

To achieve these objectives the new democratic order will necessarily

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U to 3333333 the question of the ownership? control and direction of the

economy as a whole to ensure that neither the public nor the private

3331333 serve as a 33333 of enriching the few at the expense of the majority.

The true

purpose of power to the people must therefore be accompanied by the

democratic control of the control and direction of the economy-so that indeed

the people share in the wealth of our country; for the common good

the racist in our country have been afraid of the hostility to this

democratic political and economic perspective. To our 333333 that all our

33313 must enjoy equal and inalienable human rights the freedom of

reaction 33133 the spectre of a black 33333? indeed a 333 333119 The truth is

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that these proposals and 335333333 31 white minority 3313 313 3333133 of

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STWVTEPTENT7OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE ANC  
ON THE OCCASION OF THE 75TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ANC9  
PRESENTED BY PRESIDENT OLIVER TAMBO 2 JANUARY 8, 19870

Compatriots:

Today9 January 8th, 19879 your organisation, the African National Congress  
is 75 years oldo Consequently, we are honour bound to do more than observe  
an anniversary because this is for us and for all our people a proud and  
historic Jubilee Years The situation in Southern Africa is pregnant with  
the promise of epooh~making developmentso It demands that we observe

,

this Jubilee in extramordinary ways;

As we mark Jubilee Day9 all of us know that a new spirit is abroadâ\200\234  
Something outside of our experience is approachingo 75 years of organised  
political struggle against colonial and racist oppression in our country  
have brought the oppressed and the oppressor alike very close to the  
moment of decisiOho The past cannot be remadeo The future can no longer  
be deniedÂ° Each and everyone of us9 South Africans all; has to decide  
whether we act in the present in defence of a terrible and outdated  
past or we engage in struggle for a future that we shall define

together9 as equalso

Dear friends, comrades and comeatriots:

As we begin the New Year9 we greet you all in the name of the National  
Executive Committee of your organisation; the ANCO We salute you on behalf  
of the tens of thousands who cannot be with us today becauSe they have  
perished in the struggle for freedom9 or because they have had to  
withdraw to some place9 near or far, the better to be able to continue

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to work for our liberatioho

We speak for all theses and for the entire people when we say Â» hail to  
all our heroes and heroines9 living and dead, as we bring to a close

the Year of the Peopleis Amy9 Umkhonto we Sizweo Hail to the young

lions and all the patriots who have united in combat groups and  
confronted the enemyc Hail also to the glorious people 3 army,

Umkhonto we Sizwej which has just observed its  
the solemn notes of the Last Post sound in tribute to the martyrs

25th anniversaryo Let

who have surrendered life itself in order to secure for all of us

freedosz.9 democracy and peaceo



~Nev33 again shall racism and fascism succes3fully impose themselves on the World as the natu331 03333 of things 13 033 Count3y1 The perpetrators of a c3133 3Qainst humanity no 103533 ehjey the false dignity and p31uilege bcauoweo on them asthe legitimate gove3hmeht of 033 couhIIyg Humanity ma3ches side by side with us 13 an 333 Hopaa'le advance to supp3ess

33d pun'sh tize c3133 oI apartheidg

Thleequ33t333 of 3 century of tu3bulent 33033333 313133 h3v3 brought IIIe I303t1333 of freedom to the b033333 of Ou3 comnt3y7 3333133 of u3 to

live up to our 313t0313 31331031 We must 33t our 3133 3 on victory? 3

victory that will enable Mothe3 Africa to 3330133 that 333 13 libe33ted

13 all he3 parts9 that she is 1333 31thout 3331131c3t10339 that at 1:3t

she has 3eclaimed 333 integ31ty which 333 333 not I"301m since the days when she 33CI to 33333hd33 U133 3033 and Genenter 33 333ves 533 exQOIto

