

Once more, our own movement and struggle speak to the Whites of South Africa in action, that they too should join hands with their black compatriots: to our country of yet another ruling group of self-interest.

'seeking' racism and as South Africans, help to rebuild our country as

a truly independent, united, democratic and non-racial entity. The same apartheid regime, which has led the whites of our country to the state of crisis they have to endure today, argues that any solution to the conflict afflicting South Africa must guarantee what the racists call "group" or "minority" rights. The international allies of this regime echo this demand.

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- Our advice to our white compatriots is, beware of false friends.

Beware

of those who offer to guarantee you so-called minority rights; because, the rights they dangle in front of you are nothing but the same privileges which neither we nor anybody else will tolerate.

A truly democratic

, persistent demands that we uphold equal rights and oppose special

It requires that we visualise a common destiny for all our

privileges.

people without exception.

that to end racist rule, we must perpetuate racism.

South Africa must

and shall belong to all who live in it, black and white.

She must and

will be governed by an authority which derives its legitimacy from the will of all our people.

we shall never be fooled into accepting

As we observe our Year of Advance to People's Power, during which we shall concentrate our efforts at moving towards our goal of a non-racial democracy, the apartheid regime has flung a gratuitous insult at our people and the international community.

believes in the permanence of white minority rule, it is organising an election for whites only.

Once more, a hide-bound racism is intent on

emphasising in practice its belief that the whites have an exclusive

and God-given right to decide the fate and destiny of our country and people.

To assert what it vainly

The majority of our people will vote against

Whatever the results of those racist elections we

Enough is enough.

shall consider them, like the elections themselves, null and void and without legitimacy,

racism and apartheid not in any polling booths but in the streets of our cities, towns, townships and villages, in the factories, the mines and the farms.

and through a heightened armed offensive to put paid to the arrogant

designs of the Botha regime and transform these white elections into the swan-song of the apartheid system.

They will assert their will in mass political struggle

The international community has both the possibility and the obligation to act now to impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against apartheid South Africa.

At its first meetings this year, the UN Security Council will meet to consider

It is of some importance that at one of its

discussions this question.

We mention this question of timing because, if those

who refuse to heed our views on sanctions were to listen to the demand being made at the great number of meetings being held today, across the face of the globe, they would see that the peoples throughout the world are demanding sanctions now.

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After 75 years of-struggle under the leadership of our movement, our people are united as never before.

to bring about majority rule, under a system of one person one vote, in a united South Africa, as they are clear about the ways and means

They are e.s united in their resolve

x of attaining this result.

fÃ©since January 8th, 1912 when the founding fathers set as one of the

Such is the progress that we have achieved

central Objectives of the ANC, the burial of the demon of tribalism and the fostering of fraternal relations between black and white on the basis of nonâ\200\224 racialism and a common nationhood._ Our p0ssibility to move forward towards people' spower is firmly based on this truLy remarkable level of oommon purpose among so many millions of our poOple.

The unity of the.international community on the queStion of apartheid is also a source of great strength to us.

Today there can be no doubt

about the determination of the overwhelming'majority of the nations of the world to take concerted action to help us liquidate the apartheii crime against humanity.

As withinâ\200\230our country, internationally, only

a minority continues to refuse to act against the apartheid system,

a.minority that in both instances, derives benefits of one kind or another from racism.

Established by representatives drawn from as far afield as this country, Zambia, the ANC saw itself as and remains a parliament of the people rather than a party representing one political or ideological school of thought.

Africa, committed to the liberation of the African continent as a whole.

~Furthormore, it Was a movement of the.peOples of Southern

What remains to be dene is finally to liberate

As we observe our 75th,Anniversary today, we can be justly proud of the fact that indeed Africa has rid herself of the scourge of colonial and racist domination.

Namibia and South Africa, to end white minority rule in this area Of Africa where it is most entreohohed, stubborn and brutal.

draw .inspiration from the flot that Whot was born of the vision and

efforts of what were then despised subject peoples is today accepted

by the world as the representative of our peOple, the politioal formation

â\200\230which hOIÃ©S the future of our country in its hands.

we must also

These achievements are all the more remarkable because we have won them in the face of the doteĩ-\201minod opposition of our adversaries who have sought to divide the African peeplef to set the black people apart from One another and incite a racial war betweenâ\200\230blaok and white.

