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' ' HaLuizai Ja nary BL 1987

Jacob Zuma,

Member ml 1..he Nat imha.l EMULUtLVG Cmmmit.tee

and Chief Repng EhtattLVE uf the QNC in Maputo.

5EVQth fivw yaara ago today w an January 8 1912 m a few hundrad
Of tha mmgt prmmihent \$igurm\$ ammg the Dppweggwd paupla 0l Our
country assmmhlmd in Bloemfmhtein t0 Farm the Afriman National
thgrega. Bur mmvament'g fauhdihg CQHQFEEEE tmok place twu yearg
after tha eatahlishment of the Uniwn of Suuth Q4rica, which
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hiatal and the twm :mnqumrmd Buar republics 0F the Trahavaal and
tha Orahge Frae State" Th9 Eritigh hct Cf Parliamant which
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Bur people and canceled righta ml gel? gmverhment exclusively t0
tha white mihurity. The majority ramainad, a5 thay had been gimme
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Prime Minister Laibe Bethu published the Land Bill, dividing land ownership on a racial basis. In this context, the Founders of our great movement sought to organize our people to struggle for the right to govern themselves and to live as free and equal men and women in a society free of racial discrimination. And despite the retort that since the regime of P.N.Bethu, our people still do not enjoy these basic and fundamental rights. The majority of our people continue to be excluded from any effective participation in the government of their country, and the Bethu regime has shown repeatedly that it is all at its so-called "retort" as an alternative to, not a step towards, conceding equal political rights to all citizens. The land remains divided on a racial basis, with the white minority enjoying exclusive access to the vast majority of the best land. P.N.Bethu is on record as saying that there will be no ending to racial zoning as long as he remains in charge of the country.

In celebrating the birthday of our movement today, we are proud of our place in history as the oldest political movement in Africa. We take pride in the fact that our movement has for three quarters of a century faithfully represented the democratic ideals and aspirations of our people in the face of bitter and determined intransigence on the part of our ruthless oppressors. For nearly 27 years our movement has existed under conditions of illegality. This year will mark the 25th anniversary of the incarceration in the regime's prisons of Comrade Nelson Mandela and other leaders. Over the years hundreds and thousands of Bur

mambura and supporters have been tortured, kidnapped, mangled and subjected to every kind of intimidation. Yet despite all this we are able to commemorate today not just the fact that we have survived, but also that we have grown. The Q\$rican National Congress 15 today the acknowledged leader of all patriotic anti-apartheid forces inside South Africa. A few years ago, the hegemony then Minister in Charge of the police, lamented the fact that "The ANC is everywhere". If recent arrests are to be believed there are even QNC bagas inside the regime's own army and police #QrCE" Internationally, we are acclaimed throughout the world and VGCDgHiED, even by those who do not welcome the fact that force which cannot be ignored.

Unlike the regime which lives by terror and deception the Casapirs, Hippas, vigilantes and death squads find its survival, we live by the support of the people and by the democratic aspirations and ideals of our people, which we represent. It is this which has enabled us to survive the regime's onslaught. It is this which has enabled us to decisively change the strategic balance of forces in our favour. Today whatever short-term tactical gains the regime might think it can make through intensified repression at home or aggression against neighbouring states, the fact remains that it has lost the strategic initiative. Every act of terrorism and intimidation which the racists undertake makes our people and those of neighbouring states hate them all the more. Every murder, kidnapping, and act of sabotage they carry out increases their isolation and reduces what little legitimacy they might claim. That is why they have

gund it heumgsary ta try tn \$tmp the mutgide wmrld knowing what is guing an, by preventing any veraion mf mvemta ether than that mahutactured in their own Bureau Of Disin\$mrmatimn \$r0m being published.

In prmpmging thw tDaEt t0 the #NC here in Maputm, we are also cmmmemorating the daep tiea 04 culture and higtory which bind the Mozambican and Smuth erican peoples. we are linked bath by a cammmn Suffaring and a commmn higtory Of Etruggle. For more than a century many thouaamdg uf Mozambican migrant wmrkerg have baen aubjected tn the same conditiona 9F exploitatinn and oppregaion a3 Our own working people. Ma wave been influenced and ihspired by each other's struggles. Raul Hwnwana'a memoirs show that the QNC was preaent in the 19335 and iWEQg in tha then Laurencm Marquas. Eduardm Mundlane \$tudied at the Univergity 0% the Witwatersrand at tha game time aa Nelgmn Mandela and Oliver Tambn. Samara Machal made him way through South Africa tn join Frelimo in Tanzania with ANS help. 'There hava alga been many magma whare Mozambicans resident in South ##rica have participated in mur strugglw. The cage 0\$ ngeph Mdluli whm wag tmrturad to dmath in 1976 immediately apringa tm mind"

Moreover, Mozambiqm&ts indapendemce wag a great imgpiratimn tm UHF people" Many ymung Machelg were burn in Suuth Africa 1H 19?Sn Tuday "viva" and "a luta continua have become part. 0% thm vmcahulawy 0% Smuth African ?reedam Fighters. The Hazambicah amd Angmlah rmvmlutimhw livm mn apmntanemualy in thw heawtg and mihdg m? mur struggling panple.

