

RALLY SPEECH

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LENTEGEUR STADIUM, MITCHELL'S PLAIN

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We are here because of you, the people of South Africa. You made it happen.

It is you, under the inspiration of the ANC and the alliance which it leads, who made it happen.

It is you, the working people of our land, better organised than at any time in our history. You made it happen.

It is you, the youth who have earned the proud title of "the young lions" through struggle and sacrifice - even at the risk of death. You made it happen.

It is you the struggling women who have continued to feed us with your courage and heroism. You made it happen.

It is you - black and white - who have come together in the mighty mass democratic movement. You also helped make it happen.

It is all you who refused to bow down to race domination, who have brought us together. And in unity as sure as the sun will rise tomorrow we will end the misery of Apartheid.

Together, under the leadership of the ANC of Tambo and Mandela, we will win a democratic South Africa. And we say loud and clear that we know only one kind of democracy. It is a democracy in which every adult person has an equal vote and plays a part in running society.

Together we will win a non-racial South Africa. And we say to Pretoria that we know only one kind of non-racialism; It is a non-racialism which ends all political and economic race privilege.

Together we will win a united South African homeland. And we know only one homeland. Our homeland is not in the Bantustan back yards; it covers every square meter from Cape Point to the Limpopo and from the mouth of the Orange River to the Indian Ocean.

Comrade Chairperson. For us who have suffered the curse of exile for close to 30 years this is a moment of the greatest joy. It is a moment of joy because we are at last back in this beautiful country and among people we love. But it is also a moment of sadness.

It is a moment of sadness because there lie buried in our soil some of the finest sons and daughters of our nation. They gave their lives in battle during the long years when victory seemed so far away. Some of them lie buried in foreign lands murdered by the enemy's death squads.

Comrades, it is they and not us who should have had the first place of honour on this platform. It is they, above all, who helped make this moment possible. It is their blood which has fertilised the tree of defiance and resistance. No force on earth will be able to cut this tree down. It is usual to stand in silence in memory of such martyrs. But today let us raise our voices to the heavens in praise of their courage and patriotism.

Compatriots, Mr de Klerk on February 2nd told his parliament how the people of Eastern Europe surged forward in an unstoppable tide towards freedom. Nice-sounding words! But that tide is not just 6000 miles away; it is on his own door-step.

The sea of people before us and those who have been gathering in every corner of our country are raising our own tide towards freedom. And it is a tide which is completely unstoppable. There was a time when we demanded "freedom in our lifetime". That time is over. The cry everywhere is 'Freedom Now'.

We have come to talk with the government in a spirit of conciliation. If there is a real way forward without strife and bloodshed we will grab it with both hands. We have been told by the State President that the door is open and we do not have to break it down. Well, let's give him credit for having had the courage to take off a few of the BOLTS. But we all know the master lock has not yet been opened.

We continue to live in a country still chained by apartheid. The vote, the land, the other economic riches remain a virtual monopoly of the white group. The only monopoly blacks have is a monopoly of ghettos of deprived children, millions of unemployed, inferior education, rural starvation, urban slums, low wages, and the bullets of some trigger-happy police.

We have come to the table in search of a future of peace and equality. Our postponement to protest the Sebokeng massacre has been questioned. Let those who question ask themselves what the government would have done if Mandela's armed force had killed 14 and wounded 400 peacefully-protesting whites on the eve of our meeting.

This is the terrible sickness of our society - that black life (like black labour) is cheap. And this double standard must stop otherwise there is no hope.

There is yet another double standard which we are not prepared to live with. There was a time when the National Party represented a people of poor white unemployed afrikaners. Their culture and language had second-class status. They were only on the margins of the English-dominated economy. What did they do?

Some of them turned to violence. Later the state was used to create nationalised industries; they even called for the nationalisation of the mines. They created protected employment for their white kith and kin and called it a "civilised labour policy". They gave some of our best land to their landless and pumped them with subsidies. I ask you, was this not a redistribution of wealth? And if we just dare mention the word nationalisation or the taking back of land, they cry "communist" and "thief". Friends, we know only too well what this double-standard is about.

Then we are told by some who claim to be on our side, "don't rush it - change is a slow process". Apartheid-funded and comfortable Chief Ministers like Buthelezi may not feel the same urgency as the millions living in poverty and the thousands being killed by Inkatha war-lords.

Comrades, it is said that de Klerk has gone further than any other white leader to seek a political solution. This is true. We are told that he would like to go further. This may also be true. But, we are asked to remember that he has a white constituency which he cannot ignore. We are told that this constituency has become so used to the pleasures of race privilege that it needs a long time to absorb the shock of equality.

But let us give clear notice that Tambo and Mandela also have a constituency. It has been suffering from the shock of race rule for 350 years. It cannot wait much longer for a new life.

Friends, we are not and we never have been opposed in principle to a peaceful solution. That was our path for 50 years. We petitioned and raised our voices endlessly for dialogue and peaceful political change until every avenue of peaceful advance was blocked. We showed the biblical patience of a Job.

Our turn to armed resistance proved once again that when it becomes a crime for a dominated people to speak in protest they will speak with an AK47. This was the choice forced upon us in 1961. And there cannot be an honest doubt that it is precisely because we spoke with AK47s that dialogue is now at least in the air.

