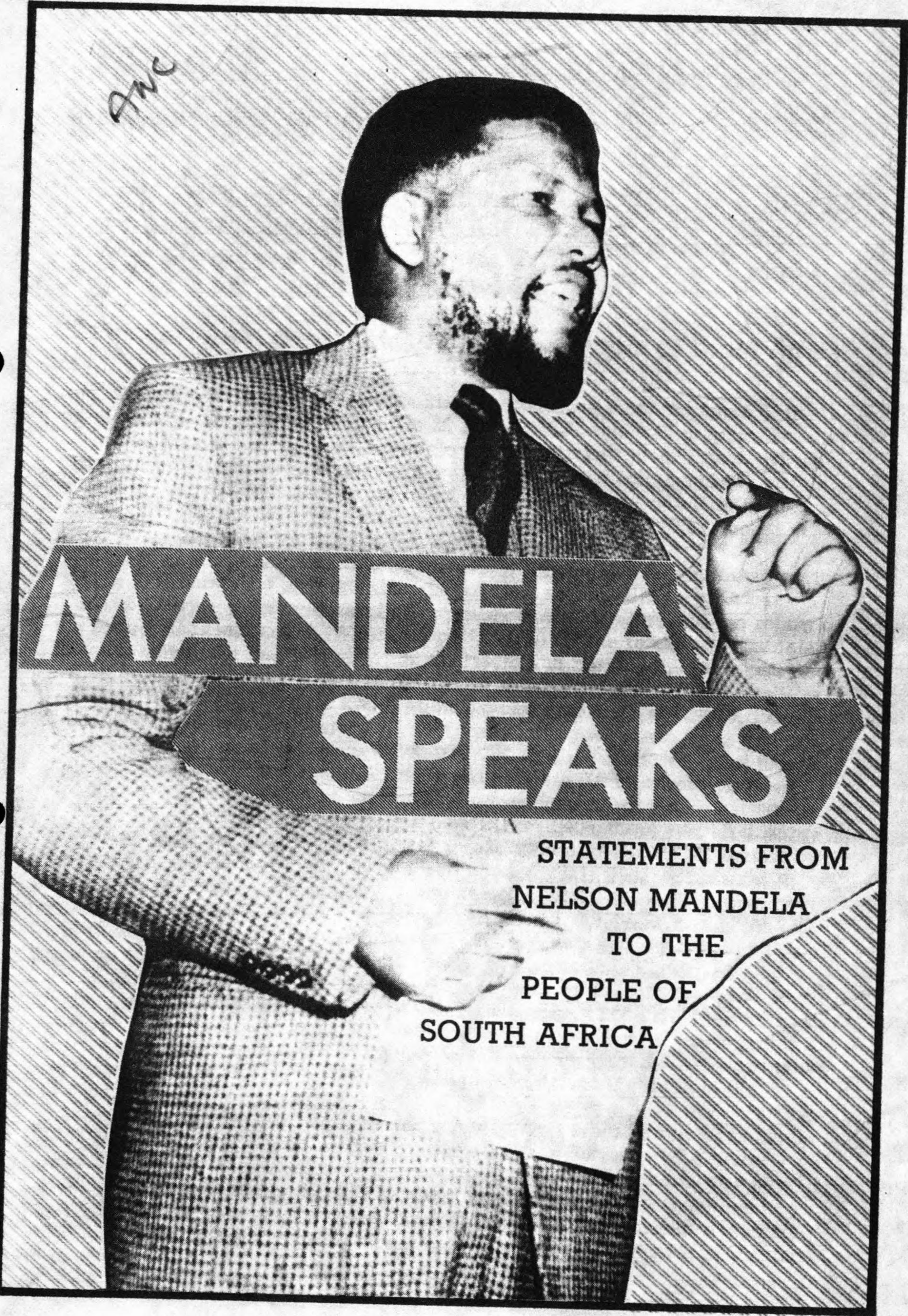


ANC



# MANDELA SPEAKS

STATEMENTS FROM  
NELSON MANDELA  
TO THE  
PEOPLE OF  
SOUTH AFRICA



## UNITE! MOBILISE! FIGHT ON!

*'The African National Congress brings you this **urgent call to unity and mass action** by political prisoners on Robben Island to all patriots in our motherland. Nelson Mandela and hundreds of our comrades have been in the racist regime's prisons for more than 17 years. This message by Nelson Mandela addressed to the struggling masses of our country was written to deal with the present crisis gripping our enemy and in the aftermath of the Soweto uprisings. It was smuggled out of Robben Island prison under very difficult conditions and has taken over two years to reach us. Nonetheless we believe the message remains fresh and valid and should be presented to our people. His call to unity and mass action is of particular importance in this The Year of the Charter — 25th anniversary of the Freedom Charter. The ANC urges you to respond to this call and make 1980 a year of united mass struggle.'*

**Oliver Tambo, President, ANC.**



*Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu on Robben Island, 1966.*

### **Mandela says — Racist Rule by the Gun!**

The gun has played an important part in our history. The resistance of the black man to white colonial intrusion was crushed by the gun. Our struggle to liberate ourselves from white domination is held in check by force of arms. From conquest to the present the story is the same. Successive white regimes have repeatedly massacred unarmed and defenceless blacks. And wherever and whenever

they have pulled out their guns the ferocity of their fire has been trained on the African people.

Apartheid is the embodiment of the racialism, repression and inhumanity of all previous white supremacist regimes. To see the real face of apartheid we must look beneath the veil of constitutional formulas, deceptive phrases and playing with words.

The rattle of gunfire and the



rumbling of Hippo armoured vehicles since June 1976 have once again torn aside that veil. Spread across the face of our country in black townships, the racist army and police have been pouring a hail of bullets killing and maiming hundreds of black men, women and children. The toll of the dead and injured already surpasses that of all past massacres carried out by this regime.

Apartheid is the rule of the gun and the hangman. The Hippo, the FN rifle and the gallows are its true symbols. These remain the easiest resort, the ever-ready solution of the race-mad rulers of South Africa.

### **Vague promises, greater repression....**

In the midst of the present crisis, while our people count the dead and nurse the injured, they ask themselves: What lies ahead?

