

FEBRUARY 11 1990.

CAPE TOWN

SPEECH DELIVERED BY COMRADE NELSON MANDELA ON
HIS RELEASE

Friends, Comrades and fellow-South Africans, I greet you all in the name of peace, democracy and freedom for all.

I stand here before you not as a prophet, but as a humble servant of you the people. Your tireless and heroic sacrifices have made it possible for me to be here today - I therefore place the remaining years of my life in your hands.

On this day of my release, I extend my sincere and warmest gratitude to the millions of my compatriots and those in every corner of the globe who have campaigned tirelessly for my release.

I extend special greetings to the people of Cape Town, the city which has been my home for three decades. Your mass marches and other forms of struggle have served as a constant source of strength to all political prisoners.

I salute our President, Comrade Oliver Tambo, for leading the ANC even under the most difficult circumstances.

I salute the rank and file members of the ANC. You have sacrificed life and limb in the pursuit of the noble cause of our struggle.

I salute combatants of Umkhonto we Sizwe, like Solomon Mahlangu and Ashley Kriel who have paid the ultimate price for the freedom of all South Africans.

I salute the South African Communist Party for its sterling contribution to the struggle for democracy. You have survived forty years of unrelenting persecution. The memory of great communists like Moses Kotane, Yusuf Dadoo, Brahm Fischer and Moses Mabhida will be cherished for generations to come.

I salute General Secretary Joe Slovo - one of our finest patriots. We are heartened by the fact that the alliance between ourselves and the Party remains as strong as it always was.

2.

I salute the the United Democratic Front, Cosatu, the National Education Crisis Committee, the South African Youth Congress, the Transvaal and Natal Indian Congresses and the many other formations of the Mass Democratic Movement.

I also salute the Black Sash and the National Union of South African Students. We note with pride that you have acted as the conscience of white South Africans. Even during the darkest days in the history of our struggle you held the flag of liberty high. The large scale mass mobilisation of the past few years is one of the key factors which led to the opening of the final chapter of our struggle.

I extend my greetings to the working class of our country. Your organised strength is the pride of our movement. You remain the most dependable force in the struggle to end exploitation and oppression.

I pay tribute to the many religious communities who carried the campaign for justice forward when the organisations of our people were silenced.

I greet the traditional leaders of our country. Many among you continue to walk in the footsteps of great heroes like Hintsa and Sekhukuni.

I pay tribute to the endless heroism of the youth. You the young lions have energised our entire struggle.

I pay tribute to the mothers and wives and sisters of our nation. You are the rock-hard foundation of our struggle. Apartheid has inflicted more pain on you than on anyone else.

On this occasion, we thank the world community for their great contribution to the anti-apartheid struggle. Without your support our struggle would not have reached this advanced stage. The sacrifices of the Frontline States will be remembered by South Africans forever.

My salutations will be incomplete without expressing my deep appreciation for the strength given to me during my long and lonely years in prison by my beloved wife and family. I am convinced that your pain and suffering was far greater than my own.

3.

Before I go any further, I wish to make the point that I intend making only a few preliminary comments at this stage. I will make a more complete statement only after I have had the opportunity to consult with my comrades.

Today the majority of South Africans, black and white, recognise that apartheid has no future. It has to be ended by our own decisive mass action in order to build peace and security. The mass campaigns of defiance and other actions of our organisations and people can only culminate in the establishment of democracy. The apartheid destruction on our subcontinent is incalculable. The fabric of family life of millions of my people has been shattered. Millions are homeless and unemployed. Our economy lies in ruins. And our people are embroiled in political strife. Our resort to the armed struggle in 1960 with the formation of the military wing of the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe, was a purely defensive action against the violence of apartheid. The factors which necessitated the armed struggle still exist today. We have no option but to continue. We express the hope that a climate conducive to a negotiated settlement would be created soon so that there may no longer be the need for the armed struggle.

I am a loyal and disciplined member of the African National Congress. I am therefore in full agreement with all of its objectives, strategies and tactics.

The need to unite the people of our country is as important a task now as it always has been. No individual leader is able to take on these enormous tasks on his own. It is our task as leaders to place our views before our organisation and to allow the democratic structures to decide on the way forward.

On the question of democratic practice I feel dutybound to make the point that a leader of the movement is a person who has been democratically elected at a national conference. This is a principle which must be upheld without any exceptions.

Today I wish to report to you that my talks with the Government have been aimed at normalising the political situation in the country. We have not as yet begun discussing the basic demands of our struggle.

f.

