

grassroots

THE PAPER ABOUT YOU

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296

Mandela

"We can no longer wait"



"We have waited too long for our freedom. We can no longer wait. Now is the time to intensify the struggle on all fronts. To relax our effort now would be a mistake which generations to come would not be able to forgive".

This was the message Nelson Mandela brought to the 150 000 people who turned out to welcome him back to Cape Town.

Mandela explained that while there were exciting possibilities for an end to apartheid, they would come to nothing without intensified struggle.

"Mr De Klerk has gone further than any other Nationalist President in taking real steps to normalise the situation", he said. "However, there are further steps that have to be met before negotiations can begin".

Mandela called for the ending of the State of Emergency, and the release of all, not only some political prisoners.

On the ANC's armed struggle, Mandela said that "the factors which necessitated the armed struggle still exist today. We have no option but to continue".

But he hoped 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".

Mandela emphasised that he would not act above the heads of 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".

He stressed that he was a disciplined member of the ANC, and that he and his organisation would negotiate only with a mandate from the 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", he said, underlining the ANC's call for a one-person-one-vote Constituent Assembly.

Mandela emphasised to the crowd that freedom would come only through their efforts. "It is only through disciplined mass action that our victory can be assured".

Mandela ended his speech by repeating his last words in court in 1964:

"I have fought against white domination and I have fought against black domination. I have carried the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all people live together in harmony and with equal opportunity. 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".

Mandela saluted the work done by whites against apartheid, and called on more to join the struggle: "We call on our white compatriots to join us in the shaping of a new South Africa. The freedom movement is a home for you too".

Nelson Mandela has shown us the way. He has told us that without our hard work and sacrifices, he can do nothing. He has told us that our freedom and our future lies in our own hands.

Let us follow comrade Mandela. Join the people's organisations! Build the ANC! Defy apartheid! Let us show De Klerk that we want our freedom now!

Viva Comrade Mandela!
Viva Comrade Oliver Tambo!
Viva ANC!
Viva SACP!

WELCOME HOME MANDELA

"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 see realised ..."

Nelson Mandela 1963

We see change taking place now.

But we need to move quickly on:

- The Group Areas Act
- The Population Registration Act
- The Land Acts

To ensure an open and free society
for all South Africans.

BPSA 1990.

Working today. For all our tomorrows.



Cape Town welcomes Mandela...



At 6 a.m on Sunday morning Cape Town was already alive with excitement. All over pamphlets were going out and cars draped with ANC flags were winding their way through townships with loud-hailers screaming the message that Nelson Mandela was to be released. He was going to come to the Grand Parade and speak to us, for the first time in 27 years.

In homes families were having early lunches so that they could get to the city in time. They started streaming in from 12 p.m onwards... in cars, buses, taxis and trains.

As one neared Cape Town, one could already feel the city vibrating. Thousands were lined along the N1 waving banners and flags of black, green and gold and singing freedom songs.

The Grand Parade became the people's parade as black and white, young and old, worker and comrade came from all corners of the Western Cape to see and hear their leader, Nelson Mandela, speak.

T-shirts and banners of every kind blended to create a sea of colour which stretched as far as the eye could see. Every corner and roof and tree was filled with people.

And still they came.

Tired, but jubilant supporters from the West Coast and the Boland and especially from Paarl arrived later in the day.

By 3 p.m., the time comrade Mandela was to be released, the crowd had swelled to 250 000.

But there were problems. Out of the thousands who had come in joy to see their leader, there were others who used the day as an excuse to break into shops and loot.

The 200 marshalls, whose task it was to keep control and order, were far too few. Sections of the crowd were not prepared to co-operate with them and by late in the day marshalls could not keep control at all.

Another problem was that it had been advertised that comrade Mandela would speak at 3 p.m. He addressed the gathering at 7.30 p.m. The large gathering of

supporters - some of whom had been sitting in the hot sun for nearly 12 hours - were becoming restless. By this time, small sections (said to be gangsters) of the crowd had become uncontrollable. They went on the rampage, breaking shop windows and stealing. Some of the police, called in to control the looters, did not handle the situation properly. Eyewitnesses and journalists claim that at some stages, the police shot into the crowd at random. In other cases they shot directly at members of the press and at marshalls, identified by their red armbands.

