



On the occasion of his 70th birthday, President Tambo is awarded the Grand Companion of Freedom (First Division) by President Kaunda of Zambia (above) and the Order of Friendship by Czechoslovakian President Gustav Husak (below)



Your Excollencies, Comrades in arms, Dear Friends, All the people of our beloved country, To ANC members everywhere,

I am overwhelmed by the warmth of yar tributes to me on the occasion of my Toth birthday, and wish to express my deep appreciation. Some of these tributes are contained in the following pages.

I cherish the honours awarded me by the International Community, for they are in fact a tribute to the heroic people of South Africa. The fact that birthday greatings came from many corners of the globe indicates the breadth and depth of anti-apartheid sentiment. That so many of you saw fit to great me on this occasion gives us strength for we know we are not alone in our fight to rid the world of a sawrge against humanity.

I take pride in the loyalty and unity of purpose expressed by ANC members wherever they are based. Inside our country too, despite the state of emergency, birthday collaborations were held. This epitomises the confidence our people have in their organisation, the African National Congress.

Allow me to express my sincere appreciation to each and every one of you. United we form an invincible army that will ensure that peace democracy and justice triumph in our beleagured mother land

A Luta Continua! Amanda! Mata!

#### RELEASE MANDELA CAMPAIGN

"The People Shall Govern"

#### HAPPY BIRTHDAY OLIVER TAMBO

on your 70th BIRTHDAY

### 27th October 1987



Born: 27th October 1917

Exiles Issued by: Release Mandela Campaign, 111 Commissioner St, Johannesburg

## Tambo's 70th birthday

The Star's Africa News Service

HARARE - African National Congress exiles have prepared a number of festivities to mark the 70th birthday today of their president, Mr Oliver Tambo.

There is no doubt among ANC exiles that Mr Tambo's character - his peculiar mix of soft words, earnest manner and ruthlessness - has at times been decisive in securing the ANC's resurrection as a ghost from the graveyard of the 1960s now come back to haunt the other main actors on the South African political stage in the 1980s.

While he was deputy to the ANC's then-president Albert Luthuli, in 1958-9, the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) broke away under Mr Robert Sobukwe.

. In 1960, he reluctantly left illegally for exile shortly after the Sharpeville shootings - having resisted for almost a year an ANC executive order to go.

In 1969, as acting president of the ANC, he faced bitter criticism in exile of his own and the national executive's leadership.

But, by the end of the ANC's First National Consultative Conference in Tanzania in that same year, he had emerged leader of the organisation to succeed Luthuli who had died two years ear-

In 1975, eight senior ANC members were suspended for campaigning, among other things, against the ANC's relationship with the SA Communist Party. They went on to form an African nationalist offshoot, which came to nothing

If the ANC is ever to contend seriously for state power in South Africa it will have to do so under the leadership of younger and more vigorous men than Mr Tambo now is.



Mr Oliver Tambo

There are a few around, already well-placed in the ANC's leadership. Publicly, the most prominent is Mr Thabo Mbeki. the ANC's publicity secretary and Mr Tambo's chief aide.

The others include Mr Chris Hani, the vibrant and highly popular number two man in Umkhonto we Sizwe, and Mr Jacob Zurna, the upwardly mobile former chief representative to Mozambique.

Any successor will have to concede that it was Mr Tambo who laid the relatively stable groundwork he inherits.

NEW NATION.

# ARICAN National Congress president Oliver Tambo, who has led the outlawed movement through both its bleakest and brightest days, turns 70 next Tuesday.

Exiled ANC members are planning a round of festivities to celebrate the longevity of the president who, for them, embodies the aspirations and character of their organisation and a liberated South Africa, For others in South Africa, Tambo is regarded as a dangerous terrorist.

Inside SA, workers and youths sing praises to the man many have not seen or heard.

not seen or heard.

Tambo is just five years younger than the ANC itself, which marked its 75th anniversary on January of this year, and as old as the Bolshevik revolution.

Tambo has led the ANC through its darkest hours and also its brightest.

In 1969, he presided over the first national consultative conference of the ANC since its banning in 1960.

The conference in Morogoro in Tanzania, was a "crisis meeting" at which the ANC had to face the fact that it had not succeeded in rebuilding itself significantly since the thrashing it had received from the government in the years after 1960 and the Rivonia trial.

Serious divisions arose at the conference, and grave frustrations were voiced. The whole national executive of the ANC was forced to

resign.

But, by the end of the conference, Tambo had re-established his leadership. He was elected

president of the ANC to succeed Albert Luthuli, who had died in 1967, and the ANC created a revolutionary council to attempt to take the struggle against apartheid back into South Africa.

He has, throughout his struggle, and especially in the last 27 years in exile, proven to be a resolute leader of integrity.

The years since 1976—under Tambo's leadership—have been the ANC's brightest.

Whether seen as an infamous terrorist organisation or the flagbearer of a return to non-apartheid in South Africa, the ANC has made a mark on South African politics in a way neither its friends nor its enemies have been able to ignore.

#### CREDIT

Tambo accepts no credit for these gains—that goes to the workers and the youth inside SA, he maintains.

The story of Tambo's life bears a strong resemblence to the lives of many young militants who have swelled the ranks of the ANC since the students revolt of 1976.

Like them, Tambo—who was born to peasant parents in Rizana in the Transkei—was radicalised during his school years. His clashes with school and university

authorities - for which

he was once expelled — awakened a spirit in him which brought him into conflict with the South African state itself.

African state itself.
He, Mandela, Anton
Lembede, Walter Sisulu, Robert Sobukwe and
other young intellectuals
and university students
formed the ANC youth
league in April 1944 at a
meeting in the Bantu
men's social centre in
Johannesburg.

