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 ADDRESS BY ANC PRESIDENT, NELSON ROLIHLEHLA MAâ\200\231Nâ\200\230DELA.
 AT THE FUNERAL OF MARTIN CHRIS HANI .
 FNB STADIUM . MONDAY 19th APRIL, 1993
 Comrade Chairpersons,
 To the family,
 Our daughter-in-law, Limpho.
 and grandchildren Neo. Nomakwezi and Lindiwe,
 Gitbert and Mary Hani. parents of Chris,
 Dushe and Nkosana. _Chris's older and younger brothers.
 Distinguished participants at this solemn occasion,
 To the tens of thousands of you. both here in the stadium. those gathered already at the
 graveside, and all participating in memorial services throughout the country:
 we have all come together to pay our test respects to the one of the greatest revolutiona
 ries this
 country has ever known.
 I ask you at! to rise for a momentâ\200\230s silence in tribute to his memory. Even as we
 do so, let us
 also remember those who have died in the last few days and hours here at FNB. at Sebokeng
 .
 Vanderbijipark and elsewhere during these days of mourning. â\200\230
 Thank you.
 Sabaleie, in Cotimvaba district. is a place well known to me. Not for its beauty. but for
 its
 harshness. No running water. No electricity. No decent housing. inadequate health care. L
 ittle
 format edycation. Yet this small. virtually unknown vitlage produced 3 Chris Hani, whose
 life
 shook the whole country and impacted on the world's stage.
 Chris Hani's passion for justice. for addressing the problems that plague the rural poor,
 were
 rooted in his childhood in Sabateie. His roots were so deep. so true. that he never lost
 them.
 Through three decades of exile Chris Hani remained steadfast in his commitment to free ou
 r
 people from bondage. â\200\2302.
 Feted in many capitals of the world, he never succumbed to the glamour and glitter that w
 as
 offered him.
 He was taken to our hearts. as a peopte, as a nation, because he lived so that we may be
 free.
 Chris Hani touched the very heart of millions of us because he knew our pain. and eased i
 t by
 giving us hope. giving us courage, giving us away forward.
 Chris Hani loved lite. and iived it to the fuli. But he ioved freedom more.
 Chris Hani leved our people, our organisations. our South Atrican nation, and for that le
 ve he
 was brutally murdered. '
 Yesterday, thousands of you filed past. his coffin to pay your last respects. Like me, I
 am sure
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that upon leaving you had difficulty holding back the tears. .

Chris Hani's murder was no aberration. it was consistent with the patterns of the past. Scores of assassinations remain â\200\234unsolved". Rick Turner,- Matthew Goniwe, Sparrow Mkhonto, David

Webster. Ruth First, and Dulcie September are but a few. Their killers remain unnamed because the criminals investigate themselves.

By killing Chris Hani the murderers made a fatal error, for he will not become just another statistic. -

The regime has announced the arrest of a leading member of the Conservative Party, Clive Derby Lewis, in connection with this murder. We insist he be brought before the courts without

delay. We demand to know what he did, who he worked with, and above all we demand justice. We

do not want to see a situation where those arrested for such heinous crimes simply go free and want

the hue and cry dies. down. as has happened in the past.

in 1991. when we spoke of a Third Force being responsible for the violence, we were ridiculed

and criticised by everyone. Now both South Africa and the world recognise not only the existence

of that same Third Force, but also the extent of its activities.

That is why De Klerk retired army and police generals with golden handshakes. but neither we

nor the country know what activities they were dismissed for.

When Chris Hani criticised the theft of weapons from the Air Force Base. and said those weapons

were not stolen. but were taken to be used in covert operations. he too was ridiculed. Guns from

those same stolen weapons were used to kill him.

This secret web of hit men and covert operations is funded by our taxes. While we remain without homes, without food, without education, almost nine billion rand was spent in the test

two years on these secret operations.

But we, the taxpayer, do not know what it was spent on. We only know that our people continue

to die in violence on the trains. in massacres, and by assassination.

The killing must stop!

A major initiative that Chris Hani proposed shortly before his death was that peace brigades be

established under the National Peace Accord.

Let us pay tribute to his memory by forming such Peace Brigades throughout the country.

Let them be part of the reconstruction of our country. ravaged by the war waged against us over

45 years of apartheid rule.

There has been a deliberate and massive propaganda offensive against Umkhonto we Sizwe, its

cadres and leadership. No effort has been spared to criminalise both MK and Chris Hani. This has

deliberately created a climate of acceptance when an MK cadre is assassinated, as dozens have

been over the past months.

To criminalise is to outlaw. and the hunting down of an outlaw is regarded as legitimate.