The public address system was poor and broke down for at least an hour during the day. By the time comrade Mandela did arrive, the car he was in took a wrong turn and landed up in the middle of some of the crowd.

This caused further chaos. Members of the National Reception Committee were seen running around looking for comrade Mandela who had become separated from them.

The organisers of the rally had not realised that such a large mass of people would turn up and therefore there were organisational problems. The gangsters and other violent elements of the crowd who went on the rampage, showed clearly that they had very little respect for a man who had spent 27 years of his life in prison for our freedom. They also showed that they did not care for the safety of the families and children who had come to celebrate comrade Mandela's release.

But despite these problems, Sunday was a day of celebration. When Nelson Mandela took the stage, people could no longer contain their jubilation. His speech - the first in 27 years - was punctuated with loud cries of 'Viva Mandela' and 'Long Live the ANC'!

Night fell. The anthem was sung with great feeling. Here and there a tear was wiped away, a smile of joy lingered, a group of youths continued the toyi-toyi.

Soweto could not wait



When Nhlanhla Nkosi was born, Nelson Mandela had already been in jail for 13 years. But to the Meadowlands teenager, Mandela is her leader and she was determined to hear him speak.

"Ever since the announcement on Saturday, we have been dancing in the streets waiting for Madibha to come home," Nkosi said. On Tuesday she got her wish.

She was one of the 120 000 people who packed the Soccer City stadium in Johannesburg for a "Welcome Home" rally for Nelson Mandela.

Crowds began pouring into the stadium from as early as 8 a.m and throughout the morning the roads from Soweto were full of chanting youths making their way to the rally.

By noon the stands were packed. The colours of the ANC were displayed on umbrellas, t-shirts, posters and banners.

As the sun broke through the clouds, a spirit of jubilation took hold and uniformed students and youth joined in song and dance.

Thousands of pamphlets issued by the South African Youth Congress were dropped into the crowd. The atmosphere became increasingly festive as cultural events proceeded from the stage.

As the time for Mandela to arrive grew closer, there was a buzz of anticipation in the stadium and every helicopter hovering overhead was greeted with deafening cheers from those who thought their leader was inside.

By 1pm the enthusiasm was so great that Albertina Sisulu had to abandon attempts to speak because she was drowned by the roars of the crowd.

Meanwhile, still more people were streaming into the jam-packed stadium. They swarmed over every available corner of the

huge stands. The more brave climbed the giant light towers for a birds-eye view of the proceedings. Others sat two and three to a seat.

The organisers locked the gates to prevent people being crushed and at least 30 000 had to be satisfied with hearing the speeches broadcast outside the gates.

The crowd leapt to its feet when a convoy of 16 cars carrying Nelson Mandela, Mrs Winnie Mandela and other leaders arrived.

As the 71-year old leader entered the stadium, a deafening roar resounded and the crowd leapt to its feet to salute him.

Mandela was introduced by a stern Walter Sisulu who said Mandela had dedicated his whole life to the liberation of his people.

"You should remember that you are members of a glorious movement and therefore expected to behave as exemplary members of society," Sisulu told the crowd.

A balloon in ANC colours with Welcome Home written on its side was let free and fluttered over the field while Mandela spoke.

As Mandela delivered his historic speech, the first in his home city since the Rivonia trial, the stadium was charged with a dignified atmosphere which underlined the tone and content of Mandela's speech.

The packed stadium emptied rapidly after his speech.

As Mandela and his entourage boarded the two helicopters which whisked them away from the rally, the surrounding streets were packed with toyi-toyiing crowds. Rush-hour traffic was brought to a halt on roads leading to Soweto.



**WELCOME
BACK
NELSON
MANDELA!**



Widespread support for ANC

Grassroots interviewed three well known public figures around the unbanning of the ANC. This is what they had to say:



Imam Hassan Solomon
(Vice chairperson and political spokesperson of the MJC)

The MJC welcomes Nelson Mandela.