#### REMOULDED

In the process, they remoulded the ANC of the 1940s in a way resembling the radicalisation of the movement by waves of young militants from 1976 onwards.

After gaining a BSc degree and teaching diploma, Tambo, with the encouragement of Walter Sisulu qualified as a lawyer in 1952. And in the midst of the Defiance Campaign, Tambo, together with Nelson Mandela, established a law practice in Johannesburg.

At the same time, both men began a rapid rise up through the expanding ranks of the then-legal ANC.

Recalling these times, Mandela said in a message smuggled out of prison in 1985: "Oliver Tambo is much more than a brother to me. He is my greatest friend and comrade for nearly 50 years."

Tambo was for a while national secretary

of the ANC; later its Transvaal president and, in 1948, he was elected its national vice-president as it prepared the "programme of action" of 1949.

Tambo was elected onto the ANC's national executive committee in 1949. Six years later, he was elected as an ANC secretary general, and, in 1958, he was elected as a deputy president of the ANC, serving under Chief Albert Luthuli.

He was served with a two-year banning order in 1954 and a five-year banning order in 1959. He was tried for treason, but freed in 1957 when the state failed to prove its case.

A week after the Sharpeville shootings on March 21 1960, Tambo was ordered by the ANC executive to leave South Africa and establish the ANC's external mission.

"OR", as Tambo is known by his colleagues in the ANC, is a very popular man. He exudes a strong fatherly image and commands the same degree of respect.

Whereas one can often hear criticisms of other members of the ANC leadership when in the company of ANC members, one does not hear harsh words spoken about Tambo.

This does not spring from fear, but from what appears to be a very widespread respect in which he is held by his colleagues.



Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and Chairman of the Council of State of the GDR, presents President Tambo with the Order of the Great Star of People's Friendship. Present at the ceremony were, left to right, President Tambo, Günther Sieber, Member of the CC of the SED and Head of the International Relations Department of the Central Committee; Hermann Axen, Member of the Politbureau and Secretary of the CC of the SED; and Kurt Seibt, President of the Solidarity Committee of the GDR.

#### FROM THE FAMILY

From Adelaide

From across the miles I send you loving congratulations on your two anniversaries: 70 years of a lifetime and 45 years of political life which began at Fort Hare University in October 1942. Since then you have never looked back. You have been in the centre of our struggle and our people. Your life is inseparable from the day-to-day activities of our organisation, the African National Congress.

It is right and fitting that on this day you should be amongst our people at our Headquarters, though the pressures of work are insurmountable.

I do hope that you will have a good day. Happy birth-day and many more.

Nini, Martin, Dali, Tselane, Sacha and Oliver You went beyond the Ngele Mountains to lead a larger family than that which you left behind.

You have made the fight for justice and freedom your life's work. Your contribution will never be forgotten. Our pride and love, our support and prayers reach out to you on this great day. Surrounded by those whose love and loyalty you hold, we send our own message. Happy birthday. We pray for the day when you will return to gaze upon your mountain range and complete the adventure of your life.



# FROM HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT

People's Republic of Angola

I have great pleasure in receiving you here at the Embassy of the People's Republic of Angola, one of the great sons of Africa and a freedom fighter as well, who during all these years has known how to be a strong defender of just ideas and of liberty for all people, a lover of peace and equality of all races, and a determined builder of democracy in its own country.

We know you will be celebrating your 70th birthday within the next few days. These 70 years of fighting for a sacred cause to transform a whole system that goes against every law of international *entente* between nations.

Harold Macmillan's historic 'winds of change' are blowing with greater force than ever for the heroic freedom fighters in South Africa and Namibia, and will only calm down with the end of the racist and colonialist system in these two countries. No one can stop massive popular will.

The MPLA Workers' Party and the ANC have a long-lasting friendship. We scrupulously follow all resolutions approved in international forums where help is needed in abolishing apartheid South Africa. And this is what we are trying to do, with independence, dignity and pride in being Angolans, knowing that we are contributing through peace, friendship, and solidarity between people to build a better world in which all will have the same possibilities.

A Luta Continua! A Victoria e Certa!

Tordor Zhivkov Secretary General Central Committee Bulgarian Communist Party Please accept, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and on my own behalf, most cordial comradely congratulations on the occasion of your 70th birthday anniversary and the awarding of the Georgi Dimitrov Order.

You stand in the front ranks of the progressive antiimperialist forces in South Africa which are for putting an end to the arms race, for nuclear disarmament, peace and international co-operation.

We express our confidence that the relations of friend-

ship and co-operation between the Bulgarian Communist Party and the African National Congress will gain strength and will expand in the interests of the working people in our countries, of peace and progress in the world.

Fidel Castro Ruz First Secretary, Communist Party of Cuba It is impossible to speak of the hard struggle of the South African people for its just rights without mentioning the ANC, a pioneer organisation in the fight for the independence of the African peoples and the unquestionable vanguard of the brotherly and suffering people that live in the Southern tip of the continent.

We know of your early spirited rebelliousness and of your outstanding role alongside the unyielding Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and other patriots who, from the Youth League of the ANC, gave a turn to the struggle and lifted it to a qualitatively higher phase.

Your upright political undertakings and your leading capacity have been of particular importance to the ANC since your election as its President ... That unlimited and correct confidence of yours in the force of the large masses of your people has been proved right by the uncontainable rebelliousness of the oppressed ones, which shakes and frightens the Pretoria fascist regime and which has made it sink into an irreversible crisis.

Your struggle, esteemed Oliver Tambo, is reaching further beyond the abolition of the apartheid system. With the elimination of this repugnant regime imperialism will lose its main spearhead against the Southern African nations, whose people aspire to peace and economic development, all of which is impossible as long as South Africa is ruled by a racist government which, in its own essence, is aggressive and expansionist.

