

In defence of **FREEDOM**

Changing our country
in terms of RDP goals!



Dear Comrade

This book was produced to respond to questions asked by our members during the president's national RDP mass education tour. It covers our struggle history from as early as 1652 up until the time when Nelson Mandela was inaugurated the first president of a democratic South Africa.

The book also attempts to assist comrades to understand what the RDP is and find ways of rebuilding our country after the hard years of apartheid. Workers, particularly from the mining industry will be able to use this book in understanding how their contribution will assist in creating jobs, building more houses etc.

We would like you to read this book over and over again and discuss the content with comrades in your branch. The committee will appreciate any suggestions that you may come up with.

We wish you luck in reading and understanding this book.

Yours in the struggle

**Kgalema Motlanthe
NUM 1995**

Towards the implementation of the Reconstruction & Development Programme (RDP)

NO EASY WALK TO FREEDOM - NELSON MANDELA

Foreword by: James Motlatsi

Comrades and compatriots working in the mining and energy industries, the days of white baaskap are over. Over three hundred years of white rule over the black majority of South Africans was crushed in the first democratic elections in April, 1994.

April 27 is properly designated a public holiday termed FREEDOM DAY. Truly speaking, the resounding election victory marked the beginning in our long and arduous road to freedom from suppression, freedom from want, from deprivation, from ignorance, from hunger from disease and freedom from fear.

Our history of struggle against oppression and exploitation as mineworkers is as old as the mining industry itself. Unsung heroes and heroines made immense sacrifices in order that we be free.

Countless others paid with their own lives in order to ensure that future generations live in a society without racial hatred and economic domination.

The mineworkers strikes of 1946 and 1987 are high-lights of fierce battles we waged against Chamber of Mines and its racist political state. During election, we marshalled our forces backed by material resources to ensure that we defeat apartheid as a united people regardless of our country of origin.

We gave our overwhelming mandate to ANC to lead the Government of National Unity (GNU) on the basis of building a new democratic South Africa along the lines contained in that historic document - RDP.

But what is RDP? RDP is not a slogan for winning the support of the masses on the side of the ANC - led alliance as some of our detractors claim. Simply put, RDP is a well worked out plan to build a new society in which millions of ordinary South Africans will ultimately have jobs, houses, clean water, electricity, proper transport, telephones, land to till, adequate health care, proper care for the aged and disabled and a cleaner environment. All these basic needs of the people will be enjoyed within a political system which is democratic and non - racial.



The stark reality of the apartheid system is still with us today. We have 17 million people who are living sub-human lives as they do not have sufficient means to make their lives decent by any human standards. Poverty is enemy number one for our political freedom.

About 7 million able bodied women and men are jobless. There is shortage of about 1.5 million homes. Over 12 million people have no reasonable access to water. Over 3 million homes do not have electricity. We can continue with this seemingly endless catalogue of human misery in the midst of wealth and affluence. Wealth and affluence is still enjoyed by a tiny white minority in a population of about 40 million.

I am not stating these horrific figures to scare you or make you feel hopeless. I am merely trying to show that the winning of political office, two national anthems and a multi coloured national flag is but the beginning of a long and more difficult road to true freedom. Socio-economic transformation needed for the improvement of the quality of life millions of the people is perhaps ten times difficult than kicking the racist government out of office.

If our centuries of struggle have to be really meaningful we have to redouble our efforts to ensure that the current struggle of changing our country in terms of RDP goals becomes a great success. To create jobs we need money. Building houses means more money needed. Health care, transportation, education for all, electricity for all and so forth. All these human rights have to be funded in one way or another. In short thousands of millions of rands are needed to make RDP implementation a success.

The Government of National Unity obviously does not have enough money to fund our freedom. Reshuffling of funds from some department, asking for donation, from rich people here and abroad, asking for loans, sale of state assets coupled with lotteries and gambling, constitute the overall strategy to create funds to finance the RDP.

Given this state of affairs we have at our own, united strength to come with ways and means to generate funds that will help us in reaching the social Jerusalem quicker. Institutions such as International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank are the direct opposite of Father Christmas.

If we allow ourselves to be perpetual beggars we can never be the masters of our own destiny. Beggars are always made to dance to the music of those dangling donations.

If we are to control our own path to freedom we have to make immense sacrifices ourselves in terms of both physical and material resources.