His release and the unbanning of the ANC were the result of the struggle by the MDM through its defiance campaigns. The contribution of the MJC and the Muslims to the liberatory struggle is not unknown to

Mr Mandela and the ANC. The President of the MJC had contact with Mr Mandela while he was in jail.

As Muslims we are guided by the Holy Qur'an and the guidance of the Holy Prophet in our involvement in the freedom struggle in South Africa. We see ourselves as sharing lots of common

ground with the ANC hence our close relationship with the UDF and MDM.

We are in agreement with the ANC that the conflict in South Africa can be resolved by a process of negotiations. This however, does not mean the abandonment of the struggle. This was spelt out by Nelson Mandela during his speech in Cape Town (11.2.90) "...now is the time to intensify the struggle on all fronts."

Regarding the question whether we will vote for the ANC - The process towards a new South Africa should be a democratic one. There are other progressive groups who must be allowed to make their contribution to the process of change. If it comes to that stage, then the MJC might seriously consider launching a party for the election of a constituent assembly of the people according to the Harare document.

It is the view of the MJC that the negotiating process must be conducted in such a way that the fundamental changes must be brought about to realise the genuine aspirations of the oppressed people in the country.

DMITRI JAEGELS (Radio Good Hope DJ)

The unbanning of the ANC is a very positive move. I think the government should be congratulated on that. I am very happy at the unbanning of the ANC. I think there is great hope for the future. This is a great country to be in.

LIONEL OCTOBER (General Secretary SACTWU)

The union position with regard to De Klerk's announcement of the release and the unbanning creates space for all our organisations and for the ANC to legally constitute itself. But aspects remain which need to be addressed:

- general amnesty to exiles
- release of all political prisoners

It does create the opportunity for the ANC to start enlisting and mobilising under its fold. The space for the ANC and the Communist Party to exist legally is welcomed from the union's perspective but we see the need for unions to still maintain their independence.

Towards a new South Africa

WHAT DOES THE ANC STAND FOR?

The ANC stands for a non-racial democratic and free society in which all people live together in harmony and with equal opportunities.

The ANC wants all South Africans to govern the country together. The ANC wants all South Africans to have the basic rights and freedoms of organisation, speech, thought, press, movement, residence, conscience and religion.

All workers must have the right to belong to trade unions and have the right to strike.

All people should have the right to vote in free and democratic elections.

The ANC supports a multi-party post-apartheid democracy where power is clearly vested in the elected representatives of the people.

WHAT IS THE ANC'S ATTITUDE TO RELIGION?

The ANC has always been a movement strongly based in the church. We can see that all ANC presidents like Chief Luthuli and President Tambo have been practicing Christians. There are many Christians, Muslims and Jews within the ranks of the ANC. The ANC has never discriminated against any form of worship.

WHY DOES THE ANC WORK WITH THE SACP?

The ANC and SACP have always shared the same immediate objectives. The SACP was the first party to open up to all races. It has always stood up for the rights of the poor, homeless and hungry. It has earned its place in the struggle by hard work - building up trade unions and organising workers.

The SACP is not trying to bring in foreigners to take over the country. It only aims to ensure the working people of South Africa get a better deal.

The SACP respects the ANC as the leading force for liberation. The SACP is the organisation for workers within the ANC.

WHAT CHANGES WOULD THE ANC MAKE TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN ECONOMY?

The ANC wants a restructured economy which improves the standard of living for all people. It wants an economy which fulfills the demands of the Freedom Charter for education, housing, a living wage and jobs for all.

DOES THE ANC BELIEVE IN BLACK MAJORITY RULE?

The ANC says all South Africans must govern the country together. It believes in the democratic election of representatives of all the people of South Africa.

The ANC believes that coloureds, Indians, Africans and whites are all South Africans and share one destiny.

From the coloured people of our country have come many great fighters. Jimmy La Guma, Reggie September and Basil February are some who have passed through the ranks of the ANC and served on its executive.

We should not abandon our different cultures and traditions but bring them together to enrich our common South African culture as our new nation emerges.

