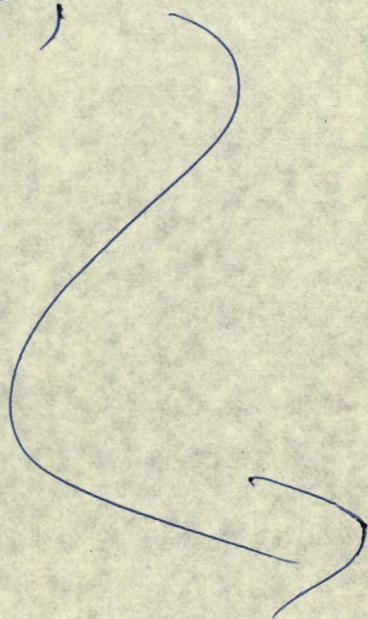


Constitution which accepted the  
non-racial <sup>and</sup> principles of the Freedom  
Charter. It was in this decade that  
he worked closely with Chief Albert  
Luthuli, who was <sup>a distinctive character,</sup> giving to the  
office of President of the ANC. In  
Luthuli's eyes, the ANC was not a  
coalition of different factions coming  
together on the basis of temporary  
expediency,





REPÚBLICA POPULAR DE MOÇAMBIQUE

MINISTÉRIO DA JUSTIÇA

DEPARTAMENTO DE INVESTIGAÇÃO E LEGISLAÇÃO (DIL)

~~expediently~~, but a <sup>single</sup> people's movement  
reflecting all the <sup>rich</sup> diversity of the  
~~oppressed~~ people. <sup>themselves</sup> (It is this broad vision  
that comrades OR has always kept  
alive. At times of great revolutionary  
advance, when certain radicalist ~~views~~  
~~could be heard~~ tendencies could be  
found amongst our people, comrades OR  
always insisted that the organization  
must find a place for all strata of  
the oppressed, including the shopkeepers,  
and professionals and <sup>non-group</sup> the ~~chief~~. Similarly,  
when some people, angered by the  
collusion of the church with apartheid,  
began to think of the church as an enemy,  
comrades OR always insisted on working  
with and struggling inside the Church.

Toast to Comrade OR Tambo on the  
Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday.

Presented by Robert Manie, member  
of the National Executive Committee of  
the ANC of South Africa, on the  
occasion of a reception held in Maputo  
Lyl the at the building of the OAU.

Excellencies, friends and comrades.

In 1960, after the massacre of Sharpeville  
and the banning of the ANC, our  
leadership took a number of important  
political and organisational decisions.  
One was to send comrade Oliver  
Tambo beyond the borders of our

country so as to represent our  
organisation and our people abroad;  
the other was to appoint comrade  
Nelson Mandela as leader of the  
active resistance inside the country.

Today, twenty seven fighting years  
later, we can say with pride that  
both are still at their posts. Who  
now even remembers the name  
Verwoerd or the name Verster? The  
oppressors have passed into oblivion.  
Just as in a few years time none  
will remember the name of Botha.  
Yet throughout the world when South  
Africa is mentioned, the names that  
spring to mind are Oliver Tambo and  
Nelson Mandela.

(3)

To some people who do not understand the South African situation very well, Oliver Tambo appears to be a contradiction.

A softly-spoken, gentle and exceptionally courteous ~~man~~ person, he has become head of a revolutionary movement; an African nationalist to the ~~at~~ core, he sees South Africa as part of the wider world and is attuned in a profound way to the politics and ideas of all humanity; a Christian with a long association with the Church, he shares a deep sense of comradeship with members of the Communist Party.

Those who knew our country and

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our President better realise that, far from being contradictions, these qualities represent precisely the strength of our movement and the strength of the person.

When he took up his new responsibilities in 1960, Comrade OR already had two full decades of stern combat behind him. In the 1940's, he was part of the generation of youth leaders who helped ~~from~~ transform the ANC from ~~a~~ being not much more than an annual conference of conflicting pressure groups into a mass movement of the people. In the 1950's he ~~had been~~<sup>was</sup> one of the key leaders of the mass resistance campaigns and one of the principal architects of the ANC new

At the same time, when other voices  
were raised calling on the ANC to  
sever its ties with the communists,  
he was equally adamant. ~~The~~ Once  
more in the tradition of Luthuli, who  
on important questions always called in  
<sup>Communist leader,</sup>  
Moses Kotane so that he could hear  
what the workers were thinking, Comrade  
OR insisted that, like the churchpeople,  
the shopkeepers and the chiefs, the  
communists were also part of the nation,  
in fact a part that had distinguished  
itself by its heroism and dedication  
to the struggle <sup>particularly severe</sup>  
in the face of repression.



Thus, if there is one distinguishing feature of the political leadership given by our President, it is in the way he has always insisted on bringing about the widest unity in our ranks and in ensuring that there is a place for all patriotic and democratic forces in the struggle.

Together with this, goes an insistence on involving the widest sections of the people in the formulation of policy and the taking of important decisions - hence his refusal to accept secret diplomacy, and his insistence that any ~~future~~ negotiations on the future of South Africa be based on ~~free~~

the collective means of all the  
leadership - including those presently  
in prison - and direct consultation  
with the people at large.

~~The~~ Intellectuals, friends and  
counselors, ~~it is impossible to propose~~ ~~a~~ ~~test~~ ~~to~~  
our President Dr. Zank's without

preparing a test to the person whom  
he himself described as his closest  
friend and comrade in arms and as  
the Supreme Commander, Nelson Mandela.

We are proud of these two men of our  
people, who have brought us ~~so~~  
much honor to our struggle and to  
Africa. We call on you all to  
raise your glasses and wish ~~very~~