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WALK THE LAST MILE WITH US

NELSON MANDELA'S SPEECHES IN IRELAND
IRISH ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT

A black and white photograph of Nelson Mandela. He is shown from the chest up, wearing a dark suit jacket, a white shirt, and a patterned tie. He is looking slightly to his left with a serious expression. A microphone is visible in the lower right foreground. The background is dark and out of focus.

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INTRODUCTION

Nelson Mandela and a delegation of the African National Congress visited Ireland on 1 and 2 July 1990, at the invitation of the Irish Government, Dublin Corporation, and the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement. In the short period of his visit, he made an indelible impression on all who saw and heard him, and received many tributes to his heroic struggle on behalf of the people of South Africa.



"To have Nelson Mandela in our midst" said the Ceann Comhairle Mr. Seán Treacy TD, when welcoming the ANC Deputy President to the Dáil, "is a source of great pride and joy. We are proud to welcome to Ireland a man of indomitable courage and shining integrity, a man who has worked tirelessly so that his people can have basic rights, a man who has suffered grievously under the unjust system that is apartheid."

The Lord Mayor, Alderman Senator Seán Haughey, recalled the words of his predecessor in office when he welcomed Mr. and Mrs. Mandela. "The name of Nelson Mandela," Lord Mayor Ben Briscoe had said, "shone like a beacon light in the darkness of bigotry, oppression, injustice, racism; a light illuminating the dark recesses of man's inhumanity to man, nowhere more explicit and vile than in the evil that is apartheid."

The thousands of people who gathered outside the Mansion House on 1 July, when Nelson Mandela at last received the Freedom of the City of Dublin, two years after it was awarded to him, made their enthusiasm very plain. In brilliant sunshine, Dubliners and people from all over Ireland cheered the ANC party, and waved ANC flags. They were delighted when Mr. Mandela referred to the success of "your wonderful football team", and joined enthusiastically in the anthem of the oppressed people of South Africa Nkosi Sikelel' i-Afrika, God Bless Africa.

Time and again, Mr. Mandela thanked the Irish people, the Government, and the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement for their unstinting support. Constantly he emphasised the need for that support to continue. "We have come here", he told the crowds outside the Mansion House, "to invite you to walk with us on the last mile of our protracted struggle. We have come here to thank you for not forgetting us. We have come here to encourage you to hold steadfast."



His appeal did not go unanswered. Deputy Seán Treacy, recalling the numerous occasions on which the Dáil had expressed its total abhorrence of the system of apartheid, stated that:

"We and the people of Ireland reject a system which robs the majority of the population of its fundamental rights and which seeks to establish a régime based on racialist principles.

"We will continue to support the cause of the oppressed peoples of South Africa until all South Africans are afforded freedom and equality, and the right to participate in the political affairs of their country regardless of class or colour."

Two themes ran through all Mr. Mandela's addresses in Ireland. Again and again he emphasised the need for reconciliation, and for the peaceful resolution of conflict. "There is nothing better than opponents sitting down to resolve their problems in a peaceful manner," he told the press, and later reiterated the position of the ANC which was "in favour of an end to man-made death anywhere. Violence should stop and all concerned, as with all situations of conflict, should find a way to establish peace."

The two themes found moving expression in Mr. Mandela's address to the Dáil, when he recalled W.B. Yeats' fear that "too long a sacrifice can make a stone of the heart"; Mr. Mandela insisted though that the oppressed people of South Africa retained their love of humanity in spite of all they had suffered, and that they refused to emulate the violence and barbarity of their apartheid oppressors.

It is this commitment to peace that, as the Ceann Comhairle said, has been of vital importance in bringing both sides together and in avoiding "the spectre of South Africa split into two hostile camps, blacks on the one side and whites on the other." It has also brought closer the ideals of the Freedom Charter adopted at the Congress of the People on 26 June 1956, one of the "great documents of history" as the Lord Mayor called it.

It is worth recalling the opening phrases of this document, which has inspired the African National Congress and millions of South Africans of all races.

We, the people of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know:

That South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of the people; ...

That only a democratic state, based on the will of the people, can secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief.

