

Engage the Enemy in Continuous Battle

The African National Congress Youth Conference taking place in Morogoro, Tanzania from the 17th to 23rd August, 1982, will go down in the annals as an historic milepost in the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa.

The Conference was significant in many ways. It was the first of its kind since the banning of the ANC in 1960 and its highly representative nature, covering as it did all sections of ANC Youth including members of Umkhonto, the conference was attended by delegations from about 20 countries of Africa, Asia, Europe and the Americas.

Present here were also members of ANC leadership. Comrade Alfred Nzo, the Secretary General of the ANC delivered the opening address which set the highly businesslike mood and tempo for conference deliberations. Highly inspiring and edifying speeches acknowledging the dynamic contribution of the South African youth in the advancement of our struggle and outlining the crucial role they still have to accomplish, were heard from Comrade Andrew Masondo, the National Commissar of the ANC, Comrade Moses Mabhida, General Secretary of the SACP, Comrade Eric Mtshali, Administrative Secretary of SACTU, Comrade Mavis Nhlapo on behalf of the ANC Women's Section.

with the view of giving insight into the present thinking and declaration of our fighting youth. Alongside these will be published in future issues a full coverage of the conference. In this issue we begin with the opening address of the Secretary General of the ANC and another presented by the MK delegation to the conference.

Dear Comrades,

On behalf of the National Executive Committee, all our members, our gallant combatants in Umkhonto We Sizwe and indeed on behalf of our entire fighting people, we bring you all warm and revolutionary greetings. Allow us to especially extend our sincerest greetings and gratitude to the CCM and the brotherly people of Tanzania for permitting us to hold our conference in their hospitable country. This gesture on the part of the leadership of Tanzania further strengthens friendship and solidarity between the ANC and the CCM and between our peoples.

It is appropriate that this Conference of our Youth is taking place here at our Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College, because it is the devotion, bravery and commitment of heroes like Solomon Mahlangu that towers always as a shining example of the potential and calibre of our youth. Likewise, allow us on your behalf to commend the administration, staff and students here in SOMAFSCO for the excellent preparations they have made for this conference.

Comrades, this historic Youth Conference takes place in the course of the 70th Anniversary of the African National Congress, during which we had vowed to strengthen each detachment and each section of our movement, so that by the end of the year we can say we have a strong vanguard, ready to face up to all the challenges of our struggle. The decision to hold this conference in this Year of Unity in Action was taken at an NEC meeting in December of 1981 at the close of the Year of the Youth. This was due partly to the realisation that, the convening of the conference, which was one of our main objectives for declaring 1981 as the Year of the Youth, needed maximum preparations to involve all sectors of our youth, both at home and abroad in order to achieve the goal of the strengthening of the revolutionary Youth Section of our movement. Much still needs to be done to this end. The holding of the Conference and the decisions you will reach should therefore be regarded as the necessary first step in response to the call of the NEC at the beginning of the year contained in the 70th Anniversary statement. We reiterate that call: "We call upon our youth and students to heighten their spirit of resistance. You have already demonstrated that you are a detachment of greatest courage and heroism. Now, more than ever before, our struggle demands that you act with supreme dedication and vigour under the banner of our fighting movement." We are confident that this call will echo during your deliberations as this is an expression of our expectations from you.

BACKGROUND

Given this background, therefore, the 70th Anniversary of our move-

ment finds all of us better placed than we have been before to carry out the historic mission to destroy the apartheid monster and realise the demands of our people enshrined in the Freedom Charter. We are saying this boldly and confidently, for our forces of national liberation have never been better poised for the final onslaught to eradicate the evil system of colonial and racial oppression and exploitation.

The situation in our country today is characterised by a massive upsurge of our people in all their formations against all instruments of oppression and exploitation. The black workers, the leading force in our revolutionary struggle are in the forefront of the evergrowing upsurge of mass struggles in our country. Many years of struggle and experience have taught them the importance of Unity in Action in the struggle against the oppressive and exploitative apartheid system. The whole country and practically all industries, including the mining industry, are engulfed by crippling and widening waves of strikes. These frequent and wellorganised industrial actions aimed at improving working conditions and living standards of the workers often assume a political character. The political strike called in protest of Dr Neil Aggett's murder by the fascist police is the most recent and striking example. The ability to link up various forms of struggle i.e. economic and political, constitutes an effective weapon in the hands of our working people. All attempts by the fascist regime to *split their ranks have been met with tenacious resistance and a heightened spirit of defiance.* We are confident that the Unity talks now taking place amongst the various trade union centres will bear fruit, thus further enhancing their capacity to deliver even more deadlier blows.

