## CITY OF LONDON ANTI-APARTHEID GROUP

BM BOX CITY AA LONDON WC1N 3XX Telephone: 071-837 6050 Fax: 071-278 3862 MESSAGE OF SOLIDARITY TO PAC SOWETO DAY COMMEMORATION 16 JUNE 1992

City of London Anti-Apartheid Group sends its warmest greetings and solidarity to the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania and send its apologies for being unable to be with you tonight.

We remember and honour with you the hundreds that were massacred by the racist regime during the Soweto uprisings in 1976. As we pay tribute tonight at our rally outside the South African Embassy to the heroes of Soweto 1976 such as Hector Pieterson, Zephaniah Mothopeng and all those who were killed, imprisoned and exiled for their part in the uprisings, names such as Dulcie September, Sam Chand, Sam Mabe, Bheki Mlangeni, Sam Ntuli and Jan Choba must also be remembered.

Today, the struggle for self determination continues as it did in the 1970s and 1980s with the regime no more willing now than it was then to give up white minority power for majority rule.

Let us not forget that in the 'new South Africa' on average as many are killed in the political violence in the townships during two months to equal those killed in the Soweto uprisings. Since February 1990, 6000 people were murdered in this violence and in the same period, five times as many people were assassinated than in the years of State of Emergency in the 1980s. These killings are being orchestrated by the South African regime in an attempt to undermine the struggle for genuine liberation and majority rule.

The demand for genuine liberation and self-determination ought therefore to be as strong today as it was in 1976. As the regime has only intensified its war against the Azanian people, City AA reaffirms its support for the struggle for liberation on all fronts and condemns the premature lifting of certain sanctions.

We recognise with you that de Klerk's power sharing proposals are another ploy to maintain white minority power and priviledge. Nothing less than a democratically elected Constituent Assembly based on one person one vote in a unitary state can be a democratic mechanism for drawing up a new constitution. We will continue to give solidarity to your struggle and build opposition to the powersharing deception designed to rob the Azanian masses of their democratic future.

Izwe Lethu !

André Schott Secretary



## PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS (P.A.C.) OF AZANIA

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HEROES' DAY: MAMELODI-1/8/92

BY: C.M. MAKWETU

Comrade Chairman Distinguished Guests Sons and Daughters of the Soil

Allow me to thank the Campaigns Committee of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania for inviting me to come to adress this gathering on this our national Heroes Day. Allow me also to thank the Pretoria Region for making this occassion the success it is.

Unlike in the past this is a commemoration with a difference. Today we are not merely paying tribute to sons and daughters who paid the highest price in our protracted struggle, but we are gathered here also to unveil a sacred monument. Sizokubeka ilitye esivivaneni. Sizokucela amandla.

Comrade Chairman, we are told that on a cold winter day, in July, 1947, a young man by the name of ANTON MUZIWAKHE LEMBEDE died in Johannesburg. His death signalled what later became known as our national Heroes' Day.

This great young man was the founding President of the African National Congress Youth League, and when he died the African National Congress Youth League was only three years old. On that particular day his colleagues vowed to commemorate 31st July as our National Heroes Day. Hence our presence here today. Hence we say long live the spirit of Lembede.

This day, Comrade Chairman, is a day to commemorate not only Lembede, but all those who died so that we should be free in the land of our fore-fathers. This is an occassion to commemorate all those who served, suffered and sacrificed their lives so that our country should be liberated from white racist domination.

We are met here therefore to establish contact with great African heroes, and also to rededicate ourselves to the cause of Africa. We are met here to draw inspiration from the great men and women who suffered and died at Sharpeville, Langa, Bashe River, Paarl, Queenstown, King Williams' Town, Isandiwana, Thaba Bosiu, Amalinde, Robben Island, Soweto and Boipatong - and numerous other battle fields.

In this very gathering, Comrade Chairman, we have the descendents or relatives of Vulindlela, Shweni, Koboka, Maqungo, Damana, Fatyela, Zambodla, Hans, Ntsabo, Mgweba, Pilapi, Sonamzi, Ngalo, Memani, Swelindawo to mention only a few.
Why Mamelodi? you may be asking. The answer is those inscribed on this monument lie in this very cemetery - brave leaders who distinguished themselves against the most sophisticated weapons of the settler colonialists.

For us it is a great opportunity to be here today to try and ponder over a problem about which not only this gathering here, but the whole of Africa feels so deeply concerned - The problem is 'Koda kube nini Nkosi?' Until when O'Lord?' The biggest problem facing us right now is disunity.

On this day last year, we spoke at length about disunity. Far from closing the gap we are step by step drifting apart. One thing certain is that united we shall triumph, but divided we are sure to fall. And in the meantime the enemy is steadily consolidating its position.

On this same day last year Comrade Chairman, we spoke about confusion and a misconception in our country. Comrades, there is no longer any confusion in our country. Both the enemy and the exploited and the dispossessed masses are clear about what is at stake. The enemy is all out to wipe out the African population from the face of the earth.

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Addressing us in Harare in 1989, Eddison Zvogbo had this to say. "The whites in your country are opposed to majority rule because they say you are too many." We are therefore, asking; are these killings intended to reduce our numbers?

Comrade Chairman, from September, 1984 to date no less than 12 000 African people have been killed. And out of that 12 000, seven thousand have been murdered since February 1990, since de Klerk made his speech on a so-called new South Africa. These people, Comrade Chairman, are killed simply because they have chosen wrong parents. They are murdered simply because they are Africans, simply because they are the aborigines of Africa. Their biggest crime, we suppose is their demand for the return of the land to its rightful owners, the African people.

