THE MOMENTUM WE HAVE BUILT UP, IN STRUGGLE SHOULD NOT BE LOST COMMANDER - IN- CHIEF O.R. TAMBO

TEL: (021) 15

Compatriots,

The month of June, like no other month, carries a galaxy of dates each of which records and bears witness to the heroic content of our struggle, the supreme justice of our course, and our irrevocable commitment to pursue it until victory is won.

International Childrens Day, the judicial murder of the three gallant Youth: Mogoerane, Mosololi and Motaung, the Rivonia life imprisonments, the Soweto uprisings, June 26, and the Sasol attack when Umkhonto We Sizwe set racist South Africa ablaze; all these events have each a singularly unifying quality and they combine to give to the month of June a profound and special significance for our struggle.

It is against this background that today, this week, set between June 16 and June 26, we address a special call to the entire democratic movement of our country, in all its formations and shades of opinion.

DESPERATION

The last ten years have seen our struggle rise to levels which seriously threaten the survival of the apartheid system and frightens the enemy into unprecedented acts of desperation. During the last three years in particular, that desperation found expression in armed invasion, raids and massacres, in the use of armed bandits to cause destruction, devastation and destabilisation throughout Southern Africa, and in numerous assasinations and brutal torture of ANC activists and other opponents of the apartheid regime.

In the past three months the Botha regime has tried to recruit the neighbouring African independent states into a fascist campaign aimed at the destruction of the ANC and the liberation struggle in South Africa. In two months time the Pretoria regime will be holding elections for the so-called Coloured and Indian sections of the black people of our country to establish the other two chambers of its tri-cameral parliament.

CHALLENGE

These dangerous enemy moves are the product of our strength. They evidence the rising tempo of the conflict between the forces fighting for freedom, democracy and peace, and those who defend white minority domination and exploitation. The oppressed people and the entire democratic movement of our country are therefore confronted with an enormous and historic challenge, a challenge we dare not meet with anything short of maximum determination.

Our task is two-fold. First, we must, in action and with our united strength, give a lie to the notion that the nature, progress and the victory of our struggle depends on the absence of accords or pacts. It is our turn to do for ourselves and humanity what others have done for themselves and others. We must liberate our country and make it independent and sovereign for all its people, for Southern Africa and our continent, for world peace.

This demands of us to wage resolute struggle at a level and on a scale that

depicts victory. The intensity of that struggle will demonstrate that the white Today, faced with the challenge of the minority regime cannot save itself by terrorising, blackmailing and bullying African independent and sovereign states into becoming extensions of Pretoria's defence and security system.



Pres. O.R. Tambo: We are not apartheid's cattle.

Secondly, we must crush the August elections by the vigour of our united struggle and through an intense campaign exposing the danger and treachery of the elections and reasserting the poeple's goal of a united, democratic and nonracial South Africa.

Compatriots,

Often in the many decades that our struggle has known, the enemy has attacked with his might, employing every means at his disposal in a bid to wipe out the liberation movement of the people and secure their submission to continued enslavement.

At such times the best sons and daughters of our motherland have risen to meet the demands of the struggle. New leaders have emerged from among the people. Old leaders have rallied and stood firm. The masses of the people have fought back with unyielding courage and determination. And consistently the blood of our youth has flowed to water the tree of freedom. It is some glorious pages that our people have written into the annals of their history.

CALL

Botha constitution and the August elections, we address an appeal; a call to our Indian and so-called Coloured compatriots to stand firm with the oppressed majority, to refuse to join the doomed apartheid system on the eve of the triumph of our long and bitter struggle. The ANC's call to them this valiant month of June. is simply: DON'T VOTE, DON'T!

If you vote you will be: - voting for perpetuation of the apart-

heid system,

- voting for continued domination of the Black people by the white minority,

- offering your sons and yourselves for military conscription into an army whose principal task is to fight the oppressed in South Africa and terro-

Botha and Machel inspecting the South African and Mozambican guards of honour after signing the Inkomati accord.



We must, with our united strength, give a lie to the notion that the victory of our struggle depends on the absence of accords.

rise the independent countries of Southern Africa,

selling your own birthright and your future for a mess of pottage,

- helping the enemy to plant among us the seeds of disunity and prolonged bitterness.

We must refuse to be herded into apartheid's polling booths like cattle into abbatoirs. We are not apartheid's cattle. We are men and women with a right and a will to say NO! to the polling slaughterhouse. On August 22 and 28th therefore let us ensure that the enemy's booths stay lonely, empty and deserted places. That will serve to cement the unity of the Black oppressed in our common struggle for a people's government.

their collaborators seek as to drive or drag into their polling booths. In this connection we shall need to pay particular attention to those of our so-called Coloured people who reside in the rural areas, in small towns and in the Eastern Cape.

The campaign issues are daily before us. They include in particular the question of forced removals. The issue of forced removals anywhere should provoke solidarity actions everywhere. The entire country should be involved. None



If you vote you will be offering your sons and yourselves for military conscription into an army whose principal task is to fight the oppressed in South Africa and terrorise the independent countries of Southern Africa.