EDUCATION

The education crisis is again assuming alarming proportions. There is a continuing and escalating resistance by students against inferior education and apartheid in all its forms. This includes the resistance by students at the Fort Hare University against the incorporation of this historic institution within the hated and rejected so-called Ciskei Bantustan. The solidarity actions by other students, including white students, is further testimony to the understanding by our students of the need for Unity in Action in the struggle against apartheid. All manner of solutions to the educational system by the regime, short of the demands of the students for a unified, democratic system of education for all racial groups, have met with dismal failure. Thanks to the consistent resistance by our students and people.

Ministers of religion, church leaders and other religious circles, including ministers of the Dutch Reformed Church, are increasingly identifying

themselves with the just cause of the oppressed majority and are challenging the fascist regime and its machinery of terror.

CULTURAL WORKERS

The cultural workers of our country, those at home and abroad, have laid a firm basis for opening a new front. In a recent conference and festival held in Gaborone, under the theme "Culture and Resistance", artists, poets, musicians, actors, writers, etc. from all parts of our country representing all generations and races met to consider their role in the struggle. The basis for their discussion being that there is no culture or art and therefore no artist outside society.

But the most striking victory scored in this field was when a collection of soccer mercenaries descended on our fields like vultures, after blood-money. Our football teams, viz. Orlando Pirates, Kaizer Chiefs, and Moroka Swallows imposed the cultural embargo when they refused to play with the sactions-busting XI. Backed by their supporters, our teams and players dealt a heavy blow to enemy ploys of attempting to buy their way back into international soccer at the expense of our people. The bunch of mercenaries, with their heads bowed in shame left our country having failed to fulfil their treacherous mission.

This organised political confrontation has grown immeasurably over the recent years. The underground forces of our movement are now entrenched deeper and are multiplying among the people more than at any other stage since the outlawing of our organisation. The mass actions taking place in our country are reinforced by armed operations of Umkhonto We Sizwe. This has become a permanent feature of the political reality of South Africa. The military blows are wide-spread. No part of our country remains unaffected. The growing sophistication and precision of these blows, their frequency and their high level of organisation have inspired our people, reinforcing their confidence that our victory is inevitable.

UMKHONTO WE SIZWE

Umkhonto We Sizwe has spread its assaults across a variety of targets. No economic or military installation, anywhere, cannot be successfully and effectively dealt with. All this is possible because our people have now come to accept Umkhonto We Sizwe. This enables our combatants to survive in their midst. We have reached a stage where the people have opted for and are joining the armed struggle as one of the most effective ways to dislodge the racist rulers from power.

The masses of our people are today rallying in their thousands to

the call of our movement to unite in actions against the apartheid system, to resist it at every point, at every level, in every part of the country and to fight injustice wherever they confront it. This is adding to the gradual tilting of the balance of forces in our favour. As we said in our 70th Anniversary statement: "The voice of the mass democratic movement headed by the ANC and its allies is winning the hearts and minds of growing numbers from amongst all the oppressed, pushing into growing isolation the diehard racist and fascists. This movement is not only an opponent of the apartheid regime, but has actually emerged as an alternative power, enjoying the actual allegiance of the overwhelming majority of our people. Increasing numbers from the white-oppressor group are steadily joining the stream for political and social change". Alongside this



A. NZO: It is necessary to defend and strengthen the ANC.

process is one of the unbanning of the ANC by the masses of our people. The Freedom Charter is a rallying force in all the struggles waged by our people. The ANC flag is openly held at the head of all forms of protests and demonstrations. These are often in open support of the African National Congress. Our combatants who fell in battle have been given Heroes' funerals and those captured enjoy the open support and solidarity of our people when they appear in fascist courts. The enemy and its allies have been forced to admit this reality.