This land, Comrade Chairman was taken by the sword, and is still retained by the sword.

This carnage is so well ochestrated that it is confined strictly to African residential areas. Even when professional killers attack moving trains, they make certain that It is only Africans who are butchered.

Comrade Chairman, what we are experiencing is not black on black violence, nor is it rivalry between two political groupings.

. We do not deny isolated cases of hegemony.

What we are witnessing is cold-blooded murder of the highest order-carried out by professional killers on the payroll of the racist settler regime.

When Goniwe, Calata and Mhiawuli were murdered near Port Elizabeth there was no evidence (right up to this moment) of rivalry between inkatha and ANC in that vicinity. Instead we are told that a high ranking police officer gave instructions to his men to have these young men removed from the community permanently. During the same period, three trade unionists, Godolozi, Galeia and Hashe left their homes in New Brighton to welcome friends at the Hendrik Verwoed Airport. Up to this moment there is no trace of their whereabouts.

Comrade Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen. From 1984 to 1992 no less than 49 massacres have taken place in occupied Azania. What is even strange is that the police seem unable to apprehend the killers even during broad day-light murders.

I said earlier that these people die not from fighting, but from cold-blooded murder. Comrade Chairman there was no fighting in Sebokeng when well trained hit-men walked into a vigil and started shooting indiscriminately. Sons and Daughters of the Soll, who was fighting who in Boipatong when murderers moved in, armed with guns and pangas, and started shooting without provocation, butchering babies, pregnant women, grand-mothers

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and grand-fathers ? Who was fighting who at Trust Feeds?

The list is very very long.

Comrade Chairman, let us assume for a while that the racist regime is not to blame. Then what is it doing about this violence? Culpability extends to commission and omission. One thing certain is that the regime has a moral obligation to protect all the citizens of this country irrespective of colour, creed or political persuasion. Failing which it must shoulder the blame.

Sons and Daughters of the Soil I pointed out earlier that the down-trodden masses of our country know what they want. However, according to Anton Rupert(Business Day 30.7.92) the masses do not think. Yet it was the masses of the people who demanded the release of Masabalala in North-End, Port Elizabeth in 1922. It was the masses of the people who fought against increased bus-fares in Alexandra and Evaton in the late 50's. It was the masses of the people who flocked to the police station at Sharpeville, and at Langa police station on 21st March.1960. It was also the same masses who marched into Cape Town on 30th March, 1960. Was it not also the masses of our people led by PAC Executive Council members who forced de Klerk to flee from Bolpatong?

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And it was also the same people who welcomed comrade Mandela singing:"You are behaving like a lamb while we are being killed."

Mao Tsetung once said that it is not the weapons but the people who are decisive. The African people are best placed as a lever of change in this country. They are the most aggrieved and their desire for genuine liberation cannot be suppressed by arbitrary actions of a tiny elitist minority acting on their behalf without their concern. When we have faith in the Azanian masses we in the Pan Africanist Congress can move the big mountain of settler-colonialism in our land.

We must take a leaf from all the patriotic heroes who fought in defence of the fatherland. We must take inspiration from the ideas of MUZIWAKHE LEMBEDE who was most articulate on uniting all the oppressed and dispossessed under the banner of African Nationalism. We must remember SOBUKWE, JOHN NYATHI POKELA, JAPHTA MASEMOLA, Uncle ZEPH MOTHOPENG and a host of others on the roll call of honour. These Sons and Daughters of Africa have shed light on the path we have to follow to reach the glittering gates of a new Africa. Our patriotic heroes are a classic example of discipline and dedication in intellectuals, students, women,

workers and peasants in their various structures and in their communities take this challenge from our heroes and fight to bring about genuine freedom, democracy and lasting peace in our beloved fatherland.

Comrade Chairman was it not the same masses who said that CODESA was unrepresentative and undemocratic. Save for the ANC and SACP, the forum is pre-packed with Government created puppets with no support on the ground.

\*that its structure is amenable to blocking majority rule by rendering the demand for a Constituent Assembly nugatory.

\*that it has no mandate to create a new constitution, whether interim or final.

\*that it lacks neutrality as there is no neutral convenor, chairperson and mediators.

\*that it has a structure which is obese, bloated and inefficient and finally:

\*that it lacks transparency in as much as media attendance of its proceedings and other forms of reporting are absent.

In the wake of the failre of CODESA, the PAC, therefore, has been vindicated in its assertion that CODESA is a kaleidoscope of political intrigue. It has now become abundantly clear that the minority regime has not been negotiating in good faith to create a genuine democracy and thus is not prepared to relinquish power. A double agenda has come to the fore which entails, on the one hand, the strenghtening of its ruling power base on the other, weakening the overall position of the liberation movement.

Consequently the PAC re-iterates the following:-

- Democratic elections for a Constituent
   Assembly to draw up a new democratic
   constitution must be held without delay.
- 2. The regime must beforehand concede that the only legitimate and democratic forum for transfer of power and the creation of a new constitution is a Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of one person, one vote on the common voter's roll in a unitary state, the delegates thereto having been elected by proportional representation.
- 3. A new restructured forum, free from the defects of CODESA, should be convened in order to facilitate negotiations in good falth and with the primary purpose of transferring power to a democratic majority.

i thank You. IZWE LETHU - I-AFRIKA!