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33 have reached a C31t1cal moment in 033 31

m33c3 to f3edomc Our goal

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13 in 3133t We 3113t 33333 cut for it 33 33 03333133d.9 disciplined and

conscious fQPCeo Every 33ttle Ue Iiyat must become but 3 front in a

gene3alised offensive 333133 I the 33t3eating apa3theid regimeo Eve3y demand

we put forward 13 any I3ont OI 033 3t333513 must 3elate to and focus Oh the central objective of weakening the racists? to facilitate thei3

downfall; We must9 in our millions, u31te 13 struggle and advance

tow33ds victoryo

As we ente3 the decisive period ahead of 3.; 331ftust 31H â\202-03 311d achieve

the greatest possible 30bilisation 03333133t103 and united action of

motive forces of 033 revolution: 133 333333 of the black w03ke 332 peasa

youth 333 students; 303339 p3o:I333103313 m the eht13e eppmemsgd people a cons itute

these motive fe3ce3 which must engage the enemy in 3 united and 3313 errupted

offensiveo

At the same time9 we must Lay tnr'â\200\234Tâ\200\235mbst 30331313 attention to the

mobilisation and activiseIioh.of the white population which 3heuld.fuee with

3d become 333I of the HOCivQ [03333 of the 33QCLI13 -----VOILtone Our

white compat313t< have to 13333 the

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Campatriotsz

Through our sacrificesnge have advanced close to our victoryÂ°

me

have both the will and the organised forces t0 move ever nearer to

successÂ°

The enemy of the peoples has no possibility to recapture

'the strategic initiativeo

This situation? which we ourselves have

createda demands of us that we seize the timeo

It obliges us to take

the battle to the enemy, to advanCe in the attackc

On behalf of the National Executive Committee of your movement, the

African National Congressy we proclaimzthisy our historic 75th Jubilee

Anniversary:7 the Year of Advance to Peoplets Powero

Let us all, young

and old? black and whitey political activist and armed cembatant, unite

in a concerted Offensive against the apartheid regime in the town and

the countrysideo

Let us act to cerrode the political, economic? Hdilitary

and administrative power base Of the racist regime, and thus take a

giant and strategic step forWard toWards the capture of power by the

peopleo

Score new victories during the historic Year of Advance to

PeopleÂ°s Poweri

Guarantee our victory by advancing in the attaCkE

Long live the 75th Anniversary of the ANC

Amandla'ngawethui

amatla ke a renal

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coloured or Indian, the moment When you have to Choose has come,  
'Either you tOo ge down with the doomed apartheid system.or you live  
on, a hero or heroine among your peopley a proud combatant for the  
assured democratic victory, never again to carry the lifetime badge  
of shame of a traitor and a sellout

The blood of the oppressed should

no longer stain your hands°

"Comrades and compatriots:

we must move forward towards victoryo

iherefore we have to take the

war to the enemy°

we.must attack the forces of apartheid in the areas

where their power is concentratedy striking powerful blows at the enemy's  
military? economic and aĩ-\20lministrative structures and resources;

All

the revolutionary work we do should be directed to ensure that we utilise  
the strength we have accumulated to carry out this strategic offensive  
in a determined manner? on a nationdwide basiso

we must create the

situation when the enemy will no longer have the possibility to withstand  
our assaulto

The nature of the tasks we have to carry out imposes speoial obligations  
on the underground structures of the ANC and on Umkhonto we.Sizwe.

In the 75 years of its fighting existence; our movement has established  
itsâ\200\230place as the force that has ?ed the people as a whole Under widely  
â\200\230 different conditions but always correctly and consistently, towards  
final Victory°

In the new situation? with the new tasks ahead of us,

we are certain that your movement? the ANC, will live up to its  
responsibilities.

And so will your army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, whose 25th Anniversary we  
have just obServedc

The objective to transform our armed offensive

into a people's war remains one that we must pursue with the greatest

vigouro



This is especially important in the light of the strategic

tasks that we have just been discussing

Our mass military offensive

must aim to increase the number of casualties among the enemy's armed forces, to disperse and reduce these forces, make it increasingly impossible for them to defend themselves and undermine the material-economic base which enables the apartheid regime to maintain itself in power

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ComPadw and fellow freed0111 flghtbf

As we have PlPPde said? W3 must unite in stPu3glP Phd t0Âf0t1â\202~?rdvanc towans victo; 0 One of the pPincipPl tasks we face in this PPgPPd is that we should continue and .SC31aEL our ollvgive to msh the 0P3Phs power and constPuct 0P3Pns of people?s pOWCP lh thP'P placeo OuP objc=ctivc's must be t0 CPePtP mass Pevolutionan bases in all black PPPPP thlou3h0lt the counth Pnd\_to mount P stPPte3ic offcns VP against the enemy in its