Getting to know our leaders



Above: When the eight Rivonia trialists led by Walter Sisulu travelled to Lusaka recently, they were reunited with exiled colleagues and relatives in the ANC after an interval of 27 years. During the visit, the trialists, members of an MDM delegation, members of the ANC's national executive committee, leaders of its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), other ANC officials, representatives of the South African Communist Party, and Kenneth Kaunda, President of Zambia, posed for this historic photograph.

Front row, from left: Sindiso Mfjenyana (NEC), Simon Makana (NEC), James Stuart (NEC), Joe Modise (MK commander and NEC), Thabo Mbeki (NEC), Joe Nhlanhla (NEC), Stanley Mabizela (NEC), Chris Dhlamini (MDM), Mrs Jackie Modise, Bulelani Ncguka (MDM), Cyril Ramaphosa (MDM), Sydney Mafumadi (MDM), Chris Hani (MK chief of staff and NEC).

Middle row, from left: Sizakele Sigxashe (NEC), Josias Gele (NEC), Elias Motsoaledi (trialist), Dan Thloome (president, SACP), Walter Sisulu (trialist, President Kenneth Kaunda), Mrs Albertina Sisulu (MDM), Alfred Nzo (acting leader, ANC), Mrs Jane Mlangeni, Mrs Sylvia Motsoaledi, John Nkadimeng (SACTU president, partly obscured), Mrs Dideke Mhlaba, Joe Slovo (SACP and NEC), Reggie September (NEC), unnamed Zambian official.

Back row, from left: Ronnie Kasrils (NEC), Pallo Jordan (NEC), John Mhlana, Aziz Pahad (NEC), Steven Dhlamini (NEC), Wilton Mkwayi (trialist), Jackie Selebe (ANC Youth), Jacob Zuma (NEC, behind Kaunda), Ahmed Kathrada (trialist, behind Mrs Sisulu), Govan Mbeki (trialist), Thomas Nkobe (NEC), Steve Tshwete (NEC), Andrew Mlangeni (trialist), Raymond Mhlaba (trialist, behind Slovo).

BUILD A MASS BASED ANC

WESTERN CAPE
TRADERS
ASSOCIATION

**WELCOME
HOME
MANDELA**

We support the ANC's policies:

- That nationalising the mines and other sectors is necessary to redress economic inequality in South Africa.
- That sanctions against South Africa must continue until apartheid and minority rule is ended.
- that the implementation of the Harare Declaration is essential to create the climate for negotiations.

SACP speaks out



THE SACP ON:
NELSON MANDELA'S RELEASE; THE UNBANNING OF THE ANC AND SACP
 We cannot say "welcome back", because you have never left us. For 27 years you have confounded your captors by remaining in the very front ranks of our struggle. You have outlasted, outpaced, and now completely outmanoeuvred those who believed themselves to be your jailers. As South African communists we are immensely proud that our country and our people have nurtured, that our struggle has forged, such an outstanding patriot.

That they have released you today is an immense victory. But it is all the more a victory because the apartheid regime is releasing you neither from compassion nor from a position of political strength. They can no longer conceal their deep-seated crisis. The heroic struggles of our people,

the solidarity of freedom-loving people throughout the world, and your own refusal ever to buckle have opened your prison door.

Your release comes with a series of victories, including the simultaneous unbanning of the ANC and the SACP. That our party should be unbanned with the ANC is due in part, we know, to your commitment to our revolutionary alliance. Ours is an alliance born in common struggle and sealed in blood.

These unbannings and the lifting of some of the emergency restrictions on mass democratic movements, create the opportunity for an even swifter advance towards a truly non-racial, united and democratic South Africa.

While taking full advantage of the new political climate, the democratic movement must remain vigilant.

The main pillars of apartheid are still standing. Detention without trial is still in force. Death squads still roam the streets of our townships. The majority of our people still suffer from poverty, discrimination and unemployment.

The struggle is far from over. The SACP calls on all its members and supporters not to relax, but to intensify their efforts to bring about a democratic society.

We are all now charged with moving rapidly and decisively from today's victories to our common strategic objective - the eradication of apartheid and the building of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa. Central to this task, in the weeks and months ahead, will be the building, branch by branch, township by township, of a mass based ANC.