I wish to stress that I myself had at no time entered into negotiations about the future of our country, except to insist on a meeting between the ANC and the government.

Mr De Klerk has gone further than any other Nationalist president in taking real steps to normalise the situation. However, there are further steps as outlined in the Harare Declaration that have to be met before negotiations on the basic demands of our people can begin.

I reiterate our call for, inter alia, the immediate ending of the State of Emergency and the freeing of all and not only some political prisoners.

Only such a normalised situation which allows for free political activity can allow us to consult our people in order to obtain a mandate.

The people need to be consulted on who will negotiate and on the content of such negotiations. Negotiations cannot take place above the heads or behind the backs of our people. It is our belief that the future of our country can only be determined by a body which is democratically elected on a non-racial basis. Negotiations on the dismantling of apartheid will have to address the overwhelming demands of our people of a democratic, non-racial, and unitary South Africa. There must be an end to white monopoly on political power and a fundamental restructuring of our political and economic systems to ensure that the inequalities of apartheid are addressed and our society thoroughly democratised.

It must be added that Mr De Klerk himself is a man of integrity who is acutely aware of the dangers of a public figure not honouring his undertakings. But as an organisation we base our policy and strategy on the harsh reality we are faced with. And this reality is that we are still suffering under the policies of the Nationalist government.

Our struggle has reached a decisive moment. We call on our people to seize this moment so that the process towards democracy is rapid and uninterrupted. We have waited too long for our freedom. We can wait no longer.

5.

Now is the time to intensify the struggle on all fronts. To relax our efforts now would be a mistake which generations to come will not be able to forgive.

The sight of freedom looming on the horizon should encourage us to redouble our efforts.

It is only through disciplined mass action that our victory can be assured.

We call on our white compatriots to join us in the shaping of a new South Africa. The freedom movement is a political home for you too. We call on the international community to continue the campaign to isolate the apartheid regime. To lift sanctions now would be to run the risk of aborting the process towards the complete eradication of apartheid.

Our march to freedom is irreversible. We must not allow fear to stand in our way. Universal suffrage on a common voters' roll in a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa is the only way to peace and racial harmony.

In conclusion I wish to quote my own words during my trial in 1964. They are as true today as they were then:

"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."

End

Message 837 L PRESSER 90-02-12 14:46

A1070290E MANDELA PRESS CONFERENCE

CAPE TOWN, 12 FEB (AND) - THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC) WAS VERY MUCH CONCERNED OVER THE QUESTION OF WHITE FEARS FOR BLACK DOMINATION, MR NELSON MANDELA TOLD AN INTERNATIONAL PRESS CONFERENCE IN CAPE TOWN MONDAY MORNING.

ADDRESSING ABOUT 260 LOCAL AND FOREIGN JOURNALISTS AT BISHOP'S COURT WHICH IS THE OFFICIAL RESIDENCE OF THE ANGLICAN ARCHBISHOP OF CAPE TOWN, MR MANDELA SAID: +THE ANC WILL ADDRESS THAT PROBLEM AND FIND A SOLUTION WHICH WILL SUIT BOTH BLACKS AND WHITES.+

ASKED ABOUT THE ROLE HE EXPECTED TO PLAY IN COMING MONTHS, MR MANDELA SAID: +NO PERSON IN OUR ORGANISATION HAS THE RIGHT TO DETERMINE WHAT ROLE HE IS TO PLAY IN THE STRUGGLE.

+WE ARE LOYAL AND DISCIPLINED MEMBERS OF THE ORGANISATION, AND THE ANC WILL DETERMINE THE ROLE I AM TO PLAY.

+IT IS MY INTENTION TO GO TO LUSAKA AT THE EARLIEST OPPORTUNITY AND THEY (THE EXILED ANC) WILL TELL ME WHAT ROLE I SHALL PLAY.+

MR MANDELA WHO WAS RELEASED FROM LIFE IMPRISONEMENT SUNDAY, WAS FLANKED BY HIS WIFE, WINNIE, AND MR WALTER SISULU AND HIS WIFE ALBERTINA DURING THE CONFERENCE.

ASKED WHETHER HIS CALL FOR THE CONTINUATION OF THE ARMED STRUGGLE IN HIS FIRST PUBLIC SPEECH IN CAPE TOWN SUNDAY NIGHT WAS NOT CONTRADICTIONARY TO DE KLERK'S SENTIMENTS THAT MR MANDELA WAS COMMITTED TO PEACE, THE ANC LEADER SAID THERE WAS NO CONFLICT AT ALL BETWEEN THE TWO POSITIONS.

