



MAYIBUYE

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

MAYIBUYE NO.5 /6
1985 – YEAR OF THE CADRE

SPECIAL CONFERENCE ISSUE
Journal of the African National Congress

African National Congress SECOND NATIONAL CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE JUNE 1985

OPENING STATEMENT OF COMRADE PRESIDENT OLIVER TAMBO

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 ninth 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, workers, 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

FROM THE VENUE OF CONFERENCE TO VICTORY!

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 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, these flames are like beacons which draw us faster towards our goal. Botha prefers darkness and the night. But his nights are festivals 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 gravedigger 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 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 had 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 all of us 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 elab-

orating 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, except 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.



President Oliver Tambo speaking at the Press Conference.

The ANC Is With You

CALL TO THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA

We, the 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 forever. 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.

Rise up, our people. Use all means available to you to destroy the apartheid power in your midst. Act with the courage and intelligence you have displayed. We are with you.

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 into 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!

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 this 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 on 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 overriding 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 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 of 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 tri-cameral parliament and related institutions. We must con-

tinue 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 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 many 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, Guinea Bissau and Senegal, the Foreign Ministers of Finland, Ghana and Zimbabwe, the Central Committee of 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 thirty 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 eleven 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 16th to 23rd, 1985**

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

The Names from 4 to 30 Appear in Alphabetical Order

The Enemy Manoeuvres, But Is Still The Enemy!

PRESS CONFERENCE WITH PRESIDENT OLIVER TAMBO

Lusaka, 25th June, 1985

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

A: 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 their 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.

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

A: 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 the people and the international community, which knows about Nazism.

Q: 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?

A: 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, Seychelles and 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 into a lift with anybody. And the same thing applies to trains; now you can go into any compartment. First you could go into a lift, now you can go into a 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 got 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 nonetheless. 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.

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

A: There must be a difference. That is why we say non-racial. We could have said 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.

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

A: 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 pressure 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 here 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.

Q: There have been reports in the run-up to Conference, some clearly speculative, 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?

A: 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, massacres, 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.

Q: 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?

A: 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 surrender to the apartheid system and to their enslavement! The African states 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 they 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 in fact likely to suffer most. That is, 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 am 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 some 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, therefore 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 by Conference, 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 positions. So far no decision has been taken.

Q: 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 ...?

A: 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 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.



Seated: The Presidential Council – Thabo Mbeki reading the appeal.

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 colonial 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 trans-national 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 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 that 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 different 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 stops its aggression against the Front Line States and Lesotho;
- ★ Give all forms of support to these innocent victims of fascist aggression and expansionism.



Front row from left to right A. Nzo, T. Nkobi, O.R. Tambo, C. Hani and M. Maharaj.