On your 70th year of a life devoted fully and fruitfully to the cause of freedom and justice, allow me to join you in your conviction that the struggle of the South African patriots of all races is not only inevitable, but today we feel it closer than ever. From the ruins of apartheid shall rise a united and democratic South Africa in which all men and women, blacks, whites, Hindus and coloured, shall be equal.

When victory comes, resulting from the revolutionary mobilisation of the masses, we all will know that they were led by a vanguard at the head of which there are men like you, Comrade Tambo.

Cuba is geographically far, but its people and its leaders feel very close to our hearts the wishes of freedom of the oppressed South African people. Dear Comrade, you and your people can always rely on the internationalist sentiments and actions of the Cuban people.

I wish you to live longer years so that you can see with your own eyes what I am sure has been your dearest dream: the happiness of your people. That is the dream of true revolutionaries.

Hans-Dietrich Genscher Foreign Minister Federal Republic of Germany Please accept my warm congratulations on your 70th birthday. I wish you the strength and determination to continue your courageous and active efforts for a South Africa free from apartheid and racial discrimination.

Your endeavours to bring about peaceful change to an equitable social and political order that is acceptable to all South Africans will continue to receive my full support.

Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the Council of State of the GDR On behalf of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the Council of State and the people of the German Democratic Republic, and in my own name, I send you fraternal greetings and best wishes on your 70th birthday. Our Party and our people value you as a courageous patriot and outstanding leader of the African National Congress who has devoted his life to from liberation of the oppressed people of South Africa from the apartheid system which is so hostile to the people and to peace, and to the struggle for peace and social progress.

We have got to know you as a staunch friend of our socialist country and appreciate the great contribution you have made to establishing, strengthening and deepening close, friendly relations between the German Democratic Republic and the African National Congress.

We assure you that the German Democratic Republic will continue to stand side by side with the African National Congress and all anti-apartheid activists who work for the elimination of apartheid and for building an anti-racist, united and democratic South Africa.

Please accept my best wishes for good health and strength and further great successes in your important work.

Hugh Desmond Hoyte, President Co-operative Republic of Guyana It is with great pleasure that I extend to you my sincerest congratulations and that of the government and people of the Co-operative Republic of Guyana as you celebrate your 70th birthday today.

We recall with profound satisfaction your recent visit to our land and cherish the opportunity which it gave us to learn from you of the present stage of the struggle in Southern Africa.

It is our hope that you will continue to be blessed with good health and abundant energy to carry on the fight for the liberation of South Africa.

General Ibrahim Babangida, President Federal Republic of Nigeria On behalf of the Government and People of Nigeria, I seize this felicitous occasion to express heartfelt congratulations on your attainment of three score and ten years of age. One is proud to see that most of these long years have been devoted to the struggle for freedom of your people, and it is also gratifying to note your unflinching dedication to the execution of the tenets of the Freedom Charter.

The Federal Government, the people of Nigeria and I take this happy occasion to appeal to the conscience of the civilised world to use their influence and put pressure on the racists in South Africa to abandon their crime against humanity and unconditionally set in motion the necessary machinery to bring about the implementation of democratic principles known and recognised by all civilised peoples of the world.

Nicolae Ceausescu Secretary General Romanian Communist Party My best wishes for health and success in your struggle and activity for the triumph of the legitimate aspirations of freedom and independence, for the elimination of the apartheid and racial discrimination policy in South Africa, for peace and international co-operation.

I reaffirm my conviction that the relations of cooperation and solidarity between the Romanian Communist Party and the African National Congress will develop continuously to our mutual interest and the cause of peace and progress in the world.

Ingvar Carlsson Prime Minister of Sweden Let me use this opportunity to extend to you my warmest congratulations. I can assure you that you have our wholehearted support for your important struggle for peace, freedom and justice.

Bengt Saeve-Soederberg Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Sweden I wish you good health and final victory in the struggle against apartheid.

Mwalimu Julius K Nyerere Chairman, Chama cha Mapinduzi Tanzania

I send my warmest congratulations to you on your 70th birthday. Yours has been and still is a dedicated life of struggle for freedom and dignity for the whole people of South Africa. We salute you on this anniversary.

My heartfelt wishes for you are first that you, the African National Congress and the people of South Africa, together with all the people of Tanzania, can soon celebrate the downfall of apartheid. Secondly, that in the meantime you remain in good health to pursue the struggle until the victory for justice is attained.

Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union The Central Committee of the CPSU conveys to you, as to a prominent African politician, a staunch fighter for freedom and justice, cordial congratulations on your 70th birthday. Your name has become a symbol of the resoluteness of South African patriots who rally under the ANC banner to dismantle the criminal apartheid regime, to create on their Motherland's soil a united, democratic and non-racial state

In the Soviet Union your name is well known also as the name of a man who has done a lot to strengthen the bonds of friendship between the Soviet and South African people.

We wish you, Comrade Oliver Tambo, good health, long life and new successes in your noble activities.

Milojko Drulovic President, Federal Conference of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia I would like to avail myself of this opportunity to reassure you of the continuous political and material support of the peoples of Yugoslavia to the just struggle of the oppressed South African people until the total eradication of apartheid.

I am confident that the friendly relations and cooperation between the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia and the African National Congress of South Africa will continue to grow from strength to strength.

#### FROM FRATERNAL ORGANISATIONS

Joe Slovo General Secretary South African Communist Party On behalf of the Central Committee of the South Africa Communist Party, and in my personal capacity, we convey to you our warmest brotherly and comradely greetings on the occasion of your 70th birthday.