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It is also vital that each mPfs Pevolut onaPy bPPe must hP IQ. its com at forces which will act both to defend the people and to mount PP\_ed attacks against the enemy beyond the ggunPPPP Pd throughout the comthe :Lhese forces9 0P3PnlÂ°30 ln and under Unkhontc PP 3-lsz9 311st hPCPPPPPiily be hPsed among the people and GP:Pun fPom the people tho1 Plvaso Trey must he inPPiPPd by

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Our white compatriots should thus join the majority of our people to render unworkable the apartheid organs of government within the white areas themselves

Manoeuvres such as those represented by the new styled Provincial Councils? the Regional Service Councils and the so called Natal Indaba are nothing but manoeuvres

All white patriots have a responsibility to participate in the concerted attack against the sensitive points of the apartheid system in the towns and cities

These fellow

I South Africans know that, in the face of the undisguised dictatorship exercised through such agencies as the State Security Council and the Joint Management Centres they have no "democracy" to defend but an actual military tyranny to overthrow

we take this opportunity to salute the white youth who have continued to wage a very important struggle against compulsory service in the racist army of repression and aggression

It is vital that this campaign should continue and grow? to deny the oppressors the war machine through which they wish to reduce our country and region into a wasteland. We must also continue to work to win over to the side of democracy as many of the enemy soldiers as possible

Compatriots:

In your name" we salute the nations and the peoples of the world who have over the years and especially in the recent past, responded so well to our appeals to isolate apartheid South Africa and to render all-round assistance to the ANC and the rest of the democratic movement of our country

As we mark our 75th Anniversary? we can truly say that we have broken through a critical barrier in terms both of world understanding of what is to be done about the apartheid system and the unwillingness of the international community to act

The conditions therefore exist



that in the current period? this community should impose both unilateral  
and universal comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against racist  
South Africao

Where governments refuse to act, the public at large  
should respond: with people's sanctions  
It is the moment for deeds  
and not words°

We must unite all these forces9 both blackand white9 around the democra tic perspectives for which so many people have already laid down their livesc  
Once more we reeffirm that lh the new South Africa? the people l all the people m shall govehho We shall, togethex, translate that fundamental democratic principle into the practice whereby each person shall have the hi3ht both to vote and to be voted to any elective 0333h in the new united and honuracial South Africao

.â\200\230tor us, it is of especial importance that that hew.reality should reinforce and entrench what we are accomplishing how? in stru33le 1.the huildin3 of  
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a nation of South Africahso It must 3

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and enehce our Oheheasn breaking

down the terrible and destructive idea and practice of definiz3 our people by race? colour or ethnic groupo The revolution will 3uarahtee ttle individual and equal ri3hts of all South Africahs without regard to any of these categories, and include such freedoms as those of speech, assembly?

associationS lah3ua339 11311310119 the press9 the inviolability of family life ahd freedom from arbitrary arrest and detention without trialt Fore all this9 the victorious revolution demands and must ensure thorough3oih3 democratic practiceo

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For its own success; it imposes the obli3ation that all should be free to form and join any party of their choice9 with011tl

or hindÂ¥ahcel But as

a.people and a movement? we must state it clealWl that eenocmetv in our countl~y cannot succeed if it permith the ownehined plop33atiOh 30f ideas of i~\201es cism, racism and ethnicityo Apart from our own experie ceg we cannot? in the name 01 (13111031311139 tolerate the organised suStehahce of conceptions which led to the Second Worlï~\201 War and which have since been cate3orihed and dealth with as a crime against humanityo

Of central importance also is ttle critical requirement that\_the HGWâ\200\230SOUE  
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Africa 311st 3uehantee the 333333 of our people freedom from hunger; diseae9 i3norance homel essness and povertyâ\200\235 The

emocratic state will be

representative of all the people of our country and especially the ordinary working people who own neither land nor factories and neither the mines nor the banks it will therefore be called upon to ensure that the wealth of the country increases significantly and continuously and that it is shared equitably by all the people to ensure their material and spiritual upliftment and well-being

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The conflict in our country has been long and bitter; it has claimed too many lives already. While for us, the numbers of those killed emphasises the urgency of bringing the confrontation to an end; our enemy calculates its strength and degree of success by the numbers of those it murders and massacres.

The violence that our colonial and racist rulers have inflicted on us has never succeeded to force us to surrender our resolve to free ourselves. The need for us to take up arms will never transform us into prisoners of the idea of violence, slaves to the goddess of war.

