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AH ADDRESS TO BORDER REGION RALLY AT EAST LONDON-KING
HILLIAN'S TOWN ON THE OCCASION OF THE COMMEMORATE
OF SHARPVILLE AND LANGA MASSACRE: 21 MARCH 1992
BY GOVAN HBEKI

CONRADE CHAIR, CONRADES

THE 21ST OF MARCH HAS COME TO BE ACCEPTED BY THE LIBERATION
MOVEMENT AS A PUBLIC HOLIDAY FIRSTLY TO COMMEMORATE THE
MASSACRE OF SOME 69 AFRICANS BY SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE AT
SHARPVILLE ON THIS DATE IN 1960 AND SECONDLY THE MASSACRE
OF 19 AFRICANS AT LANGA IN Uitenhage.

ON BOTH OCCASIONS THE POLICE SHOT AND KILLED INNOCENT
CIVILIANS WHO WERE OPPOSED IN THE ONE CASE TO THE PASS LAWS
AND IN THE OTHER WHO WERE ON THEIR WAY TO ATTEND A FUNERAL
SIMPLY BECAUSE ACCORDING TO THE CULTURE OF APARTHEID THE
POLICE HAD BEEN TRAINED TO BELIEVE THAT THE AFRICAN HAD
NO RIGHT TO SAY NO TO THE LAWS AND POLICIES THAT A WHITE
MINORITY GOVERNMENT HAD LAID DOWN FOR THE AFRICANS.

IT WAS AGAINST THESE POLICIES AND PRACTICES THAT THE ANC
AS THE SPEARHEAD OF THE STRUGGLE FOR LIBERATION IN THIS
COUNTRY HAD CONSISTENTLY LED THE RESISTANCE AGAINST THE
INDIGNITIES THAT APARTHEID VISITED ON A WHOLE PEOPLE SIMPLY
BECAUSE THEY WERE BLACK.

IT IS IMPORTANT TO REMEMBER THAT ALONG THE WHOLE ROAD COVERED BY THE STRUGGLE SINCE THE END OF THE WARS OF DISPOSSESSION ARE GRAVES OF OUR PEOPLE WHO HAVE LAID DOWN THEIR LIVES IN THE COURSE OF THE STRUGGLE FOR LIBERATION. HERE IN THE Ciskei WHERE SOME OF THE BITTEREST BATTLES AGAINST DISPOSSESSION HERE LED AND FOUGHT, THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS TODAY IS STILL ENGAGED IN A STRUGGLE FOR LIBERATION WITH THE SURROGATES OF THE APARTHEID SYSTEM AS REPRESENTED BY THE LEADERS OF THE BANTUSTANS. HOWEVER INSPITE OF THE SUFFERINGS AND DENIALS WHICH THE PEOPLE OF THE Ciskei ARE EXPERIENCING AT THE HANDS OF THE APARTHEID PUPPET ADMINISTRATIONS, I WOULD LIKE US TO FOCUS ON THE BROADER AND NATIONAL HAPPENINGS IN OUR COUNTRY. EVENTS ARE TAKING SHAPE AT SUCH A FAST RATE THAT WE REQUIRE TO EXAMINE OUR RESPONSES ALMOST ON A DAILY BASIS. IN THE LIGHT OF WHAT IS HAPPENING IN CODESA IT WILL NOT BE LONG BEFORE THE ENTIRE BANTUSTAN SUPER-STRUCTURE IS SCRAPPED AND YOU WILL NOT HAVE TO BOTHER WITH SUCH BANTUSTAN PUPPETS AS ARE CAUSING YOU PROBLEMS TODAY. LIKE HUNTERS LET US AIM AT THE BIG GAME - THE ELEPHANTS, THE LIONS ETC. - RATHER THAN USE UP OUR RESOURCES IN CHASING

RABBITS (IHIVUNDLA NONOMATSE). WHAT I AM SUGGESTING IS A RE-EXAMINATION OF OUR METHODS OF STRUGGLE. FOR DECADES AND DECADES WE HAVE BEEN ACCUSTOMED TO RESISTANCE, WHETHER AT THE PLACE OF WORK WE WOULD GO SLOW (SIBAHBE IDOLO) OR IN THE CLASSROOM WE WOULD NOT APPLY OURSELVES IN IMPLEMENTING BANTU EDUCATION, OR IN ANY OTHER FIELD OF ACTIVITY WHERE WE WERE CALLED UPON TO CARRY OUT GOVERNMENT RACIST POLICIES. ONLY A FEW DAYS AGO THE GOVERNMENT ANNOUNCED THAT THERE HAS TO BE ONE CITY LOCAL ADMINISTRATION. THAT MEANS WE WOULD HAVE TO REVIEW OUR APPROACH TO SUCH FORMS OF RESISTANCE AS NON-PAYMENT OF RENTS AND OTHER SERVICES, IF WE ARE PART OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION. THIS MEANS THAT THE ANC HAS TO SHIFT FROM THE CULTURE OF RESISTANCE TO ONE OF GIVING LEADERSHIP IN SEEKING TO BRING ABOUT A SITUATION THAT WOULD BE BENEFICIAL TO THE PEOPLE AS A WHOLE. AGAIN ONLY RECENTLY THE NATIONALIST PARTY GOVERNMENT HAS FINALLY CONCEDED TO THE DEMAND OF THE ANC TO ESTABLISH AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT WHICH WILL HAVE EXECUTIVE POWERS ESPECIALLY IN THE KEY AREAS OF GOVERNMENT SUCH AS THE CONTROL OF THE DEFENCE FORCE AND THE POLICE, OF THE BUDGET ETC. IN ADDITION SUCH AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT SHOULD PREPARE THE COUNTRY FOR ELECTIONS TO