Your 'three-score years and ten' began in October 1917, at the very dawn of the Great October Socialist Revolution, which undoubtedly left its imprint on the whole future of humanity. It is no exaggeration to assert, Comrade President, that your life and leadership have also left their indelible stamp on the very future of our own people and, indeed, the whole of our sub-continent. You have matured as a giant of our struggle and, in turn, you have played a singular role in helping to mature its components and its whole course.

Especially from the time you were ordered by the ANC to go abroad as its chief spokesman and organiser, you have made the prime contribution in putting the ANC firmly on the map of struggle, respected by the whole international community. You have achieved this by virtue of your brilliant grasp of liberation politics, your astuteness and your meticulous approach to organisational questions.

You have unsparingly used your considerable talents with an energy which disregards personal cost and with a devotion which is a shining example to every militant. Both in your lifestyle and in your work style, you have shown us what a professional revolutionary is all about.

But it is not only these qualities which have earned you the affection, trust and leadership-loyalty of both our militants and our people; it is also your warm and humane personality, your approachability, your sense of fairness, your unswerving democratic instincts and your devotion to collectivism.

As far as our Party is concerned, we have always valued your commitment to the alliance between our organisations which you have described as the two pillars of the liberation struggle. You have stood like a rock against those who are so desperately trying to break our united

resolve to move shoulder to shoulder towards real liberation.

Comrade President, we think of you not only as a leader but also as a comrade, a brother and a friend. We wish you long life and look forward to many more years of serving with you and under you in pursuit of our struggle and its inevitable victory.

John Nkadimeng General Secretary South African Congress of Trade Unions Allow us to warmly embrace you on this important occasion. SACTU, on behalf of our working class, salutes you cordially as colleagues and above all as comrades. Your 70th birthday is celebrated at a time of revolutionary storms in our Motherland.

We remember with pride the heydays of our political baptism and the stormy periods. You emerged stronger, without battle fatigue. We are inspired. We are very proud of your political track record of almost 50 years. Our comradeship was forged in the crucible of struggle ...

In this year of United Action for People's Power, we are charged with the task of organising all the unorganised workers, and of helping complete mergers in the trade union movement.

Let us sprint across the distance between the period of national democratic revolution and the actual seizure of power, in order that we celebrte your next birthday at home.

We wish you long life and a radiant future. An Injury to One is an Injury to All!

Sam Nujoma President SWAPO of Namibia On behalf of SWAPO, I wish to extend to you our best wishes on this occasion of your 70th birthday. Your life has been seventy years of courageous struggle and inspired leadership of the oppressed but struggling people of Southern Africa in general and of South Africa in particular.

We join the ANC in celebrating your 70th birthday and hope you will enjoy continued health to take you through the remaining years of struggle against the racist apartheid regime to enjoy the fruits of victory.

Long live the friendship between ANC and SWAPO! The Struggle Continues!

Victory is Certain!

## FROM INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS

Joseph Garba Chairman UN Special Committee Against Apartheid On behalf of the United Nations Special Committee against apartheid and on my own behalf I sincerely congratulate you on your 70th birthday. I and the Committee take this opportunity to express our unswerving support and assistance to the noble cause you relentlessly struggled and unselfishly sacrificed for for most of your life. You withstood the atrocities perpetrated by the racist regime against you and your family, thereby embodying the steadfastness and will of the oppressed people in South Africa to eradicate apartheid once and for all, and to establish a free, united, democratic and non-racial society. Your personal contribution to the people's struggle against apartheid enhances the legitimate aspirations of the South African people for freedom and justice.

Be assured that the Special Committee Against Apartheid will, within its mandate, do all in its power to assist in transforming these aspirations into reality.

Romesh Chandra President World Peace Council It has been a great privilege for us to have fought and continue to fight alongside you as head of the ANC and member of the WPC Presidium.

Your able leadership and devotion to the cause of freedom and social justice, together with the courage and heroism of the people of South Africa, who have total trust in you, inspire us and millions of peace fighters the world over.

We wish you good health, new success in your work and many more years of active service in our common cause of peace, liberation, disarmament and co-operation among people.

Pan African Youth Movement

We take this opportunity to renew the unswerving support, actions and militant solidarity of the African youth with the people and youth of South Africa under the banner of the ANC.

Ethel de Keyser Director, British On behalf of the BDAF Chairperson and Council I send warmest greetings on your 70th birthday. We pay tribute

Defence and Aid Fund (BDAF) to your great courage, dedication and determination and to your deep humanity.

Horst Kleinschmidt Director International Defence and Aid Fund (IDAF) The International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa salutes you on the occasion of your 70th birthday. Your life of dedication to the cause of freedom for all the people of South Africa from apartheid has been and will continue to be an inspiration to us and to millions of people around the world. It is your leadership together with that of the ANC that will make us celebrate the victory over racism, oppression and apartheid before too long. We know that the struggle will be hard until then, and that its demands on you personally will not decrease, but be assured of our solidarity and our commitment to contribute to the struggle in every way we possibly can.

Willy Brandt President, Socialist International Please receive my very best wishes for today's birthday. Your struggle for the dignity of human beings and against racial discrimination has become a symbol for all of us.

Pentti Vaananen General Secretary Socialist International

This milestone in your life reminds us all of what you have devoted your life to: equality amongst human beings and freedom for your people.

You can be sure that the Socialist International stands by your side in your struggle against apartheid.

## FROM ANTI-APARTHEID ORGANISATIONS

The Rt. Reverend Trevor Huddleston The best way in which we can celebrate President Oliver Tambo's birthday is to renew our determination that apartheid will be destroyed as quickly as possible. We greet him with thankfulness for his Presidency of the ANC and for his magnificent steadfastness in leadership of the struggle, and we pray that he may have many more years in which to complete the task and win the victory.

Cliff Dolan, Chair, Australian ANC Support Committee We wish you good health and strength in the continuing struggle for liberation.

We are with you in thought.