Thig i3 the Firgt QNC functiwn 1h Maputm EiHH& the tragic death

mt Cmmradm Prmaidant .ammra Hachwl\$ and it 1% fitting tm V&COFH
the pratmuhd Shack and garrrw which DUF phmmle \$\$lt at tha 1055
of thia grmat \$QH mt Mfrima" In hia awn mmahage 0h thig mucagiah
04 our 75th QHHivargary, Comrade PFEEidEht Oliver Tambm hag gaid,
and I quote:

"The lath Pragidwnt 0t tha Weuplw'g Hepublit Dt Moxambique,
Eamora Mmigea Machal and others whD have been murdered by the
Pretmria regimg and it% agehta, will fmrever remain xampleg
3% that steadtaat refusal of the peopleg of the ragon t0
EUVVEHGEV ta racial and cmlmnial domination, #aacist tyranny
and Estate terrorigm. Samara Machel wag a tawering giant at the
htricah Revolution. Hm dedicated hiB lite to tour Own
liberation" His ideas and deeds are a materia force in the
\$truggle tar DUV emancipatimn. The blond he Ehed 0h mur \$011
i5 and will torwver be a tmuntaih 0f #reedom Far all Our
pemplau Uh thia hiaturic day we make an undertaking to the
brmthar pemple 0% Mozambique and our entire regimn that, at
Mhuzihia where the twllow combatant, Samora Machel lost his
life, we shall erwct a monument that will symbulism the cumman
suftaring of the pmaple 0% Bouthern Africa, a tribute to thair
heroism and a 5019mm affirmatimn that we Share a commun
deatiyh at liberty, peace and sacial prmgress".
Samara Maahal will live an in the memorieg of our people both as
an example to mg and as a symbml 04 the common destiny ahared by
our pemplesu

We are acutely aware that the same regime which 15 impriauning,
torturing and killing Bur pemple at home, is 3150 engaged in an
aggreaaive aaaault mm the independent atatwa of our region. ItB
repreeaimn at home and ita regiwnal degtabilisation are the two
aidms 0F the game cmin m the chrrancy at a pwlitically bankrupt
regime which haw n0 mther means 04 hanging on t0 pmweru Same mf
the tacticg whiuh the ragime develops an the heme frant against
Qur paopla later find their way intm itg arsenal Dt regional
degtabiliaation meagurea; and some 04 the tacticg develmpwd in
the regimn are later deplmyed againgt DUF pemple at hame. The
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bandit gangav thw mmabutho, witdmekhe, recce commandma 0r death Squadg all have a cmmmon origin and direction.

Na d0 hat DFETeHD that the period between now and the day when the liberatiwn flag 15 hmiated in a free Smuth Africa will ha an eaay one tor the peopleg at the Southern Qtrican raglan. The enemy in its increagihg dagperatimh will dnntinua to try tm uport the eitecta 0% the deepening domeatic crigia of the apartheid Bystem tn the countries of the region. Unable to cwntain tha people'a Etruggle, despite the dracuniah emergency meaaurea, the regime is resurrecting its old ngeyman w the "ANC presence" in neighbmurihg Etatea. It is accusing thsse mythical ampermen Qt gmmehow being rwspongible tar every act Of atruggle carried out by Qur militants inside the country. And it 15 using thage allagatiohg a9 a means OF. increasing preaaure against regihnal atatesn Qt the game time the regime has made it claar that it will regpmnd t0 our call to the international community to impuse 5amction5 On the apartheid regime, with SD_Called "countar sanctiune" mwaaures diracted at neighbouring \$tates. Na khow it will be a tdugh and demanding time tar all at us w a time which will dhmand trankneag and a willingnesa t0 appreciatw each mther'a prblemE.

However, we are alga aware that bitter -Hperience has BhDWH that there will be hm lasting peace in the region as long as apartheid amntinues t0 exigt. We do not pretend that muw own liberatimn will autumatically resolve all the deep seated problems 0% economic develmpment in Southern africa. But we do gay that it is

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a new gateway to the continent. It is only through the maturation of a Free and democratic South Africa that the conditions for peace in the region will be created. and it is only a Free and democratic South Africa, born in part through the support and solidarity we have received from the regional states, which will have the sensitivity and will to negotiate on the basis of equality and mutual respect with the SADC countries. We look forward to the day when we can participate as an equal partner with our neighbours in the task of building a new mutually beneficial economic order in the sub continent we share. We look forward to the day when we will be able to invite the President of the People's Republic of Mozambique on a state visit to our country. And we look forward, in the not too distant future, to celebrating the anniversary of the founding of our movement in our own country as free people living in a democratic society. On this historic day we pledge that we will continue to engage the enemy with ever more determination until at last we emerge triumphant and rid our country, our region and the world of the scourge of apartheid.

Nelson Mandela,

He Luta Continua,

Victory is Certain !