These ideals now, for the first time, look to be within the grasp of the people. The Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement is publishing Mr. Mandela's speeches both as a tribute to Mr. Mandela's role and in the belief that his words will stimulate further and much-needed support for the work of the African National Congress in the final stages of the struggle to overthrow apartheid.

Let us walk the last mile of the struggle with the people of South Africa, as Nelson Mandela invited us to do, so that the spectre of apartheid and racialism can finally be exorcised and South Africa take its place among the free nations of the world.

Louise Asmal
Hon. Secretary
Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement

28 August, 1990





ADDRESS TO DAIL EIREANN

Monday 2 July 1990

A Cheann Comhairle, a Thaoisigh, Deputies and Senators, Friends, Ladies and Gentlemen: I must first apologise because I have over the last day or two developed a heavy cold, but the stirring reception we have received both from the Government and the people of Ireland has warmed my heart and every vessel in my body. It is with a feeling of great privilege that we stand here today to address this House. We know that the invitation you extended to us to speak from this podium is one that is rarely extended to a visitor, even one who comes to you as the guest of the head of Government. I thank you most sincerely for the honour you have bestowed on me individually, on our organisation, the African National Congress, as well as the struggling people of South Africa.

We recognise in the possibility you have thus given us the reaffirmation by the members of this House and the great Irish people whom you represent, of your complete rejection of the apartheid crime against humanity, your support for our endeavours to transform South Africa into a united, democratic, non-racial and non-sexist country, your love and respect for our movement and the millions of people it represents. We know that the joy with which you have received us and the respect for our dignity you have demonstrated, come almost as second nature to a people who were themselves victims of colonial rule for centuries.

We know that your desire that the disenfranchised of our country should be heard in this House and throughout Ireland derives from your determination, born of your experience, that our people should, like yourselves, be free to govern themselves and to determine their destiny. The warm feeling that envelops us as we stand here is therefore but the affinity which belongs to peoples who have suffered in common and who are tied together by unbreakable bonds of friendship and solidarity.

The very fact there is today an independent Irish State, however long it took to realise the noble goals of the Irish people by bringing it into being, confirms the fact that we too shall become a free people; we too shall have a country which will, as the great Irish patriots said in the proclamation of 1916, cherish all the children of the nation equally.

The outstanding Irish poet, William Butler Yeats, has written that too long a sacrifice can make a stone of the heart. He spoke thus because he could feel within himself the pain of



*OPPOSITE:
Nelson Mandela
addresses Dáil Éireann*

the suffering that Irish men and women of conscience had had to endure in centuries of struggle against an unrelenting tyranny. But then he also spoke of love, of the love of these whose warm hearts the oppressors sought to turn to stone, the love of their country and people, and, in the end, the love of humanity itself.

For three quarters of a century, under the leadership of the ANC, our own people have themselves confronted a racist tyranny which grew more stubborn with each passing day. It had to be our lot that even as we refused to take up arms to save lives, we still had to bury many martyrs who were shot down or tortured to death simply because they dared to cry freedom.

The apartheid system has killed countless numbers, not only in our country but throughout Southern Africa. It has condemned to the gallows some of the best sons of our people. It has imprisoned some and driven others into exile. Even those whose only desire was to live, have had their lives cut short because apartheid means the systematic and conscious deprivation and impoverishment of the black millions.

It could have been that our own hearts turned to stone. It could have been that we inscribed vengeance on our banners of battle and resolved to meet brutality with brutality. But we understood that oppression dehumanises the oppressor as it hurts the oppressed. We understood that to emulate the barbarity of the tyrant would also transform us into savages. We knew that we would sully and degrade our cause if we allowed that it should, at any stage, borrow anything from the practices of the oppressor. We had to refuse that our long sacrifice should make a stone of our hearts.

We are in struggle because we value life and love all humanity. The liberated South Africa we envision is one in which all our people, both black and white, will be one to the other, brother and sister. We see being born a united South African nation of equal compatriots, enriched by the diversity of the colour and culture of the citizens who make up the whole.

This cannot come about until South Africa becomes a democratic country. We, therefore, insist that everybody should have the right to vote without discrimination on any grounds whatsoever. Equally, all adult South Africans should have the right to be elected to all organs of Government without any artificial hindrances being put in their way.