National Committee, South Africa Action Denmark Most militant greetings on your 70th birthday. Under your leadership victory is certain for the ANC and the people of South Africa. Afrika Mayibuye!

Ingeborg Wick Executive Secretary Anti-Apartheid, FRG

The Anti-Apartheid Movement FRG sends to you whole-hearted congratulations and warm solidarity greetings.

Our message includes the assurance of increased endeavours for comprehensive, mandatory sanctions and material and political support to the ANC.

Kader Asmal Chairman, Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement Comrade President's contribution to the growth and development of the ANC and the service of our revolution is well known. Those who knew him at home or in the difficult and dangerous period of the early Sixties recognise that he has been the lodestar of our movement, illuminating the path and directing us with the calmness, resilience and courage which made the task of all so much less difficult.

Comrade President has ensured that our movement plays the central role in the liberation of our homeland. In the hearts and minds of our youth, our workers and farmers, in the towns, dorps and townships of South Africa, the cry, in which all of us who love him will join, will be: Long Life to Comrade Oliver Tambo! Victory in his Lifetime!

Fons Geerlings for the AABN, Holland Committee on Southern Africa, and Kairos, Netherlands A lifetime dedicated to the ANC, to the struggle for freedom and the longing for peace and democracy in South Africa. A commitment and life full with optimism and joy, but also with moments of pain and sorrow. We realise that there is not time for a quiet life in the dynamics of the resistance and the rapid developments at home. We share your longing for the rapid dismantling of apartheid and being united with the people at home. You and the ANC can count on our support till the end of the road.

Little Steven, for Artists United Against Apartheid, (USA) Happy birthday.

May this year see the dawn of a free South Africa!

Abdul S Minty World Campaign On your birthday President Sam Nujoma gave a lecture in London on 'Namibia: Britain's responsibility' which I

Against Military and Nuclear Collaboration With Apartheid chaired. It is also the date when the Namibian Mandate was withdrawn by the UN from South Africa 21 years ago. At the end of his lecture Sam told the audience that we were also celebrating your birthday — and he went on to pay tribute to you. The meeting decided to send you their collective good wishes, together with those expressed by President Nujoma on behalf of SWAPO and its Central Committee, via the ANC representatives who were at the meeting.

In addition I invited the audience to send you their personal greetings and many of these present signed the simple cards we had at the meeting.

#### FROM THE CHURCHES

Edda Stelck Campaign Church Against Apartheid Federal Republic of Germany The Campaign Church Against Apartheid, comprising more than 30 church and solidarity organisations in the FRG, sends to you their wholehearted congratulations and warm solidarity greetings. We continue to work for the complete boycott against the inhuman apartheid regime.

Dr Gunnar Staalsett General Secretary The Lutheran World Federation The Lutheran World Federation greets you on the occasion of your 70th birthday. Together with friends around the world we honour you for your inspired leadership of the people's struggle for freedom in South Africa and for your vision of a future in which justice, democracy and peace prevail. God keep you in safety and in health.

Jan Ter Laak General Secretary Pax Christi Netherlands From a Dutch delegate to the Harare Conference on torture and mistreatment of children in South Africa, Anneke Visser, we heard the story of your arrival at the Conference; how you were carried upon the shoulders of South Africans who had never even seen you before. She was very impressed by the scene. It was her first confrontation with the leading role the ANC is playing in the struggle against apartheid. We think she was rightly impressed.

On the occasion of your birthday we want to again stress our allegiance to the anti-apartheid struggle and

to the ANC. We want to express our admiration for the strength and determination both the ANC and you have displayed in this struggle. We are glad that even with white South Africans you have won a reputation. We will do what we can to help you overcome racism.

Cor Groenedijk Chairperson Werkgroep Kairos Netherlands We know that we share our feelings of friendship and of alliance with many people all over the world. We remember the outburst of enthusiasm and joy of your compatriots during your arrival at the Lusaka Conference of the World Council of Churches, the South African Council of Churches and the Liberation Movements in May 1987. The moving scenes of your meeting with our mutual friend Dr Beyers Naude made a lasting impression.

Our work-group appreciates highly that you spent a part of your precious time to convince churches all over the world of the rightness of the aim and principles of the ANC ... We realise that in spite of the endeavours of you and your combatants, still a big task in the field of information and mobilisation lies ahead.

Together with many others we are joining your noble campaign for justice in your beloved country, being inspired by the determination and sacrifices of so many South Africans and of so many members of the ANC being led by you during so many years.

#### FROM THE MEDIA

Africa News Organisation (Johannesburg)

Tsukasov, Managing Editor World Marxist Review The Africa News Organisation wants to congratulate Mr Oliver Tambo on his 70th birthday, and pray that God will bless him and the people of South Africa.

The international staff of the WMR, the journal of the communist and workers' parties, cordially congratulates you on your 70th birthday. As a WMR author, you have, on more than one occasion, told our readers in dozens of countries about the heroic struggle of your people rallied under the ANC banner. We wish you fresh success in the heroic battle against racism and apartheid for a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

## FROM POLITICAL PARTIES AND ORGANISATIONS

Ezekias Papaioannou General Secretary AKEL, Cyprus The Central Committee of Akel, expressing the feelings of the Cypriot people, warmly congratulates you and wishes you many fruitful years in the service of our people and speedy victory over the racist South African regime.

Donis Christofinis Secretary, EPAAL On the occasion of the 70th birthday of ANC President Oliver Tambo, the Cypriot Anti-imperialist Solidarity Committee (Epaal) extends to him and to the ANC best wishes for great successes in the just struggle for liberation from the brutal apartheid regime.

Ruukki Peace Festival, Finland Brothers and Sisters, We support your struggle.

