and triumph.

In this connection, the positions taken by Oliver Tambo on various issues and also stressed by Joe Slovo inspired us tremendously. Both drew attention to vital issues which, in our opinion, are very timely. They must be highlighted and kept consciously in mind as we try to sort out the complicated problems which face the movement, and as we try to hammer out the guidelines for future progress.

These remarks are the clearest expression of that enduring identity of approach of members of the movement wherever they may be, and a summary of achievements of which we are justly proud. In particular we fully share the view that the ANC has raised mass political consciousness to a scale unknown in our experience. It is in this spirit that we send you our greetings and best wishes. We hold your hands firmly across the miles.'

And so Conference 'hammered out the guidelines for future progress'. And what are those guidelines?

Our Conference agreed unanimously that the Botha Regime is still determined to defend the apartheid system of white minority rule by force of arms. Accordingly, it agreed that there was no reason for us to change our broad strategy, which pursues the aim of seizure of power by the people through a combination of mass political action and armed struggle.

It however agreed that the possibility of victory was greater now than at any other time in our history. This requires that we should step up our all-round political and military offensive sharply and without delay. The masses of our people have been and are engaged in a struggle of historic importance directed at making apartheid unworkable and the country ungovernable. They are creating the conditions for the escalation of our attack leading towards the situation where it will be possible for us to overthrow the apartheid regime.

The delegates agreed that it was vital that we take all necessary measures further to strengthen the ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe inside our country exactly to meet the demands of our people and our situation for a heightened and co-ordinated political and military offensive.

The Conference also resolved that we cannot even consider the issue of a negotiated settlement of the South African question while our leaders are in prison. It agreed that we should continue with the campaign for the immediate and unconditional release of these leaders.

In the situation which obtains within the country in which the crisis of the apartheid system has become endemic, Conference agreed that the Freedom Charter provides the basis for the satisfaction of the aspirations of the overwhelming majority of our people. In this regard, the participants agreed that it was important that we should win as many whites as possible to our side. We should also adhere to our opposition to and our struggle against the Bantustans as well as the apartheid tricameral parliament and related institutions. We must continue to pose the alternative of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

The Conference endorsed the view advanced by our imprisoned leaders about the importance of unity. In a Call to our people inside the country, the delegates said:

'Those of us who are true liberators should not fight among ourselves.

Let us not allow the enemy's dirty tricks department to succeed in getting us to fight one another'.

Conference noted and paid tribute to the contribution that the United Democratic Front has made towards the strengthening of the unity of the democratic forces of our country and condemned the arrest and prosecution of its leaders and activists.

The participants also agreed that this unity must find expression in the mass activity of all our people against the apartheid regime. Consequently, it is important that all our people should be organised and mobilised, in the towns and the countryside, including those in the Bantustans. The black workers are of special importance in this regard and are, as we have said before, the backbone and leading force in our struggle for national liberation.

Conference also assessed the international situation. It agreed that we should further expand our system of international relations and reach out even to regions, countries and governments with which we might not have had contact before. It urged the international community to 'declare the apartheid white minority regime illegitimate'.

Addressing itself to the specific question of the planned New Zealand Rugby Tour of South Africa, Conference reiterated that 'if the tour takes place, responsibility for any adverse consequences to New Zealand, her reputation and her future participation in international sport, as well as any threat to the lives of the players themselves, will rest squarely on the heads of the New Zealand Rugby Board'. While saluting the opposition of the New Zealand government to the tour, it also urged this government to take further action to stop the tour.

Among other things, the Conference also addressed special greetings to each one of the Front Line States, Lesotho, the OAU and Swapo among others. It also agreed on an appeal to the international community.

The Conference was honoured with messages of solidarity from the international community, originating from governments and organisations from all corners of the globe. They included messages from the Presidents of Botswana, Algeria, the German Democratic Republic and Guinea Bissau, the Foreign Ministers of Finland, Ghana and Zimbabwe, the Central Committees or the equivalent committees of Zanu(PF), the Frelimo Party, the British Labour Party, the Swedish Social Democratic Party, the German Social Democratic Party, the Communist Parties of the Soviet Union, Romania, Bulgaria and others, trade unions, students', women's, youth, religious and solidarity organisations and the peace movement.

Naturally, we also discussed questions related to our structures and the personnel required to implement the historic decisions taken by

Conference. Constitutional guidelines were adopted which lay down that we should meet in Conference at least once in five years and that the National Executive Committee should hold office for the same period. Conference confirmed the position taken in earlier constitutions of the ANC that membership is open to South Africans of all races who accept the policies of our movement.

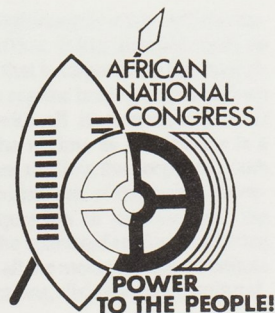
The Conference also decided to increase the size of the National Executive Committee to 30 members and gave powers to the Executive to co-opt an extra five members if the need arises.

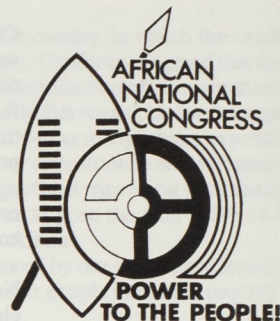
The Conference re-elected 19 out of the 22 members of the outgoing National Executive Committee. Of these three, one did not stand for re-election. Conference therefore elected 11 new members of the NEC. Among these are one white comrade, two Indians and two Coloureds. The three most senior officials of the ANC, the President, the Secretary General and the Treasurer General were all returned unopposed and unanimously.

We have emerged out of our Conference more united than ever before. As our people and the international community observe South Africa Freedom Day tomorrow, June 26th, the occasion of the 30th Anniversary of the Freedom Charter, the ANC will be among them greatly strengthened, of one mind on all questions and determined to take the battle to the enemy and persist in struggle until victory is won.

**Members of the National Executive Committee
of the African National Congress Elected at the
National Consultative Conference of the ANC, June 16-23, 1985**

1. Oliver Tambo, President
2. Alfred Nzo, Secretary General
3. Thomas Nkobi, Treasurer General
4. Steve Dlamini
5. Chris Hani
6. Pallo Jordan
7. Moses Mabhida
8. Mac Maharaj
9. Simon Makana
10. Johnny Makatini
11. Cassius Make
12. Henry Makgothi
13. Robert Manci
14. Thabo Mbeki
15. Francis Meli
16. Joe Modise
17. Florence Mophosho
18. Ruth Mompati
19. Anthony Mongalo
20. Joe Nhlanhla
21. John Nkadimeng
22. Aziz Pahad
23. Mzwai Piliso
24. Reg September
25. Gertrude Shope
26. Sizakele Sigxashe
27. Joe Slovo
28. James Stuart
29. Dan Tloome
30. Jacob Zuma





PRESS CONFERENCE LUSAKA, JUNE 25th, 1985

The ANC lays great emphasis on unity. How do you see the question of unity with such groups as PAC and other small groupings inside South Africa?

The ANC has always encouraged the unity of our people inside the country. We have campaigned ceaselessly for united action. We've called on our people in the various organisational formations, in different political units, to fight on their own front; but also to address the common enemy, and to do so in unity with everybody else. That covers all political organisations, all ideological trends. It addresses the workers, the South African people as a whole who are opposed to the racist system of education. That is why the ANC was pleased, to say the least, when the UDF was formed, because that created a platform exactly for united action.