And yet, if the opponents of democracy have their way, we will have to wade through rivers of blood to reach our goal of liberty, justice and peace. Of this they boast with the exaggerated greed of a manic killer. Despite these boasts, we shall fight on until the democratic revolution triumphs, whatever the cost to ourselves.

As we mark the 75th Anniversary of our movement, we reiterate our commitment to seize any opportunity that they arise, to participate in a negotiated resolution of the conflict in our country. This we would do in the interests of the masses of our people and those of Southern Africa as a whole, with the specific aim of creating a democratic, non-racial and united South Africa. Let those in our country who, in the face of our mounting offensive, have started talking about negotiations, commit themselves publicly to this perspective. In addition, and of decisive importance, they must demonstrate by practical deeds their commitment to this objective as well as their acceptance of a rapid and irreversible process leading to the emergence of such a South African society.

Those to whom we address this message as well as their friends and allies internationally, know exactly what they have to do. They know the practical steps they are obliged to take for the masses of our people and the world community to accept them as a political solution that has abandoned the doomed concept and practice of white minority rule in all its guises in a grouping, with whom it would be impossible, and indeed necessary, to negotiate.)

Compathiots>

(Hlthe objective for which our forebears established the ANC, the total liberation of our contineht still awaits its accomplishmento We are called upon to build upon what the heoples of Africa have eellievecâ\200\230:9 among them ourselves What then is to be done?

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In the process of this we must ensure that we build up our combat forces truly into a people's army in its national and social composition, in its size, effectiveness and the nature of its organisation.

It must

1. Continue to distinguish itself from the apartheid death forces by the bravery of its combatants, its devotion to the cause of liberation and peace and its refusal to act against civilians, both black and white.

But the people's army Umkhonto we Sizwe, in all its elements, act and act boldly against the apartheid enemy and create the conditions when our superior forces will finally overrun and overthrow the apartheid regime of terror.

Compatriots;

Our country is steeped in the worst crisis ever.

The apartheid regime,

and solely this regime is responsible for this situation.

The crisis

will not end until the racist regime is removed from power and replaced by a government elected by all our people.

The white population of

our country from whom the apartheid regime claims to derive its authority, has a heavy responsibility to join the majority to bring about this result.

We have been encouraged in the recent past by positions taken by important sections of the white community to break out of the stranglehold of the ideology and practice of white supremacy.

The trade unionists,

students, business people, religious leaders, women, politicians, academics and others who have begun to make this movement forward will need to move faster and further than they have.

The rapidly worsening crisis

situation in our country demands this.

. It demands that our white Compatriots should make a clean break with the past and themselves declare war on racism as the enemy of all the people of our country.

It requires that they unequivocally reject  
the ruling group as unrepresentative of them, a cabal whose only interest  
is to continue to rule without regard to how many of our people, both  
black and white, have to die in the process

Their call of the day  
is that both black and white should come together in a massive democratic  
coalition to oppose the racists and to struggle side by side, as equals,  
for the birth of the new South Africa

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of activity Of those gPOUpS that it rearvitcĩ¬\201 from 33035 the black people

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The revolutionary vessels therefore expect of our womenfoligmiraculous deeds which will help simultaneously to liberate our people in their entirety and to emancipate the women themselves°

For us, the true representatives of our women are such giants as Queen Regent~Labotsibenip-Charlotte Maxeke, Olive Schreiner, Lilian Ngoyi; Ida Mntwana, Victoria ngRenge, NomkhOSi Mini? Thandi Modise, Theresa-Ramashamola\_and Marion Sparg.

We call on the women of our country to reproduce themselves in the mould of these heroinesg to build and strengthen their democratic organisations and to raise the level of participation of the millions of our women in the struggle for our liberation°

Black mothers have to live with the agony of having to bury their children every day°

Too often they have to search for their sons and daughters who have perhaps been arrested or perhaps disappeared forever without traceo

Across the barricades, the white nethers see their children transformed and perverted into mindless killers who will not stop at nmrdering the black unarmed, hut willsxmibrturn their guns on the very mothers who tcday surrender their sons willingly or unwillingly to the South African death forceâ\200\234

These black and white mothers must reach across the divide created by the common enemy of our people and .form.a human chain to stopp now and forever, the murderous rampage of the apartheid systemo