ZWELAKHE SISULU EXPRESSES JOY AT THE UNBANNING OF THE SACP

A fine patriot

For the South African government and the Conservative Party, he is "Public Enemy Number One".

But the life of Joe Slovo is a history of complete dedication to freedom in South Africa.

Born in Lithuania, a Russian province, in 1926, he came to South Africa at the age of nine. When World War II broke out, he volunteered for the South African forces to fight Nazi Germany. On his return he continued that same fight in South Africa.

In the 1940s, after qualifying as a lawyer, he became an active member of the South African Communist Party (SACP). He was also a founder member of the Congress of Democrats (the white section of the Congress Alliance).

Although Slovo contributed to the drafting of the Freedom Charter in 1955, he could not be there in

person as he had been banned under the Suppression of Communism Act.

Despite the banning, charges of treason, and four months of detention under the 1960 State of Emergency; Slovo was still central to the formation of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK).

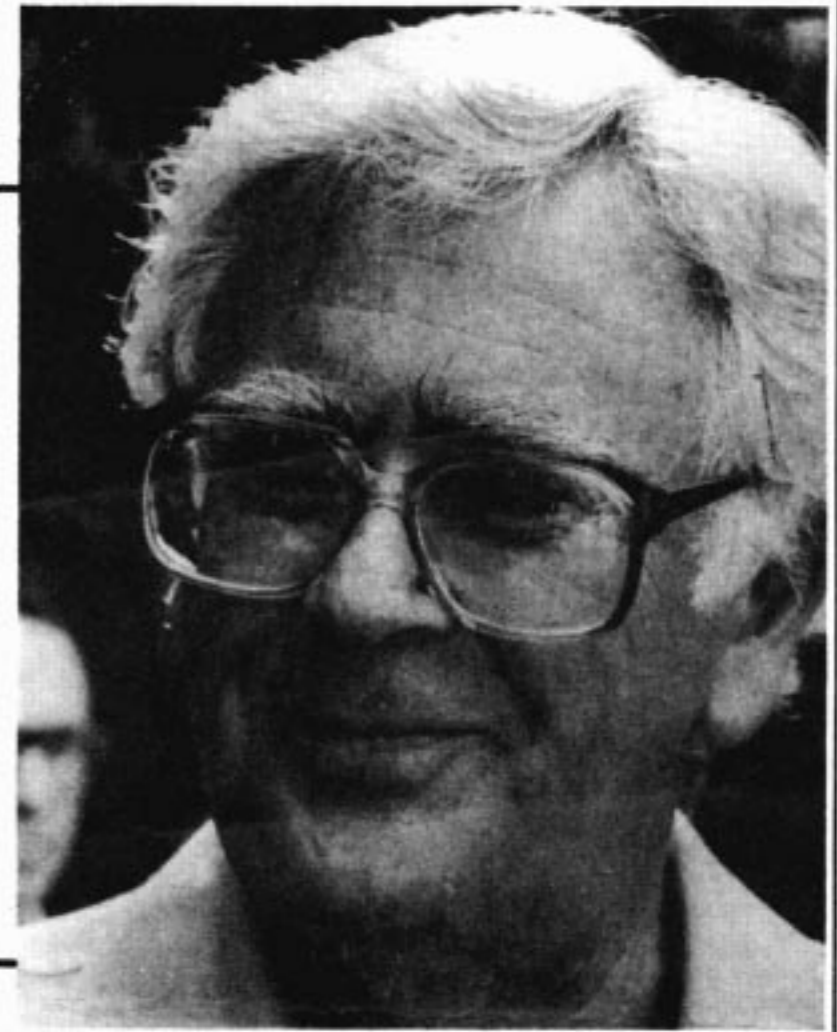
But State repression also struck major blows. In 1963 Slovo went into exile after Mandela and the other MK members were caught. Then in 1982 a parcel bomb explosion killed his wife, Ruth First.

Joe Slovo is on the executives of both the ANC and SACP. Today he is General Secretary of the SACP.