Now and again there are slight differences but by and large the ANC pursues the position that whatever we differ about, let us be united in defeating and destroying the apartheid regime. Some organisations, for example, don't quite accept every word that the Freedom Charter says. We accept that. We continue to try to convince them that the Freedom Charter poses the alternative to the apartheid system; that there is no other answer. But, even when they differ with any article in the Freedom Charter — they still believe that the regime should be overthrown. On that basis we say — let us act together.

Your statement says that Conference resolved the struggle must escalate. In the light of the SADF aggression in Botswana, will the ANC be able to secure itself from such attacks?

When we decided on armed struggle we accepted its consequences. It was a declaration of a readiness to sacrifice. On the other hand, when the regime persists in its apartheid system in the first instance, and also in killing our people, subjecting them to a succession of massacres, it also must accept the consequences of its actions. We have declared war on apartheid. The regime has declared war on all opponents of apartheid. But we declared war because apartheid was war against the people anyway.

From 1948 when the Nationalist Party came into power it pursued policies which were a declaration of war on the people, on the international community. This has been particularly manifest during the last decade when the leaders of our region have complained of an undeclared war against their countries. So, the region is unavoidably in a state of continuing war of one degree or another, and it will be in that state of war until the war is ended. The war will end when the Nazis of our region are defeated by our people and the international community, which knows about Nazism.

The regime has been making changes to some of the laws that govern the system — the Immorality Act, Transport etc. Do you think that the changes taking place in South Africa will have an effect on the freedom struggle vis-a-vis the scaling down of the freedom struggle?

Apartheid expresses itself in many ways. Small ways, big ways. There is something fundamental about apartheid; there is something superficial. Not so long ago we were not allowed to go into the same lift. When I say we, I mean blacks — non-whites, as we were called. That restriction was removed. That was many years ago. Since then the struggle has waged on — apartheid has continued killing, it has even crossed its own borders and killed freely in Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Mozambique, in Zimbabwe, Namibia, Angola, the Seychelles and in this country — it has continued despite the removal of that restriction, because the removal of the restriction of going into a lift was not what we were fighting about. We are not asking to be allowed to go into a lift with anybody. And the same thing applies to trains; now you can go into any compartment. That has nothing to do with what we are fighting about.

But if anything, this is a demonstration that the regime cannot rule in the same old way and is trying to appear different by ruling in a slightly different way, which is superficial and unrelated to the apartheid system, which remains as vicious, as murderous, as aggressive as it ever was — as defiant of international opinion as it ever was, proceeding to instal puppets in Namibia in the face of the opposition of the international community. That has not changed.

These are manifestations that the regime cannot stand still any more. But it is not moving in any substantial way. We have to ensure that it moves. It's beginning to have doubts about the permanence of the system after all. It is hoping to perpetuate it none the less. It must be convinced that it cannot succeed and the struggle must develop and escalate to convince the regime that there will never be an end to this struggle until the system is abolished and a new system rises to take its place.

Do you see a difference between the terms non-racial and multi-racial? You use the term non-racial.

There must be a difference, that is why we say non-racial and not multi-racial if we wanted to. There is a difference. We mean non-racial, rather than multi-racial. We mean non-racial — there is no racism. Multi-racial does not address the question of racism. Non-racial does. There will be no racism of any kind and therefore no discrimination that proceeds from the fact that people happen to be members of different races. That is what we understand by non-racial.

In the escalating struggle how do you see the question of sanctions?

The South African regime is illegitimate in relation to the majority of the people in South Africa. It has imposed itself on them. It is white minority rule that is imposed on the majority of the people. Therefore the regime is illegitimate and we want this to be recognised with all its consequences. If anything, the declaration of the regime as illegitimate is a justification for action to be taken to allow the people of South Africa to have a legitimate government of their own choosing. So it goes back to the question of the removal, the abolishing, the destruction of the apartheid regime and hence the isolation of that regime and all the measures that constitute pressures on the regime — sanctions, disinvestment, cultural,

other economic pressures and other acts of isolating the regime. The regime has imposed itself as a kind of colonial power over us, but that is not enough.

It is also criminal and is perpetuating a crime against humanity. We are making the point again that power in South Africa must be held by the people of South Africa as a whole, not by a white minority, not even by a black majority, but by a majority of the people of South Africa as a whole. Such a government will be legitimate, it will derive its mandate and authority from the people.

There have been reports in the run-up to conference, some allegedly well-sourced, which say that ANC Conference might reconsider the movement's hesitancy in the past about hitting militarily what are termed soft targets. Did Conference arrive at any closer definition of what it would regard as a legitimate military target?

I will summarise the position taken by the Conference in these terms: that the struggle must be intensified at all costs. Over the past nine to ten months at least — at the very least — there have been many soft targets hit by the enemy. Nearly 500 people have now died in that period. That works out at about 50 a month, massacred, shot down, killed secretly. All those were very, very soft targets. But they belong to this sphere of the intensification of the struggle because when people were killed they did not run away, they kept on — at all costs, and went back into battle at all costs. In the process some innocent people were killed, some white some black. What we have seen in the Eastern Cape and places like that is what escalation means for everybody. The distinction between 'soft' and 'hard' is going to disappear in an intensified confrontation, in an escalating conflict. And when the regime sends its army across the borders to kill people in Botswana, including nationals of that country, and nationals of other countries, they are hitting soft targets — very soft and not even in their own country.

That is not the end of the story. Exactly because of that the regime must be removed, at all costs. Therefore the struggle must be intensified, at all costs. The question of soft targets was quite out of place during World War II, to mention a big war. Ours will be a small one, but we are fighting the same kind of system. It was Hitler who attacked, it is the apartheid system here which attacked, and we are fighting that system, our own version of Nazism. I think the distinction between hard and soft targets is being erased by the development of the conflict. I am not saying that our Conference used the word soft targets. I am saying that Conference recognised that we are in it. It is happening every day. It happened two days before we started our conference — a massacre in Gaborone. We did not complain that soft targets were being hit, because they have been hitting them, as I say, all the time. What we did was to re-commit ourselves to intensify our struggle until that kind of massacre, until the system which makes massacres and conflicts necessary, is abolished by mankind, and we stand ready to make the sacrifices necessary to achieve that objective. We call upon the African people everywhere to stand ready to play their role. We call on Africa and the international community to come to our aid and also play their part in getting rid of a system which is abhorrent to themselves. The struggle will be escalated.

I've two questions. One, the excuse that has been given about not imposing sanctions against South Africa is that some of the Africans from the neighbouring states, about 1.5-million, who work in South Africa would suffer, including some of the blacks in South Africa itself. What does the ANC have to say about this? The other question, Mr President, is on the new members of the ANC (NEC) — one white, two coloureds and two Indians — you talked about. Do they hold any specific positions in the movement?