From our rulers we can expect nothing. They are the ones who give orders to the **soldier crouching over his rifle**: theirs is the spirit that moves the finger that caresses the trigger.

Vague promises, tinkering with the machinery of apartheid, constitution juggling, massive arrests and detentions side by side with renewed overtures aimed at weakening and forestalling the unity of us blacks and dividing the forces of change — these are the fixed paths along which they will move. For they are neither capable nor willing to heed the verdict of the masses of our people.

### **The verdict of June 16!**

That verdict is loud and clear: Apartheid has failed. Our people remain unequivocal in its rejection. The young and the old, parent and child, all reject it. At the forefront of this 1976/77 wave of unrest were our students and youth. They came from the universities, high schools and even primary schools. They are a

generation whose whole education has been under the diabolical design of the racists to poison the minds and brainwash our children into docile subjects of apartheid rule. But after more than 20 years of Bantu Education the circle is closed and nothing demonstrates the utter bankruptcy of apartheid as the revolt of our youth.

The evils, the cruelty and the inhumanity of apartheid have been there from its inception. And all blacks — Africans, coloureds and Indians — have opposed it all along the line. What is now unmistakable, what the current wave of unrest has sharply highlighted is this: that despite all the window-dressing and smooth talk, apartheid has become intolerable.

This awareness reaches over and beyond the particulars of our enslavement. The measure of this truth is the recognition by our people that under apartheid our lives, individually and collectively count for nothing.

### **Unite!**

We face an enemy that is deep-rooted, an enemy entrenched and determined not to yield. Our march to freedom is long and difficult. But both within and beyond our borders the prospects of victory grow bright.

The first condition for victory is black unity. Every effort to divide blacks, to woo and pit one black group against another, must be vigorously repulsed. Our people — African, coloured, Indian and democratic whites — must be united into a single massive and solid wall of resistance, of united mass action.

Our struggle is growing sharper. This is not the time for the luxury of division and disunity. At all levels and in every walk of life we must close ranks. Within the ranks of the people differences must be submerged to the achievement of a single goal — the complete overthrow of apartheid and racist domination.