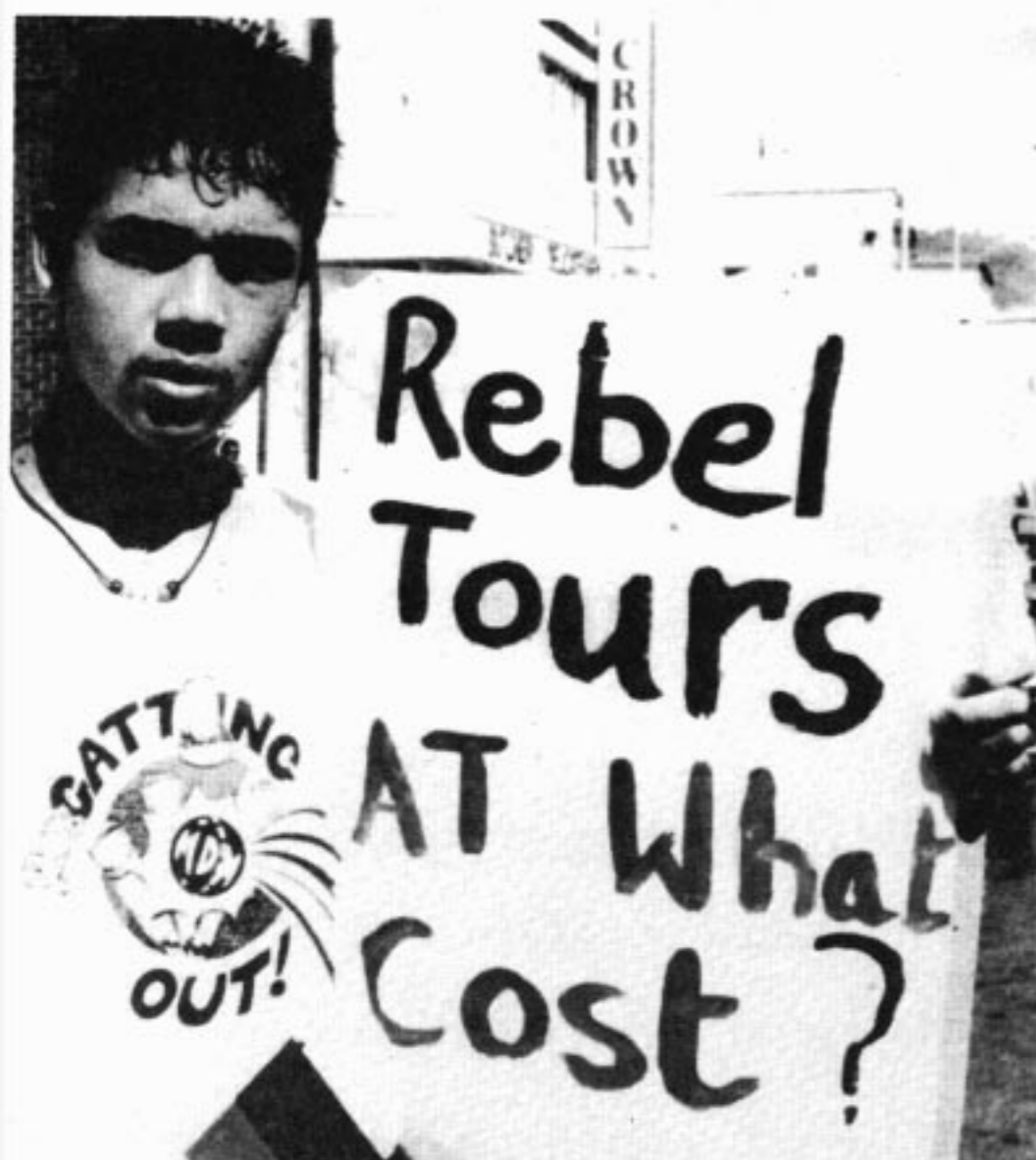
No wonder Nelson Mandela has saluted Joe Slovo as "one of our finest patriots".

JOE SLOVO

Pictured
 recently
 in
 Lusaka.



GATTING BOWLED OVER



The South African Cricket Union (SACU) has been forced into submission over its rebel tour. Four tour matches have been cancelled as a result of the people's pressure.

A deal has been made with Krish Naidoo of the National Sports Congress (NSC) and only four one-day matches will now be played.

