

7L/d/24

L. M quG (wa'EQ/QQW

SPEECH OF THE DEPUTY PRESIDENT OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS,
NELSON MANDELA, AT THE RALLY OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST
PARTY: JOHANNESBURG, JULY 29, 1990.

COMRADE CHAIRMAN,

CONRADES AND FRIENDS:

THIS IS AN IMPORTANT DAY IN THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF OUR COUNTRY.
IT IS A DAY WHICH SHOULD GIVE COMFORT AND HOPE TO EVERYBODY IN
SOUTH AFRICA WHO CALLS HIMSELF OR HERSELF A DEMOCRAT. IT IS
IMPORTANT BECAUSE IT MARKS THE END OF A PERIOD OF EXACTLY 40
YEARS, DURING WHICH THE DECLARED AIM AND PRACTICE OF THE STATE

X4

WAS TO .SUPPRESS ALL POLITICAL OPINION Whlbh WAD NUI Lmu 1r mm 01
THE RULING NATIONAL PARTY AS LEGITIMATE AND PERMISSIBLE. SURELY,
THERE ARE, TODAY, HAPPY SMILES ON THE FACES OF THE POLITICAL
THINKERS WHO SAID THAT, THOUGH THEY MIGHT DISAGREE WITH OPPOSING
VIEWS THAT SOME PEOPLE MIGHT EXPRESS, THEY WOULD NEVERTHELESS
DEFEND WITH THEIR LIVES THE DEMOCRATIC RIGHT OF SUCH OPPONENTS TO
EXPRESS THEIR VIEWS.

THE ANC IS NOT A COMMUNIST PARTY. BUT AS A DEFENDER OF DEMOCRACY,
IT HAS FOUGHT AND WILL CONTINUE TO FIGHT FOR THE RIGHT OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY TO EXIST. AS A MOVEMENT FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION,
THE ANC HAS NO MANDATE TO ESPOUSE A MARXIST IDEOLOGY. BUT AS A
DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT, AS A PARLIAMENT OF THE PEOPLE OF OUR
COUNTRY, THE ANC HAS DEFENDED AND WILL CONTINUE TO DEFEND THE

Page g

RIGHT OF ANY SOUTH AFRICAN TO ADHERE TO THE MARXIST IDEOLOGY IF THAT IS THEIR WISH.

TO US AS A DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT, THE LESSON OF OUR HISTORY IS VERY CLEAR. IT IS WHAT THE PEOPLES OF EUROPE LEARNT DURING THE TURBULENT DECADE OF THE NINETEEN THIRTIES, WHEN FASCISM BEGAN ITS ASSAULT ON DEMOCRACY BY LAUNCHING A VIOLENT OFFENSIVE AGAINST THE COMMUNISTS. IT IS THE SAME LESSON THAT THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES LEARNT DURING THE DECADE OF THE NINETEEN FIFTIES, WHEN THE FORCES OF MACARTHYISM LAUNCHED AN ASSAULT AIMED AT UNDERMINING THE DEMOCRATIC HERITAGE OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, BY CONDUCTING A VIRULENT OFFENSIVE AGAINST COMMUNIST AND LEFT OPINION.

THEOLOGIANS OF THE GERMAN CHURCH UNDERSTOOD THESE PROCESSES VERY WELL WHEN THEY SAID THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH DID NOTHING WHEN THE

EV

NAZIS ATTACKED THE COMMUNISTS. AND AGAIN THE CHURCH DID NOTHING WHEN THE NAZIS TURNED THEIR BRUTAL ATTENTION TO THE SOCIALISTS. AND WHEN THE NAZIS TURNED AGAINST CHRISTIAN MEN AND WOMEN OF CONSCIENCE, THE CHURCH FOUND THAT THERE WAS NOBODY TO DEFEND IT. THIS IS A MISTAKE THE ANC NEVER MADE, BECAUSE WE UNDERSTOOD THAT THE BANNING OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY IN 1950, WAS BUT A PRELUDE TO THE SUPPRESSION OF ALL DEMOCRATIC OPINION IN OUR COUNTRY. THIS IS A LESSON THAT THOSE WITHIN THE NATIONAL PARTY, WHO CONSIDER THEMSELVES TO BE DEMOCRATS, NEED TO LEARN VERY QUICKLY. THE LESSON THEY NEED TO LEARN IS THAT IT WAS FUNDAMENTALLY WRONG TO HAVE ENACTED THE SUPPRESSION OF COMMUNISM ACT IN 1950. THE LESSON THEY NEED TO LEARN IS THAT IT IS FUNDAMENTALLY WRONG TODAY TO SEEK TO BUILD AN ATMOSPHERE OF DEMOCRATIC TOLERANCE OF DIFFERENT

Page 5

VIEWS BY ATTEMPTING TO DEMONISE THOSE WHO CHOOSE TO HOLD COMMUNIST OPINIONS. SUCH A POSTURE LEADS TO ONE THING AND ONE THING ONLY, NAMELY, THE DENIAL AND SUPPRESSION OF DEMOCRACY ITSELF.