The enermity of the crime of apartheid and the physical threat it poses to the lives of millions of people throughout our region, demands of our religious community that its ihetitutionszmuat at last transcend their temporal limitationsâ\200\235

The evil which holds us in bondage will neither be wished away, nor talked or shamed out of existence°

For the religious institutions truly to honour their sacred missionp must surely'mean' that they act nowy together with the democratic forces of our counti y to vanquish this evilc



Let it never be said that when

the moment of truth came those who had the possibility to lead their fellow worshippers into action; failed to do so and thus negated the very essence of their calling

Once more, we make an appeal to those among the black people who find themselves in the service of the enemy of all the people of our country to turn their backs on the oppressor

Whatever you are paid to do,

soldier or policeman, clerical worker or administrator of some ethnic

or racial institution so-called moderate or vigilante; African, so-called

These are the guidelines that must instruct our behaviour over such questions as the people's courts and the education crisis

Muth regard

to this crisis, we have to proceed from the position that this is a national issue requiring the united action of the students, teachers and parents indeed the united attention of the entire revolutionary movement.

Any action we take must represent the united view of all these forces democratically arrived at

And we must proceed from

the position that our task is to win a revolution

The school, the college; the university is for us more than a place for formal education

It is also our assembly point, the location

at which we marshal our forces; organise them and take the opportunity to give the order of the day

we must fight the enemy for the right

to be at our respective institutions of learning,

within which we

should build and organise our democratic structures and within which we should

introduce the system of people's education which is a decisive element in the future of our country and people

Thus returning to school must therefore be seen as a revolutionary act which puts us in a better position further to advance

the struggle for a

people's education in a society in which we, the people, shall govern

How difficult this struggle is is of course emphasised by the fact

that, as everywhere else in the world we have heavily armed soldiers

and police inside and outside our classrooms trying to deny us the

right to learn and teach and attempting to impose on us a surrender

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WE; Will Do it: we can

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The mothers of the nation; the wemehfoik as a wholep are the titans  
of our struggleo

The nppressors and the exploiters see in black wemanhood  
nothing but the calloused hanis 0f the washerwomahp the cleaner, the  
agricultural and factory werker:

their white sisters are themselves

domesticated possessions kept as objects for reproductiono

Our revolutionary

movement has long recognised theatact that an tppressive social order  
such as ours could not but enslave women in a particularly brutal wayo

One of the greziest prizes of the

emocratic revolution must therefore

be the unshackling of the womenâ\200\234

-12....

These enemy activities once more emphasise the strategic importance of the unity of the black masses, the principal motive force of our revolution.

As we mark our 75th Anniversary, we must draw attention to the decisive importance of ensuring the conscious and unbreakable unity of the struggling people.

we have to achieve the broadest possible political and organisational unity between the workers and the students, the women and the youth, the urban and the rural masses, the old and the young; African, so-called Coloured and Indian.

No elements frontloading ourselves should seek to impose their views on others.

we should rely on political

work to organise and mobilise the masses of the people into united action.

In this way, we will ensure that we defeat the enemy's efforts to divide us and frustrate our advance towards victory.

We need that unity within the mass democratic movement itself.

This

movement has grown in struggle into a formidable force.

It is the

pride of our people.

These masses expect correctly that it will continue

to carry out its tasks as we march to victory.

For this to happen,

the mass democratic movement needs to maintain and enhance its own unity around a democratically agreed programme of action with clearly set tactical and strategic objectives.

we should therefore take all necessary measures to entrench, within the ranks of the mass democratic movement, the depth of unity which our movement has worked for for three-quarters of a century.

We must

combat all manifestations of factionalism, revolutionary arrogance and individualism,

At a time when the enemy is working to hit back

and crush us, any disunity among our ranks can only serve the interests of the forces of reaction.

Comrades and compatriots:

In this coming period, the revolutionary contribution of the working class to the common struggle will be of even greater importance than in the past.

The workers will have to raise their level of participation in all spheres of our struggle, at the workplace and in the community, in the political as in the military confrontation." The better to be able to carry out these tasks, we must work hard further to build and strengthen the democratic trade union movement.

The

-20....

One of our greatest achievements? dear compatriots? is that we, the oppressed? have succeeded to build an indestructible system of international relations between our people and those of the rest of the world

It is a system of relations based on the noblest of human aspirations: a world of peace, friendship and cooperation among free peoples

It is an element in a new world order which shines as a beacon on a mountain top

In its permanent light all can see clearly the nasty brutishness of the external relations which our Oppressors have sought to maintain - relations based on racial superiority and domination, aggression, war and murder, underhanded dealings and the perpetual lie?