The rebels, led by Mike Gatting, will thus leave for home more than two weeks early. It also does not seem as if the second leg of the tour next season will go ahead.

The NSC has been at the forefront of anti-tour demonstrations since the tour started in Kimberley. It remains dedicated to its goal of fighting all international sports contact with South Africa.

Mike Gatting said, before he came here, that the tour would help break down apartheid. If he can show us one incident to support this, we would be surprised.

The tour has only served to show how strong internal pressure

towards back-door sports is. On most days of the tour, there were more protesters outside the fields than spectators inside. And the added fact that SACU was losing money forced them to submit eventually.

Supporters of the tour actually sank so low as to bus unemployed workers to the Wanderers during the first "test" and supply them with lunches so that a cheerful picture of "black cricket tour supporters" could be created.

Tour supporters and the liberal press deny that most people oppose international sporting links at present and cry that whenever multi-racial sport has "done enough" to be re-admitted into such sport; "the goalposts are moved" and more changes are demanded of them.

The truth of the matter is that the non-racial sports movement has always said, at the very least, that apartheid must be abolished total-

ly before re-admission can be considered.

For non-racial sportspersons in the townships, the "goalposts" are the pillars of apartheid like the Group Areas, the Population Registration Act and the hopelessly inadequate spending on education.

These "goalposts" have never even shifted and until they are removed, the NSC will protest against tours and call for the sports boycott.

Any person who can claim that a child from Khayelitsha or Manenberg has the same chance of playing for his/her country as someone from Rondebosch or Newlands must have his head buried in the sand.

Sportspersons who oppose tours like the one by Gatting's rebels also want South Africa back in international sport, but not before there is a just political dispensation in this country.

VIVA ANC-SACP ALLIANCE

FREE AT LAST!



**IDASA REJOICES
THAT NELSON MANDELA
IS FINALLY FREE
TO PLAY
HIS LEADING ROLE
IN BUILDING DEMOCRACY
IN OUR COUNTRY.**

Issued by the Institute for a Democratic
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ERIP

**EDUCATION RESOURCE
AND INFORMATION PROJECT**

ERIP is an education project attached to the centre of student counselling at UWC. Our work involves collecting, developing and providing written and audio-visual resources as well as assisting with education and training needs of community organisations. Specifically we work with high school students, youth, women, civic, worker and other progressive community organisations and institutions.

We invite applications for the following full-time post:

TYPIST/RECEPTIONIST

ERIP-SC is looking for a dynamic person to take care of basic reception work at our UWC offices. This person will also handle all administrative typing as well as the typing of resource material. The successful candidate will also be responsible for general administrative duties.

THE JOB INCLUDES:

- * assuming all reception duties
- * receiving and answering all correspondence
- * assist with the typing of educational resources in English and Xhosa
- * filing
- * handling bookings and office routine

REQUIREMENTS:

- * ability to deal easily with people
- * typing qualifications and experience
- * some administrative skills
- * an ability to take initiative and work unsupervised in a democratic environment
- * preferable working knowledge of word processors

N.B Preference will be given to persons involved in community organisations.

The closing date is 26 February 1990. All applications must be in writing to THE SECRETARY, ERIP-SC, PRIVATE BAG X17, BELLVILLE 7530. The application must be accompanied by a full CV and two references. For further information please contact Mrs Nobom Sonto at 959 2132/3088 between 9am and 4pm.

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*Today in prison
by tacit agreement
they will sing just one song:
Nkosi Sikekela;
slowly and solemnly
with suppressed passion
and pent up feeling:
the voices strong and steady
but with tears close and sharp
behind the eyes
and the mind ranging
wildly as a strayed bird
seeking some names to settle on
and deeds being done
and those who will do the much
that still needs to be done.*

- Dennis Brutus

[26 June 1967 South African Youth Day]



The **Congress Of South African Writers (COSAW)** salutes the victory of the people in securing the release of Comrade Nelson Mandela.

We demand that **all political prisoners** be released immediately.

We further demand that the government fulfil the requirements of the Harare Declaration in order to create a climate for a **democratic, non-racial and non-sexist South Africa.**