Well, for a long time now, of course, we have heard this question of the Africans in South Africa being the first to suffer; the African states in our region being the first to suffer, if sanctions are imposed on South Africa. Let us assume that this was true, as indeed it is. So what do we do — do we fold our arms? The Africans are afraid to suffer and so they must continue to have this aggressive, dominating regime in their midst! No. We accept that we will sacrifice. It's part of the struggle. It's not suffering. Suffering arises from feelings of pity, fear. These people who are involved in the struggle — the workers who get dismissed every day because they have gone on strike continue to go on strike, notwithstanding, until that have got what they want — know what sacrifice means. It's the only way to do it. It's not a genuine proposition. It's used by those who are getting the best out of the status quo, out of the system — they will suffer.

But typically they push us forward and say no, it's the slave who will suffer if we end slavery. No. The countries of Southern Africa have made their position clear. They are not going to ask for sanctions, but they will not oppose sanctions. They won't go to the United Nations and argue against sanctions because they agree that although it will cause problems for them, it is a correct strategy. And we are talking about countries which know suffering, which have lost thousands of their fellow men, women and children in struggle, in an armed struggle, which was a correct strategy to gain freedom. There is no country in this region which can say 'I'm afraid to sacrifice for freedom', because every country has witnessed how thousands of people were murdered — thousands in Mozambique, in Zimbabwe, hundreds in this country, thousands in Angola — all fighting for liberation. No country here can say 'we are afraid to sacrifice, we are afraid because our economies will be put into difficulties'. It's more than economies which have been put into difficulties. Lives have been lost in struggle and it was a struggle basically against that kind of system that we are facing today.

Of course South Africa now and again gets representatives of these countries to say 'we'll be affected'. But they are not saying there must be no sanctions, that the apartheid regime must stay put. Some of our own people are campaigning around, virtually defending the system, saying 'don't hurt Pretoria, no disinvestment'. They are not speaking in the interests of the liberation of our country. They are speaking in their own interests.

The second question: No, the National Executive Committee was only elected at this Conference. There are only three people who are elected to definite positions, that is the President, well, I hold that position; the Treasurer General, Thomas Nkobi, was elected to a position; the Secretary General, Alfred Nzo, was also elected to a position. The rest will be assigned their portfolios, if you like, or tasks in due course. So far they don't hold any positions. We have been a movement that has been united in our actions. Some of those who have been newly elected, not just the white ones, but the Africans as well, have been holding positions of one kind or

another. They will be assigned afresh, either to different positions or to the same position. So far no decision has been taken.

On your strategy of fighting: So far the ANC has been attacking only buildings ... and offices, but avoiding attacks on the whites themselves. Do you intend to change this strategy and start attacking the whites ...?

That's not quite the correct presentation of our position. We have not been avoiding hitting whites as whites. There was no policy of hitting buildings instead of whites. This is not the distinction that we have been making. If we have made any distinction it has been to avoid hitting people. But what I have said here is that in the course of intensification of the struggle the distinction between soft and hard targets — buildings and people — will naturally disappear. In the intensified situation, in the intensified conflict, in the course of escalation, that is not going to be avoidable. It has already (happened). Amongst the 500 people I'm mentioning, there are many whites who have been affected.



Secretary General Alfred Nzo addresses the National Consultative Conference. Sitting alongside him are President Tambo and Treasurer General Nkobi.



THE ANC IS WITH YOU Call to the People of South Africa

We, delegates to the Second National Consultative Conference of the African National Congress, from all national groups, salute you, the heroic people of our country.

Brothers and Sisters,

The old order in our country is coming to an end. The racist regime is losing ground. His morale is in decline. The whites are splintered into hostile factions and parties. They can no longer sustain their old myths of baasskap, of a master race destined to rule over black slaves for ever. All they can do now is to kill and corrupt.

The black giant is rising to his feet, tall and strong. He is breaking the chains that have bound him for centuries. He is marching on in confidence and with strength to a new social order. He is determined to liberate not only himself but also the whites themselves, whose lives have been corrupted by the apartheid system.

Brothers and Sisters,

From this historic Conference we say to you that the end of apartheid is near. Our age-old dream of freedom, for which so many have sacrificed, is approaching realisation. Africa will come back. The people — all the people — will govern.

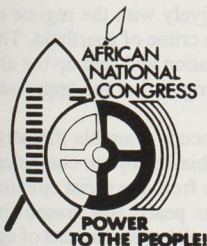
Unite, our people. We have a single goal. Those of us who are true liberators should not fight among ourselves. Let us not allow the enemy's dirty tricks department to succeed in getting us to fight one another. We know how to debate and resolve our differences. Our spears are meant for use against the enemy and not to destroy each other.

Forward, our people, in a single mighty current. The struggle is yet hard. There will be many more sacrifices. There is no easy road to freedom. But we are on the advance. The enemy is falling back. Let us turn his retreat into a rout, the rout into collapse, collapse into surrender.

To those in the army, police and prison services of the regime and its Bantustan puppets, to those who administer the cruel laws against the people, we say: earn your place in the free South Africa that is coming, by organising to turn your guns against your masters: let your typewriters speak the truth. Let there be no place where the enemy can rest.

To all our people, in the factories, mines, on farms, the Bantustans, resettlement camps, schools and townships, churches, mosques, temples and synagogues, wherever you are, your place is in the struggle. The ANC is with you, your instrument, your weapon of unity, your spearhead of liberation.

Umkhonto we Sizwe is with you. It is the people's army, your army, the death point of our mighty battle spear which strikes fear in the heart of every oppressor and exploiter. Join it. Fight in its glorious ranks to bring into existence now, a free, united, non-racial and democratic South Africa. We, the delegates, are resolved to intensify the struggle until final victory.



**Organise, unite and act for the end of apartheid.
Work for the end of apartheid. Victory is in sight.
Pray for the end of apartheid.
Our victory is within our grasp.
Fight for the end of apartheid. Our victory is assured
Amandla Ngawethu! Matla ke a Rona!
All Power to the People!**

APPEAL TO THE WORLD COMMUNITY



The Second National Consultative Conference of the ANC, attended by more than 250 delegates, sends warm fraternal greetings to all our supporters, friends and well-wishers throughout the world. Your firm and consistent support for our struggle and movement inspires us to fight for the liberation of our motherland with even greater vigour and determination. We are convinced that acting together with you we shall achieve our most cherished desire — to rid our country and the world of the evil of apartheid, which has already persisted for too long.

We welcomed with acclaim and enthusiasm the numerous messages of goodwill that we received from Heads of State and Foreign Ministers, political parties, trade unions, religious, student, youth and women's organisations, the peace and solidarity movements and international democratic organisations.

There was a special place in our hearts for the moving message received from Pollsmoor and Robben Island prisons, signed by Nelson Mandela on behalf of our imprisoned leaders.

Together with our members incarcerated in the racist dungeons we express our profound gratitude to the millions throughout the world who support our struggle and movement. Whilst the Pretoria terrorists face the wrath of humanity, the ANC continues to enjoy greater and greater support at home and abroad.

In the factories, mines, schools and townships of South Africa the people have risen. The racist colonialist regime meets the legitimate desires of our people with increasing violence and exports that violence into the countries of Southern Africa. The terrorism comes from the racist regime. To continue to collaborate with the racists is to assist actively in and be equally responsible for the death and destruction they sow in our country and region.

We accuse those western countries and their transnational corporations which collaborate actively with the regime of complicity in the commission of the crime of apartheid. The time has come to cease all collaboration and step up the all-round support for the ANC, the vanguard of the oppressed people of South Africa.