Similarly,

the enemy has tried desperately to induce splits within our national liberation movement and physically to liquidate us so as to create conditions for it to impose its ownpuppets on our people.

We know that the enemy will continue to pursue this strategy of divide and rule. we therefore take advantage of this august occasion to reiterate the call to our people to_guard the_i-\202nity we have achieved and further to_reinforce it through united'struggle against the common enemy. We must continue toâ\200\231renderineffective the divisions that the racists seek to fosten through the Bantustan system, the so-ollled Trioameral Parliament and all other "separate aoveIOpment"

institutions.

For there are meetings being held today almost everywhere in the world to mark the 75th Anniversary that we have convened here to observe. From Africa to Asia, from Europe to the Americas and Australasia, the peoples have come together to reaffirm their support for our movement and our struggle, to express their support for SWAPO and the heroic people of Namibia as well as the Frontline and independent States Of Southern Africa.

Opposition to the criminal apartheid system and to demand sanctions against racist South Africa.

In the face of this invited world view, surely the time has come that the Security Council should live up to its responsibilities and decide on meaningful sanctions.

the ANC 75th Anniversary meetings address on this historic day, January 8th 1987, to that important body, the UN Security Council.

That, in any case, is the message that all

From this rostrum of the peoples of Southern Africa, we extend our warm greetings to these millions of activists against the apartheid system and the billions of people they represent.

Non-Aligned Movement and the United Nations Organisation as our reliable allies.

We greet also the anti-apartheid organisations throughout the world. and. other mass Organisations and. individuals everywhere who have joined hands with us to defeat racial tyranny in

we salute the OAU, the

Our region.

force which will liquidate the apartheid system sooner rather than

Together with all these we constitute a formidable

later.

75 years ago, African patriots travelled from this

We are especially honoured to be speaking today from this liberated African territory)

country to Bloemfontein in South Africa, there to participate in the formation of the African National Congress.

we have fought side by side to achieve the noble objective of the total liberation of our continent.

In the intervening years,

When the day of victory dawns, we will expect that once more African patriots from this country will travel to the liberated South Africa to celebrate with us a common victory that is long overdue.

On that

day, the masses of our people will have the possibility properly to acknowledge the contribution that the peoples have made to end the apartheid system.

Among the founders of the democratic South Africa,

we shall surely count such eminent Africans as our dear brothers and leaders, President Kaunda, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, Robert Mugabe, Agostinho Neto, Samora Machel, Seretse Khama and many Others.

is not far off.

That day

Freedom in our lifetime 1

Long live the 75th Anniversary Of the ANC.

Amandla ngawethu.i

Matla ke a renal

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ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT OF 1111 11x10 COMRADE OLIVER
TAMBO AT 1112 75TH ANNIVERSARY JANUARY 8111,
1/11me OF THE ANC : meme;L ZAMBIA.

1987

Comrade President, Dr Kenneth David Kaunas, 1 most eloquent exponent
and defender of the cause of liberation in South Africa and Namibia,
1n unrelenting freedom-fighter who has never abandoned the battle-front
from the day, in his youth, when he first joined the struggle, to this
very hour.

T0 dly,as the struggle against the apartheid system grows more intense
more extensive and more explosiï-\201e, President Khunda, together with his
Party UNIP and its Government and the brotherly people Of Zambia. stands
as 1 great pillar of strength for the peoples of Southern Africa; for
the people of South Africa and Namibia - a pillar that is visible from
across the continent and beyond the oceans.
tion with us today makes Jan 8,1987 â\200\224 the 75th anniversary Of the ANC,
1 truly historic ocaasion for the ANC and the peOple of South Africa'-
indeed for the peoyple of Africa. â\200\230