+I HAVE COMMITTED MYSELF TO A POSITION OF PEACE FOR THIS COUNTRY BUT THAT HAS BEEN PART AND PARCEL OF THE ANC'S CAMPAIGNS.

+THERE IS NO POLITICAL ORGANISATION INSIDE OR OUTSIDE PARLIAMENT WHICH CAN BE COMPARED TO THE ANC'S TOTAL COMMITMENT TO PEACE.

+THE ARMED STRUGGLE IS JUST A DEFENSIVE ACT AGAINST THE VIOLENCE OF APARTHEID,+ MR MANDELA EXPLAINED.

IF THE PRETORIA GOVERNMENT GAVE THE ANC THE OPPORTUNITY, IT WOULD MAKE A POSITIVE CONTRIBUTION TOWARDS PEACE. MR MANDELA SAID THAT HE HAD HAD MANY DISCUSSIONS WITH THE GOVERNMENT OVER THE PAST THREE YEARS.

THESE DISCUSSIONS WHICH HAD INVOLVED SEVERAL MEMBERS OF THE CABINET AND THE TWO STATE PRESIDENTS (THUS INCLUDING FORMER PRESIDENT P.W. BOTHA) WERE CONCERNED WITH TWO QUESTIONS.

+THE FIRST WAS THE RELEASE OF MY COLEAGUES, CONRADE SISULU AND OTHERS FOR WHICH I NEGOTIATED WITH THE GOVERNMENT.

+THE SECOND HAS BEEN CONCERNED WITH A MEETING BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND THE ANC BUT IN THIS I HAVE PURELY ACTED AS A FACILITATOR IN ORDER TO BRING THESE TWO TO THE NEGOTIATING TABLE.+

HE SAID HE HAD MET THE MINISTER OF JUSTICE, MR KOBIE COETSEE, NUMEROUS TIMES AND HAD SPOKEN TO DR GERRIT VILJOEN FOUR TIMES SINCE HE TOOK OVER AS MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN SEPTEMBER LAST YEAR.

-2-

ASKED WHETHER HE THOUGHT HIS DEFINITION OF A NORMALISED SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA WAS THE SAME AS THAT OF DE KLERK, HE SAID: +I HAVE NO DOUBT WE ARE TALKING ABOUT THE SAME THING. BUT IF HE REGARDS THE STEPS TAKEN SO FAR AS BEING SUFFICIENT FOR THE NORMALISATION OF THE COUNTRY I DIFFER WITH HIM.+

HE STRESSED THAT THE STATE OF EMERGENCY HAD TO BE LIFTED IN ITS ENTIRETY AND ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS RELEASED.

+ONCE THESE OBSTACLES ARE REMOVED WE WILL BE ENTITLED TO SAY THE SITUATION HAS BEEN NORMALISED.+

THE ANC LEADER SAID HE BELIEVED THE FIRST STEP TO A SOLUTION TO SOUTH AFRICA'S POLITICAL PROBLEMS WAS A MEETING BETWEEN PRETORIA AND THE ANC.

NOW THAT HE WAS RELEASED IT WAS UP THE ANC TO DETERMINE WHAT SHOULD HAPPEN.

HE ALSO POINTED OUT THAT THE ANC HAD CALLED ON THE LEADERS OF THE HOMELANDS TO JOIN THE STRUGGLE AND HE BELIEVED THIS WAS THE CORRECT POLICY.

ASKED ABOUT HIS POSSIBLE ROLE IN BRINGING ABOUT RECONCILIATION WITH ORGANISATIONS SUCH AS THE INKATHA ZULU TRIBAL MOVEMENT OF CHIEF MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI AND THE PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS (PAC), HE SAID NO SINGLE PERSON COULD UNDERTAKE SUCH AN ENORMOUS TASK.

+IT IS THE DUTY OF THE POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS, PARTICULARLY THE ANC, TO DETERMINE IN WHAT WAY WE CAN INCREASE THE MOMENTUM OF UNITY AMONGST BLACK ORGANISATIONS - AND THEY GIVE ME INSTRUCTIONS.+

MR MANDELA SAID HIS PERSONAL RELATIONSHIP WITH CHIEF BUTHELEZI SHOULD BE +A MATTER OF NO CONCERN+.

+WE HAVE DIFFERENCES WITH DR BUTHELEZI ON THE QUESTION OF THE USE OF VIOLENCE, ON ATTITUDES TO GOVERNMENT STRUCTURES, ON THE QUESTION OF SANCTIONS. THESE ARE FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCES. NEVERTHELESS HE IS A FIGURE WITH A FOLLOWING.+

MR MANDELA SAID THAT ALL THE PROBLEMS THAT SANCTIONS HAD AIMED AT SOLVING WERE STILL THERE.