MOBILISATION

The holding of the elections and the entire constitutional manoeuvre is an assault on the oppressed majority in our country and especially on the African population. The defeat of this sinister scheme is therefore the task not only of our Indian and so-called Coloured compatriots but also, and even more importantly, of the African people. It is the task of every democrat.

With the united might of our millions we must together rout the racists in August and ensure progress towards people's power. It is therefore essential that we engage in the widest and most intensive mobilisation possible. We should reach out to all those whom the racists and





Thousands of students countrywide refuse to accept the system of education designed to serve the interests of white minority domination.

of us should stand and watch while thousands of our people are uprooted from their homes and dumped in the wilderness like sacks of rotten potatoes.

Compatriots:

Earlier this month racist Prime Minister Botha invited himself to several countries in Western Europe where he masqueraded as a champion of justice and peace, and a self-appointed spokesman for the entire African continent. The mask was roughly torn away from his face by his reluctant hosts and the outraged people of Europe. But as he returned from this ill-conceived and ill-timed tour he sought to conceal the effects of the rebuff he had received by repeating the lie that his regime has embarked on a reform programme within our country.

The reality is, however, that the apartheid system cannot be reformed. What Botha, Malan, and Koornhof mean by reform is their feverish attempt to strengthen the bantustan system through the criminal Aliens and Immigration Laws Amendment Act which seeks to transform Africans into foreigners in the land of their birth, and banish them to starvation and death in the bantustans. What they mean by reform is the continuing pass raids and the genocidal programme of forced removals.

CENTREPIECE

In the struggle to frustrate the enemy's contitutional schemes we must therefore intensify our campaign against the bantustan system. This system is, after all, the centrepiece and the bedrock on which is founded the oppressive

constitutional arrangement.

There is the burning issue of education. Many educational institutions are today closed because thousands of black students countrywide refuse to accept the system of education designed to serve the interests of white minority domination. As parents and workers we too have to be involved in the struggle will be spent on the implementation of for a free, democratic, non-racial, and compulsory system of education.

The continuing struggles of the students, however localised they may appear, relate to this basic demand. Needless to say, the rest of the student population in our country, both Black and white, should pursue with greater vigour and better co-ordination - the goal of a united national assault to destroy the present apartheid system of education and replace it with one which corresponds to our aspirations. The momentum we have built up in struggle should not be lost. Our goal is a just system of education in a just society.

Botha's constitution, like others before it, is a constitution for injustice, which, among other things, seeks to perpetuate apartheid in education. Consequently, as we continue to intensify our assault on the entire edifice of apartheid education, we should relate this to our offensive against the apartheid constitution. Thus, the democrashould relate tic student movement the struggle for a just system of education to the struggle against the apartheid constitution.

CRISIS

Piet Botha with his so-called reform programme pursues the aim of tightening the screws of oppression. He is also presiding over the ferocious exploitation of the people and adds insult to injury by forcing us to pay for his evil designs. By July the General Sales Tax will have gone up twice within the year. A new income tax which will hit

the underpaid black masses hard has been introduced.

Prices continue to grow by leaps and bounds. The number of the unemployed increases with each passing day. In the meantime the racists have sharply inccreased expenditure on their war machine. Large sums of money have been and the new constitutional scheme and the further refinement of the apartheid system as a whole. The wages we take home buy less each passing day. We spend more money in the shops and return home with half-empty baskets.

increased by about 9 On the April 1: percent. Petrol rose by 1,5 OMealie meal and cents a litre in the other maize products Transvaal. are to be increased by Railway and air fares at least 25 percent. rose an average of 9,4 This increase will also percent Post office tariffs affect the price of other foods such an rose by 9 percent. chicken. Water tariffs on the Other things which are Witwatersrand roce by going to increase soon 23,5 percent. are: OTransvaal bospital ● Rice. fees doubled. OSosp . washing Since January: powder etc OBrown bread has risen from 43c to 50c Bisquits and white bread from ⊕Coal. 53c to 60c. **GSegar** @Canned foods have

happening because All this Pretoria regime and its backers are shifting the burden resulting from the crisis of the apartheid economy onto the shoulders of the oppressed exploited. The time has come that we should call a halt to this attack on our living standards. The time has come that we wage a national campaign for a just minimum wage which is tied to the cost of living index.

The time has come that we combine in action to push down prices, rents, fares, and rates to levels that we can afford. Now is the moment that we the exploited should refuse to pay for our oppression. The democratic trade union



and women's movements have a special role to play in spearheading the struggle to ensure that the people refuse to pay for apartheid domination.

Compatriots:

In saluting you this month of June, on the eve of June 26, the anniversary of our national day of struggle, our call to you all is: organise, mobilise and step up the mass offensive around immediate issues of the day and the fundamental question of people's power.

We are confident that in that offensive the death-defying soldiers of Umkhonto We Sizwe, our heroic youth, our militant workers and fighting women will play their historic role and contribute massively to the build-up towards a determined, united, and nation-wide assault on the enemy's constitution and for the conquest of popular power in our country.

LONG LIVE THE STRUGGLE FOR THE TOTAL LIBERATION OF AFRICA!

LONG LIVE OUR SOLIDARITY WITH SWAPO AND THE NAMIBIAN PEOPLE!
DOWN WITH RACIST DOMINATION!