The racist regime continues to occupy Namibia illegally. We are confident the people of Namibia, led by our comrades-in-arms of Swapo, will soon be free from the racist colonial yoke. Whilst claiming to stand for peace and reason the Pretoria murderers continue to commit barbarous acts of aggression against the neighbouring states. The latest cowardly and brutal attacks upon South African refugees and Botswana citizens clearly demonstrate that the racist regime can never be a force for peace. Our region will only become a zone of peace when we have destroyed the source of aggression — the racist colonial system.

We are conscious of our immense responsibility to the peoples of Southern Africa. Our immediate task is to raise the struggle to new and even greater heights. The oppressed and downtrodden have shown by their mass uprisings in dif-

ferent parts of the country that they will spare neither their energies nor their lives in the fight for national liberation.

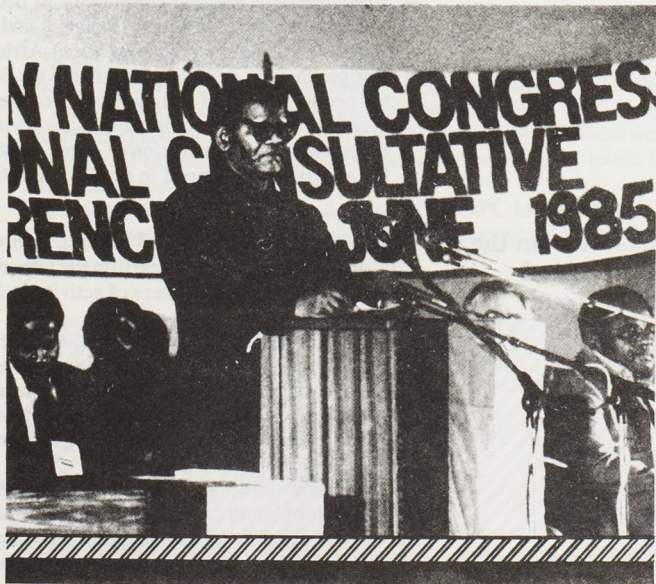
Apartheid cannot be reformed. It has to be destroyed. To wipe out this crime against humanity requires a sustained and determined campaign on the part of our people and the international community. There must be no 'constructive engagement', only total opposition to the racist regime and active support and solidarity for our struggle and the ANC. In this year of the 40th anniversary of the defeat of fascism and the founding of the United Nations, we appeal to the international community to honour its pledges and obligations under the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Charter of the United Nations and all treaties and conventions calling for the elimination of the crime of apartheid.

- Intensify the campaign to isolate racist South Africa in the economic, political, diplomatic, military, educational and cultural fields.
- Impose mandatory sanctions through the UN Security Council.
- End all nuclear collaboration with apartheid South Africa.
- Demand the immediate and unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners.
- Increase diplomatic, financial and material support and develop solidarity with the ANC.
- Demand the immediate independence of Namibia.
- Demand that the racist regime stop its aggression against the Front Line States and Lesotho.
- Give all forms of support to these innocent victims of fascist aggression and expansionism.

Freedom is at Hand!

Now is the Time to Act!

Now is the Time to Bring the Apartheid Regime to its Knees!



RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE SECOND NATIONAL CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE

Resolution on the Freedom Charter

The Second National Consultative Conference of the African National Congress, held in Zambia from June 16 to 23, 1985, having discussed the situation at home and abroad and in the light of the 30th Anniversary of the Freedom Charter which we observe this year:

- Reaffirmed that the Freedom Charter remains the only basis for the genuine liberation of all the people of South Africa;
- Welcomed the fact that this historic document remains to this day widely accepted by our struggling masses as their lodestar pointing the way to Freedom;
- Noted that all efforts by the apartheid regime to impose its own political programme on the people, including the Bantustans and the tri-cameral parliament, have been rejected overwhelmingly by the masses of our people;
- Hailed the democratic movement of our country for its struggle to advance the objectives contained in the Freedom Charter;
- Recognised the fact that important sections of the international community have accepted the Charter as a document which expresses the legitimate and fundamental interests of the majority of our people;

Conference Therefore:

- Calls upon the people of South Africa to intensify the offensive to overthrow the apartheid regime which is the necessary condition for the implementation of the provisions of the Charter and the birth of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa.
- Commends the international community especially the United Nations for observing this Anniversary.
- Urges the international community to declare the apartheid white minority regime illegitimate, isolate it and extend all round support to the ANC and the people of South Africa.
- Pledges that the ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe will further escalate the people's political and military offensive for the overthrow of the Pretoria regime, the complete eradication of the racist colonial social order and the reconstruction of a free South Africa, in keeping with the provisions contained in the Freedom Charter.

Resolution on the New Zealand Rugby Tour

We, the delegates to the Second National Consultative Conference of the African National Congress, reaffirm the importance of the total isolation of South Africa in every sphere of activity including, and in particular, in the field of sports.

We greet the sportsmen and women and their organisations throughout the world who have put principle before personal interest and sportsmanship before profit by refusing to have any contact with racist South Africa as long as apartheid lasts. We salute the sportsmen and women of Africa who have made enormous sacrifices by refusing to play with those who collaborate with apartheid.

We condemn the decision of the New Zealand Rugby Board to go ahead with the tour of South Africa in July, notwithstanding the clear, manifest and united opposition of the Government and people of New Zealand to such a tour. This visit is especially reprehensible at a time when the

racist regime is murdering men, women and children daily.

We demand that the tour be cancelled forthwith as it constitutes a hostile act against our people and a gross betrayal of millions of sportspeople who are striving to develop sports relations to promote peace and friendship among the peoples.

We salute the Government of New Zealand for the principled stand it has taken to discourage this ill-advised tour. We urge the Government to take action, even at this late moment, to stop the citizens of New Zealand from coming to make merry in a war zone in which the murder of innocent people is the order of the day.

We hereby reiterate that if the tour takes place, responsibility for any adverse consequences to New Zealand, her reputation and her future participation in international sport, as well as any threat to the lives of the players themselves, will rest squarely on the heads of the New Zealand Rugby Board.

**Resolution to expel
Rob Peterson
Paula Ensor
Martin Legassick
and David Hemson**

The Second National Consultative Conference of the ANC held in Zambia June 16 to 23, 1985, considered the decision of the RPC in London to suspend the following:

1. Rob Peterson
2. Paula Ensor
3. Martin Legassick
4. David Hemson

It found that, after having been suspended in 1979 by the London Region of the ANC for their disruptive activities in Sactu, the group organised itself outside the ANC under the title 'The Marxist Tendency Within the ANC' and produced *Inqaba Yabasebenzi*, a journal claimed to be produced by a 'Marxist Wing' of the ANC.

This group contacted trade unions and solidarity organisations in several countries using a mailing list stolen from Sactu. They distributed their literature inside the country, propagated their theories in *Inqaba*, attacking the Freedom Charter, the armed struggle and Umkhonto we Sizwe. They want to create an alternative 'workers' army'.

In violation of Sactu's policy, they have encouraged and maintained bilateral contacts with trade unions inside the country. They invited leaders of the South African National Union of Mineworkers to visit Britain without the knowledge of the British NUM. Recently some of them were arrested and expelled from Zimbabwe for activities contrary to the interests and independence of that country.

Conference considers that the decision of the RPC in London to suspend this faction was properly taken. It further resolves to expel the abovementioned from the ANC.