### **Victory is certain!**

The revulsion of the world against apartheid is growing and the frontiers of white supremacy are shrinking. Mozambique and Angola are free and the war of liberation gathers force in Namibia and Zimbabwe. The soil of our country is destined to be the scene of the fiercest fight and the sharpest battles to rid our continent of the last vestiges of white minority rule.

The world is on our side. The OAU, the UN and the Anti-Apartheid movement continue to put pressure on the racist rulers of our country. Every effort to isolate South Africa adds strength to our struggle.

At all levels of our struggle, within and outside the country, much has been achieved and much remains to be done. But victory is certain!

### **We salute all of you!**

We who are confined within the grey walls of the Pretoria regime's prison reach out to our people. With you we count those who have perished by means of the gun and the hangman's rope. We salute all of you — the living, the injured and the dead. For you have dared to rise up against the tyrant's might.

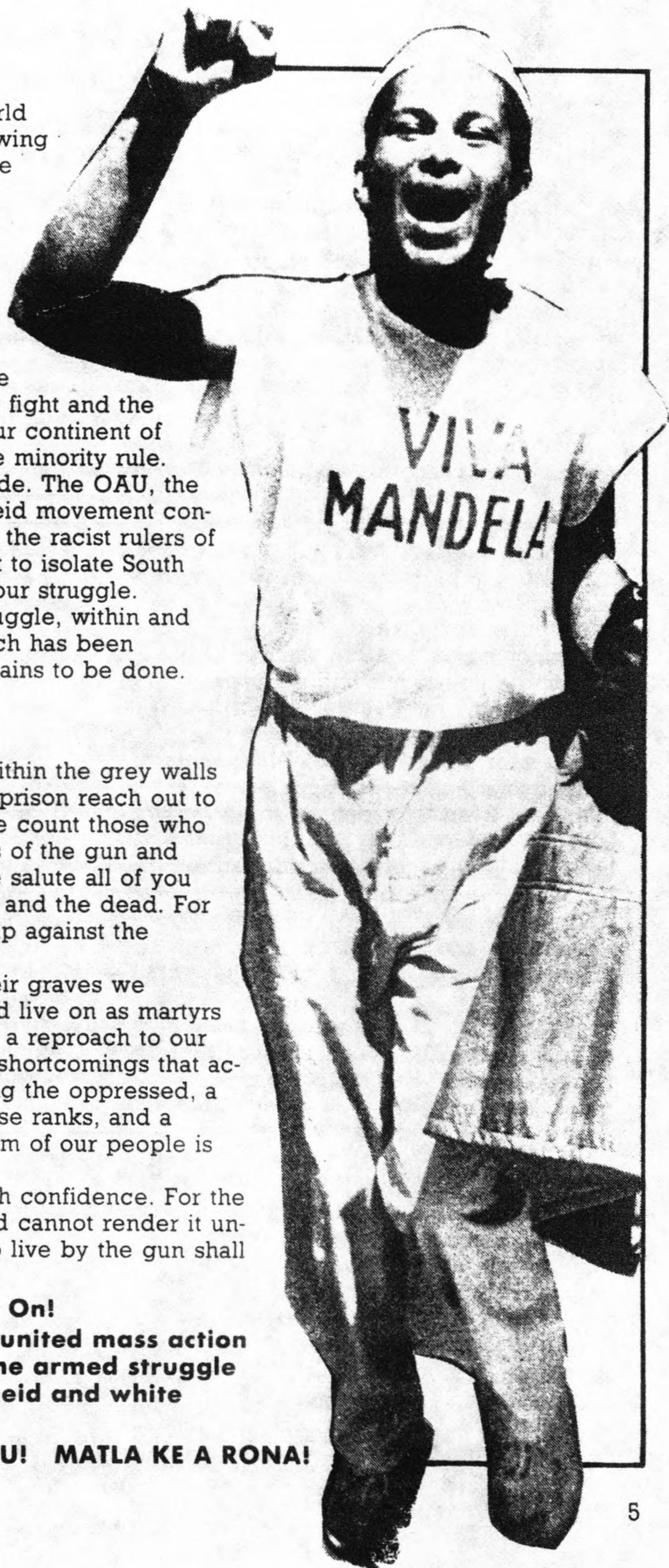
Even as we bow at their graves we remember this: The dead live on as martyrs in our hearts and minds, a reproach to our disunity and the host of shortcomings that accompany divisions among the oppressed, a spur to our efforts to close ranks, and a reminder that the freedom of our people is yet to be won.