The hour

has come when the world, especially the US; the UK; the FRG; France and other major western powers must finally say no longer will they associate themselves with and encourage the pursuit of such relations and the commission of these crimes

Surely the time is upon us when

the democratic movement of our country should everywhere take its place as the rightful representative of our people

The peoples of Southern Africa are locked in the final stages of mortal combat with our common enemy

Our action? our region is doing what

it can and must to realise without further delay the hopes and the aspirations of the patriots and the masses who established the ANC

75 years ago

The sacrifices the peoples of Southern Africa are willing to make for liberation, justice and peace are truly inspiring. More than ever the international community should give all out support to all the peoples of our region as part of the world offensive against the apartheid system

It is equally imperative that the democratic forces of our country should themselves mount a vigorous campaign against

the wanton acts of aggression committed by the Pretoria rulers against  
the neighbouring countriesâ\200\235

The late President of the People's Republic of Mozambique? Samora Moises  
Machel and others who have been murdered by the Pretoria regime and  
its agents,-will forever remain examples Of that steadfast refusal  
of the peoples of our region to surrender to racial and colonial domination?  
fascist tyranny and state terrorism, .Ssmora Machel was a towering  
giant of the African Revolutiono  
?e dedicated his life to our own  
liberationo

His ideas ahÃ© his heeÃ©s are a material force in the struggle

taken a deep and permanent hold. The house of iniquity which the racists constructed is disintegrating and crumbling into a heap of rubble. This historic development demands that we end the risen masses must deliver hammer blow after hammer blow until the entire apartheid edifice is completely demolished.

Compatriots:

The apartheid regime of terror has lost political control over the overwhelming majority of the black masses of our country. These masses do not accept the authority and the legitimacy of the white minority regime; The people correctly recognise all the policies of the racist regime as efforts to defend and consolidate the apartheid system, whatever the guise in which the Pretoria regime might present these policies.

The masses of our people have been inspired enormously by the ideas and the perspective of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa. It is in the realisation of this perspective that they see the fulfilment of their deepest aspiration.

Genuinely motivated by these considerations, they are taking their destiny into their own hands by engaging the enemy in struggle in their millions. For this same reason, the people have daily been expressing their allegiance to the premier instrument of liberation they have created, the African National Congress, the democratic parliament of the people of South Africa. Hence they are also part of the mass democratic forces of our country and welcome our democratic organisations as among their true representatives.

Comrades and fellow freedom fighters:

In many parts of our country, you have given concrete form to that emerging alternative power by destroying the enemy's structures of government and setting up organs of people's power. The gains we have made in this

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regard, have meant that the apartheid regime has lost its administrative control over us in many areas of South Africa. This is a development of immeasurable historical importance for the success of our revolutionary struggle. It has laid the basis for us to make a decisive advance towards our common goal.





We have in previous years spoken of mass revolutionary bases as a very important and central element in our strategic outlook. Our success in destroying the enemy's administrative control over large areas of our country constitutes a high point in the struggle for the emergence of these bases. The enemy realises that its loss of control spells doom for the apartheid systems. That is why it has had to resort to military control. The imposition of a national state of emergency? halfway through the Year of the People's Army and later, the proclamation of the edict turning the press into a voiceless irrelevance were elements of the programme to impose military control on the people, re rule by martial law.

This was part of the process which has already resulted among other things in the establishment of the so-called State Security Council, the use of the army in the countryside, the black urban townships as well as the schools and the creation of what the enemy calls Joint Management Centres. There is today hardly a country in the world that has to hear the level of militarisation the apartheid regime has imposed on our society.

We have obliged the enemy to fall back on its instrument of last resort, military dictatorship. Through struggle we have forced the enemy to admit openly, and in practice, that finally its authority derives from the force of arms.

Fellow citizens:

Part of our movement towards our democratic goal is represented by the fact that the noble vision of 1912 is also penetrating among our white compatriots. Increasing numbers among these are coming to realise that their security and their legitimate hopes for a happy future rest in the emergence of a democratic South Africa. The idea that social and political relations in our Country must be defined according to ethnic and racial groups, with the white in dominant positions, can no longer be sustained. If anything is outdated, it is precisely that idea.