MESSAGES FROM THE SECOND NATIONAL CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE

Message to Moses Mabhida

Though you could not be with us your noble ideas and passionate will for total freedom most certainly were. Conference greets you and wishes you a speedy recovery. We value highly the message you sent to us.

Great warrior, we know that your spear will be among the advance regiments as we move from Conference to the battlefield. Get well soon.

Ihlomile

Message to Florence Mophosho

Conference greets you, dear sister, and wishes you speedy recovery. We missed your revolutionary steadfastness as well as your active contribution to our deliberations. Yet your message inspired us with the high and indestructible morale it conveyed and the clear-sighted goals it set us. Get well soon.

Ihlomile.

Message to our Comrades in Prison

Dear Comrades,

We, the delegates to the historic Second National Consultative Conference of the ANC warmly salute you and convey our best wishes for your good health and strength. We pay tribute to the immense courage with which you have endured the unjust brutal incarceration imposed because of your commitment to a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

Glorious was your message to us. Your words have steeled us for the battles to come. Your indomitable spirit guides us through this hour of darkness to the bright future ahead — when you will be liberated from the enemy's dungeons, and our people emancipated from apartheid slavery.

We are happy to report that this Second National Consultative Conference, representative of all our people, was a resounding success. The seriousness of the discussions and the political maturity displayed, are a tribute to our leadership. Those who follow in your footsteps are putting into practice your invaluable teachings which lead to a society of free human beings, working for the common good.

We are firmly resolved to bring to speedy realisation the goals to which you are selflessly devoted and for which you have sacrificed much.

We leave the venue of Conference united more than ever before, ready to face the challenges that lie ahead.

Nothing will shake our commitment to the total destruction of apartheid and the creation of a new South Africa which will become a real home for all its citizens. We shall not rest until you return.

Amandla Ngawethu!

Ihlomile!

Message to Govan Mbeki 75 years - 10th July

Dear Comrade Govan,

We, delegates to the historic Second National Consultative Conference of the ANC, convey to you our warm revolutionary greetings and heartfelt congratulations on the occasion of your 75th birthday. It is a momentous occasion for all of us to pay homage to our hero who has dedicated

his life to the cause of our liberation and the creation of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

We are proud to give you what we know will be the most prized present for you — the news that the Second National Consultative Conference, representative of all our people, was a resounding success.

We leave the venue of Conference fired with a new spirit of rededication, resolved to bring to fruition the cherished goal for which you have always selflessly devoted yourself body and soul.

We shall not rest until you and the rest of our comrades are able to celebrate birthdays as free men and women, among the people you so dearly love.

Amandla Ngawethu!

Message to the Nairobi World Conference on Women

We, the delegates to the Second National Consultative Conference of the African National Congress held in Zambia from 16 to 23 June, 1985, extend warm greetings to your Conference which will mark the end of the United Nations Decade for Women with its theme of *Equality, Development and Peace*.

Your Conference takes place at a time when unbridled terror in South Africa is claiming the lives of innocent women, men and children. The criminal actions of the apartheid regime demonstrate daily that the system it maintains is the very antithesis of equality, development and peace.

We have participated fully and are committed further to advance the process of the liberation of women, which the Decade promoted. In our country, the liberation of women, the majority of whom are oppressed as women, as workers and as black people, is an integral part of our struggle for national liberation.

The women of our country are in the front ranks of the struggle for the emancipation of our people. In action they display outstanding heroism as do other sections of our people. In struggle they are establishing their place as equal fighters for freedom who must share in equal measure the fruits of our liberation.

These suffering but struggling women require your support. They are engaged in a legitimate struggle that has become the cause of all humanity. For this involvement, they are imprisoned, tortured and murdered. We are convinced that your own love of freedom, peace and life itself will move you to act with even greater determination in their support.

We wish you, women of the world, fighters for equality, development and peace, success in your deliberations. No people can be free while the women are oppressed. Our liberation cannot be complete while the women are in chains. The cause you uphold is a component part of the objectives we pursue.

Message to the Participants of the XII World Festival of Youth and Students

The National Consultative Conference of the ANC welcomes the XII World Festival of Youth and Students in Moscow from 27 July to 3 August, 1985.

This festival takes place at a time when progressive and peace-loving humanity marks the 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism, to which the Soviet people made an unequalled contribution. It is also held at a time when forces of reaction and militarism are pursuing the policies which threaten to plunge the world into another war — this time a thermo-nuclear conflagration. The build-up of weapons of mass destruction, deployment of first strike weapons, rapid deployment forces threaten naked aggression against people who have liberated themselves from imperialist

domination.

In this International Year of the Youth, the Festival will bring together broad sections of youth and students of different political and ideological persuasions united by their desire for peace, social progress, self-determination and independence. The people and youth of our country, who are engaged in battle, support and hail the Festival. It will focus, among other things, on our struggle for liberation and the need for increased support and solidarity from progressive humanity in accordance with the slogan *For Anti-Imperialist Solidarity and Friendship*.

It will also accord us the opportunity to consolidate and expand our friendship with other youth gathered in Moscow — the city of friendship and the citadel of peace.

We, the delegates to this historic conference, wish you a successful and happy Festival which will further strengthen the cause of peace, independence, democracy and social progress.

Long live the XII World Youth Festival!

Long live international friendship and solidarity!

Amandla Ngawethu! Matla ke a Rona!

Message to the Central Committee of the MPLA Party of Labour

We, delegates to the Second National Consultative Conference of the African National Congress, held in Zambia from the 16th to the 23rd of June, 1985, convey to you, our comrades-in-arms, deep appreciation for the selfless and consistent support extended to our organisation and struggle by the MPLA Party of Labour, the Government and the heroic people of the People's Republic of Angola.

The bonds of friendship that unite us grew out of our common experience of racist, colonial and imperialist domination. They were strengthened by our common struggle for national and social emancipation. They have been cemented by our shared confrontation with the same enemy, the criminal Pretoria regime. The fraternal relations between our peoples and their vanguard organisations, the MPLA Party of Labour and the ANC, will continue to flourish long after the apartheid regime has passed into oblivion.

We salute your heroic resistance to the South African racist aggressors and their puppets during the past decade. Your victorious defence of the Angolan revolution is our guarantee that we shall vanquish the apartheid regime. The enormous sacrifices that the Angolan people have made impose an obligation on us to destroy the apartheid regime of terror sooner rather than later. Our unity in struggle will help transform our region of Southern Africa into a zone of peace, friendship and co-operation.

During this year of the 10th anniversary of the People's Republic of Angola and the 2nd Congress of the MPLA Party of Labour, we extend our revolutionary greetings to Comrade President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, the Party, Government and people of Angola. We are certain that as you enter your second decade of liberation you will score new victories in the struggle against reaction, for the consolidation of your independence and the accomplishment of the task of national reconstruction.

In the spirit of our historic Conference, we pledge to fight on until South Africa is free and the hand of aggression and war in our region is stilled forever.

Long live the MPLA Party of Labour!

Long live the People's Republic of Angola!

Long live the friendship between our peoples!

Long live the alliance of the MPLA Party of Labour and the ANC!

A Luta Continua! A Vitoria e Certa! Amandla Ngawethu!