Our National Congress held early in 1994 adopted a resolution aimed at making a meaningful contribution towards funding the RDP. Congress decided that all South Africans, rich and poor should contribute to the RDP by giving all production output i.e workers earnings and company profits of selected public holidays to RDP Fund.

In addition volunteer labour brigades should be formed and trained in all communities and be involved in local projects of the RDP. NUM as the champion of this resolution sponsored it at COSATU Congress in September 1994 and the entire progressive labour movement eventually owned it.

Once more we have to take the lead in taking a bold move to lead by example and be pioneers in the generation of funds for RDP in line with this resolution. We must not fail ourselves, our people in South Africa and indeed Southern Africa in general. If we fail the immeasurable sacrifices made by gallant fighters for freedom would come to nothing, and history will judge us harshly.

Indeed there is no easy walk to freedom.

Let all those who love the downtrodden people of Southern Africa stand up and be counted.

Forward with the struggle for a better future !!!

Amandla !!!

Matla !!!

Kgalema Motlanthe
NUM GENERAL SECRETARY.
18 APRIL 1995.

Introduction

The history of South Africa is full of heroic struggles waged by the oppressed black majority since white settlers arrived in 1652. These struggles took various forms depending on the type of weapons they had at different times.

At the centre of these struggles was the dispossession (theft) of the land of the Africans - their basic means of creating wealth. By 1990 the fierce land battles were over. The guns of the white settlers had won out against the spears and knobkerries of the warriors.

By the end of the Wars of Dispossession, African leadership in the Boer Republics and the colonies of the British Cape and Natal had realised the struggle for power would happen in the political arena rather than on the battlefield.

At the same time the English and Afrikaners buried their quarrels to further oppress and exploit black people. In 1909 English and Afrikaner whites formed a National Convention which recommended to the British Government that the four provinces be united as one - the union of South Africa.



The guns of the white settlers had won out against the spears and knobkerries of the warriors



ANC delegation to London, 1914, (From Left) Dr W. Rubusana, T. Mapikela, Rev. J.L. Dube, S. Msane and Sol Plaatje.

Delegation to Britain

The African people challenged this racist move by sending a delegation to Britain in 1909 to oppose the formation of the racist Union. Their pleas fell on deaf ears.

The racist constitution of the Union of South Africa in 1910 gave whites political and economic power at the exclusion of the majority.

Faced with repression, African people realised their power lay in unity to liberate themselves. Regional congresses in all four provinces were formed to oppose racial discrimination. This movement resulted in a South African Native Convention held in Bloemfontein from 24 to 26 March 1909.

On 08 January 1912 representatives of Africans from the four provinces and Bechuanaland gathered in Bloemfontein to form the South African Native National Congress, as the ANC called itself from 1912-1925.

Peaceful Methods

Key among the aims of the ANC was to unite all Africans - irrespective of tribal divisions - in one political organisation. The ANC committed itself to use constitutional and peaceful methods to fight for the democratic rights denied to the black majority.

This defensive approach was because of the conditions of the time. The reality the ANC was facing was that white superiority was imposed on blacks through sheer force of arms.

The year after the formation of the ANC the government legalised land robbery by passing the Land Act of 1913. This Act gave 87% of the fertile land to whites while blacks were condemned to the barren reserves constituting 13%. This robbery condemned Africans to landlessness and poverty.

The development of manufacturing industry around the thirties meant thousands of former peasants were forced to migrate to industrialised centres of South Africa. It was from this emerging industrial working class that a new breed of ANC leadership came forward.

Co-operation between the ANC and South African Communist Party (SACP) started during this period. With the formation of Hertzog - Smuts coalition government in 1933, Africans were removed from the common roll as land quotas at 13% were set to disqualify them.



The ANC committed itself to use constitutional and peaceful methods to fight for the democratic rights denied to the black majority