Maxime Gremetz Secrétaire du Comité Central Parti Communiste Français Nous vous adressons à l'occasion de votre 70ème anniversaire nos chaleureuses félicitations et nous saisissons cette occasion pour réaffirmer à vous-même, à votre peuple, à l'ANC notre solidarité active dans le combat que vous menez pour l'élimination du régime d'apartheid, pour la liberté de votre peuple, et la libération de Nelson Mandela.

Nous vous adressons nos sentiments les plus fraternels et les plus chaleureux et tous nos voeux de succès.

Hans-Jochen Vogel Chairman, SPD On the occasion of your 70th birthday I should like to convey my very best wishes. The German social democrats honour your fight for a democratic South Africa and your tireless struggle against apartheid.

Hans Koschnick Guenter Verheugen Hans-Eberhard Dingels Social Democratic Party of Germany On this day we feel ourselves united with you. Best wishes for you and your gallant struggle for freedom.

Hungarian Solidarity

The Hungarian Solidarity Committee respectfully and warmly greet you. Your indefatigable activity and your

struggle against the apartheid system and all forms of racism have won you and the ANC great respect, acknowledged in the world. We Hungarians strengthen once again our solidarity with the South African people's struggle led by the ANC.

Democratic Youth Federation of India We, the youth of India, are constantly inspired by the struggle of the South African people to free themselves from racist oppression and exploitation by the apartheid regime of Pretoria ...

In India the struggle against apartheid has proved to be the broadest mobiliser of organised Indian youth in the 75th year of the ANC's foundation. Our organisation, of five million youth from all over the country, have been in the forefront of the campaign to educate the mass of our people about apartheid and the imperialist interest that has kept it alive.

The lifelong struggle of Comrade Tambo, his comrade in arms Nelson Mandela and the ANC inspire our respect and give us hope that in the near future, under their leadership, the South African people will achieve racial equality, independence and an end to the exploitation of their country.

C. Rajeswara Rao General Secretary National Council Communist Party of India Comrade Tambo's life is a saga of struggle, dedication and sacrifice and an example for younger generations to emulate ... We in India have always taken a special interest in remembering our special relations with the liberation struggle of South Africa. We are historically connected with your struggle from the days of Mahatma Gandhi.

Once again we greet Comrade Tambo, a true patriot, an ardent anti-imperialist, an outstanding world revolutionary and a staunch internationalist. By greeting Comrade Tambo, we are sending our greetings to the eternal flame of liberty and emancipation. The most fitting tribute to him will be our resolve to rededicate in the struggle to dismantle the apartheid regime of South Africa, which is now one of the principal foci of national liberation movements throughout the world.

Parliamentarians' Action for Removal of Apartheid The ANC, five years older than you, is the only organisation giving hope of bringing normalcy to the general populace in black townships. We are confident that under

your dynamic leadership the ANC will be able to step up its offensive against the racist policies of the Pretoria regime.

Rajinikumar New Delhi, India All your friends at Springdales School, New Delhi, wish you a long life and strength to win through to freedom.

All India Peace Solidarity Organisation We are confident that under your courageous, militant leadership you will achieve full success in the heroic struggle of the ANC against apartheid and for human rights, freedom and peace.

Etta Melandri President, CIES Your Italian friends of CIES fraternally wish you a happy birthday and take the opportunity to renew to yourself and all the comrades of the ANC, our support and solidarity in your just struggle.

Allesandra Natta General Secretary Italian Communist Party On behalf of the Italian Communist Party I wish to confirm our feelings of high evaluation and solidarity towards the battle in which the ANC is engaged under your leadership, and towards the whole of the South African people in order to definitively liquidate apartheid in South Africa and eliminate from Southern Africa the threat of the Pretoria racist regime.

Cospe, Italy

We wish to thank you for your tireless contribution to the cause of world peace, justice and democracy. In our daily engagement for a better world and a fuller democracy in our own country, we are constantly inspired and encouraged by the original struggle and ideas of the movement of which you are the leader, the ANC. Hoping that your next birthday will not be celebrated in exile, we renew our complete support and solidarity.

Anna Foca President, Molisv Italy Please receive with our warmest greetings a further reassurance of our commitment to stand by you and support your struggle for justice and freedom.

Abner Sans ão Muthemba Secretary General Associacão Mozambicana de It was with immense pleasure that the Mozambican association of Friendship and Solidarity with Peoples (AMASP) learned of your 70th birthday and felt that such an occasion should not pass without our expressing the profound feelings of friendship and admiration we have

Amizade e Solidariedade com os Povos Mozambique for you, as leader and tireless militant for the liberation cause of the South African people.

AMASP regards your birthday as a time for reflection on your unshakeable determination and dedication to serving your people, which should inspire all fighters for freedom, social justice and peace.

In order that you may continue to set that example of dedication and selflessness, on congratulating you on your 70th birthday AMASP wishes you long life and constant good health until final victory over the forces of apartheid and racism, responsible for so much misery and suffering in South Africa.

Novib, Netherlands

Novib's Africa Desk congratulates you on your 70th birthday. You can rely on our continued support for your struggle for a free and democratic South Africa.

Dr Ayo Ojajune Chairman, Nigerian ANC Association The Nigerian ANC Friendship and Cultural Association wishes you good health and victory in the struggle against apartheid and imperialism.

Africa Group Isolate South Africa Sweden We want to send our warmest congratulations to Oliver Tambo on his 70th birthday from the northern outpost of the anti-apartheid movement.

Anna Lindh President Monica Andersson International Secretary Swedish SDYL The Swedish Social Democratic Youth League sends you our warmest congratulations on your 70th birthday. During your excellent leadership the ANC has become a well known and deeply respected organisation internationally and has made the struggle for justice and democracy in South Africa a matter for the whole world.