Message to the Kingdom of Lesotho

We, delegates to the Second National Consultative Conference of the ANC held in Zambia from the 16th to 23rd June, 1985, salute the Government and people of the Kingdom of Lesotho. We pay tribute to the extraordinary courage with which you have maintained your principled stand against the apartheid system in favour of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

You have taken this stand despite the aggression, economic sanctions, subversion and countless other pressures emanating from the racist Pretoria regime. Even when the murder squads crept into your capital, Maseru, in 1982, bent on murder and destruction, you refused to bow down to the dictates of the apartheid regime and its allies. You stood firm in your resolve to receive South African refugees even though this was actively opposed by the racists whose criminal policies have driven many of us into exile.

The confidence which the heroic fraternal people of Lesotho have shown in the inevitability of our victory, inspires us to fight with even greater determination to free our country and create the conditions for Lesotho to live and develop in conditions of peace. We owe this both to our own people and to the martyrs who have been assassinated by the Botha regime and its LLA bandits.

From our historic Conference we say: your political contribution to our liberation struggle has been immense. The sacrifices that you have made as a result of your humane stand for a liberated and happy South Africa, serve to inspire us to discharge our historic mission to lead our people to emancipation.

We pledge to do exactly that.

There can be no turning back.

Forward ever, backward never.

Long live the friendship between our peoples!

We will win!

Amandla Ngawethu! Matla ke a Rona!

Message to the OAU Liberation Committee

We, delegates to the Second National Consultative Conference of the African National Congress, held in Zambia at this crucial stage of our struggle, warmly salute the Honourable Ministers and Heads of Delegates to the 43rd Ordinary Session of the Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa. We take this opportunity to renew our deepest appreciation of your commitment to the liberation of South Africa and Namibia. We are deeply grateful for your generous contribution to the success of our Conference.

We welcome and treasure your unflinching support that testifies to your long-standing conviction that there can be no peace and stability in our continent until the apartheid regime is overthrown and replaced by a non-racial, democratic South Africa based on the will of all its people.

With your support, we pledge to escalate the struggle and hasten the day of freedom. We assure you that the decisions taken by Conference will make a decisive contribution to the liberation of our motherland.

Message to Mwalimu Ndugu President Julius K Nyerere

Your Excellency,

The Second National Consultative Conference of the African National Congress, meeting in Zambia from 16th to 23rd June, 1985, sends its warmest greetings to you. As you prepare to retire from your position as President of the United Republic of Tanzania, we would like you to know that our movement will forever treasure the privilege of having

benefited from your wisdom and statesmanship.

For more than two decades, Tanzania has been home for many of us. We have lived and worked with your people as brothers and sisters, privileged as always to be treated as honoured guests. When we have erred in our conduct, you have been understanding. When we needed it, you urged us to fight on undeterred by whatever difficulties were in our way.

Our struggling people have long come to accept you as their own leader and an outstanding son of Africa. We have always been deeply inspired by your unwavering determination to achieve the total liberation of Africa and sincerely moved by your concern to see our embattled people liberated.

The enormous contribution you have made to shape your own country as well as our continent in the interest of the people, has become part of an all-African experience in the struggle for the development of a just and democratic society. Accordingly, we were happy to work under your guiding hand as chairman of the Front Line States and the OAU. We knew that while you occupied these positions, Africa could not but advance further towards the realisation of the goals she holds dear.

From our Conference we send you the assurance that we are united as never before. Our resolve to intensify the offensive against the criminal apartheid regime is unshaken. We view our Conference as a Council of War which has issued the order for the ANC and the masses of our people to launch a determined offensive to dislodge the apartheid regime from power.

We wish you good health and further success in your work as Chairman of Chama Cha Mapinduzi. The goal which is so close to your heart, the liberation of South Africa, and peace in Southern Africa, is within our grasp. As we take new steps towards the realisation of these objectives, we shall always avail ourselves of your rich experience.

For what you have done for us and for Africa, we say — asante sana Mwalimu.

**Message to
His Excellency
Comrade President
KD Kaunda**

Your Excellency,

The Second National Consultative Conference of the African National Congress, meeting from the 16th to 23rd June 1985, sends its warmest greetings to you. We wish to convey our profound gratitude to you and the Central Committee of UNIP for allowing us to hold our Conference in Zambia.

We are deeply moved by the close personal attention you paid to our Conference, to ensure that it takes place under the best possible conditions. There was nothing to disturb us as we focussed our minds on an issue which is uppermost in your thoughts, the struggle for the liberation of South Africa and the transformation of our region into a zone of peace.

We are honoured to report to you, Comrade President, that our Conference has been a resounding success. Strengthened by the knowledge that we enjoy your support and full confidence, and inspired by the breathtaking heroism of our people who are confronting the apartheid regime as never before, our Conference has taken major decisions which will bring us closer to our cherished goal. We are united in our resolve to carry out these decisions firmly and expeditiously.

We are happy that this Conference, significant in the annals of our history, took place in Zambia. Even before her independence, Zambia has, for us, been a home and a fortress, among whose people we draw courage to continue our struggle, a country, Comrade President, which

you, at the head of UNIP, lead. Our movement could therefore always draw on your wisdom and profound experience to help us overcome our problems and take further steps forward towards victory.

Comrade President,

Our forces are geared to assault the enemy positions.

Long live Comrade President Kaunda!

Long live UNIP!

Long live the friendship between the Peoples of Zambia and South Africa!

Message to the Central Committee of ZANU (PF)

Dear Comrades,

The Second National Consultative Conference of the African National Congress, meeting in Zambia from June 16 to 23, 1985, sends its warmest greetings to Comrade President of ZANU (PF) and Prime Minister Robert Mugabe, to ZANU (PF), the Government and people of Zimbabwe. We thank you most sincerely for the stirring message of solidarity which you sent us.

As our Conference focussed its attention on one of the central issues of our region, the liberation of South Africa, it was conscious that this year the Republic of Zimbabwe is five years old. The apartheid regime has publicly admitted that the victory you scored half a decade ago against racism, colonialism and imperialism altered the strategic situation for racist South Africa. For us, our continent and the rest of progressive humanity, it meant that only one colonial regime remains in our region. It confirmed the inevitability of the completion of the historical process leading to the total elimination of colonialism and white minority rule.

The enemy's efforts to destabilise and weaken independent Zimbabwe have failed. She remains still a beacon which points the way forward to the liberation of our country. Inspired by your successes and strengthened by your support, we are confident of victory.

Building on what you have achieved in the common struggle, our Conference has issued the order to our people and their vanguard the ANC, to escalate our offensive for the destruction of our common enemy, the apartheid regime. The hour is approaching when our people will join those of Zimbabwe as free men and women, committed to the reconstruction of our region in conditions of peace.

Long live ZANU (PF)!

Long live the Friendship between our Peoples!

The Struggle Continues!

Victory is Certain! Amandla Ngawethu!



The African National Congress regrets to announce the death, in Lusaka, of Comrade Florence Mophosho after a long illness on the 9th of August, 1985.

Hamba Kahle, Comrade Florence.



MESSAGES TO THE CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE

Message from the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party

The South African Communist Party sends warmest fraternal greetings to the 1985 Consultative Conference of the African National Congress and wishes it every success in its deliberations. Your Conference marks an historic milestone along the road to liberation and will speed up the pace of the liberation forces in their forward march to inevitable victory.