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for our emancipation

The blood he shed on our soil is and will forever

be a fountain of freedom for all our people

On this historic day

We make an undertaking to the brother people of Mozambique and our

entire region that at Mbuzini, where the fellow-combatant Samora

Machel lost his life, we shall erect a monument that will symbolise

the common suffering of the people of Southern Africa, a tribute to

their heroism and a solemn affirmation that we share a common destiny

of liberty, peace and social progress

we extend our fraternal greetings to the brother people of Namibia and

their vanguard organisation SWAPO

Our movements have the common

obligation to lead our respective peoples in the confrontation with

the last bastion of racist tyranny on our continent

The historic

advances made by our Namibian comrades in arms are a factor of decisive

importance to our struggle

we too must contribute to the just cause

of the Namibian people by intensifying our offensive in our sector

of struggle

Together we will win

In a similar manner we greet

also our allies in the struggle the PLO, the Polisario Front the

Farabundo Marti Liberation Front the Fretilin their respective peoples

and others who are fighting for their genuine national emancipation

and the consolidation of their independence

we salute the CAD and the people of Africa; the Non-Aligned Movement

our friends in the world socialist community; in the Nordic and other

European countries and in North America

we greet also our allies

in the world anti-apartheid as well as the peace movement

Together

with all these forces we shall advance inexorably towards victory

Many of our leaders have been held hostage by the apartheid regime

for almost a quarter of a century now;

Since they were captured and

illegally imprisoned, they have been joined by thousands of others, young and old, women and men? patriots drawn from all the racial groups in our country as well as some internationalists originating from other countries.

The continued imprisonment of all these is a grievous offence against justice? an intolerable Challenge to all who love freedom, we all must strive harder to secure their immediate and unconditional release so that they can make what will be an inestimable contribution to the liberation and the reconstruction of our country

unorganised workers must be drawn into the trade union movement and all the organised should unite under the umbrella of COSATU.

As we

-have said in the past, we do not believe there can be any obstacles so formidable that they can act as a barrier blocking any democratic union from joining COSATU.

We salute the workers of our country especially for the outstanding struggles they waged in the past year, among others, the May Day and Youth Day general strikes and the campaigns for the release of political prisoners and detainees.

These actions confirmed the political maturity and the leading role of the workers.

We must build on these gains,

emphasising the unity of the working class, its forward role in our struggle and the need for it consciously to make the necessary sacrifices to secure the liberation of our people as a whole.

The rural masses have taken important strides to organise themselves. The level of mobilisation and the extent of revolutionary activity that these heroic fighters have attained is one of the most important achievements of our broad movement for national liberation in the recent past.

We should never forget that our people in the countryside were the first this century, to raise the banner of armed rebellion - during the Bambatha Uprising and later in Pondoland, the Transvaal and elsewhere.

At the founding conference of our movement 75 years ago, they were represented by those traditional rulers who enjoyed their confidence because they had not yet been corrupted, as some are, by the monthly salaries that the apartheid regime now hands out to administrators of the Bantustan system.

Today, these masses are representing themselves in the common struggle through their own activity.

We must reinforce

this development to ensure that the rural areas are organised and further activated, as in KwaNdebele and Lebowa, to enable them to clear the countryside of all apartheid institutions of power, including the Bantustans, to join the armed struggle and to repossess the land as part of our nationwide advance towards victory.

Our glorious youth and students have continued to hold high the banner of struggle,

To them we extend the warmest tribute and the revolutionary

adndration of our entire people.

Because they have dared to fight

for and bring our emancipation so near, our youth have become eminent'

targets of the enemy's forces of repression.

we must wage an unrelenting

campaign and demand of the apartheid regime to "Let our children go!"

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.For the battles ahead, the mass organisations of the youth must be strengthened, from the base upwards, from local units to national structures. Of major importance is the need continuously to attenĩ-\202 to the issue of raising the calibre of the leadership of the youth, to impart to them.the skills that are necessary for them to carry out their tasks as the shock troops of the revolution.

It is also Vital that we further reinforce the unity of\_the blaek youth as a whole and strengthen the integration of the youth struggles within the broad democratic.movement. To the youth,the young lions of our reyolutionaxy struggle? we address a Special word.\_ Dear comrades, you who have paid such a high price to bring us to where we are today; have a responsibility to fight on with the same boldnessy bravery and determination that you have shownÂ° YOu are right to be impatient for victoryo

You are justified to seek that all those who share a common interest in liberation, should act with the same tenacity that you have displayedo

YOu are correct to demand victory nowo

ĩ-\202he victory we seek is one that will he brought about by our people as a whole, in the interests of the entire people.