To score further advances, it is necessary now and in the future as in the past to defend and strengthen the revolutionary vanguard organisation of our people, the ANC. To quote once again the National Executive Committee: "Through our sacrifices, and in the face of brutal enemy repression and persecution, we have stubbornly and persistently defended our great creation, the African National

Congress, against frantic and desperate efforts by the enemy to blot it out. We have defended it because we know that without it the prospects of our capturing power would fade into the distant future. Twenty years after the oppressor regime declared it illegal, the ANC today, 70th Anniversary, is openly acclaimed as the leader of our people, thanks to the imposition by the masses of a new popular concept of legality which the enemy guns cannot shoot out of existence, and which his courts cannot imprison. By "lifting" the ban in this manner we have asserted ourselves as the alternative power of our land, the only legitimate power, because we are the people, the democratic majority, whose will must triumph in the end."

REPRESSION

The fascist regime's response to this revolutionary upsurge has been typical. The regime has sharpened its machinery of repression and has become even more desperate in its attempts to prolong its inevitable defeat. There has been a series of waves of arrests, banings, banishments, harassments, torture in police cells, deaths in detention and raids by the army and police. All these acts aimed at cowing our people to submission have not succeeded. Frustration reigns supreme within the ranks of the enemy. The failure to contain the floods of our revolutionary onslaught has resulted in a split in the ranks of the enemy. The white laager is crumbling as class interests have become priority over Afrikanerdom. The bantustans, the South African Indian Council, the Coloured Persons Representative Council and of late the Community Councils, have failed as "solutions" to the problems of our country. The President's Council is also under heavy attack and will soon give in, because it is a political stillborn baby. These have been and are still being defeated by the capacity of our people to resist and attack. The fascist beast is being cornered and pounded with heavy blows as all its schemes, including mass removals are being fiercely resisted by the people. Unity in Action has been and still remains our people's battle-cry!

TACTICS

Faced with this situation, the regime has resorted to new and dangerous tactics. It is now ceding tracts of land and populations in an effort to win new allies. Millions of our people are robbed of their citizenship and given away to a neighbouring state as in the case of Ingwavuma and KwaNgwane. This new element in the dista-

bilisation activities of the regime in pursuit of its neo-colonial "constellation of states" strategy must and will be defeated. Already such offers have been refused in certain cases where through mutual discussions, we were able to ensure that the people of Southern Africa remain active supporters of the just cause of our people. In the case of the land deal with Swaziland we hope and should ensure that this carrot and stick policy of the fascists is defeated. The illegal regime that is ruling and ruining our country has no right whatsoever to enter into any agreements involving the lives of our people. The regime's economic power and military might cannot insulate fascist rule from the revolutionary wave currently sweeping the region.

SADCC

The determination of the countries of Southern Africa to resist and dislodge racist economic domination through the formation of SADCC has enraged the fascist beast. This failure of the constellation of states strategy on the regional level has turned the fascist regime to more aggressive military action and economic sabotage as instruments of regional policy. Coupled with direct military aggression by the South African Defence Force, is the regime's recruitment, training and arming of mercenaries and traitors from these countries as an extension of the regime's aggressive military machinery. At the same time in supporting the operations of these counter-revolutionary bands have stepped up their attacks in Lesotho, Angola, and Mozambique in particular. The regime has its own forces, trained, equipped for short-term hit and run type operations in neighbouring states such as the Matola raid and other terrorist acts as in Lesotho, Swaziland, Zimbabwe and Botswana where they have assassinated and injured our people. This is done in gross violation of the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of these countries.

The enemy has also resorted to longer term aggression as in the case of its operations in Angola. Here the regime has committed its land and air striking capacity, huge bands of mercenaries and Unita puppets. The result is pillage. Yet the world still manages to ignore this gross violation of all international norms. We welcome the continued and unswerving commitment of countries like Socialist Cuba and the Soviet Union to the defence of the People's Republic of Angola. If Israeli aggression on Lebanon signals new adventures on the part of Imperialism's regional policemen, then the Israel of Southern Africa, the fascist regime, must be nipped in the bud and destroyed.

The world must stop looking on idly by, pretending to be helpless. As part of the solution, the speedy resolution of the Namibian attempts must be defeated. The linkage of the solution of the Namibian problem to the withdrawal of the friendly internationalist Cuban forces must be combated. Imperialism does not want to give way to the liberation forces in Namibia and uses irrelevant issues to buy time and complicate the situation.