We face the future with confidence. For the guns that serve apartheid cannot render it unconquerable. Those who live by the gun shall perish by the gun.

### **Unite! Mobilise! Fight On!**

**Between the anvil of united mass action and the hammer of the armed struggle we shall crush apartheid and white minority racist rule.**

**AMANDLA NGAWETHU! MATLA KE A RONA!**





On Friday my mother and our attorney saw my father at Pollsmoor Prison to obtain his answer to Botha's offer of conditional release. The prison authorities attempted to stop this statement being made but he would have none of this and made it clear that he would make the statement to you, the people.

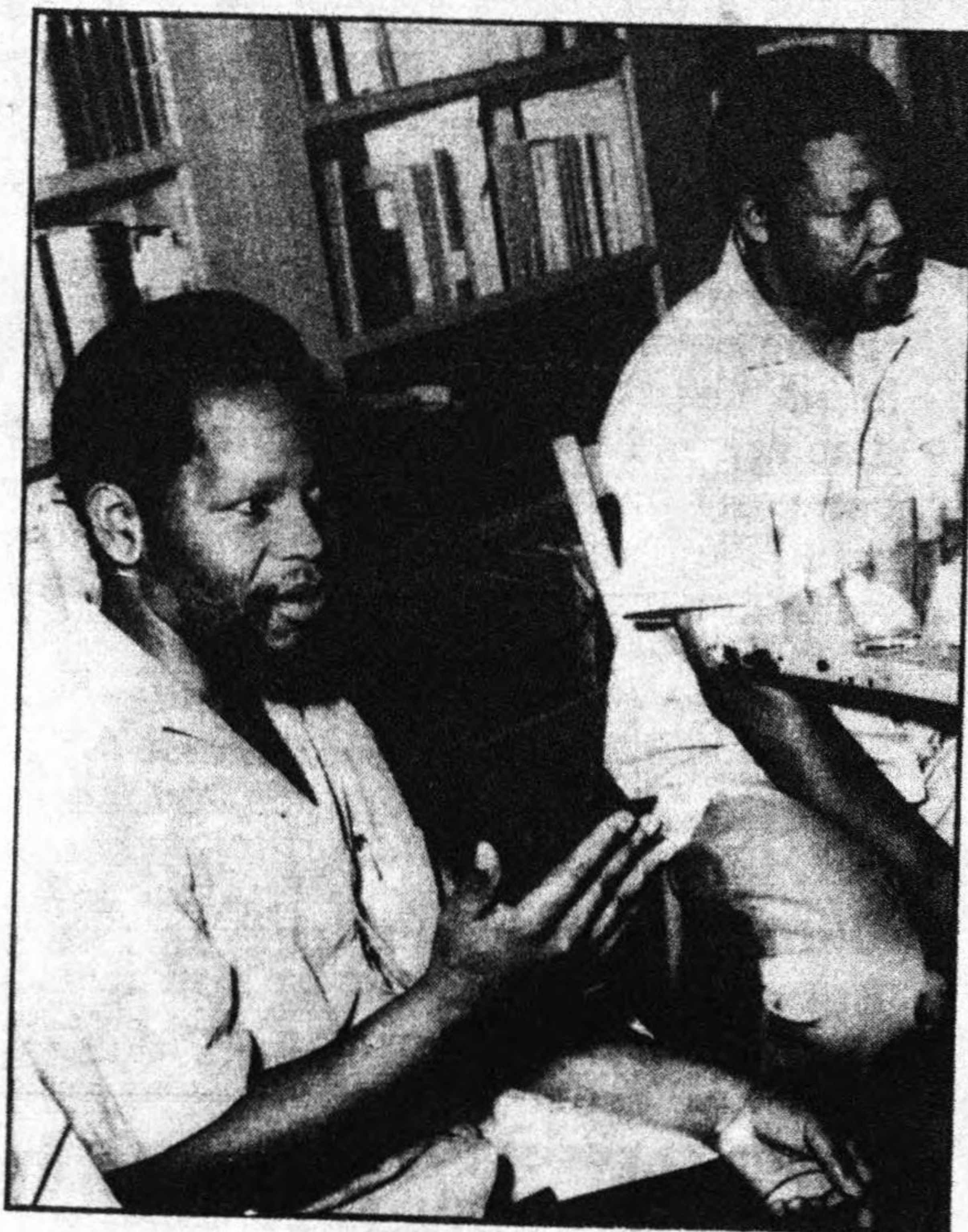
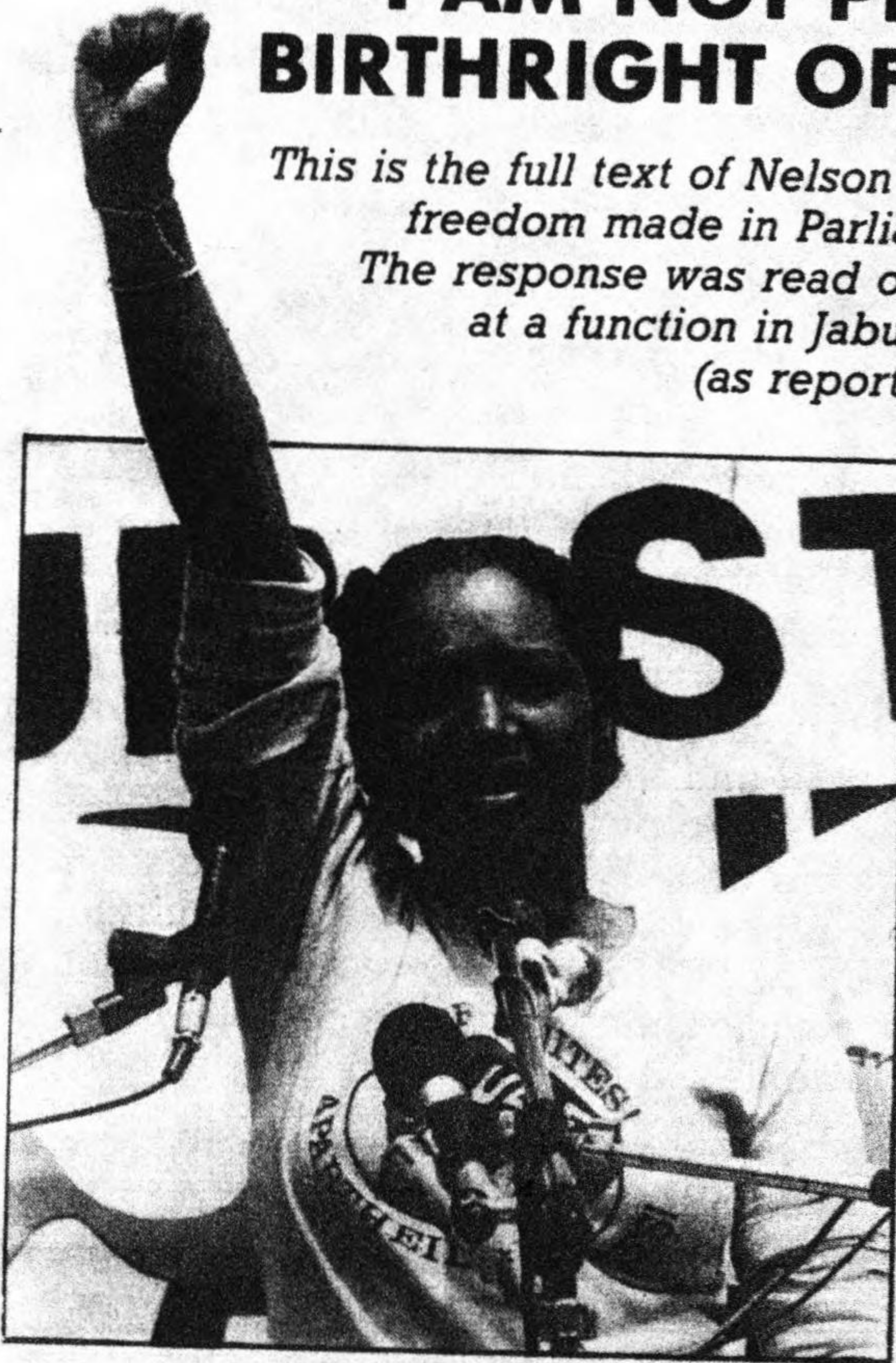
Strangers like Bethell from England and Professor Dash from the United States have in recent weeks been authorised by Pretoria to see my father without restriction, yet Pretoria cannot allow you, the people, to hear what he has to say directly. He should be here himself to tell you what he thinks of this statement by Botha. He is not allowed to do so. My mother, who also heard his words, is also not allowed to speak to you today.