The South African Communist Party has a long history of association with the ANC — an association which has now developed into a brotherly alliance. Our Party bears the proud record of having been among the pioneers of our land proclaiming the goal of a South Africa without any form of colour discrimination and exploitation of man by man. At a very early stage in our development — under the slogan of a Black Republic — we adumbrated the policy of complete unconditional national liberation which is now the common aim of the ANC, the South African Communist Party and our whole liberation front.

What explains the unique and brotherly relationship between our two organisations? The answer was clearly spelt out by our General Secretary, Comrade Moses Mabhida, when he said:

‘Our Party’s relationship with the ANC is based on mutual trust, reciprocity, comradeship in battle and a common struggle for national liberation. Our unity of aims and methods of struggle are a rare instance of positive alignment between the forces of class struggle and national liberation’.

From the earliest days communists have worked unstintingly to strengthen the ANC. The selfless work of communist and liberation giants such as JB Marks, Moses Kotane, Yusuf Dadoo and Bram Fischer will rank among the most outstanding contributions to the growth and defence of the liberation movement. We mention these names (and there are many others) because they symbolise the fact that our collaboration with the ANC is not a passing formality; it is an act of love for and dedication to the objectives of freedom and true liberation. You deservedly stand unchallenged today as head of our liberation alliance. In this role, we are at your side. We are fellow freedom fighters sharing the same trench and we will remain at your side until the flag of Black, Green and Gold is raised over the Union Buildings in Pretoria.

We are confident that your Conference will be a major step in the direction of cementing the unity of all progressive forces and raising the level of struggle among all sections of the oppressed people of South Africa.

The South African Communist Party, as the political vanguard of the working class, pledges to do its utmost to ensure that your decisions are carried into the field of struggle and implemented.

We pledge to strengthen the alliance between our two organisations in every possible way.

Dear Comrades and Brothers: Your victories are our victories. Let us march forward side by side to freedom.

Long Live the ANC!
Long Live the Alliance between the ANC and SACP!
Forward to People’s Power!

Fraternal Message from the National Executive of the South African Congress of Trade Unions

The National Executive Committee of the South African Congress of Trade Unions, SACTU, conveys its revolutionary greetings to the leadership of the African National Congress and its entire membership on the occasion of its Consultative Conference to be held from June 16, 1985.

This Conference is convened at a time when there is a great revolutionary upsurge among all sections of the people who have seized the slogan of our President, Comrade OR Tambo, to make our country ungovernable. It also takes place at a time when the combination of the telling blows of Umkhonto we Sizwe and the extra-parliamentary struggles waged by the democratic forces are giving the enemy terrible nightmares.

We are confident that this Conference will chart the way forward, towards the escalation of our struggle for total and complete emancipation.

It is heartening to note that, as this Conference converges here, the whole democratic trade union movement in our country is engaged in serious talks for the formation of one national democratic trade union federation. The idea is to speak with one voice against the common enemy irrespective of their political differences. They are determined to unite around the issues which unite them in the common struggle for the destruction of the apartheid colonial system.

We wish to reassure you, dear comrades, that SACTU, the democratic trade union movement and the entire working people of our country will redouble our efforts and stand steadfastly behind the struggle led by the African National Congress.

We are confident that Conference will deliberate on the burning issues that face our revolution and examine its successes and failures guided by the slogan **Freedom in our Lifetime**

We call upon our comrades, both young and old, to use this Conference to close ranks. Let us unite, mobilise and forge ahead.

SACTU is proud to be part of the Congress Alliance led by the African National Congress, whose lofty aims and objects are enshrined in the historic Freedom Charter. We reiterate our firm commitment to the realisation of these freedoms.

We have no doubt that the African National Congress will emerge from this historic Conference with greater resilience and determination.

We wish the deliberations of this Conference will be crowned with success.

**Amandla! Matla!
An Injury to One
is an Injury to All!**

**John K Nkdimeng
General Secretary**



*Comrade Nkdimeng
addressing Conference.*

Message from SWAPO

Dear Comrades,

We salute and greet you on this occasion of your historic National Consultative Conference. The struggle in South Africa led by the African National Congress has been escalated to a point where the boers themselves have admitted that the revolutionary forces can no longer be ignored. This is absolutely a sign that the eradication of the capitalist, racist minority regime with its abhorrent apartheid policy in both South Africa and Namibia is in sight.

We congratulate you, dear comrades, for the past heroic deeds of ANC and its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and we have no doubt that ANC will continue with the noble cause of liberating the oppressed majority in South Africa. Your victory is our victory. The cordial relations based on co-operation and co-ordination of SWAPO/ANC activities has benefited both of us in our struggle against our common enemy.

The Namibian people under the leadership of their vanguard, SWAPO of Namibia, will always be ready to support your legitimate cause as we have done in the past. Please accept our solidarity and fraternal support and SWAPO of Namibia wishes you all the successes during your deliberations.

The struggle continues. Victory is Certain!

Your Comrades in Arms

Andimbo Toivo ja Toivo

SWAPO Secretary General

Message from the OAU General Secretariat

On the occasion of the National Consultative Conference organised by the ANC, the General Secretariat of the OAU wishes to commend the oppressed people of South Africa for their gallant struggle against apartheid especially during the past year. The Secretariat wishes to express the hope that from this Conference a new spirit that will galvanise all of us into a final and sustained action will emerge. In this regard, the OAU reaffirms its abiding support for the struggling people of South Africa. The Secretariat wishes the Conference every success.

Message From Brig Hashim Mbita, Executive Secretary, OAU Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa

I take this opportunity to send you warm greetings and good wishes for success of your National Consultative Conference, scheduled to convene on June 16, 1985. The Conference convenes at a very crucial time. The brutal and barbaric acts of the fascist regime have reached new heights. Torture and massacre have become the order of the day. But the people on the other hand are displaying a new spirit of defiance and determination to crush the abominable and inhuman apartheid system once and for all. I am convinced the Conference will ably assess the situation and draw up a programme for further escalation of the struggle until final victory.

The OAU Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa takes this opportunity to assure your movement and the people of South Africa that it will continue to support and assist the struggle to the end. The struggle continues and victory is certain!

Message from Ambassador Rudolph Johnson, Chairman of the OAU Group in Brussels

On the occasion of your historic Conference of 16th June, 1985, which is taking place at the time when the cause of the struggle for liberating South Africa is gaining momentum in South Africa and abroad, on behalf of the OAU Group of Ambassadors in Brussels I wish to convey to you and the ANC Conference our unreserved support at this crucial moment of shaping the liberation strategy with a view to intensifying all forms of struggle against the racist apartheid regime. May I also assure you that our Group in Brussels, in close collaboration with your representative in

Brussels, continues to wage the struggle individually and collectively at all diplomatic levels in our relationship with EEC member states. I further assure you that we are right now well set to discuss the question of South Africa during the forthcoming joint ACP-EEC ministerial meeting in Luxembourg, 20 to 21 June, with a view to urge EEC member states to stop all forms of collaboration and support to the racist and repressive Pretoria regime.

**Message from
J N Garba,
Chairman, UN
Special Committee
Against Apartheid**

On behalf of the Special Committee Against Apartheid I would like to extend to you and to the ANC our best greetings on the occasion of your National Consultative Conference. The Special Committee assures you of fraternal co-operation in mutual struggle against apartheid and is confident that your Conference will accelerate the struggle until apartheid is eliminated.