To safeguard the freedom of the individual, we will insist that the democratic constitution should be reinforced with an entrenched bill of rights which should be enforced by an independent and representative judiciary. At the same time, all our people will be free to form and join any party of their choice within the context of a multi-party political system.

The struggle we are waging is also for the economic transformation of our country. The system to which we are heir was designed and operates for the benefit of the white minority at the expense of the black majority. Clearly the situation cannot be allowed to



BELOW:

The Taoiseach Charles J. Haughey, TD, Dr. Maeve Hillery, Nelson Mandela, and President Hillery at Áras an Uachtaráin.



continue in which millions know nothing but the corrosive ache of hunger, in which countless numbers of children die and are deformed as a result of being afflicted by kwashiorkor and other diseases of poverty. Millions are today without jobs and without land. Nothing awaits them except death from starvation and want.

We must also make this point very clear that no political settlement in South Africa, however democratic and just, can take hold and survive, if nothing is done radically to improve the standard of living and the quality of life of all our people, and especially the black masses of our country. This will inevitably demand that the economy should achieve significant rates of growth, while it undergoes a process of restructuring and a reallocation of resources to ensure prosperity and equity.

After many years of struggle, during which many in our country and region have paid the supreme sacrifice, it appears that our country is set on the path towards a negotiated political settlement. This is a goal which our movement has pursued throughout the 78 years of its existence. In the past, however hard we knocked at the door of the powers that be in our country, that door remained locked and barred. Inspired by the arrogance of racism, successive white minority regimes held fast to the view that they could, through the use of brute force, maintain the tyranny of white minority domination forever.

But you know this more than we do, that no power on earth, even when it commits the sacrilege of invoking God's blessing for its inhuman cause, as did the apartheid regime, can defeat a people that is determined to liberate itself. Nothing can stop the evolution of humanity towards the condition of greater and ever expanding freedom. While the voice of an individual can be condemned to silence by death, imprisonment and confinement, the spirit that drives people to seek liberty can never be stilled.

The struggle of our people, so magnificently supported and reinforced by your solidarity actions and those of the rest of the international community, have obliged the South African Government to recognise the validity of these truths. President de Klerk has come to understand that the apartheid system can no longer hold and, at our instance, has accepted that he and his colleagues must enter into dialogue with the genuine representatives of the people to find a peaceful solution to the conflict in our country. We have taken the first steps in this process leading to the situation in which the obstacles to negotiations will be removed.



*OPPOSITE:
The Minister for Foreign
Affairs Gerard Collins TD,
and welcoming party at
the airport; scenes from
the lunch given by the
IAAM and the ICTU.*





A good start has indeed been made. Furthermore, we do not doubt the integrity of President de Klerk and his fellow-leaders and are convinced that they are committed to honour all agreements that may be arrived at during the process of negotiations. Despite this, we should not mistake the promise of change for change itself. The reality is that the apartheid system continues. Our country continues to be ruled by a white minority regime. All the fundamental features of the South African racist system remain unchanged. In other words, no profound and irreversible changes have taken place leading to the final abolition of the apartheid system.

In addition, many among our white compatriots are still determined to resist change at all costs. Arms in hand, they are ready to drown the masses of our people in a bloodbath to save the system of white minority rule, assert the permanence of the criminal and insulting ideology of white supremacy and ensure the further entrenchment of white privilege. None can, therefore, guarantee the process of negotiations will soon inevitably lead to the victory of the democratic cause.

It is for these reasons that the struggle against the apartheid system must continue. In this regard, we would like to extend our thanks to the Taoiseach, the Government and the people of Ireland for the enormous contribution you have made to the international struggle for the isolation of apartheid South Africa. We salute you for the leadership you have given only recently within the European Community to ensure that pressure against the apartheid system is maintained. We reiterate that we must continue to keep the pressure on until such time as the people of South Africa themselves signal that the time for change has come.

For more than a quarter of a century your country has had one of the most energetic and effective anti-apartheid movements in the world. Irishmen and women have given wholehearted and often sacrificial support for our struggle in the fields of economic, cultural and sports relations. We, therefore, salute your sportspeople, especially the rugby players, your writers and artists and the Dunnes' and other workers. They will not be forgotten by the masses of our people.

