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slave: of the criminal ideology of white supremacy from the kraals of infamy in which they have incarcerated themselves. In the end, they too must learn to celebrate freedom and not oppression; life, not death: our common humanity and not the separation and definition of people according to racial and ethnic groups.

But, as of now, we must chase sorry souls, to celebrate a victory that truly belongs to all the people of our country as well as the countless millions throughout the world who are engaged in struggle to help us end the apartheid system and transfer South Africa into a united, democratic and non-racial country.

Comrades Halter, Gavan, Kathy, Raymond, Elias, Andrew, Hilton and Oscar welcome to you all. Welcome back to uh? foremost, ranks of the use of that, is engaged in an heroic struggle to deliver our country and people out of the long night; of apartheid tyranny. Welcome back to active service within the collective leadership of the people's movement, the African National Congress. We extend the same welcome to Comrade Harry Oval: who should have been with you except for the fact that he is temporarily out; of the moment for medical reasons. Dear comrade: and fellow-leader, your return is not only a

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tribute to the relentless and historic campaign to secure your immediate and unconditional release. It is also, in no small measure, due to your own steadfast refusal to be cowed by the rigours of the apartheid prisons - the inspiration you never failed to give us by your unwavering commitment to the just cause for which you were unjustly arrested, tried, sentenced and imprisoned. As we held the fort within the National Executive Committee of your organisation and inside the CM structures of Umkhonto we Sizwe, we valued immensely the comments, observations and suggestions you were able to communicate to us even while you were in prison.

Even now, we continue to pay the greatest attention to the comments, observations and suggestions communicated to us by Nelson Mandela and other comrades still in prison. All of them, disciplined members of our movement whose actions are inspired exclusively by the desire to serve the people, to contribute what they can, wherever they are, to the realisation of the noble objectives contained in the Freedom Charter, to maintain an unwavering loyalty to the movement they have served and continue to serve with such distinction.

Indeed, comrades leaders, we welcome you today also as a result of the committed and selfless efforts (of Comrade Nelson Mandela) working quietly and unobtrusively behind the scenes. This rally

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be freed. as well as the patriot: who are in enforced exile, work in mlreakable unity to lead our people to the deeply cherished goals of national and social emancipation. Your glorious rally today expresses exactly that miby, dedication and common resolve.

He look forward to the day. which is not far from now. when we shall rejoin you within the country a: servant: of the people. to take fwber order: fro. these heroic masses as to what; new tasks they give us to perform. Let. no therefore take this opportunity, comrades. to assure you that; I an rapidly recovering my health. I u in regular contact; with our Headquarters in Lusaka, with our international representative: and with comrade: at home.

You. the leaders of our people. gave us a mission to go abroad, nobiliso support for the struggle and return home to report to you on what we had done. Our mandate will not terminate until we have returned to give you that; report. in person. Please ml: assured of this. Our temporary discomfort has been made so much easier ('0 endure, thanks to the great. number of mum of goodwill that so many of you within the country have communicated to us. I have no words to express my gratitude to you all. except; to say thank you again and again. Your concern has been as powerful a spur to Iy full rocoveryvus the kind and close attention I have received and continue to receive from a

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wonderful team of doctors, nurses and other hospital staff.
To the great masses of our people, so well represented at this
rally today, we say: you know the tasks facing all of us better
than anybody else. Continue to move in action and to act in
unity. Continue to be as resolute and fearless as you have been.
Nelson Mandela and other comrades are still in prison. He must
be free. The state of emergency remains. We must end it through
our actions. Our organisations are still banned. He must end
them. The fratricidal violence in Natal continues. He must end
it. Whatever obstacles some might place in our way as we seek to
achieve this goal. The Conference for a Democratic Future is
ahead of us. We must make sure it succeeds: as a true parliament
of all the people of our country and a point of focus to unite
the millions of our people in struggle to achieve our common
goals. The apartheid system remains in place. He must make the
final determined drive to abolish this crime against humanity and
like the sister people of Namibia, take the final steps to our
liberation.

34'' Qmmtriobn:

The future of our country is in our hands. At this historic

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nonenb, let; us act. together for freedom now. Our common victory
is in night. Revolutionary greeting: to you all.

Anandla! Mable! All power to tha People!

London. October 28. 1989.

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If FJL. do Klerk finally accepts the position: the ANC and the noses of our people have upheld for decades by opting for peace with justice, he may yet. earn a place among the peaceukers of owoomtry, mofvlnnhavohudtobearamorcarry-tha runwablhe title of Yomg Lions as they mud a struggle whose ail is precisely the attainment. of peace and Justice for all our people and for the entire region of Southern Africa. He lust state it. here club if the Pretoria regime snake the path to a genuine political settlement. of the conflict in our country. tho way fomrd has been clearly spelt; out in the Harare Declaration which you. the people of our comtry and your bryanisation. the ANC, mpared and which now has the express support of over 100 eomtries.

If. on the other hand, PM. do Klork continues to entertain the illusion that he can perpetuate apartlwid by the use of force and deceitful nameuvm. he will need to know that thereny he condemns himself to disappear forever into the din niche of history. together with the criminal syste- he will have sought to defend.

He are mmmly strengthened by the knowledge that within the comm. we have a powerful cadre of leaders. both young and old. non and women. black and white. who will, together with the tried .and mud stalwarts who have now been released and those yet. to

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is also. in part, a tribute to that. magnificent. struggle by one of the longest. serving political prisoners.

Comrades leaders of our people;

Compatriots who have gathered in your thousands today;

Our country has arrived at. a crossroad. one road it follows.

the destination will be. as surely as the sun rises in the East.

the final and total destruction of the apartheid system. which

road it. takes is a matter entirely in the hands of FM. de Klerk

and the rest of the leadership of the National Party.

By their actions. they will determine whether we go along the

road of increasing confrontation and a bitter conflict between

the forces of democracy on the one hand, and those of racial

tyranny on the other. By their deeds. they will decide whether we

will along the road of a negotiated settlement. aimed at. the

total abolition of the apartheid system of white minority

domination and exploitation.

As we meet today to welcome back our leaders, we will without

doubt also pledge ourselves to continue and intensify the

struggle, in whatever form the situation demands. until freedom

has been achieved. Of this, nobody should harbour any doubts,

including the enemies and opponents of our struggle.

celebrate.

STATBIENT OF THE PMIDENT OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL W.
(LIVER TAHBO. TO THE RALLY TO "ECDHE THE mEASEJ LEADERS HELD
IN JOHANNESBURG: (ETOBER 29. 1989.

Comrade Chairperson.

Comrades leader: of the ANC and the use democratic movement;
Competrio'ca all:

This is a joyful day for all of us. It is a day of celebration
for all the people of our country. Those who have chosen to turn
their backs on our festivities arc the enell minority who
continue to cling to the anbi-hunan concepts and practices of
racial arrogance. white minority domination and the
wper-exploitation of the messes of our people.

Yet they too are pert of our heritage. They are part of that.
history and continuing reality of our country which has meant and
mean: the inprieonnenb of the beeh'rem-eeencabivee of our people
for a qxnrtter-of-e-centmry and more; the murder of binueande by
the apartheid any and police and their secret death squads; the
detention of tens of thousand: lmder the state of emergency.
including the very yetnq who ought. to be free as the wind to
enjoy the pleasure: of childhood; the millions who have suffered
fro. the daily violence inherent. in the apartheid system.
Our continuing obligation to mot. and obliterate the apartheid
syste- containe within it the responsibility to release these