What follows is a list of the messages of support received which were too numerous to be reproduced in full.

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**Heads of State
Diplomatic Missions
Governmental and
Non-Governmental
Organisations**

President Benjaid, Algeria
President Masire, Botswana
President Abdou Diouf, Senegal
E. Honecker, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and Chairman of the State Council of the GDR
OAU General Secretariat
OAU Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa
OAU Group in Brussels
OMA, Angola
Ministre des PTT, Antananarive
Goshu Wolde, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Member of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Ethiopia
Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ghana
Minister of Foreign Affairs, Zimbabwe
Minister of Foreign Affairs, Finland
Embassy of Jamaica
Russell Marshall, New Zealand Minister of Education
Swedish Embassy, Dar es Salaam
Embassy of Socialist Republic of Vietnam, Angola
Committee of Ambassadors of the African, Caribbean and Pacific countries.
Joseph N Garba, Chairman, UN Special Committee Against Apartheid
Enugu Reddy, Former Head, UN Centre Against Apartheid.

**Liberation
Movements**

Roque Rodriques, Fretelin Political CC
Farouk Kaddoumi, Secretary Al Fateh Movement, Member of the Executive Committee of PLO Political Department, PLO
Andimbo Toivo ja Toivo, Secretary General, SWAPO

Political Parties

Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan
AKFM, Antananarivo
Communist Party of Australia
Central Committee, Socialist Party of Australia

John Langmore, MP, House of Representatives, Canberra, Australia
 Socialist Party of Austria
 Central Committee, Parti Communiste de Belgique
 Central Committee, Bulgarian Communist Party
 Communist Party of Canada
 National Organisation of Chilean Exiles in UK
 Central Committee, Communist Party of Cuba
 Central Committee, Workers Party of Ethiopia
 Fifanampiana Malagasy
 Central Committee of the German Communist Party (DKP) of
 the FRG
 Anne Borgman, Member German Bundestag, Green Party, FRG
 Social Democratic Party, FRG
 British Labour Party (Great Britain)
 Executive Committee, Communist Party of Great Britain; L. Hickox,
 CPGB London Group
 Morning Star (Editor, Tony Chater) Great Britain
 Russel Marshall, New Zealand Parliamentarians
 Socialist Unity Party of New Zealand
 Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party
 Comite Central do MLSTP (Sao Tome & Principe)
 Democratique/Mouvement pur le Parti du Travail Senegal
 Socialist International
 South African Communist Party
 Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union
 Communist Workers' Party of Sweden
 Communist Party KPMLR, Sweden
 Left Wing Communists (VPK), Sweden
 Swedish Social Democratic Party
 Central Committee, Communist Party USA
 Democratic Workers' Party, USA
 Central Committee, Yemeni Socialist Party
 President of the Federal Conference of the Socialist Alliance of the
 Working People of Yugoslavia

Solidarity Movements and Organisations

Action for World Development, Victoria Branch, Australia
 Afaspa, France
 Africa Groups of Sweden
 Africa Educational Trust (UK)
 African, Caribbean and Pacific States Secretariat
 African Heritage Studies Association
 All India Peace Solidarity Organisation
 Angolan League of Friendship and Solidarity with People
 American Committee on Africa
 American Friends Service Committee
 Anti-Apartheid, Brisbane, Australia
 Anti-Apartheid Movement, Austria
 AAM, Manitoba, Canada
 Anti-Apartheid Bewegung, FRG
 Anti-Apartheid de France
 Anti-Apartheid Movement, Netherlands
 AAM, UK — Trevor Huddleston
 AAM, UK, Bob Hughes MP
 Anti-Imperialist Solidarity Committee, FRG
 Arab-Palestinian Association of Canada

Association 25th April, Angola
 Australian Council for Overseas Aid
 Battersea Wandsworth Trade Union Council (UK)
 Bay Area Free SA Movement (USA)
 BOA — Belgium
 Bristol University AA Group (UK)
 Bulgarian Committee for Solidarity with the Peoples of
 Asia and Africa
 Campaign Against Racial Exploitation (Care) Australia
 Canadian Arab Federation
 Canadians Concerned About Southern Africa
 Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries
 CIDMAA — Montreal
 Centro Informazione e Educazione Allo Sviluppo (Moliso Italy)
 Comite Contre le Colonialisme et L'Apartheid (Bruxelles)
 Conipaz, Managua, Nicaragua
 Committee on South African War Resistance (UK)
 Cubano Movimiento por la Paz y la Soberania de los Pueblos
 Czechoslovak Solidarity Committee, Prague
 Danish Association for International Co-operation
 Denmark: Paedagogisk Medhjælper Forbund; Landsforeningen
 Danske Clubfolk; Socialpaedagogernes Landsforbund;
 Landsforeningen for Social Paedagoger
 Development Aid From People to People
 End Loans to South Africa (UK)
 Ethiopian Peace, Solidarity and Friendship Committee
 Finnish Africa Committee
 Finnish Peace Committee
 Ghana Peace and Solidarity Council
 Holland Committee on Southern Africa
 Hungarian Solidarity Committee
 International Association of Democratic Lawyers
 International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa (UK)
 International Forum, Denmark
 International Solidarity Foundation of the Finnish Social
 Democratic Party
 Isolate South Africa Campaign
 London Borough of Islington, Race Relations Committee (UK)
 Lesotho Peace and Solidarity Committee
 Movimento Liberazione e Sviluppo (Italy)
 Mozambican Association for Friendship and Solidarity with People
 Mrap Solidarite
 National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression (USA)
 National Anti-Imperialist Movement in Solidarity with African
 Liberation (USA)
 National Committee, South Africa Action (Denmark)
 National Lawyers' Guild
 New Zealand Defence and Aid Fund
 Norsk Folkehjelp
 Novib, Holland
 Ospaal, Cuba
 PSFO Afghanistan
 Reggio Emilia Town Council (Italy, Mayor Ugo Benassi)
 Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee Praesidium
 Soviet Peace Committee

Swiss Anti-Apartheid Movement
United States Out of Southern Africa (USA)
Vietnam Committee of Solidarity with the Afro-Asian Peoples
Washington Office on Africa (USA)
WIDF
Women's Coalition for Nairobi
World Marxist Review (Editor-in-Chief, Yuri Sklyarov)
World Peace Council, (Romesh Chandra, President)
WREE

Trade Unions

CGT, Canada
Confederation des Syndicats Nationaux (Canada)
Federation of Malagasy Revolutionary Trade Unions
ILO Area Office, Dar es Salaam
Italian General Confederation of Labour
New Zealand Federation of Labour
Organisation of African Trade Union Unity
South African Congress of Trade Unions
TASS (British Engineering Union)
Union of Electrical, Radio and Machinists, Canada
WFTU

Student Organisations

AASU Secretariat
Centre Youth League in Finland
Danish Youth Council
DGS and LAK — Student Organisations, Denmark
IUS Secretariat
National Union of Students (UK)
Pan African Youth Movement
WUS Denmark
WFDY
YCL (USA)

Church Bodies

Angolan Council of Evangelical Churches
British Council of Churches
Christian Concern for Southern Africa (UK)
Quaker Peace and Services (UK)
United Church of Canada



VICTORY TO THE ANC!



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