We ask that you stay the course with us, we need your support for the democratic perspectives that we represent. We need your support to generate the material resources we need to repatriate and resettle those of our compatriots who were forced into exile and to reintegrate into our communities the political prisoners who will be released. We need

financial resources to help us carry out the massive political work among all sectors of our population that has to accompany the process of negotiations. We need resources to reconstruct the ANC which has been an illegal organisation for 30 years. We trust that, as in the past, you will stand with us until our common victory is achieved.

In future, we will also need to institute important measures to reconstruct the economy of our country along the lines that we have already indicated. We shall require your co-operation in this as well, so that we build a system of relations that will be of mutual benefit to both our peoples and that will seek to ensure that the conditions are removed when racism can once more impose itself on our people and those of Southern Africa as a whole.

We would also like to take this opportunity to convey to you our thanks for everything you did to secure our release from prison. Even behind the thick prison walls of South Africa's maximum security jails we heard your voices demanding our release. So strong did that call become that we knew that, contrary to the wishes of our jailers, we would return and as you can see, we have returned.

Our reception in this House and outside is a moving indication that the Irish Parliament and people will stay the course with us, recognising that while apartheid remains, while South Africa is unfree, the community of nations and the conscience of the world can never be at peace. This gives us enormous strength and assures us of the certainty of our common victory. That victory will come sooner rather than later. Together we will win.

A standing ovation was accorded to Mr. Mandela on the conclusion of his address.





ADDRESS TO THE LUNCH HOSTED BY THE IRISH CONGRESS OF TRADE UNIONS AND THE IRISH ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT

Sunday 1 July 1990

(Mr. Mandela spoke without notes and the following speech has been transcribed from tape).

Mr. Chairman, members of the Executive Committee of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions, members of the Executive Committee of the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement, and other distinguished guests:

I thank you all for the unswerving support which you have given us in the course of our anti-apartheid struggle over the years. Our visit here is, in more instances than one, the fulfillment of a long dream.

It may surprise you that in the course of our struggle, especially in the search for the most effective forms of action which we would use in our own situation, the struggle of the Irish people and the heroes and heroines which have been produced in the course of the struggle of the people of Ireland have served as a tremendous inspiration for our own struggle. This has been the case in assessing the relevance and the effectiveness of the boycott weapon in our own circumstances.

We have been greatly moved by the consistent support which you have given us over the last thirty years. In particular, we remember the unprecedented stand taken by the Dunnes strikers, who for two and a half years staged a very effective picket against the sale of South African goods in this country. We know the sacrifices they underwent; some of them lost their jobs, and the hardships which were involved are well known to you. But what struck us most was that members of the labour movement, so many thousands of miles away from us, felt a sense of commitment to the struggle against racial oppression in South Africa.

We also know that many Irish sportsmen and artists have refused to visit South Africa whilst apartheid remains in place. We are particularly aware of the refusal by several prominent rugby players not to play in South Africa.



*OPPOSITE:
Nelson Mandela with
members of the IAAM
Executive and the Nelson
Mandela Irish Reception
Committee.*

We know too that it was the Irish Congress of Trade Unions which first recognised the South African Congress of Trade Unions, and that COSATU, which is now the biggest labour federation in our country, has received tremendous support from the Irish Congress of Trade Unions.

We therefore regard ourselves as being amongst comrades in the struggle, among our own sisters and brothers, among our own flesh and blood.

Apartheid is a tragedy. It has led to a great deal of hardship and suffering in which children, women and elderly people perish for no other reason than that we are demanding, in our own country, the right to determine our own affairs. It is a tragedy and it must be destroyed, but as has been said ad nauseam there is a silver lining in every cloud. One of the results of the application of apartheid in our country has been to unite the entire world against apartheid, black and white, countries with different historical and cultural backgrounds, that speak different languages, that have many differences amongst themselves. On the question of the fight for basic human rights in general, and in particular in South Africa, they speak with one voice. We have experienced this in the tour of the European continent. We came up against a government which took a different position from us initially in the course of discussion but at the end of the discussion we got the impression that the gaps that had existed between us had been considerably narrowed, if not reduced altogether, and this was demonstrated in the vote in the European Parliament in Strasbourg when the resolution to maintain sanctions was adopted by 177 votes to only 47 after we had addressed it. There was a consensus between what were regarded as the liberals and the conservatives in the European Parliament.