Like other liberation movements, we accept that the moment may arrive when negotiation, and even a degree of compromise, is in the interest of what the people are struggling for. And we say to Mr de Klerk, in all sincerity that we would be ready to walk through that door if we see real prospects of moving speedily towards real democracy. Short of this we will undoubtedly have to break the door down. This is not war talk. It is peace talk. Without democracy peace doesn't stand a chance.

And what we want to talk about is democracy as commonly understood by the rest of the civilised world. We can not go to the negotiating table ready to abandon majority rule. We cannot go there ready to forget that over 90% of all productive property is

owned by the white group. If we did so we would not be negotiating; we would be discussing terms for our surrender. This we are not prepared to do. Whoever did so would be talking for themselves, not for our people. And peace would not come.

Mr de Klerk has been complaining that some militant statements by ANC leaders are not helpful to the negotiation process. Well, some of his own militant statements are not very helpful either. He continues to proclaim that there will never be a redistribution of wealth. And no majority rule. Group rights and vetoes will see to that!

Put more simply what he says is: You can have everything you want except what we decide to veto. Let us be clear; a future South Africa without majority rule and which we cannot touch any of the economic fruits of race domination will be a country of apartheid under another name.

The international community must not be tempted by fine words to waiver in its commitment real democracy in our land. The pressures must be maintained. There should be no reward yet for a country which still practices all the main ingredients of apartheid and which openly rejects majority rule.

Comrade chairperson, let us address a few words to our white compatriots. We understand some of your fears about the future. Some of you are nervous that we shall do unto you as you have done unto us. Your leaders encourage you to believe that we will replace white domination with black domination. You have also been brought up on a diet of propaganda that makes you believe only whites know how to practice democracy. To the white working people we have some special words. We say to you: You don't own the mines. You don't own the factories. You don't own the land. And most of you never will! All you own are your skills and your talents. We need you and you need us. Don't allow yourselves to become the storm-troopers of the Maritzs and the Rudolfs. They will lead you to disaster.

Comrades and compatriots. When Mandela spoke his famous words, dedicating himself to a life-struggle against both white and black domination, he spoke for a movement which not only preached this message of non-racialism but also practised it throughout its history.

And even outside our borders in a continent colonised for centuries by white settlers we cannot find a single example where majority rule has led to discrimination or domination against white members of the national community.

Let us stop playing games. The regime knows only too well that our liberation movement represents an unequalled diversity of culture, language, religion and tradition. We would be the last to oppose the unqualified protection of such rights. Those who for centuries have trampled on these rights are in no position to teach us such lessons.

Any constitution which gives a minority group a veto to prevent the attainment of full equality is in fact a veto on democracy. We have said over and over again that there must be constitutional guarantees for every citizen's right to language, culture, religion, political freedom, judicial independence, and so on. If this is the type of veto they are talking about then we welcome it.

But this is not what they are talking about. They want a constitution which will permanently block the process of ending historically-accumulated privileges based on race. Of course negotiation is a question of give and take. But there is a limit on what the one side gives and the other side takes. This is the gap that must be closed if the dialogue which has begun is to lead to a political solution.

Some armchair revolutionaries with mythical armies scream "treason" at the very mention of the word dialogue. We say to them that there is little in their practice which can teach us about actual struggle. It is precisely because we have fought and not just talked that the other side is forced even to begin to contemplate a political solution.

Comrade Chairperson

Our continuing struggle calls for organisation, discipline and, above all, unity. Let us not forget these three vital words: Organisation, Discipline and Unity.

Struggle which does not strengthen organisation leaves us naked when the noise is over.

Struggle without discipline provides an excuse for repression.

Struggle without unity enables them to pick us off one by one.

The drive towards unity is stronger today than at any time in our history. Things which were hardly imaginable 18 months ago are happening and they must be made to happen even more.

Some black policemen are saying they've had enough of being used to murder and maim their people. Let every black policeman show the courage of a Rockman!

Many in the Bantustan armies are rejecting their role as watch-dogs for apartheid. Let them all show the patriotism of a Holomisa!

More and more traditional leaders who had been sucked into the bantustan fraud are challenging white supremacy. Let them all show the national pride of a Mabuzal!

More and more church leaders are speaking out and acting for freedom. Let every good believer become a witness for liberation!

An increasing number of whites whose humanity had been washed away by swimming pools and champagne are coming over to the side of freedom and even giving their lives for it. Let more and more whites follow the commitment of a Bram Fischer and a David Webster!

I spoke at the beginning of those who should have the first place of honour on this platform. Of those in exile who helped make this moment possible there is one man who towers above us all. It is our president Oliver Tambo.

He steered us brilliantly in the 30 years of forced separation from our country. He kept us together with the authority of his wisdom and the power of his humanity. He inspired comradeship, and attracted deep respect and love.

Comrades, friends compatriots,

As we enter this first stage of dialogue we know that we cannot achieve an acceptable political solution just through smooth talk. This depends on the power of the people on the ground. Let the air vibrate with demands for majority rule, for a redistribution of wealth, for land, for a constituent assembly elected by every person with an equal vote. Let us surge forward in a tidal wave towards freedom. And let us not rest until we have won a truly non-racial united democratic South Africa.

This is the time for all of us to stand up and be counted, in words and in deeds.

VIVA ANCI! VIVA!

VIVA SACP! VIVA!

VIVA COSATU! VIVA!

VIVA TAMBO AND MANDELA! VIVA!

VICTORY IS CERTAIN!

AMANDLA!