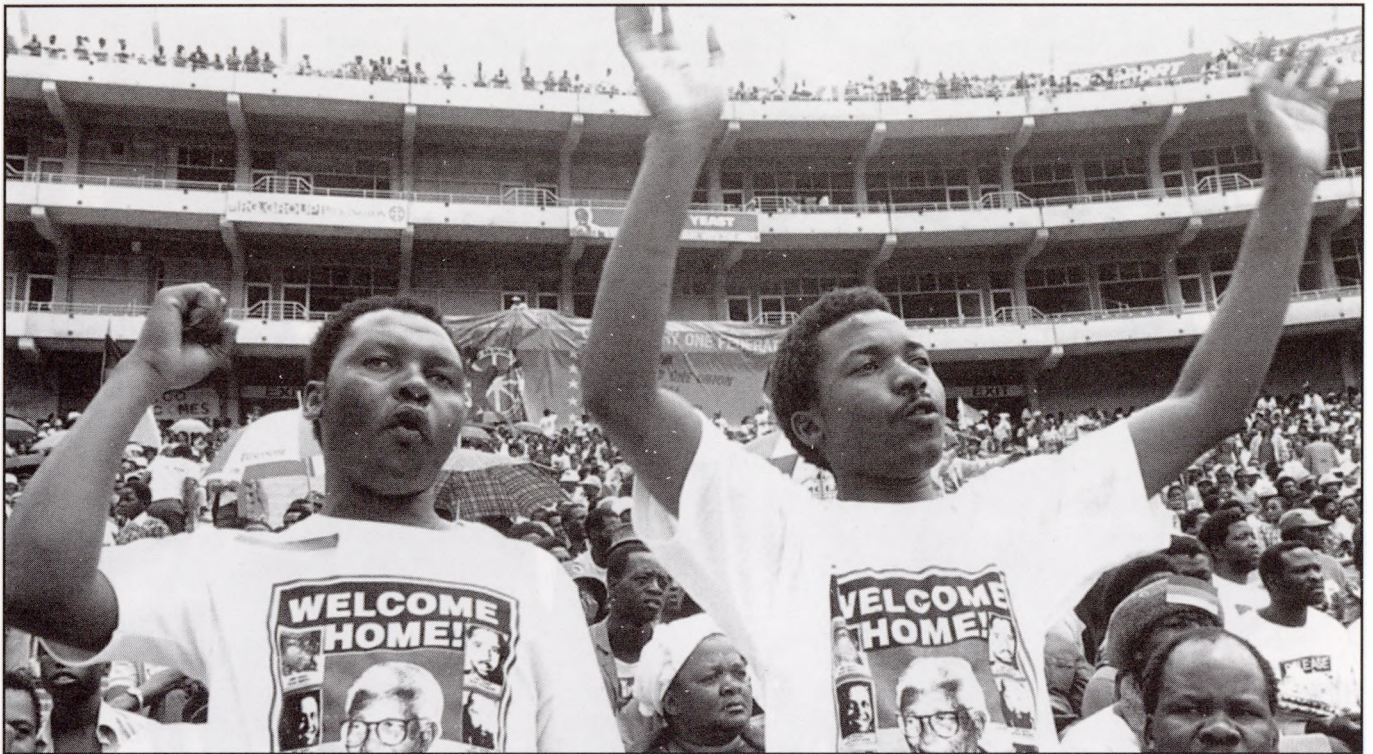
Cdes Nelson Mandela, South Africa's State President and Sam Nujoma, Namibian President

African Unity

To fight these issues, the ANC called in December 1935 for unity, The All African Convention (AAC) was formed, and attempted to oppose the Native Trust Land Bill of 1935 and expose the role of imperialism in Africa.

Influenced by the 1942 Atlantic Charter on post-war settlement, the ANC formulated the African Claims to Independence or a Conference of the ANC at Bloemfontein on 16 December 1945.

This Bill of Rights called for one man - one vote, the recognition of African trade unions, the abolition of the colour bar and pass laws, freehold tenure rights, and equal education. It was sent to General Smuts, the Prime Minister, who refused to meet with the ANC.



Under the dynamic leadership of Anton Lembede and Nelson Mandela, ANCYL geared itself to transforming the ANC.

The Youth League

The 1940s marked a turning point in the ANC with the formation of its Youth League in 1944. The Youth League brought fresh life to the ANC with militant action. Under the dynamic leadership of Anton Lembede and Nelson Mandela, ANCYL geared itself to transforming the ANC.

The Youth League with a African nationalist ideology adopted the Programme of Action in 1949. The emphasis of the Programme was on self-determination, rejection of white domination and the need for mass action. These principles were adopted by the ANC at its Annual Conference. A new Executive including President General Dr. JS Moroka and Secretary General Walter Sisulu were committed to mass action.

In 1948 the National Party won the elections. Repression followed fast. In 1950 the notorious Suppression of Communism Act was introduced, and this effectively outlawed the SACP. The oppressed turned to mass action and defiance.