My father and his comrades at Pollsmoor Prison send their greetings to you, the freedom-loving people of this, our tragic land, in the full confidence that you will carry on the struggle for freedom. He and his comrades at Pollsmoor Prison send their very warmest greetings to Bishop Desmond Tutu. Bishop Tutu has made it clear to the world that the Nobel Peace Prize belongs to you who are the people. We salute him.

My father and his comrades at Pollsmoor Prison are grateful to the United Democratic Front who without hesitation made this venue available to them so that they could speak to you today. My father and his comrades wish to make this statement to you, the people, first. They are clear that they are accountable to you and to you alone. And that you should hear their views directly and not through others. My father speaks not only for himself and for his comrades at Pollsmoor Prison, but he hopes he also speaks for all those in jail for their opposition to apartheid, for all those who are banished, for all those who are in exile, for all those who suffer under apartheid, for all those who are opponents of apartheid and

## I AM NOT PREPARED TO SURRENDER THE BIRTHRIGHT OF THIS LAND

*This is the full text of Nelson Mandela's statement for freedom made in Parliament last week. The response was read on Monday at a function in Jabulani, South Africa (as reported in the press)*



LEFT

RIGHT



## WANTED TO SELL THE THE PEOPLE TO BE FREE

*...a's response to the conditional offer of  
...by the State President, PW Botha.  
...ela's behalf by his daughter, Zinzi,  
...weto, on February 10th, 1985.  
...ne Rand Daily Mail)*



*Top, Zinzi Mandela at Jabulani.  
Bottom, Oliver Tambo and Nelson Mandela,  
Addis Ababa, 1962.  
T: Mandela at Algerian military headquarters, 1962.*

for all those who are oppressed and exploited.

Throughout our struggle there have been puppets who have claimed to speak for you. They have made this claim, both here and abroad. They are of no consequence. My father and his colleagues will not be like them. My father says:

'I am a member of the African National Congress. I have always been a member of the African National Congress and I will remain a member of the African National Congress until the day I die. Oliver Tambo is much more than a brother to me. He is my greatest friend and comrade for nearly 50 years. If there is any one amongst you who cherishes my freedom, Oliver Tambo cherishes it more, and I know that he would give his life to see me free. There is no difference between his views and mine.

I am surprised at the conditions that the government wants to impose on me. I am not a violent man. My colleagues and I wrote in 1952 to Malan asking for a round table conference to find a solution to the problems of our country, but that was ignored. When Strijdom was in power, we made the same offer. Again it was ignored. When Verwoerd was in power we asked for a national convention for all the people in South Africa to decide on their future. This, too, was in vain.

It was only then when all other forms of resistance were no longer open to us that we turned to armed struggle. Let Botha show that he is different to Malan, Strijdom and Verwoerd. Let him renounce violence. Let him say that he will dismantle apartheid. Let him unban the people's organisation, the African National Congress. Let him free all who have been imprisoned, banished or exiled for their opposition to apartheid. Let him guarantee free political activity so that people may decide who will govern them.

I cherish my own freedom dearly,



but I care even more for your freedom. Too many have died since I went to prison. Too many have suffered for the love of freedom. I owe it to their widows, to their orphans, to their mothers and to their fathers who have grieved and wept for them. Not only I have suffered during these long, lonely, wasted years. I am not less life-loving than you are. But I cannot sell my birthright, nor am I prepared to sell the birthright of the people to be free. I am in prison as the representative of the people and of your organisation, the African National Congress, which was banned.