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A CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY TO DRAW UP A CONSTITUTION FOR A UNITED, NON-RACIAL, NON-SEXIST DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA. WHAT IS THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THIS FOR THE ANC AND THE OPPRESSED PEOPLE OF THIS COUNTRY AND FOR THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA IN GENERAL? THIS STEP IS VERY SIGNIFICANT TO THE ANC AND THE OPPRESSED PEOPLE IN TWO IMPORTANT RESPECTS:

A) WE SHOULD PREPARE FOR A NON-RACIAL ELECTION.
B) WE SHOULD EQUIP OUR YOUNG PEOPLE WITH THE SKILLS TO BE INVOLVED AT EVERY LEVEL - IN INDUSTRY, IN THE CIVIL SERVICE, IN COMMERCE, IN EDUCATION, IN THE HEALTH SERVICES ETC. - IN THE BUILDING OF A NON-RACIAL AND DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA.

IT HAS BEEN ACCEPTED BY ALL THE PARTICIPANTS IN THE CODESA NEGOTIATIONS THAT ELECTIONS TO THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY WHICH, IT IS HOPED, WILL BE IN PLACE BY THE END OF THIS YEAR SHOULD BE ON A PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION. THAT MEANS THAT WHEN THE ELECTIONS TAKE PLACE THE POLITICAL PARTY THAT HAS GAINED THE HIGHEST NUMBER OF VOTES AT THE ELECTION WILL BE REPRESENTED AT THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY IN PROPORTION TO THE VOTES IT HAS HAD; AND A POLITICAL PARTY THAT HAS ATTRACTED A SMALL NUMBER OF VOTES WILL BE REPRESENTED ACCORDINGLY.

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IT IS CLEAR THEREFORE THAT IN ORDER TO ENSURE "THAT' THE POLICIES OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS AS ENSHRINED IN THE FREEDOM CHARTER ARE TO BE IN THE NEW CONSTITUTION FOR SOUTH AFRICA THE ANC MUST HAVE A MASSIVE SUPPORT OF THE ELECTORATE. IN PRACTICAL TERMS THAT MEANS THAT THE PRESENT MEMBERSHIP OF THE ANC MUST GO ALL OUT TO RECRUIT ON A BIG SCALE MEMBERSHIP INTO THE ANC, BECAUSE IT IS ONLY SUCH MASSIVE MEMBERSHIP THAT WILL ENABLE THE INFLUENCE OF THE ORGANISATION TO REACH OUT TO MUCH WIDER CIRCLES OF THE POPULATION.

THIS TASK CANNOT BE DELAYED. IT HAS GOT TO RECEIVE ATTENTION RIGHT NOW BECAUSE IF THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT WHOSE TASK IS TEMPORARY AND LIMITED IS SET UP IN THE COURSE. SAY, OF THE NEXT THREE MONTHS THE ELECTIONS FOR A CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY CAN BE EXPECTED TO TAKE PLACE BY EARLY NEXT YEAR.

THE TASK TO INCREASE THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE ANC FALLS LARGELY ON THE SHOULDERS OF OUR YOUTH AND WE CALL UPON THEM THAT FROM THIS RALLY THEY SHOULD GO OUT TO THE PEOPLE IN RURAL AND URBAN AREAS TO RECRUIT THEM INTO THE ANC. AS THEY DO SO THEY WILL ALSO BE CARRYING THE MESSAGE OF THE ANC TO ALL THE CORNERS OF OUR COUNTRY.

IT MUST BE CLEAR TO ALL OF US THAT DURING THE PERIOD OF APARTHEID MILLIONS AND TENS OF MILLIONS OF THE OPPRESSED HERE DENIED EDUCATION AND THE ACQUISITION OF SKILLS. WITH THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A UNITED NON-RACIAL, NONSEXIST DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA THERE IS GOING TO BE A GRAVE SHORTAGE OF PEOPLE WITH THE NECESSARY SKILLS TO BE EMPLOYED IN THE VARIOUS SPHERES OF THE ECONOMY, THE CIVIL SERVICE ETC. AGAIN HE CALL UPON OUR YOUTH, UPON OUR TEACHERS AND EDUCATORS TO DO ALL IN THEIR POWER TO MAKE EDUCATION ACCESSIBLE TO ALL. OUR EDUCATIONISTS AND TEACHERS SHOULD COUNSEL THE STUDENTS PRESENTLY AT SCHOOLS TO FOLLOW ALL LINES OF SKILLS PROVIDED IN THE COUNTRY'S TECHNICALS AND UNIVERSITIES. IF OPPORTUNITIES FOR EMPLOYMENT ARE TO BE CREATED THERE MUST BE AN EXPANSION AND GROWTH OF THE ECONOMY, AND THESE ARE GOING TO REQUIRE ON AN EVER INCREASING SCALE SKILLED PERSONNEL. IF THIS DOES NOT HAPPEN THE COUNTRY WILL REMAIN FOR A LONG TIME WITH SHORTAGE OF HOUSES AND GENERAL POVERTY. THE COUNTRY WILL NOT BE IN A POSITION TO COMPETE WITH HIGH TECHNIQUE INDUSTRIES IN THE ADVANCED COUNTRIES. THE ANC MUST MOVE AWAY EVEN IN THIS TRANSITIONAL PERIOD FROM THE POLICIES OF RESISTANCE TO THOSE THAT SEEK TO GIVE

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LEADERSHIP IN THE CREATION FOR A NEW DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA.
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