National Day of protest gave birth to South African Freedom Day - 26 June

Mass Action

On the 26 June 1950, the ANC called for a one-day national strike to protest against increased repression. This National Day of protest gave birth to South African Freedom Day - 26 June.

The Nats became even more determined to root out any form of peaceful protest by Africans. Blacks lost hope of ever achieving their freedoms through the racist white parliament. They charted their own free South Africa by convening the Congress of the People.

Freedom Charter

It was at this historic congress attended by 3 000 people's delegates, at Kliptown on 26 June 1955, that the Freedom Charter was adopted.

The racist regime responded to the democratic demands embodied in the Freedom Charter by charging 156 leaders of the Congress Movement with High Treason. This fake trial came to nothing after four and half years (1956 -1961) when all were acquitted.

The ANC advanced the fight against racial tyranny by organising a nation-wide campaign in 1950-60. By March 1960 when the ANC campaign was gaining momentum its splinter group - the Pan Africanist Congress formed in 1959 under the influence of black chauvinism - called for protest outside police stations on 21 March.

This led to the Sharpsville massacre and the ultimate banning of the ANC and PAC in 1960. The racist regime declared a state of emergency and detained over 20 000 anti-apartheid activists.



Some of the delegates who attended the conference at Kliptown in 1955 where the Freedom Charter was adopted



In 1961 ANC and SACP members formed Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) with Nelson Mandela as the Commander-in-chief

Armed Struggle

In the face of the heavy repression the ANC had no alternative but to counter the violence of the apartheid police and army. In 1961 ANC and SACP members formed Umkhonto we Sizwe with Nelson Mandela as the Commander-in-chief. The period of the armed struggle begun.

In 1963 the police arrested eight leaders of the liberation movement at Rivonia near Johannesburg. Mandela was brought from Robben Island to join Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Ahmed Kathrada, Raymond Mhlaba, Rusty Bernstein, Denis Goldberg, Elias Motsoaledi and Andrew Mlangeni and face 193 charges of sabotage.

The following year all were sentenced to life imprisonment except Bernstein. The external Mission of the ANC under O R Tambo became the leadership.

Freedom

The fall of colonial regimes in Southern Africa around 1974 inspired millions of South Africans to intensify their struggle. The Soweto student uprising marked a turning point as the youth filled the ranks of ANC soon to return as guerillas.

The period 1984 - 86 saw militant mass action mounted against apartheid under the United Democratic Front. The ANC / SACP alliance became virtually unbanned under the leadership of the ANC as the liberation movement scored victories over apartheid. This culminated with the unbanning of the ANC, SACP and other organisations. Nelson Mandela and other ANC leaders were unconditionally released.

The struggling people scored a major victory over the apartheid system when the regime was forced to unban the African National Congress (ANC) and other political organisations in February 1990.

The South African Communist Party (SACP) was also unbanned after 40 years of illegality. After the unbanning the ANC began a massive recruitment campaign to sign up members throughout South Africa.



Masses of the people at the Union Buildings bearing witness to the inauguration of the First State President (Nelson Mandela) of a democratic South Africa



ANC Policy

ANC policy is embodied in the Freedom Charter. As a matter of policy the aims and objectives of the ANC are:-

1. To unite the people of South Africa, Africans in particular, for the complete liberation of the country from all forms of discrimination and national oppression.
2. To end apartheid in all its forms and transform South Africa as rapidly as possible into a united, non-racial democratic country based on the principles of the Freedom Charter.
3. To defend the democratic gains of the people, and advance towards a society in which the government is freely chosen by the people according to the principles of universal suffrage on a common voters' roll.
4. To fight for social justice and eliminate the vast inequalities created by apartheid .
5. To build a South African nation with a common patriotism and loyalty in which the cultural, linguistic and religious diversity of the people is recognised.
6. To promote economic development for the benefit of all.
7. To support the cause of national liberation, development, world peace, disarmament and respect for the environment.

After 82 years of tireless struggle, the ANC crushed white domination by winning the first democratic elections with an overwhelming majority on the 27 April 1994. The ANC President, Nelson Mandela was inaugurated the first state President of a non-racial democratic South Africa.

The establishment of a Government of National Unity (GNU) under the leadership of the ANC marked the beginning of another phase of freedom struggle, that is, transformation of society with apartheid created problems into a just, prosperous and democratic country.