That is

why, although millions of people have been outraged at the murder of Chris Hani, few were really surprised. Those who have deliberately created this climate that illegitimises political

assassinations are as much responsible for the death of Chris Hani as the man who pulled the trigger, and the conspiracy that plotted his murder.

in this regard, the Minister of Law and Order and the Chief of the Army both have a great deal to

answer for. - '

But culpability does not stop there. The indecent haste with which Minister Kobie Coetsee pushed

the Indemnity Bill through the President's Council granted a licence to kill to the men who wish

to plunge this country into a racial war. Through this legislation. they were told that they could

murder without fear of punishment. â\200\230

We say to them, loud and clear. that we do not recognise such indemnity. We will not accept that

a murder can be committed and the assassin pleads political indemnity. Justice must be carried

out to the full extent of the law.

We want a police force that is there to serve our communities, to protect our lives and property, to respect us as citizens. That is our right.

We want an army that is professional, that does not regard us as the enemy.

The only way to get this is by bringing all security forces and armed formations under multi-

party control with immediate effect. This should include the SADF. the South African Police,

Umkhonto we Sizwe, the KwaZulu Police. the Transkei Defence Force. the Bophuthatswana police

force and any other such formations.

Only then will we be able to begin the task of training, upgrading and developing a South African

Army and Police Force that serves all South Africans. Only then can we begin to change the

culture so prevalent in the police force and army that the people are the enemy. And nowhere has this attitude of seeing us as the enemy been more clearly demonstrated than in

President De Klerk's actions since the assassination of Chris Hani.

His first response was to call a meeting of the State Security Council. His second response was to

deploy 23,000 more troops, telling white South Africans that they had enough troops for them

to feel secure. But why deploy troops against mourners?

They say we cannot control our forces. We are not cattle to be controlled. And we say to De Klerk:

it is your forces that lost control and, completely unprovoked, shot innocent marchers in Pretoria.

it is you who have allowed the bully boy tactics of the AWB to go unchallenged. We, the victims

of violence, have been blamed for the very acts that take our lives. Yet you treat the far right

with kid gloves, allowing them to publish hit lists when it is a crime to do so. Your police do not

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protect marchers from gunmen who mow them down. as in Vanderbijlpark. .
Black lives are cheap. and will remain so as long as apartheid continues to exist. And let there be
no mistake: there have been many changes, and negotiations have started. but for the ordinary
black person of this country apartheid is alive and well.
Thousands of us die from TB every year. our children still play in open sewers. and die from
preventable diseases. Education is still a privilege. Our homes remain the tin shacks and
overcrowded townships. And no black South African has the vote. \200\230
They talk of peace as it wanting peace is pacifism. They paint a picture of us as militant youth,
or mindless radicals. They want to present the ANC as the other half of the National Party.
We want peace, but we are not pacifists. We are all militants. We are all radicals. That is the
very essence of the ANC. for it is a liberation movement fighting for freedom for all our people.
It is our unceasing struggles - in the prisons. in mass campaigns. through the armed struggle -
that has brought the regime to the negotiating table. And those negotiations are themselves a site
of struggle.
It is not a question of armed struggle or negotiations. Armed struggle brought about negotiations.
It is precisely because negotiations will force them to relinquish power that certain elements
are resorting to the cowardly tactics of assassinations.
This government is illegitimate. unrepresentative, corrupt and unfit to govern.
We want the immediate installation of a Transitional Executive Council with one purpose: to
-s
ensure that free and fair elections are held in the shortest possible time.
This TEC must put in place multi-party control of such areas as the security forces. the budget.
foreign relations. local government. An independent Electoral Commission must be established.
We also want an independent Media Commission. We have the right to know what is going on.
to
receive accurate information. and to put our views across without manipulation and distortion.
Above all, we want an agreed election date to be announced
What does an election mean for us?
A one-person, one vote election, throughout South Africa - and that includes the TBVC states -
is. at this point in time and given the gains we have made. the shortest route to a real transfer of
power.
Such an election will produce a government that, for the first time in our long and arduous
struggle, will be a government that represents the democratic wishes of all South Africans.
For the first time in our history an elected government will be answerable to all the people.

That government will face tremendous challenges.

South Africa will then, through radical opposition to apartheid, be transformed into a united,

non-racial, democratic and non-sexist country.

Of the highest priority will be the issues that were closest to the heart of Chris Hani: the

reconstruction of South Africa so as to ensure that apartheid is not reformed, but uprooted in its

entirety.

In the interests of all our people we will build national unity, drawing on the wealth of our

human resources, the courage and strength of all our people.

We want to build a nation free from hunger, disease and poverty, free from ignorance, homelessness and humiliation, a country in which there is peace, security and jobs.

These achievements will be living monuments to the heroes like Chris Hani, who died in fighting

for such a vision.

Speed is of the essence. We want an end to white minority rule now: We want an election date

now. We want to know when we will have a government of our choice, that follows a programme

that is in the interests of all the people of this country.

Forward movement can no longer be held hostage to narrow party political or even individual

interests. Freedom, peace and stability can no longer be postponed because of selfish and sectarian goals.

We warn all who seek to impose endless negotiations that any further delay will discredit the

negotiation process itself and place on the national agenda the need for change by other means.