For the SSU, which was established the same day you were born, solidarity with the South African people has been a priority since the Sixties. We are convinced that victory and freedom is not far away and we look forward to the day when the shameful apartheid system is nothing but a terrible memory.

Sharing our birthday cake with you in our thoughts, the SSU wishes you long life, good health and all success in the struggle.

Young Communist League, Sweden We will celebrate by intensifying our solidarity work for the liberation of South Africa. Gus Hall National Chairman Communist Party of the USA ... Though banned by the apartheid regime, the ANC has long been recognised around the world as the leader of the vast majority of your country's people. For decades, and especially in this decade, the gallant political struggle and armed battles it is leading against one of the world's most reactionary and terrorist regimes has captured the imagination and inspired the active support of progressive and demoratic-minded people in every country.

Today it is clearly only US imperialism's support for apartheid — which has become ever more blatant under Reagan — stands between the united people of South Africa and their freedom. For its part, South Africa serves as a key US vassal in the international network which has, as its overriding characteristic, human repression and nuclear escalation.

Thus we communists — as do all Americans who cherish peace and democracy — have double reason to pledge to the people of your great country that we will intensify our solidarity with the revolutionary upheaval for which South Africa's people are fighting under the leadership of the ANC.

Connie Hogarth Executive Director Wespac, USA It is the power generated by your courage, your intelligence, your hope and your remarkable resilience, as well as those same qualities in our sisters and brothers in South Africa, in the face of the extraordinary brutality and evil of the apartheid system and its neo-Nazi regime, that gives us, living in the belly of the beast, the energy and determination to struggle by your side.

Thanks to your leadership and the ANC, we are strong in our work for comprehensive sanctions, both governmental and corporative, here in the USA, and we will continue to fight until the Botha regime is left in total isolation from the world of decent people. We can do no less in our common work for a non-racial, free South Africa and, ultimately, for the freedom of people under oppression all over the world.

For these gifts which you and your people have given us, we honour you and pledge our solidarity with the struggle until victory.

Institute for African Studies, USSR

The Staff of the Institute congratulates you, the prominent African political figure, the fighter against all forms

of racism.

Soviet Women's Committee

We are sending you our sincere wishes for success in your noble struggle against the criminal apartheid regime, for freedom in your homeland and for the creation of a united, democratic and non-racial society.

The Presidium Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee

Peter Florin

On behalf of the millions of members of the Soviet public the Presidium extends to you our heartfelt congratulations. Your destiny is the embodiment of the history of the ANC. We observe that today, when celebrating your 70th birthday, you preserve the same energy, single-mindedness and firmness of belief in the triumph of the ideals of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa which has been so characteristic of you during your entire life as a freedom-fighter. We use this opportunity to reiterate the unfailing solidarity of the Soviet people with the heroic struggle of the people of South Africa under the leadership of its tested vanguard, the ANC, for freedom and social progress.

#### FROM OTHER FRIENDS

Helen Atheda May there be many more birthdays with the next celebrated at home with comrades in justice and peace.

Harry and Julie Each passing year of struggle brings us one year closer to Belafonte Freedom. We love and respect your strength and courage.

Sibusiso Bengu and Congratulations on your 70th birthday. May you live to see many more.

Frank Ferrari

Arthur and Mathilde Krim, Harry and Julie Belafonte, and Mary and I all send our warmest birthday greetings. May the year ahead add to your many, many achievements for your people and your cause.

You have committed your whole life to the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa against the apartheid regime. In the course of this struggle you have gained worldwide recognition as dedicated patriot and outstanding leader of the ANC. I wish you good health and energy in your important work for a non-racial, unitary and democratic South Africa.

Archbishop Trevor Huddleston Warmest congratulations on your birthday and may God bless and strengthen you always.

Lishet Palme

Please receive my greetings on your birthday, with the best wishes for the time to come, and with my wholehearted support for your struggle for freedom and justice.

ES Reddy

It is distressing that the epic struggle of the South African people, led by you and your colleagues for four decades, is still unfinished and that so many patriots, even children continue to make enormous sacrifices. But at least the end is in sight at last, despite all the plots of the evil forces.

The tremendous inspiration provided by your freedom movement, and by you personally, has been an important factor in the history of my generation. We owe a debt of gratitude which we must translate into solidarity rising with danger.

Randall Robinson

It is a matter of great pride for us to reflect on the many accomplishments you have achieved. At the same time, we hope that you will celebrate many more birthdays so that the struggle for a free South Africa can continue to benefit from your stirling leadership.

Ronald Segal and family

Many happy returns and much love.

Lennart and Ewonne Winblad We wish you all the best for the future. You are constantly in our minds.

#### FROM THE RANKS OF THE ANC

M'Afrika ka M. Nodumehlezi If black be the bright colour of my rainbow My green and gold shield Will marshal my way to victory. The voice of Oliver Tambo Has sounded loud and clear: Unite in Action and Act in Unity!

South Africa, Mother of patience! Hold this Freedom Charter in your hands, And let me be ensconced in thy bruised arms For freedom comes galloping Like a thousand horses across the Limpopo.

ANC Women's Section

We the mothers, women of South Africa, welcome your 70th birthday with great pride and satisfaction. These are 70 years of the rich experience you shared with your colleagues and countrymen and women, and of a childhood that has known no other life but that of the hazards of repression and oppression in all its forms. They have been years of traversing through very difficult and stormy days of struggle. Yes, of burying young and old alike, and of being found always wehre you were needed most, even at the risk of your life.

Dear Comrade President, the duty you have to continue to carry out, at the head of your colleagues and countrymen and women, has had a very big impact both in our country and among the international community. It is this aspect of your great sense of responsibility and political guidance that inspires us most and urges us to pledge our readiness to play our role as women in our duty to serve the nation.