NAMIBIA

We are convinced that the people of Namibia their striking arm PLAN and their authentic vanguard movement SWAPO will defeat imperialist's neo-colonial ploys. Their victory is certain. The African National Congress on behalf of our entire people hail SWAPO for the statesmanship and revolutionary vigilance they have displayed throughout the negotiation process, whilst intensifying the armed revolutionary struggle. In pledging our full solidarity with SWAPO and the people of Namibia, the African National Congress calls on all sections of the oppressed and democratic forces in our country to intensify the struggle for people's power to new heights.

The aggressive and destabilisation activities of the racist regime are an integral part of the global destabilisation policies of Imperialism. Faced with the growing strength of the socialist countries, new advances by the democratic forces in the capitalist world and the victories scored by the national liberation movements, the enemies of peace and progress have resorted to unwanton aggression. They are haunted by the advances scored by the revolutionary movement and the loss of more ground as the revolutionary process intensifies. All this, coupled with the inability to defend their decaying and dying system which is plagued by one crisis after another, the most aggressive circles in the imperialist camp have resorted to undermining world peace in an attempt to roll back the advance of history.

IMPERIALISM

This aggressive posture of imperialism has been given added impetus and assumed new qualitatively dangerous dimensions with the coming into office of the Reagan Administration. The U.S. and NATO ruling circles opted for an unprecedented military build-up aimed at achieving military superiority over the Soviet Union, and from such a position of strength they hope to "control Soviet behaviour." In essence, this policy of the war-mongers reduces itself to an all-out drive for world domination.

In pursuit of this drive, the imperialists have evolved a programme of transforming all continents into a galaxy of military bases and to creating hot-beds of tension over the world. They are working round the clock to form regional military alliances composed of the most reactionary and unpopular regimes – SATO is one such example. The intention to deploy new weapons of mass annihilation in Western Europe whilst strengthening NATO by increasing its membership and the creation of rapid deployment forces for distabilisation purposes constitutes a grave danger to peace.

It is in this context that we must understand the training, arming and recruitment of reactionaries from Grenada, Nicaragua and Cuba, the U.S. intervention in El Salvador and Guatamala whose purposes are for distabilising the revolutionary governments and robbing the liberation forces of victory in the region. The strategic alliance between the forces of imperialism and the reactionary Chinese leadership in South East Asia poses a grave danger to the revolutionary gains of the people of Vietnam, Laos, Kampuchea and Afghanistan...

LEBANON

The barbaric Zionist attack against Lebanon is yet another attempt by the forces of imperialism and reaction to strangle liberation movements and threaten world peace. The killing and maiming of hundreds of Palestinian and Lebanese people including women and children, the occupation of over half of Lebanon by the Israeli army, could not have taken place without the full support the Zionist regime enjoys from Washington. The Reagan Administration has blatantly exposed its cynical face and disregarded the fate of the Arab peoples in the region by fully standing on the side of the aggressor, by vetoing the Security Council resolution calling for the withdrawal of Israeli forces. The same atrocities are committed by the racist South Africa in Southern Africa and enjoys the same patronage from the Reagan War-Mongers.

It is against this background that we declare our unswerving solidarity with all the people locked in battles against the forces of imperialism and its regional out-posts in Latin America and the Carribean, in the Middle East, South East Asia, Europe, North America and Africa. Our solidarity goes to the people of Namibia and their authentic liberation movement SWAPO. We greet the people of the Southern African front-line states and their governments and call for their defence against the Pretoria's imperialist inspired attacks. We express our full support for the people of Palestine under the leadership of the PLO in their difficult struggle for self-determination. Our revolutionary greetings to the people of El Salvador and their vanguard the Farabundo Marti National Libe-

ration Front, the people of East Timor led by the Fretilin and the people of Western Sahara under the leadership of the Polisario Front, whose just cause is the object of imperialism's subversive activities aimed at undermining African Unity.

PLEDGE

We greet the people of the rest of independent Africa and pledge that together with them the ANC and our people and United in Action will do everything to defend African Unity and the cause of African liberation.

We greet the people of the countries of the Socialist Community, in particular the Soviet Union and affirm our steadfast support to their peace proposals aimed at reducing the threat of thermo-nuclear war and maintaining the current strategic military balance.

We greet all our friends in the solidarity movement in the capitalist countries and all friendly western governments who are supporting our just cause.