WE ARE HERE TODAY TO PARTICIPATE WITH YOU IN THE PUBLIC LAUNCH OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, 40 YEARS AFTER IT WAS BANNED. WE DO THIS BECAUSE DURING THE NEARLY 70 YEARS OF ITS EXISTENCE, THE COMMUNIST PARTY HAS DISTINGUISHED ITSELF AS AN ALLY IN THE COMMON STRUGGLE TO END THE RACIAL OPPRESSION AND EXPLOITATION OF THE BLACK MASSES OF OUR COUNTRY. IT HAS FOUGHT SIDE BY SIDE WITH THE ANC FOR THE COMMON OBJECTIVE OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION OF OUR PEOPLE, WITHOUT SEEKING TO IMPOSE ITS VIEWS ON OUR MOVEMENT. IT HAS BEEN AND IS A DEPENDABLE FRIEND WHO RESPECTED OUR

1NUtVtNUENUE HNU UK rUle1. 110 UDUDLuu unvu uppu UthLuu

CONGRESSITES WHO, AS MEMBERS OF THE ANC, HAVE PROPAGATED AND DEFENDED THE POLICIES OF OUR MOVEMENT, INCLUDING THE FREEDOM CHARTER, WITHOUT HESITATION. THEY HAVE THEREFORE GIVEN STRENGTH TO OUR OWN MOVEMENT, WHATEVER THEIR SEPARATE PERSPECTIVES MIGHT BE AS AN INDEPENDENT POLITICAL FORMATION.

ITS LEADERS HAVE BEEN CLOSE FRIENDS AND COLLEAGUES OF THE LEADERS OF OUR MOVEMENT. THE GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, COMRADE JOE SLOVO IS AN OLD FRIEND. THERE IS AN OLD ESTABLISHED FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN HIS FAMILY AND MINE. WE WENT TO UNIVERSITY TOGETHER. WE WERE CO-ACCUSED IN THE TREASON TRIAL OF 1956 TO 1961.

Page I

OVER THE YEARS, WE HAVE SHARED THE SAME VIEWS ON FUNDAMENTAL ISSUES TO DO WITH ENDING THE CRIMINAL SYSTEM OF APARTHEID AND THE DEMOCRATIC TRANSFORMATION OF OUR COUNTRY. TODAY WE SHARE THE SAME VIEWS ABOUT THE VITAL IMPORTANCE AND URGENCY OF ARRIVING AT A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS, IN CONDITIONS OF PEACE FOR ALL OUR PEOPLE.

THIS PERSONAL AND POLITICAL RELATIONSHIP HAS BEEN ABLE TO ENDURE OVER THE DECADES PRECISELY BECAUSE JOE SLOVO AND HIS COLLEAGUES IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY HAVE UNDERSTOOD AND RESPECTED THE FACT THAT THE ANC IS AN INDEPENDENT BODY. THEY HAVE NEVER SOUGHT TO TRANSFORM THE ANC INTO A TOOL AND A PUPPET OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY. THEY HAVE FOUGHT TO UPHOLD THE CHARACTER OF THE ANC AS THE PARLIAMENT OF THE OPPRESSED, CONTAINING WITHIN IT PEOPLE WITH

UlrLLIKLLNI LULJULAJUJKJML; VLLWL), wuu nuL. UlVKALJA: A A uxp uvuuvn
PERSPECTIVE OF NATIONAL EMANCIPATION REPRESENTED BY THE FREEDOM
CHARTER.

EVEN WHEN WE GOT TOGETHER WITH COMRADE JOE SLOVO AND OTHERS IN
1961 TO FORM THE PEOPLE'S ARMY, UMKHONTO WE SIZWE, WE UNDERSTOOD
THAT UMKHONTO WAS NOT THE SAME THING AS THE ANC. AS A MILITARY
FORMATION, UMKHONTO WE SIZWE HAS MILITARY TASKS TO PERFORM. AS A
POLITICAL MOVEMENT, WITH A DISTINGUISHED AND UNCHALLENGED HISTORY
OF COMMITMENT TO A PEACEFUL SOLUTION, THE ANC HAS NEVER ABANDONED
THE STRATEGY OF NONVIOLENT STRUGGLE, EVEN WHEN THE APARTHEID
REGIME DID EVERYTHING IN ITS POWER TO MAKE SUCH STRUGGLE
IMPOSSIBLE.