Then there was the Dublin Summit. The resolution that was passed there could almost have been drawn up by Comrade Oliver Tambo. It was excellent, diplomatic, realistic and supportive of the peace initiatives that are now in motion in our country. We are very much aware of the contribution which was made by the Minister for Foreign Affairs Mr. Collins, and of course the Taoiseach, Mr. Haughey. We know that they made a vital contribution to the progressive resolution which was adopted at the European Community summit meeting in June.

You are entitled to know the latest political developments in our country. Discussions are continuing between the ANC and the Government, and channels of communication have been opened between ourselves and the Government.



*OPPOSITE :
Catherine O'Reilly and
Dunnes strikers make a
presentation to Nelson
Mandela.*



*OPPOSITE:
Louise Asmal, Peter
Cassells, Winnie Mandela,
Jimmy Blair, Nelson Mandela.*



When the Government bans political organisations and makes it completely impossible for free political activity to take place, no matter how peaceful and disciplined, and when they intensify the oppression, no proud people can fold their arms. It was for that reason we were compelled to turn to violence, but you will notice that since 1986 armed operations in our country have been scaled down. That was done by us because in 1986 we approached the Government and asked them to sit down and explore a negotiated settlement with us.

We were met with humiliating and insulting conditions which the Government sought to impose on us. We refused and pointed out that we were not coming to them with cap in hand. We are an independent organisation which has fought the Government with all its might, has fought back very courageously, and is still prepared to do so if they are not prepared to sit down and talk to us. We ask what is the use of slaughtering one another when we can settle our differences through discussion.

The Government has ultimately accepted this position and they have agreed to sit down and talk. These talks started in May.

But what I want you to understand is that that initiative came from the ANC and the ANC alone. If anybody wants to give credit for this initiative, if anybody wants to reward anybody for this initiative, that reward must be given to the architects of this initiative, and not to those who merely responded to our initiative.

Nevertheless we want no reward. The reward must be given to the people of South Africa as a whole, black and white, in the spirit that there should never be victors or losers; neither the Government nor the ANC should be victors or losers, the people of South Africa should be the winners. That was the principle on which we conducted these discussions.

The discussions were eminently successful because they were designed to remove the obstacles to negotiations, the release of political prisoners, the end of political trials, the lifting of the state of emergency, and the repeal of certain repressive laws which we identified. We reached agreement on all these and then set up a working group composed of equal members of the Government and the ANC to find the modalities for removing these obstacles at the earliest possible time. We asked them to report to us by 21 May. They have done so.



*OPPOSITE:
Inscription in the Guests'
Book at the Berkeley Court
Hotel.*



When I return we will have another meeting between the two organisations. The aim will be to remove these obstacles and address the question of how to identify the people who are going to be entrusted with the task of drawing up a new constitution.

We want peace in the country. We want peace in such a way as not to drive the Government against the wall. We want an honourable peace and for that reason we have a great deal of respect for President de Klerk who is the first white leader in the country who has faced the reality of our situation, and who has honestly tried to address the country's problems with us.

The road ahead is very long, but we have the confidence that we will be able to reach our goal. Mr de Klerk and I are in constant communication. We meet as man to man. The

Ireland has been a tremendous source of strength to the people of South Africa in their struggle against apartheid. Compliments and best wishes

Winnie Narawa

NRaul andela 1-7-90

issue that will face us in the next meeting is one that will produce stark difficulties because the Government's position and ours are totally different. The Government's position is that the leaders who work within government political structures must be involved in negotiations. There are a host of homeland leaders who are working with the government and making use of apartheid against their own people. Secondly, now that we are negotiating, organisations have mushroomed which claim millions of members, organisations which were never heard of previously. The argument of the Government is that they must be involved, so that right from the beginning the ANC will be in a minority.