It is instructive to know some basic facts about the condition of the South Africa the ANC-lead government regained from the racist White government.

- Only 45 % of African people live in proper houses.
- 34% have flush toilets
- 2.3 million South Africans suffer from malnutrition
- 37% of the unemployed South Africans are African people and many other problems.

Given this sorry state of affairs - What is the solution?

The Way Forward - Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP)



Main issues of focus as social problems are joblessness, lack of housing and bad performance of the economy.

Reconstruction and development is not a new concept as post Second World War economies of European countries and Japan were rebuilt on the basis of clearly worked out programmes. With the support of United States of America countries such as Germany became success stories of reconstruction led by a determined nation prepared to sacrifice for the betterment of all. The RDP is the programme produced by us to end hunger, joblessness, homelessness after we had won our political struggles for which countless people sacrificed their lives. Main issues of focus as social problems are joblessness, lack of housing and bad performance of the economy.

In the heydays of apartheid oppression, the oppressed people of South Africa used to get millions of rands from Scandinavian countries, former Socialist bloc and anti apartheid organisations throughout the world. These were monies donated to the liberation movements and other mass organisations of the oppressed coming from workers in foreign countries such as Norway, Sweden and Denmark. Had it not been the financial support from those workers our struggle would not have been where it is today. NUM itself survived on the basis of such donations mainly from Scandinavian countries. Even today, NUM still depend on foreign donations for purposes of education, legal battles and health and safety matters as the 1% subscriptions are still not adequate to cover all these costs. In 1987 during the strike, it was the same support of workers in other countries rallied to help victims of mass dismissals.

Foreign donations

Today apartheid is no more and we are part of the free world with the liberation movement playing a major role in running the new democratic government. Foreign donations which were generous have since been stopped with consequent financial strains put on organisations serving the interests of the oppressed. For NUM the increase of subscriptions from R2.00 a member per month to 1% per month helped to a large extent though we still receive foreign help in legal, education and health and safety matters. Foreign donors, however have given us until 1996 to depend on their financial help for such projects.

Though there was fierce resistance from certain quarters of the union on introduction of 1% subscription fee, today history is proving us right as having had foresight. No government no matter how democratic will ever succeed without the full support of the majority of the people who put it into power. Lesotho and Mozambique are recent examples of how a few individuals can undermine democratic government if not supported by the people. Our support is needed to develop the necessary social infrastructure so that investors should find it easier to create jobs in the rural areas and thus end poverty, hunger, disease and migrancy.

The June GNU budget of 1994/95 showed without doubt that we do not have money to address our social problems such as joblessness and housing. GNU budget presented in June 1994 clearly revealed that the money available for building a society without joblessness, homelessness, poor medical care is very little -



Foreign donors will assist in paying for health & safety, legal and education projects in the NUM until 1996

R2,5 billion for RDP. Only R5 billion has been budgeted for the RDP in 1995/6 financial year. The GNU depend on grants from other countries such as US, UK, France and Japan, to name but a few which have already made some commitments. Such help is primarily based on the fact that we are having a new government and fledgling democracy. We will soon be left alone to find solutions to our own problems with our own resources.

Government of National Unity

Government of National Unity has no sufficient money to pay all major projects aimed at changing our people's lives. In the past we used to have answers to all our major social problems by saying nationalisation is the panacea. Political leaders today have banned themselves from talking about the Freedom Charter as it contains the clause on nationalisation. Instead of nationalisation, the political leaders announced plans of privatisation of state assets. World politics have changed radically after the demise of the socialist USSR with US being the sole political supervisor of the world.

US has become an unchallenged economic policy dictator of the world by virtue of sheer military power. We can only ignore this stark political reality at our own peril. Any form of nationalisation of private property will be met with heavy anti - nationalisation bloc led by US with consequent strangulation of South Africa. US punitive measures are ready to be used against anyone not towing their line. We have to depend on our own material and human resources to rebuild our country devastated by apartheid.



Leaders of the Government of National Unity - First Deputy President, FW de Klerk of the National Party, State President, Cde Nelson Mandela and First Deputy President, Cde Thabo Mbeki



Massive unemployment

With massive unemployment and abject poverty in rural areas no one is safe as hunger knows no law and order. RDP which is about reconstructing economy and developing our people is clear on this issue that South Africa cannot develop in isolation from the entire Southern African region. If we combine our strategies of developing together economically it is clear that we will become a very powerful region. Enemies of our region have caused untold suffering by promoting civil wars and parcelling South Africa into Bantustans to counter the whole development of Southern Africa in order to get its natural resources to enrich foreigners. Such policies are aimed at making us sojourners in our own countries.