We take this solemn occasion to make an earnest appeal to all political leaders and organisations

in our country to recognise the urgency and gravity of the situation.

It demands of all of us that we act with real respect for human life. It demands that those who

still occupy government office end their ideas of reverting to repression against our people.

It demands new initiatives to move our country forward to freedom as quickly as possible. We

will be consulting leaders of civil society, religious leaders, community organisations, business, cultural and other leaders on such initiatives.

The leadership at the ANC draws its strength from you, our people. Over the death of Chris Hani

you have shown your determination, your courage, your love of freedom.

We will be leaving here shortly to go to the cemetery and the Hani home, to place the mortal

remains of this great son of our soil in its last resting place.

Before we go, I wish to address a few words to all of you.

Minister Kriel bustles on and says that today's proceedings are a test of our political

leadership. We say to him: he has tested our patience too long. Where were the police during the

.b

Sebokeng last night leaving over 15 people dead?

Where was his political leadership exercised in decisive action against those' who opened
lire in

Protea? in this situation. it is the government and its ministers who have been iound to
be sadly

lacking in both leadership, vision and ability.

hearts. But each and every one of you is precious to

our future. We love you all. And we want all of you to

et us do so with the pride and dignity of our nation. Lel

tour hours when gunmen rampaged through

Chris Hani has a very special place in our

us. You are our people, our pride and joy.

reach home safely. When we leave here, l

us not be provoked.

er. You are our soldiers of peace, our army for the elections that will

transform this country. Go back to your homes, your regions, and organise as never before

.

Together. we are invincible. That is how we will pay the greatest tribute we can to Chris
Hani -

freedom in South Africa. Lei Chris Hani live on through ail of us.

The struggle is far from ov

To the Hani family, you have suffered a loss that no amount of tears can replace. The ANC
and

SACP have lost a giant of struggle. But perhaps the greatest loss is to South Africa as a
whole.

now and in the future. for our country has been deprived of the wisdom, courage and insig
ht that

was unique to Chris Hani.

I would also like to address a final word to Chris himself - comrade. friend and confidan
t.

r in the National Executive Committee of the ANC. We had vigorous debates and

an intense exchange of ideas. You were completely unafraid. No task was too small for you
to

perform Your ready smile and warm friendship was a source of strength and companionship.

You lived l'ntrhy home, and I loved you like the true son you were.

We worked together

In our heart, as in the heart of all our people. you are irreplaceable. We have been stru
ck a

blow that wounds so deeply that the scars will remain forever. You laid down your life so
that we

may know freedom. No greater sacrifice ls possible.

dom you lived and died for will dawn. We

We lay you to rest with the pledge that the day of free

the achievement of the liberation of our

all owe you a debt that can only be repaid through

people, which was the passion of your lite.

Fighter, revolutionary. soldier for peace. we mourn deeply for you. You will remain in ou
r

hearts forever.

Amandla!

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DEPARTMENT OF INFORMATION AND PUBLICITY
CHRIS HANI'S MEMORIAL SERVICES
WW - ESTIMATED FIGURES OF ATTENDANCE
Pwv REGION: 385 000
N. TVâ\200\230LI: 59 000 (for Pietersburg. UNIVE and Louis Trichardt on|y)
S. OFS': 64 000
N. OFS: 161 500
BORDER: '76 000 (excluding Burgersdorp)
W. CAPE: 100 000 Grand Parade
NATAL MiBLANDS: 33 500
THANSKEI: 500 000
EASTERN CAPE: 200 000
EASTERN TRANSVAAL: 186 200
SOUTHERN NATAL: 155 000
NORTHERN NATAL: 28 400
w. TVL: 49 500
TOTAL OF ESTIMATED CHOWDS ATTENDING = 2 239 600
W51;
PWV: 90 - 100%
NITRANSVAAL:
ENRANSVAAL: 91 . 100%
N.DFS: 90 - 100%
BORDER: 90 - 100%
W/CAPE:
E/CAPE;
NATAL MIDLANDS:
NINATAL:
SINATAL: 90 - 95%
THANSKEIII: The Transkel Government declared the day a hollday.

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PWV REGION

- Protea: 5 people shot dead and over 200 injured by security forces
 - Edenvale: one person reported to have been shot by security forces.
- Boksburg: one person reported to have been shot outside Chris Haniâ\200\231s home.
- Munsieville: people assaulted by security forces.
 - Temisa: one person shot dead by Railway security.
 - Warmbaths: 10 youths shot and injured by security forces.

NORTHERN TRANSVAAL

- Nylsâ\200\231troom: 15 people were shot and injured by police.
- rNaboomspruit: 10 people shot and injured by security forces

NA'i'Aâ\200\231L MIDLANDS

- Pietermaritzburg: Over 7 people shot and injured when security forces opened fire at a crowd.

WESTERN CAPE

- Parade: Two people killed and 150 others Injured.
- Issued by the: Department of Information and Publicity
P. O Box: 61884. Marshalltown.2107