We have told the Government that we are not going to accept that. The only way of identifying the people who can be entrusted with this work is to have them democratically elected in non-racial elections. Because the ANC was banned, its leaders driven into exile or thrown into jail, and those who remained inside the country gagged, the ANC could not participate in racial elections throughout the country. But ever since my comrades and I came out of jail we have had rallies such as have never been seen in the history of our country. There is no doubt which organisation has the support of the people.

All sorts of reports have been made about the strength of the ANC. There are organisations like the PAC and AZAPO which claim to be liberation movements and which have claimed to have the same impact and level of support as the ANC.

I would like to mention just one instance which shows the actual situation in the country. I am quoting here figures which I have seen in the course of talks, figures which have been given by the mass media, by people who have not been so friendly to us. As you know 16 June is commemorated in our country by the entire population because that is the day in 1976 when the youth of the country demonstrated against the decision of the Government to compel instruction in black schools through Afrikaans, the language of the oppressor. The youth rose up against this, and in the course of a peaceful demonstration the police opened fire and a young boy of 15 was killed and others wounded. Since then we have commemorated this day.

This 16 June, three organisations, the ANC, the PAC and AZAPO called three separate demonstrations. According to the mass media, the PAC only succeeded in having 2,500, AZAPO had 3,000, while the ANC, according to police estimates, had between 60,000 and 75,000 people. It is the conventional press, the conservative press that are saying that hardly any organisation has dared to call a meeting since we returned from prison



*OPPOSITE:
Liberty Hall, Dublin*

because they know that the response they would get would never compare to the ANC.

Nevertheless we have not taken up a position that we are the only organisation. We say we are only one of the major players, that there are many organisations and that the test must be in non-racial elections throughout the country. That is our position.

We are also addressing the question of black unity and we have done extremely well. There are six homeland leaders, people who are working within government structures; we have won over five of these and they are working closely with us. Before we left for the negotiations with the Government in Cape Town we discussed tactics with them and they backed us up fully. After the meeting we reported to them and they accepted our report; indeed they went further and said they regarded the ANC as the organisation for peace. That is the position in our country.

We are also concerned about the position of Mr de Klerk because we feel that any move that may undermine his own position will be counterproductive. We are therefore addressing the right wing, the people who are presently arming themselves particularly for the purpose of destroying the ANC. We are talking to them because we are committed to peace, and we are now mobilising the entire country around the question of peace.

We are the organisation therefore that requires support more than ever before because we have taken the task which in many ways makes us the government of the country before we even take power. Only if we can mobilise the people of South Africa around the question of peace, and only if the South Africans can sit down and discuss and address their own problems can a new South

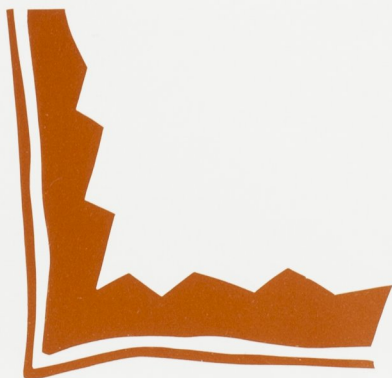


Africa be built. This is the task that is being undertaken by the ANC.

That is why we need your support. We want support which will not be given to organisations which look after a multiplicity of projects, but we want support which comes directly to us which we can control. It is only in this way that we can successfully undertake the task of reorganising the country.

Lastly I want to bring you greetings from the African National Congress and from our President Comrade Oliver Tambo. For the reasons I have outlined we have a special relationship with the Government and the people of Ireland. For that reason our President felt that he and our organisation must greet you, and we look forward to continued support from you now, as well as when a new South Africa has been built.

We are sure we can travel this last mile together and that we will work together in building a new South Africa.



ADDRESS TO A SPECIAL MEETING OF DUBLIN CITY COUNCIL
held in the Oak Room, Mansion House
Sunday 1 July

"Lord Mayor Alderman Senator Seán Haughey, Aldermen, Councillors, distinguished guests, comrades and friends, ladies and gentlemen.

It is our singular honour and pleasure to be in this historic city of Dublin and amongst our own flesh and blood.