Government of National Unity we won through elections is our own and have every responsibility to defend it. We must not be complacent and think that the defeated apartheid rulers are fully backing GNU. These are masters of deceit and chicanery. If we are not vigilant and united they could use the same comrades we elected into political office against our political and economic interests. Dissent in former MK ranks is a clear case of such devious elements at work.

Then what is the way forward to help our brothers and sisters who do not have jobs, homes and proper health care facilities. Our call is for all workers, business people and professionals as South African nation, to commit ourselves in practice to change our country for the better.

Hence we are calling on you to support our own government in dealing with these problems by making the whole production of selected public holidays from the current 12 part of RDP funds - a sacrifice to be done



Misunderstanding is the main product of ignorance and thus education through discussions, debates, attending mass meetings listening to radio and self - education is of utmost importance for us to succeed

by all workers and business owners without exception. It is in this way that the necessary infrastructure desperately needed to attract investment in rural areas would be developed.

We appeal rather than command that you consider this proposal and canvass suggestions and ideas until everyone is convinced of its correctness. Misunderstanding is the main product of ignorance and thus education through discussions, debates, attending mass meetings listening to radio and self - education is of utmost importance for us to succeed. It is only when our constituency has the full grasp of the resolution that real process towards implementation could start in earnest.

Draft bill

It is revealing to know how much money could be accumulated by working on public holidays when one looks at the figures released by the outgoing Chamber of Mines President Jurie Geldenhuys when lamenting at the government draft bill to introduce 12 public holidays from 1995.

In terms of Chamber calculations cost implications of 12 public holidays are as follows :

- R1478 million in foreign exchange earnings will be lost
- The State will forego tax revenue of R208 million

- The mining industry will lose profits amounting to R829 million
- In the gold mining sector 24 tons of production will be lost.

The figures represent irrefutable evidence that millions of rands could be generated to build houses and create jobs by working on selected public holidays with profits and wages wholly contributed to RDP fund.

We are powerful force both politically and economically as a united force but if we fail to realise the power we have we will not be able to use it to bring about changes that will benefit us, Even the politicians we have elected will cease to be accountable to us and serve the interests of those hostile to our own progress and development. If we allow such a situation to develop now, tomorrow will be too late for us to protest as we will be met with dogs and teargas from the same government we have elected.



NUM members during the union's National Congress where the RDP Resolution was adopted

NUM Resolution on RDP

- Implementation of RDP should be the primary responsibility of all South Africans rich and poor.
- All social forces should be mobilised to understand and defend the RDP and its implementation.
- All production output ie. workers' earnings and company profits, on selected holidays must be contributed to RDP Fund. This will be done on an annual basis.
- RDP volunteer labour brigades be formed and trained in all communities and be involved in local projects of the RDP.

Cosatu Resolution on RDP

A resolution on assisting to finance the RDP was a result of a Cosatu National Congress held from the 7 - 10 September 1994 at Vista University near Soweto.

- The Congress resolved to mobilise all social forces to understand and defend the RDP.
- To contribute materially to the RDP, through devoting output, profits and earnings on selected days to the RDP Fund, or through other means that may include financial contributions or the contribution of their labour. Such contributions should be based on the following:
- A mechanism should be created for trade unions to influence the allocation of such monies raised.
- The projects being of benefit to workers and their communities.
- To call on government to ensure that wealthy South Africans contribute to the RDP through a special levy on incomes and profits.
- The CEC must work out details of how to give effect to the above, and to build national consensus on the above.



A resolution on assisting to finance the RDP was a result of a Cosatu National Congress held from the 7 - 10 September 1994

National Strategis Resolution Committee

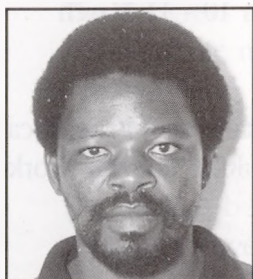
The National Strategis Resolution Committee (NSCR) co-ordinated a national mass education campaign on RDP resulting in empowering hundreds of thousands of mineworkers and energy workers.

