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ADDRESS BY COMEADE MANAIJ NMNZINI  
EPPREOWMTATIVE AT DODOMA, ON THE OCCASSIQN

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LEA.

Comrades Leaders of the Revolutionary Chama cha Hapinduzi  
Comrade and Friends,

I greet you all today on behalf 00f the mighty African Natioanl  
Congress, and on ayeeWE-hehalf behalf the National Executive  
Committee of tdhe ANC, and on my own behalf as its representative  
in Tanzania.

I greet you all, overjoyed, overwhelmed, inspired. I am sure we  
all share this emotion, we have all embraced and are imbued With  
the spirit that characterises this historic moment in the history  
of the people of South Africa. I am sure we are all confident of  
the logical conclusion of an otherwise long, \_hitter and arduous.  
struggle which we in South Africa have waged under the most trying  
conditions, and that conclusion, how nearer than human mind can  
focus it, is but a-democratic, unitary and non racial South Africa.'  
I am sure we are all extremely meved by the release from incarceration,  
of not only South Africa's, but of Africa's finest son , the bold,  
unyielddding, robust, and dheroic Comrade Nelsom.Mandela. I am  
sure that now that we know he it a free amn, we areeby now yearning  
to see him, to talk to him and together With him, to srike the last  
nail to apartheid's coffin.

Only about two weeks ago, Comrade Nelson mandela's colleagues, also  
released frdm.Robben Isaand and Polls Mbor prisons, jettted into a 4%;  
tumulationis welcom into this tgggyEodoma, the new capital of the i /  
United Republic of Tanzania. Today, we are back together again ,  
in Dodoma,I\$5 rejoice and reoommit ourselves to the just cause of p;  
the struggling ebmt,f&ghtihatpeople of South Africa under the  
time tested leaderehip of the African Natibnal Congress.

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IOnly last year, racist ?.W. Botha had taken a salute from.his troops  
JhiCh were parading at City Square in Pretoria. Then they displayed  
the most sophisticated weapons of destruction which they had used  
against unarmed Civilians in South Africa and in Southern Africa?  
little did they know that pertmts it might as well he: have been th i

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y. urns

a I shall tight the government side by side with you, inch by inch, and mile  
Lby mile, until victory is won. What are you going to do? Will you come  
' along with us, or are you going to co-operate with the government in its ef-  
I ferts to suppress the claims and aspirations of your own people? Or are  
. i I you going to remain silent and neutral in a matter of life and death to my  
l people, to our people? For my own part I have made my choice. I will not  
a ; leave South Africa, nor will I surrender. Only through hardship, sacritice  
' and militant action can freedom be won. The struggle is my life. I will con-  
e tinue fighting for freedom until the end of my days.

I e But the violence which we chose to adopt was not terrorism. We who formed Umshonto were all members of the African National Congress, and had behind us the ANC tradition of non-violence and negotiation as a means of solving political disputes. We believe that South Africa belongs to all the people who live in it, and not to one group, be it black or white. We did not want an inter-racial war, and tried to avoid it to the last . . . people. I have fought against white domination, and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to 'die. i " '

:There comes a time, as it came in my life, when a man is denied the right .  
' the government has so decreed to use the law to impose a state of outlawry  
1 'I do not, however, deny that I planned sabotage. I did not plan it in a  
During my lifetime I have dedicatetiimyseli to this struggle of the African  
m mmmmm .4

I shall fight the government side by side with you, inch by inch, and mile along with us, or are you going to co-operate with the government in its efforts to suppress the claims and aspirations of your own people? Or are you going to remain silent and neutral in a matter of life and death to my people, to our people? For my own part I have made my choice. I will not leave South Africa, nor will I surrender. Only through hardship, sacrifice and militant action can freedom be won. The struggle is my life. I will continue to live an abnormal life, when he can only live the life of an outlaw because of his skin. I was driven to this situation, and I do not regret having taken the decisions that I did take.

It was not a spirit of recklessness, nor because I have any love of violence. I planned it as a result of a calm and sober assessment of the political situation that had arisen after many years of tyranny, exploitation, and oppression of my people by the whites.

During my lifetime I have dedicated myself to this struggle of the African people. I have fought against white domination, and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But if e . . , needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die.

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