His preSence and participa-

Comrade Chairman,

Comrade President of UNIP and the Republic of Zambia, Dr Kenneth David
Kaunda; His Honour, the Secretary-General of UNIP, Cemrwde Grey Zulu;
The Right Honourable Prime Minster, Comrade Kehhy Mosukotwane,
Odes Members of the Central Committee of UNIP 1nd Ministers;
Dr Dalwitt, Special RepreSentative of the.Secretatny-General of the OAU;
Your Excellencies Ambassadors and High Commissioners;
Comrade Hage Geingob of SNAPO of Namibia;
Odes leaders and membersof SNAPO, the PLO, the ANC and the South African
Congress of Trade Unions;

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Comrades, Ladies lmi gentlemen

-This is for us a proud historic day, the 75th birthday of our movement,
the African National Congress.
front of our people and the international community is how soon and at
What 00st we shall sueoed to end the apartheid system and rebuild South
Africl as 1 demoorltic society.

It comes at 1 time when the issue in

The determination and the ability of our peeple to fight on until victory
clnnot be questioned.
depth of the permanent crisis confronting the apartheid system is patently
manifest.
leadership of the ANC hlve brought us to the moment when few holve the
temerity to question the certainty of our Victory.

Three quarters of 1 eentuny of unrelenting struggle under the

The jdhtice of our 0luse is unchallengeable.

The

That decision constitutes a challenge both to us and to the

It is in this situation that the National Executive Committee of our
movement, the ANC, has designated 1987 as the Year of Advance to Peepleâ\200\230s
Power.
masses of our country lotually to advance towards our~goal of the transfer
We lre confident that our peeple, their democras
of power to the people.

tic organisations, the ANC and the people's army, Ukhonto we Sizwe, will indeed live up to this challenge.

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Equally, we must continue to reject and put in their proper place those who have elected to help perpetuate the criminal apartheid system by serving in these institutions. contempt the so-called National Statutory Council which will be nothing but an ill-disguised device to give a semblance of legitimacy to the self-same apartheid system which we must destroy entirely.

We must spurn with utter

In the ANC and its allies as well as the mass democratic organisations such as the United Democratic Front, the Congress of South African Trwive Unions and the National Education Crisis Committee we have our genuine representatives, created by the people themselves for their liberation. The only meaningful negotiations would have to be carried out with these forces and other legitimate organisations of the people.

1 We also know who our leaders are.

Among them are to be found such

outstanding fighters for our liberation as Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Harry Gwala, Elias Motsoaledi, Ahmed Kathrada,

and Andrew Mlangeni, the leaders of the mass democratic movement and the Our people must

activists who are confronting the racists everyday. and will continue to rally behind these outstanding sons and daughters of our nation as well as the organisations they lead and not those whom the enemy appoints as their leaders and maintains on monthly retainers.

As a token of our resolve further to build our unity, we hereby wish to announce that our National Executive Committee has decided that, in honour of our 75th Anniversary, we shall rewelcome into our ranks those who were expelled and have now recognised their errors and wish to return to the fold. We will, accordingly, pardon some of those who were pressured and intimidated by the apartheid regime to infiltrate our movement as its secret agents, to carry out various criminal acts against our movement, the struggle and the people.

Furthermore, we have decided on an amnesty

We also take this opportunity to invite all genuine patriots who find themselves in groups that contribute nothing to the struggle, to join

the fighting echelons of our broad movement for national liberation.

Let the false prophets continue alone the worthless duplicity of claiming to be in favour of liberation while in fact spending sterile days attacking the ANC and the democratic movement of our country.

When we started off 75 years ago today, we were a movement of black oppressed masses only; a few notable exception, thought our claim to the right to self-determination both seditious and the height of impudence. Colonial governments and intellectuals inspired by notions of imperial glory spoke of the colonial domination of the Third World as the natural and permanent order of things.

At that time, the White world community, with

One of the historic achievements of our struggle is that today many of our White compatriots are reaching towards the ANC as their political home. A little more than ten years ago, the peoples of Africa in Guinea Bissau, Cape Verde, Mozambique, Angola, Sao Tome and Principe, contributed decisively to the defeat of fascism in Portugal.

liberation movement helped the white population of that country to rid itself of a self-seeking ruling group of racists and demonstrated to our Own white compatriots the depth of the anti-racist and non-racial commitment of the African Revolution.

The Zimbabwe national