To take the campaign further, the 500 delegates attending NUM Central Committee from 10 - 11 March 1995 resolved that:

The NUM National Executive Committee (NEC) should pursue discussions with other trade unions, political parties, employers and other interested parties on the issue of contributing towards the RDP fund by working on certain public holidays.

The National Strategic Resolutions Committee

The President's RDP Team



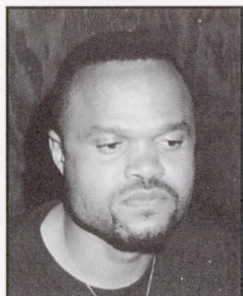
**Maphepha
Nyembe**



Joseph Nkosi



Julie Sanderson



Sam Mashinini



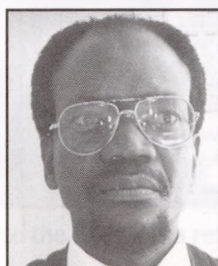
President James Motlatsi



Steve Ratlou



Fezile Mlanda



Jerry Majatladi



Obed Maila



Malefetsane Oetsi

▶ NKŌ'SI ŠIKĒLELE

▶ HOŠI KATIE



My fellow South Africans - the people of South Africa.

This is indeed a joyous night. Although not yet final, we have received the provisional results of the election, and are delighted by the overwhelming support for the African National Congress.

To all those in the African National Congress and the democratic movement who worked so hard these last few days and through these many decades, I thank you and honour you. To the people of South Africa and the world who are watching: this is a joyous night for the human spirit. This is your victory too. You helped end apartheid, you stood with us through the transition.

I watched, along with all of you, as the tens of thousands of our people stood patiently in long queues for many hours. Some sleeping on the open ground overnight waiting to cast this momentous vote.

South Africa's heroes are legend across the generations. But it is you, the people, who are our true heroes.

This is one of the most important moments in the life of our country. I stand here before you filled with deep pride and joy: - pride in the ordinary, humble people of this country. You have shown such a calm, patient determination to reclaim this country as your own.

- and joy that we can loudly proclaim from the rooftops - free at last!

I stand before you humbled by your courage, with a heart full of love for all of you. I regard it as the highest honour to lead the ANC at this moment in our history, and that we have been chosen to lead our country into the new century.

I pledge to use all my strength and ability to live up to your expectations of me as well as of the ANC.

I am personally indebted and pay tribute to some of South Africa's greatest leaders including John Dube, Josiah Gumede, GM Naicker, Dr Abduraman, Chief Luthuli, Lilian Ngoyi, Helen Joseph, Yusuf Dadoo, Moses Kotane, Chris Hani and Oliver Tambo. They should have been here to celebrate with us, for this is their achievement, too.

Tomorrow, the entire ANC leadership and I will be back at our desks. We are rolling up our sleeves to begin tackling the problems our country faces. We ask you all to join us - go back to your jobs in the morning. Let's get South Africa working.

For we must, together and without delay, begin to build a better life for all South Africans. This means creating jobs, building houses, providing education and bringing peace and security for all.

The calm and tolerant atmosphere that prevailed during the elections depicts the type of South Africa we can build. It set the tone for the future. We might have our differences, but we are one people with a common destiny in our rich variety of culture, race and tradition.

People have voted for the party of their choice and we respect that. This is democracy.

I hold out a hand of friendship to the leaders of all parties and their members, and ask all of them to join us in working together to tackle the problems we face as a nation. An ANC government will serve all the people of South Africa, not just ANC members.

We also commend the security forces for the sterling work done. This has laid a solid foundation for a truly professional security force, committed to the service of the people and loyalty to the new constitution.

Now is the time for celebration, for South Africans to join together to celebrate the birth of democracy. I raise a glass to you all for working so hard to achieve what can only be called a small miracle. Let our celebrations be in keeping with the mood set in the elections, peaceful, respectful and disciplined, showing we are a people ready to assume the responsibilities of government.

I promise that I will do my best to be worthy of the faith and confidence you have placed in me and my organisation, the African National Congress. Let us build the future together, and toast a better life for all South Africans.



Nelson Mandela

Nelson Mandela

2 May 1994

AFRICA ▲ MORENA. BŌLOKA ŠEŠHABA SA' HESŌ

KISA' AFRIKA ▲ 'GOD ŠEŠEN AFRIKA ▲ KHŪTŠI, SHUD

U'FHADZA' AFRIKA ▲ 'GOD, BLESS