We call upon all our Youth in their various formations to respond to the tasks defined below for the advance of our struggle.

The Youth inside the country must continue being an active contingent in the Democratic Movement and to be always in the forefront in all the people's struggles. You must seek and find Umkhonto We Sizwe and swell the ranks of the People's Army.

- The Working Youth are called upon to take an active part in the building of strong trade unions and community struggles.
- The students must strengthen their organisations, step up the struggle against the fascist education system and intensify their participation in all struggles of the community and those of the working people against the bosses and for trade union rights.
- Those of our Youth, both black and white, who are in the racist army and police must join the war resistance effort by refusing to lay down their lives in defence of apartheid. We urge young combatants in the people's army — Umkhonto We Sizwe to continue the onslaught against all instruments of oppression and exploitation which constitute the power base of the fascist regime.

The ANC urges the Youth in its ranks, outside our country, to contribute selflessly and tirelessly to the strengthening of our movement by ensuring that all structures of Youth Organisation and programmes of activities to be discussed and adopted in this conference must be adhered to.

UNITY

We call for maximum political and organisational unity. We must maintain our vigilance at a high level to defend the African National Congress from infiltration by enemy agents and spies. The enemy is intensifying and broadening its onslaught on the ANC on this front and it is the duty of all of us to engage him in a continuous battle for the survival of our revolution. Understanding of ANC policy, strategy and tactics and the overall development of political consciousness is a task you must all fulfil to be worthy members of our revolutionary vanguard. Organise and participate in all cultural and sporting activities.

To the Youth working in various ANC structures:

- *Perfect the knowledge required for the fulfilment of your task in order to improve the quality of your contribution;*
- *To work in a comradely manner with every member of your department and ensure that the collective remains strong through your participation in efforts to improve the work of your collective;*
- *To display a high sense of discipline and a revolutionary attitude to work;*
- *To fulfil all tasks given you by the movement.*

To the students:

- *Study seriously and honour all your academic requirements;*
- *Must participate in all regulations governing your studies and your presence in the host country and show respect for the people and laws of that country. Study their history;*
- *Conform to all policy statements of the ANC regulating the conduct of students;*
- *Participate in Solidarity activities for the promotion of our struggle and those of other people and students bearing in mind always our strategic objective of isolating the racist regime and winning new friends and supporters;*
- *Those who complete their various courses and disciplines should be ready to assume their new organisational tasks.*

The Youth in M.K.

- *Perfect your military skills to increase qualitatively the already sophisticated attacks on various types of targets;*
- *Grasp all other non-military but related studies and programmes necessary for the task ahead;*
- *Consolidate your readiness to perform any other tasks the movement*

assigns you, with devotion and commitment;

- Be an honest and reliable soldier of the people, always ready to defend the people's cause and our movement.

Our Representatives in International Organisations:

- Must be able, exemplary and worthy representatives for our people;*
- Learn to adjust and work in comradeship and harmony with other people in the organisation you are seconded to;*
- Safeguard the interest of our struggle and movement whilst promoting the causes of other people engaged in the anti-imperialist struggle;*
- To be accountable whenever appropriate, both to the ANC and to the organisation you are representatives of.*

You are, all of you, at all times and whenever you are, ambassadors of our people. Remember that our people's cause will be judged through your conduct.

Dear Comrades,

In focussing our sights on the revolutionary tasks of this conference and confident that as you disperse to your respective areas of operations at the end of your deliberations you will interpret to life all the decisions that will be adopted here, the National Executive Committee cannot do better than remind you of the words of one of the outstanding leaders of our revolutionary movement, former member of the NEC of the ANC and former General Secretary of the South African Communist Party, the late Comrade Moses Kotane:

"I should like to issue this appeal to the Youth of South Africa: At this hour of destiny, your country and your people need you. The future of South Africa is yours and it will be what you make of it.

"Remember our heroes who are today sacrificing their lives for the freedom of persecuted, terrorised and tortured people. Our gallant and heroic fighters expect every young South African to join the struggle for the freedom of our fatherland and our people... It is only through a grim and bitter armed struggle that the system of apartheid can be overthrown by the oppressed people of South Africa. We must fight."

AMANDLA!

MAATLA!

POWER TO THE PEOPLE!