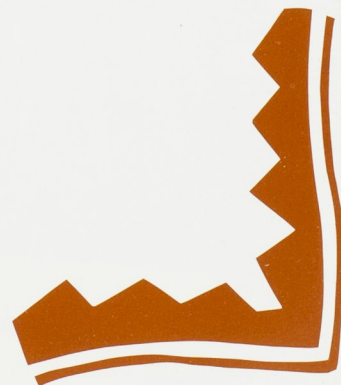
My delegation, my wife and I are moved by the fact that of the many honours conferred on us whilst we were in prison, Dublin was the first capital city to give us the freedom. We have come here to express our personal thanks to you for the pioneering role you have played in the anti-apartheid struggle. Mrs. Tambo two years ago received the Scroll on my behalf. I am now here to sign the Book of Freeman.

The award was an expression of your solidarity with the people of South Africa in their struggle against apartheid tyranny.

I am proud to have signed the Book of Freeman, joining such a distinguished group. Dublin is special to us in South Africa because it has given us great support and has solidly stood behind us in our struggle for freedom. You have given refuge and aid to so many South Africans, and for this we are deeply grateful. Congratulations also to your wonderful football team!

Our country of South Africa is at the threshold of fundamental and democratic transformation. This is so precisely because of the struggle of our people firmly supported by the efforts of the international community. Political organisations have been unbanned, some political prisoners released.

Following our recent talks with the Government, our hopes for the future have been raised. All this notwithstanding, apartheid still remains in place. It is our common duty and responsibility to ensure that apartheid is ended now. We can achieve this by maintaining the pressure on the apartheid system. In this context, we call for the maintenance of sanctions against South Africa and solidarity with our struggle.



The day is not far off when we too shall confer the Freedom of our Capital City on some of your distinguished daughters and sons.



*Seán Haughey, Lord
Mayor of Dublin, makes a
presentation to Nelson
Mandela.*



ADDRESS TO THE CROWDS OUTSIDE THE MANSION HOUSE

1 July 1990

Lord Mayor, Honourable Councillors, Comrades and Friends, Sisters and Brothers:

We bring you warm greetings from the leadership and membership of our organisation, the African National Congress, the Mass Democratic Movement, and the oppressed but fighting people of South Africa. In particular, we bring you warm regards from our President, Oliver Tambo.

You the people of Ireland have stood behind our struggle for many years. In prison, and behind thick walls, we could hear your message of solidarity loud and clear. You rallied to our cause when very few knew of our existence as a people. You supported our struggle when many did not know of our trials and tribulations.

Thank you for being there when we needed you most.

Our country, South Africa, is entering a period of momentous changes. Possibilities for fundamental and democratic transformation of our country now exist. This is so because the people of South Africa, supported by your valiant efforts, have put up a determined and relentless struggle against white domination.

Though there is light at the end of the tunnel, the road ahead is still fraught with dangers. The peaceful resolution of the apartheid question will in the end be determined by our common will and resolve to end apartheid.

We have come here to invite you to walk with us this last mile of our protracted struggle. We have come here to thank you for not forgetting us. We have come here to encourage you to hold steadfast.

Let us all maintain pressure on the apartheid system until victory. Sanctions and other forms of pressure must remain in place until the apartheid crime against humanity has finally been liquidated.

We are sure of your continued support and solidarity.

Thank you.







*BELOW AND OPPOSITE;
Nelson Mandela emerges
from the Mansion House
to greet the crowds.*





ADDRESS TO THE SALUTE TO MANDELA CONCERT organised by the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement

Gaiety Theatre

1 July 1990

This speech was delivered on Mr. Mandela's behalf by his wife Winnie because, as she explained, the Deputy President was exhausted from his long flight from the United States to Ireland.

Mrs. Mandela greeted the audience on behalf of the struggling women of South Africa, black and white, and then continued:

Leaders of the heroic Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement, comrades and friends, sisters and brothers, it is with boundless joy that we are amongst you this evening. We bring you warm and fraternal greetings from the African National Congress. We bring you warm greetings from the Mass Democratic Movement, and indeed, our entire embattled people. Our President Comrade Oliver Tambo sends his best regards. We are more than pleased to be with you, members of our enlarged family.