Your 70th birthday is celebrated by all, near and far, as it is not only a birthday but a national and intertional event, inseparable from the struggle of the people of South Africa.

Youth Secretariat

To you, Comrade President, our loved and respected leader, we send revolutionary greetings. As a co-founder of the ANC Youth League with political giants such as

Comrades Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu, you have embodied the revolutionary aspirations of our people. Through your exemplary revolutionary leadership and guidance we, the youth, commit ourselves to play our role in the struggle for a democratic and peaceful South Africa. We are a contingent of revolutionary formations of our people.

On your 70th birthday accept our rededication and commitment to your esteemed leadership of our movement and people. We will give the enemy no quarter. We will, through our actions, uphold the title of the **Young Lions**.

We thank you for your leadership. We pledge to you and our National Executive Committee our total commitment. We will not fail you and our movement. We will fight. We will produce. We will learn. We will win!

Joe Modise Chris Hani Steve Tshwete Military HQ Whilst it is true that it is actually the masses who are the real makers of history, so it is equally true that at certain historical periods some individuals stand up as heroes of their people and symbolise all that is progressive in the heritage of their people.

This becomes even more pronounced at times of revolution. The mass upsurge typical of this period offers ample opportunity for the ideas of people to find practical realisation in the activity of the masses, thereby leaving the imprint of those individuals in the course of the revolutionary process.

We take pride in the fact that our own struggle has produced such individuals, amongst whom our most beloved comrade President Tambo stands as a towering giant.

We surely take pride in you, Comrade President. Your 70 years have been characterised by selfless devotion to our just cause.

Today, our people stand poised for great victories because of you. Internationally, you traversed the virgin territories — after that historic mission you were assigned by our people — and you brought respect to our struggle.

We cannot help but say loud and clear Long Live Comrade President! We thank you, Comrade President, for your personal example. We thank you for teaching us modesty, commitment, selflessness and internationalism.

As we join the millions of progressive humanity in

wishing you good health, many more fighting days, we also ask you, our dearest Commander-in-Chief, to marshal our forces and lead us to war. Victory is within our grasp. Forward to armed seizure of political power!

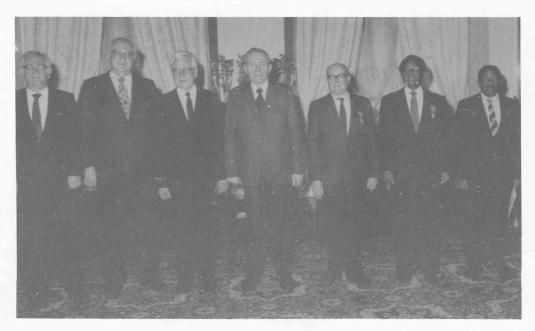
Cadres of MK

To our young generation, the occasion of your birthday is a day of rededication and commitment to struggle until victory is attained in our motherland. We salute you for your outstanding leadership qualities which enabled you to lead our people in the face of the most stubborn onslaught by the fascist enemy. We are conscious that it is an obligation on our part to maintain the same revolutionary standards that you have set.

Through your art of collective leadership, you have managed to direct and guide our struggle, and as a leader you have gained respect and honour from our people and the armed militants of Umkhonto we Sizwe, whose determination to crush our enemy with arms in hand remains unshakable. Your wise words of counsel and leadership will always remain vivid in our minds. To the women in our centre, these wise words are a direct command.

Somafco Students

The students of the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College are aware that your birthday occurs at a time of crisis in the apartheid monster's government. We have always been inspired by your hope for a free and democratic South Africa. We are confident that you shall lead us back home.



The Order of the Friendship of the Peoples was presented to Oliver Tambo by Andrei Gromyko, the Chairman of the Praesidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, to mark his 70th birthday. Among those present at the ceremony were, left to right, Joe Slovo, SACP General Secretary; Anatoly Dobrynin, Head of International Relations, Central Committee of the CPSU; Pavel Demitchkev, First Deputy Chairman of the Praesidium of the Supreme Soviet; Andrei Gromyko, President of the Soviet Union; Gilberto Vieira, General Secretary of the Colombian Communist Party; ANC President Oliver Tambo, and Alfred Nzo. Secretary General of the ANC.

#### **NELSON MANDELA MUST BE FREE!**

The people of South Africa, particularly the youth of our country, are renowned for their fearless challenge to the full might of Pretoria's tyranny. In spite of fierce repression under the state of emergency, torture, detention and rule by the gun, our people remain determined to be free. The MK cadres crushed to death by a Casspir flattening their shack when they refuse to surrender; the hundreds on hunger strikes inside apartheid's jails, refusing to submit; the hundreds of thousands of workers who fight for a living wage; for women's rights; for the release of political prisoners and detainees', including our children; the millions who flaunt the black. green and gold colours of their organisation, the ANC, at grave risk to themselves — all keep alive the flame of freedom.

And one person has come to embody the aspirations of all the South African people — Nelson Mandela. Imprisoned for over a quarter of a century, Mandela will celebrate his 70th birthday on July 18th, 1988. Let us ensure that the whole world celebrates this important day with him. His life symbolises our people's burning desire for freedom; his imprisonment is the imprisonment of the whole South African nation; the fight for his unconditional release, and that of all political prisoners and detainees, is the glorious fight against injustice, racial bigotry, and man's inhumanity to man.

So many of you honoured me on my 70th birthday. I ask that you, and all our friends, on as wide a scale as possible, observe the 70th birthday of that outstanding son of Africa, Nelson Mandela, on 18th July 1988. Let the apartheid regime know the high esteem in which this great South African patriot is held. Celebrate July 18th, 1988 in a manner befitting a man whose 'three score years and ten' represents all that is true and noble in humankind.

Oliver Tambo