In part, you must therefore act as the yeast, to energise and dynanuse the people as a whole anÃ© act together with, and h t separate fram theme

YOu must act as a disciplined revolutionaxy force which can move ahead, if needs be, but is, at the same timep committed to the strategic and tactical perspective of united mass action, as distinct fronlnilitant but uncoordinattâ\200\234 actions by different groups, at different times and places. Therefore you have a responsibility to seek unity and to work for

unityâ\200\235: You must be the beet representatives of democratic practice  
withinyour own organisations and in the mass movement at large.

we

are fighting to have a people's government, elected by and accountable  
to the peopleÂ°

Our organisations must assume the same charactero

In our conduct, we must never seem to be acting contrary to the under-  
standing of what the masses of the people see as their interestso



The architects of the divisions, the privileges, the conflicts and the antagonisms of racism and apartheid, find themselves confronted with the reality that those whom this system has benefitted for so long, have lost and are losing faith and confidence in its viability. Many of our white compatriots are feeling their way towards acceptance of the inevitability of the establishment of the non-racial order for which the majority of our people have fought for 75 years.

The organisers of the empire of racism know that what they consider their natural constituency is bound to eventually challenge the very reasons for the existence of the party of racism and fascism. The knowledge that they can no longer count on the unity of the white n.f.

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population and its attachment to the ideas and the practice of white domination have given birth to deep-seated tears among the captains of the apartheid system.

They are terrified at the prospect of the black and white masses of our country coming together to say as equals, comrades and patriots, act as one, to bring the apartheid system to an end and foster the birth of a new South Africa. As surely as the regime of terror has lost its political control over the black masses, so also is it set to lose political control over the white population. The day of the new Voortrekkers has come.

Comrade:

For too many a long year, racism and fascism in our country have presented themselves to the world at large as the epitome of evil, in our region and in Africa. The most brutal reaction in the history of the less produced text after text to convince ourselves that these colonial epoch

who have perished in the struggle for human decency were but a few: Seeking individuals of no consequence.

On the other hand, the oppressors have strutted the globe, seeking to get racial domination; murder and genocide approved as human advancement. We who have struggled for 75 years, and more, to assert that all our people, both black and white, have a common right to life, liberty and happiness, have had to justify our existence and our cause. But we can be proud that, in the end, the truth has triumphed.



On this day, we salute also the fathers of our movement the peoples of Southern Africa as a whole who set up the ANC their instrument to secure our emancipation to contribute to the liberation of Africa in its entirety Tanzania South Africans Mozambicans and Namibians Angolans Zimbabweans Zimbabwians and Basotho Swazis and Basotho have since constituted the bedrock on which our movement has grown from strength to strength. This, then, is Jubilee Day for all the embattled peoples of our region who have combined they did 75 years ago to confront the iniquitous system of apartheid colonial and racist domination in unity.

This great 31st January 8th, stands at the waters head in the confrontation between liberty and bondage in our country our region and our continent. To celebrate it must mean that we must fight against the Pretoria regime to bring nearer the victory of the cause of all progressive humanity namely the liquidation of the crime of apartheid and the total liberation of our continent.

Our country cries out for freedom. Our region demands liberation and peace. The continent calls for justice and human dignity while humanity commands that liberty to all must reign supreme, No force however well armed however stubborn and whatever its opinion of itself can withstand the united might of these billions of people.

When the successors and the offspring of the Nazis took the reigns of racist power yet next year they would like their predecessors that they had established fascist dominion which would

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last a thousand years.

By our action, we must and will ensure that the apartheid republic is as just

short-lived as its founders were shortsighted. The arrogantly racist architects of the apartheid system thought the oppressed are not sufficiently human to rebel against the inhuman system they have imposed on our country. They thought the Subcontinent could and would be kept in their place by brute force. By rising up in favour of justice we have turned these maniacal dreams into a nightmare.

The noble vision of 1912 has become a formidable force before which the

betrayal of 1910 and the crime of 1933 can no longer hold its own. The  
process of the emergence of a new alternative power in our country has  
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