For almost thirty years the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement has been a consistent and staunch partner of our people against the infamous system of apartheid. Your pioneering has immensely contributed to the international indignation that so many have towards apartheid. Today, the entire world is united behind our struggle and the apartheid system can not survive. Our common struggle has reached an advanced and decisive stage, and the day is not far off when our dream of a united democratic, non-racial and non-sexist South Africa will be turned into a reality. Within a democratic order our people will be united in their diversity, bound together by their common destiny; they will be neither white nor black but just South Africans free and proud to be members of the human family, proud to be free at last. To reach there we must stand firm and continue with the struggle.

The new situation in our country has thrust new responsibilities upon our movement. We are the agency for democracy and peace. To be able to successfully accomplish our historic mission, we need both political and material support. To end apartheid we must keep sanctions and all other forms of pressure in place. To find a just and lasting peace our



*OPPOSITE:
Terence McCaughey,
Winnie Mandela, Rodney
Rice, Adelaide Tambo,
Kader Asmal at the
concert in the Gaiety
Theatre.*

Movement is in need of funds and other forms of assistance. Our youth are in need of training so that they too can one day be able participants in the reconstruction of their own country.

In all this we are fully convinced that we can continue to rely on your ever ready assistance.

To the artists, singers and entertainers at this concert we extend our warmest thanks. The Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement has been a world leader in the cultural boycott of apartheid. Your best writers and creative people have shunned making money out of apartheid. Some of your best sportsment and women have refused to go to South Africa. We salute these people, as we salute you tonight.

Soon we shall gather in a free South Africa with our music, our dance and our poetry resounding throughout the world with the message: Amandla!



At the "*Tribute to Mandela*" Concert.





REMARKS AT THE RECEPTION IN DUBLIN CASTLE hosted by the Taoiseach

2 July 1990

It is my singular honour and pleasure to join you this evening.
Our presence in your magnificent capital city is the fulfillment of a dream .

One day soon we, as a free and independent people, will join hands with the rest of the human race and commit resources to the universal struggle for human rights. Until that day, we are pledged to continue making our contribution by waging a determined struggle to end the apartheid crime against humanity.

It saddens me that as we leave Ireland we find ourselves dragged into a controversy that was not of our making and which we never intended. This morning a question which we did not invite was asked about the IRA. In response, I reiterated the well known position of the African National Congress in favour of an end to man-made death anywhere and everywhere.

I reiterated the view which we hold strongly and unashamedly that the violence should stop, as should the mutual slaughter, and that all concerned could, as with other situations of conflict, find a way to establish peace. We do not prescribe to anyone as to how this should be achieved.

It would gladden our hearts if the situation obtained in which we should never again read any report of any person killed or injured as a result of the differences among people.

Please join me in a toast to the further strengthening of the bond of friendship existing between our two peoples and to our common victory over racism wherever it may exist.



*OPPOSITE:
Charles J. Haughey and
Nelson Mandela at their
press conference in Dublin
Castle.*



SOUTH AFRICA FREEDOM FUND

Shortly after the ANC was unbanned on 2 February 1990, and Mr. Mandela released from jail, a new fund was launched by Nelson Mandela to assist the African National Congress.

The Fund will help to establish new legal structures, set up offices, and in general enable the ANC to take its place in South Africa so that it can work freely and efficiently towards its goal of building a new non-racial and democratic country.

Thousands of refugees who fled from the violence and horror of apartheid must now be enabled to return home and rebuild their lives. Thousands of ex-prisoners and detainees need help to rehabilitate themselves and to be reintegrated into society.

Please give generously to the fund.

Send your cheque or postal order to the IRISH ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT, PO Box 1974, Dublin 18, marked "South Africa Freedom Fund".





WALK THE LAST MILE WITH US

JOIN THE IRISH ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT

The annual subscription is £8 for an individual, £12 for a couple, or £4 for an unwaged person.

President - Revd. Terence P. McCaughey

Chairman - Kader Asmal

Vice-Chairman - L.G. Kilgallen

Hon. Secretary - Louise Asmal

Hon. Treasurer - R. Mottiar

Asst. Treasurer - Tony Ffrench

Send your name and address to the IAAM, PO Box 1974, Dublin 18, together with your cheque or postal order, or ask for further information about our work.