What freedom am I being offered while the organisation of the people remains banned? What freedom am I being offered when I may be arrested

on a pass offence? What freedom am I being offered to live my life as a family with my dear wife who remains in banishment in Brandfort? What freedom am I being offered when I must ask for permission to live in an urban area? What freedom am I being offered when I need a stamp in my pass to seek work? What freedom am I being offered when my very South African citizenship is not respected?

Only free men can negotiate. Prisoners cannot enter into contracts. Herman Toivo ja Toivo, when freed, never gave any undertaking, nor was he called upon to do so.

I cannot and will not give any undertaking at a time when I and you, the people, are not free.

Your freedom and mine cannot be separated. I will return.



*Winnie Mandela after a recent court appearance. On her left is Aubrey Mokoena of the Release Mandela Committee, spearhead of the campaign inside South Africa.*



## WE HOLD YOUR HANDS FIRMLY ACROSS THE MILES

*The Second National Consultative Conference of the African National Congress opened on June 16th, 1985 — the ninth anniversary of the Soweto Uprising of 1976 — and lasted for seven days. The Conference was fortunate to be addressed by our leaders who are still in prison and whom Botha is still refusing to release. Shortly before the Conference opened, the ANC received a message from the leaders in Pollsmoor and Robben Island prisons, signed, on their behalf, by Nelson Mandela. Here is what our leaders said:*

'We were most delighted to hear that the ANC will soon have another Conference. We sincerely hope that such an occasion will constitute yet another milestone in our history. It is most satisfying, especially in our present position, to belong to a tested organisation which exercises so formidable an impact on the situation in our country, which has established itself firmly as the standard bearer of such a rich tradition, and which has brought us such coveted laurels.

As you know, we always try to harmonise our own views and responses with those of the Movement at large. For this reason, we find it rewarding indeed to know that, despite the immense distance and the years which separate us, as well as the lack of effective communication channels, we still remain a closely-knit organisation, ever conscious of the crucial importance of unity, and of resisting every attempt to divide and confuse.

We feel sure that all those delegates who will attend go there with one central issue uppermost in their minds: that out of the Conference the ANC will emerge far stronger than ever before. Unity is the rock on which the African National Congress was founded; it is the principle which has guided us down the years as we feel our way forward.

In the course of its history the ANC has survived countless storms and risen to eminence partly because of the sterling qualities of its member-

ship, and partly because each member has regarded himself or herself as the principal guardian of that unity. All discussions, contributions and criticism have generally been balanced and constructive, and, above all, they have been invariably subjected to the over-riding principle of maximum unity. To lose sight of this basic principle is to sell our birth-right, to betray those who paid the highest price so that the ANC should flourish and triumph.

In this connection, the positions taken by Oliver Tambo on various issues and also stressed by Joe Slovo inspired us tremendously. Both drew our attention to vital issues which, in our opinion, are very timely. They must be highlighted and kept consciously in mind as we try to sort out the complicated problems which face the Movement, and as we try to hammer out the guidelines for future progress.

These remarks are the clearest expression of that enduring identity of approach of members of the Movement wherever they may be, and a summary of achievements of which we are justly proud. In particular we fully share the view that the ANC has raised mass political consciousness to a scale unknown in our experience. It is in this spirit that we send you our greetings and best wishes. We hold your hands firmly across the miles.'

June 16th, 1985



## PRICELESS SACRIFICE

*Message from Winnie Nomzamo and Nelson Mandela to the funeral of the comrades murdered in Lesotho, December 1985.*



Whilst we continue to shed oceans of tears and rivers of blood we accept the declaration of war and the painful reality that our pride and honour calls on us to respond likewise, this innocent blood shall be avenged. The blood of Hector Peterson, Babla Salojee, Ngudle, Solomon Mahlangu, Steve Bantu Biko, Moloise, Victoria and Griffiths Mxenge, the Goniwes and all the other soldiers who have paid the supreme price for this cause, we say, on your blood we shall walk to freedom.