+NOTHING HAS CHANGED. THE DEMAND IN THIS COUNTRY IS FOR A NON-RACIAL SOCIETY. IT IS STILL TOO EARLY FOR ANYONE TO CALL FOR A LIFTING OF SANCTIONS.+

HOWEVER, THE ANC WOULD SEIZE THE EARLIEST OPPORTUNITY OF SETTLING PROBLEMS.

HE SAID: +WHITES ARE FELLOW SOUTH AFRICANS. WE WANT THEM TO FEEL SAFE AND THAT WE APPRECIATE THE CONTRIBUTION THEY HAVE MADE TO THIS COUNTRY.+

HE WOULD NOT LIKE TO GO INTO SPECIFICS ON GUARANTEES FOR WHITES THAT MIGHT BE INCORPORATED IN A NEW CONSTITUTION.

+BUT THIS IS A MATTER WHICH IS REGARDED AS EXTREMELY IMPORTANT BY THE ANC.+

THE ANC WOULD DECIDE ON STRUCTURES FOR GUARANTEES WHEN THE TIME CAME FOR THIS QUESTION TO BE ADDRESSED.

HE SAID HE HAD NOT MODIFIED HIS VIEWS ON THE REDISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH.

+MY VIEWS ARE IDENTICAL WITH THE ANC. THE QUESTION OF NATIONALISATION OF MINES IS A FUNDAMENTAL POLICY OF THE ANC. I BELIEVE THE ANC IS QUITE CORRECT IN THIS ATTITUDE AND WE SHOULD SUPPORT IT.+

REFERRING TO RELATIONS WITH OTHER AFRICAN STATES, MR MANDELA SAID SOUTH AFRICA WAS A VERY IMPORTANT COUNTRY.

+IF THERE IS AN INTERNAL SOLUTION SOUTH AFRICA WILL PLAY A MAJOR ROLE IN PROMOTING DEVELOPMENTS IN VARIOUS FIELDS (IN AFRICA) WHICH REQUIRE IMMEDIATE ATTENTION IN THAT SOME OF THE PROBLEMS ARE FAR BEYOND THE RESOURCES OF STATES IN AFRICA.+

-3-

HE BELIEVED RELATIONS BETWEEN SOUTH AFRICA AND THE REST OF AFRICA WOULD BE IMPROVED IF AN INTERNAL SETTLEMENT WAS REACHED.

ASKED TO CLEAR UP THE SITUATION REGARDING ALLEGATIONS THAT HE WAS A MEMBER OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY (SACP), MR MANDELA SAID: +I HAVE EXPLAINED OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH THE COMMUNIST PARTY. IT HAS BEEN WORKING WITH US (ANC) SINCE THE EARLY 1920'S AND THEIR IMMEDIATE OBJECTIVE IS THE SAME AS OURS, SO CO-OPERATION IS ONLY NATURAL.

+WHAT MY INDIVIDUAL VIEWS ARE IS A PERSONAL MATTER,+ HE SAID, +BUT LET ME SAY I BELONG TO NO OTHER ORGANISATION APART FROM THE ANC+.

ASKED ABOUT AN INVITATION FROM MRS MARGARET THATCHER TO VISIT HER, HE SAID THIS WAS A +VERY IMPORTANT INVITATION+ AND COULD NOT BE TREATED LIGHTLY. HOWEVER, HE WOULD HAVE TO BE ADVISED ON THE MATTER BY THE ANC LEADERSHIP IN LUSAKA.

HE FELT THAT HE WOULD LIKE TO MAKE HIS FIRST INTERNATIONAL VISITS TO COUNTRIES SUCH AS INDIA WHICH HAD SUPPORTED THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE VERY STRONGLY.

+INDIA WAS THE VERY FIRST COUNTRY AT THE UNITED NATIONS TO CALL FOR ACTION AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA BECAUSE OF ITS RACIAL POLICIES.+

HOWEVER, ALL OF THESE THINGS WERE IN THE HANDS OF THE ANC. THEY WOULD PLAN WHAT TRIPS HE SHOULD UNDERTAKE ALTHOUGH HE HAD NO DOUBT THAT INDIA WOULD BE AMONG THE FIRST COUNTRIES TO BE VISITED.

ENDS+

DL/JJ/JJ

NNNN

12 FEB '90 14:06

235017 PAGE.004