THOSE WHO TODAY POSE AS EXPERTS ON THE STRUCTURE AND STRATEGY OF

Page q

OUR BROAD MOVEMENT FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION MUST UNDERSTAND THESE ABC'S OF OUR STRUGGLE. THOUGH THEY HAVE ACTED TOGETHER AS ONE FORCE FOR THE EMANCIPATION OF OUR PEOPLE, THE ANC, THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND UMKHONTO WE SIZWB ARE NOT ONE THING AND SHOULD NOT BE DISSOLVED INTO A SINGLE NON-EXISTENT ORGANISATION.

DEAR COMRADES AND FRIENDS:

THE OBJECTIVE WE HAVE PURSUED SINCE OUR FORMATION 78 YEARS AGO REMAINS UNCHANGED. WE MUST MOVE WITH ALL POSSIBLE SPEED TO ABOLISH THE APARTHEID SYSTEM AND TO TRANSFORM SOUTH AFRICA INTO A UNITED, DEMOCRATIC, NON-RACIAL AND NONnSEXIST COUNTRY. WE HAVE ENTERED INTO TALKS WITH THE GOVERNMENT FOR THE REALISATION OF THESE GOALS. BECAUSE WE HAVE AN URGENT TASK TO ATTAIN OUR

EMANCIPATIUN, Wt 1N515T THAT THE TALKb UUDL UU UN. UUK runnuum
SHOULD NOT BE POSTPONED OR DENIED SIMPLY BECAUSE SOME PEOPLE HAVE
A SECRET AGENDA TO SUSTAIN AN ANTI-DEMOCRATIC CRUSADE AGAINST
COMMUNIST OPINION.

BUT WE ALSO INSIST THAT THE TALKS MUST PROCEED IN CONDITIONS OF
PEACE. THEREFORE THE VIOLENCE OF THE POLICE AGAINST THE PEOPLE
MUST COME TO AN END. THE VIOLENCE 6F THE BLACK AND WHITE
VIGILANTES AGAINST THE PEOPLE MUST COME TO AN END. IF IT IS
GENUINELY INTERESTED IN PEACE AND NEGOTIATIONS, THE GOVERNMENT
MUST ACT TO BRING ABOUT THIS RESULT. WE WISH TO REPEAT HERE WHAT
THE ENTIRE DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT OF OUR COUNTRY HAS SAID IN THE
PAST - THAT IN THE CONTEXT OF AN END TO STATE VIOLENCE AGAINST
THE PEOPLE AND A POLITICAL PROCESS LEADING TO THE LIQUIDATION OF

Page (I

THE APARTHEID SYSTEM, WE OURSELVES ARE READY TO DISCUSS THE
SUSPENSION OF OUR OWN ARMED ACTIONS TO ENSURE THAT PEACE AND
STABILITY PREVAILS THROUGHOUT OUR COUNTRY.

WE CALL ON THE GOVERNMENT TO RESPOND POSITIVELY TO THESE
POSITIONS, TO ABANDON THE ATTEMPT TO CREATE NEW OBSTACLES BY
WHIPPING UP AN ANTI-COMMUNIST HYSTERIA, TO ACT IN A RESPONSIBLE
MANNER IN THE INTERESTS OF ALL OUR PEOPLE, IN THE INTEREST OF THE
CAUSE OF JUSTICE AND PEACE.

DEAR FRIENDS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY:

WE KNOW WE CAN COUNT ON YOU TO STAND WITH US AS WE PURSUE THESE
GOALS. IT IS OUR PROFOUND DESIRE THAT YOU, LIKE ALL OTHER
POLITICAL FORMATIONS IN OUR COUNTRY, SHOULD BE ACTIVE
PARTICIPANTS IN THE HISTORIC PROCESS WHICH SHOULD LEAD TO THE
PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF THE PROBLEMS CONFRONTING OUR COUNTRY AND
PEOPLE. WE EXTEND TO YOU THE BEST WISHES OF THE PEOPLE'S
MOVEMENT, THE ANC AND LOOK FORWARD TO CONTINUING COOPERATION IN
THE COMMON STRUGGLE TO BRING FREEDOM, PEACE AND SECURITY TO ALL
THE PEOPLE OF OUR COUNTRY.
THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES!
VICTORY IS CERTAIN!
AMANDLA NGAWETHU!