Southern Africa, Angola, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Namibia, Botswana, Zambia, Lesotho, still have to shed more rivers of blood to defeat the last bastion of oppression the blistering inferno of racial hatred.

Like all struggling movements, we do not doubt our victory. In the name of our struggling people, the leaders inside South Africa, behind bars in Pollsmoor, Robben Island, the detainees, the banned and exiled and our country as a whole, we wish to express our deepest sympathies.

Our bleeding hearts are with the bereaved families, we thank them for this priceless sacrifice.

**Matla ke a Rona  
Amandla Ngawethu  
The Struggle Continues**



# THE MESSAGE OF THE PEOPLE TO NELSON MANDELA

We, the people of South Africa, represented by the UDF, university students, school pupils, academics, teachers, lawyers, doctors, clerics and other concerned citizens, have over many years in a sustained way demanded the release of Nelson Mandela and other political detainees. This has fallen on deaf ears. We now resort to this peaceful march to express our determination that they shall be free and to deliver to them the following message.

You and other political prisoners are in prison, and the people are not free. While the people are oppressed South Africa shall remain in the grip of an escalating cycle of frustration, anger and violence. Out of this oppression has emerged a momentum and dynamic that is today sweeping black areas throughout the country — from rural villages and farms to industrial centres and the sprawling townships adjacent to every city in the land. Against this oppression our people are rising up — from the older generation who inspire us with their courage and determination.

The Liberation Movements were banned in 1961. You and others were imprisoned with a view to stemming the tide of black protest and resistance. This resistance is today more sustained, more intense and more widespread than ever before. The walls of oppression are beginning to crumble.

The apartheid regime, trapped by the very ideological mind-control and the legislative tentacles it has systematically established over the years, is politically bankrupt. Its rulers are without vision and devoid of the courage to change. They have not learned that their violence cannot and will not resolve the conflict and chaos of our land, neither will it destroy the spirit and determination of our people. When a government is tyrannical it forfeits its right to govern. When a government is not of the people it is no government at all. When the recognised leaders are in jail, there can only be rebellion in the streets.

You are a true leader of our people. You have not sold the birthright of your people in order to be free, and we will not rest until you are free. Your release, and that of others, is imperative. Your leadership is acknowledged. Your sacrifice for your people is affirmed. We commit ourselves anew to a free South Africa in which the people shall govern, the doors of learning shall be open to all, and the land shall belong to all its people.

Let it be known:

*The oppressed shall be free,  
The bars of prisons shall be broken.*

Let it be known:

*The people have mounted up with the wings of eagles,  
They run and are not weary,  
They walk and faint not.  
They know that the end of oppression is at hand.*

Let it be known:

*Your freedom is our freedom,  
Our moment has come,  
We shall be free and peace shall reign.*







*Archbishop Trevor Huddleston before departing for the United Nations with a 500 000 international signature petition calling for the release of Mandela and all political prisoners, October 1984.*

**Demand the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all South African political prisoners.**

- Campaign in your political parties, trade union organisations, local authorities, churches, womens', youth and students' groups for the release of Mandela and all political prisoners. Action taken in support of this campaign includes the conferring of honorary degrees, the granting of the freedom of the city and the naming of public places in honour of Mandela. (A list of such action already taken is available from the AAM.)
- Display the exhibition *The Struggle is My Life* (9 x A2 sheets with biographical texts and photos of Mandela's life). Available from AAM and IDAF.
- Write to the South African Ambassador in protest at the continued detention, torture and imprisonment of political activists.
- Write to the Foreign Office urging the British government to call for the unconditional release of all political prisoners in South Africa.

**FOR FURTHER INFORMATION:**  
**African National Congress (ANC), PO Box 38, 28 Penton St., London N1 9PR. Tel: 837 2012**

**Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM), 13 Mandela St., London NW1 0DW. Tel: 387 7966**

**International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa (IDAF), Canon Collins House, 64 Essex Road, London N1 8LR Tel: 359 9181**





*Mandela has received many international honours in recognition of his fight for the liberation of South Africa.*  
*On the 28 August 1985, President Oliver Tambo and Mandela's daughter, Zenani Dlamini, unveiled a statue of Mandela at County Hall, London.*

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