On July 18th, Nelsons Rohihlahla Mandela celebrated his 65th birthday in Pollsmoor Prison in (Cape Town. On August 5th, Nelson Mandela will have spent 21 of these years in prison - 20 of which were spent on Robben Island.

Nelson Mandela is an unchallengeable leader of the South African people. Internatered and named after him at Leeds University; the cities of Athens, Rome and Glasgow conferred on him the Freedom of the City; the J amaican workers have called their study groups the Nelson Mandela Study Seminars; student hostels and public places and squares have been named after him; painters, artists and sculptors have used Nelson Mandela as a tmodelf This explains why the campaign for the release of Nelson Mandela, a campaign which includes all political prisoners in South 7 Africa, has assumed greatersigniiicance and an international dimension. Only recently we received information

about the conditions in which Mandela and five bther Rivonia trial prisoners are being kept at Pollsmoor Prison. It should be remembered that Mandela, Sisulu, Mhlaba ands Mlangeni Were moved from Robben Island ' to Pollsmoor in April 1982. Some time later, Mbeki, Motsoaledi and Kathrada were also transferred there. This means that all seven Rivonia trial prisoners who were on Robben Island are now in Pollsmoor on the mainland According to our information, Mandela is being kept in a cell with five Others. We (10 not know who they are, but the implication is that at least one Rivonia plisoner has been separated from the others, and is possibly being held in solitary confinement. Mandela is reported to have said: tilt is now clear to me that we were transferred for the purpose of further

7 1" They are now kept from the other prisoners, and can see only the sky from their cells; the prisoners are not taken outside at ionally, he is regarded as such. He has received all, and have no possibility of walks, a s they

many international awards; the Jawaharlal Nehru Award in India; a doctorate from the llm'vergitv nf' Iemthn: a narticle was discovhad on the Island; they are expected to exercise in their cells; they have to study inside the cell with the five other prisoners.

punishment and harassment?

This means:

east.

k Mandela and his comrades are not alowed to buy sports equipment, even though :he Brigadier in charge is the same one who avas in charge of sport on Robben Island. vlandela had to undergo an operation on his 'ight toe for the removal of the toenail, be-:ause for months he had been wearing the wrong sized shoe and was not allowed to my a pair that fitted him.

'i On Robben Island they saw films twice a Week, but in Pollsmoor they have been shown two silent films made in the thirties, that is, in eight months. These were shown in their cells and not in a common hall as was the case on the Island. The officer commanding refused to receive a memorandum in which the prisoners could file their complaints to be forwarded to a higher authority. We are far from suggesting that things were igoodi on Robben Island, but Pollsmoor is a hell on earth. This is the reality facing political prisoners in South Africa. After i more than two decades of incarceration, these men are not only still in prison, but they are being kept in much worse conditions than they had on Robben Island before their removal.

Once again, the international community must play its role and ensure that these new barbarities get maximum publicity. Letters to the Officer Commanding; Pollsmoor Maximum Security Prison; P.B.X.4; Tokai 7966; South Africa, and to the Commissioner of Prisons in Pretoria, can help to bring about improvements. Mandela and his comrades are suffering new deprivations as a result of these disabilities.

Mandela and Our Struggle

Mandelais spirit is very much alive in the ANC, and among our people in general. The very fact that the Freedom Charter, in whose of this. - .

Catsha Buthelezi has taken a more antipopular stance, whereas Bishop Tutu is moving in the right direction. Not that we agree with everything Tutu says and does. We might agree with Tutu when he says that Mandela is destined to be the first black Prime Minister in South Africa, but when he says this will take place in five years, we are forced to query his over-optimism. Since 1980-81 the ANC has stepped up its political and military offensive, attacking fuel storage tanks, and so on. The message was clear: racist South Africais dependence on oil imports was emphasised and a warning made to those who violate sanctions against South Africa. The burning of the racist flag in 1980 and the hoisting Of the ANC flag is another example. What about the demonstrations by the Coloured and Indian youth in 1980?

The ANC introduced a new element in the Soweto uprising, namely the combination of armed struggle with unarmed demonstrations. The incident involving the arrest and execution of Solomon Mahlangu - the hero of the revolution - was directly connected with this process.

These developments point to a change

in the weapons used; to a determined attempt at parity in strength; to a shift in the relationship of contending forces, a shift in our favour - a characteristic feature of the present stage of our struggle. The very fact that ANC guerrilla units have been active inside South Africa for longer periods of time indicates a shift in our forms and methods of operation _ a higher stage in our armed operations. i

The recent attack on Pretoria, in which the enemy suffered heavy losses, is a signal of greater things to come.

This is how we celebrate Mandelais birth day - by putting his theories, ideals and aspirations into practice.