

REPORT ON CAMPAIGN "NELSON MANDELA FREE" IN THE NETHERLANDS

The campaign for the release of Nelson Mandela, the ANC-leader imprisoned for life at Robben Island, and all political prisoners started in The Netherlands in June 1980. Then 13 youth organisations of all the main political parties, trade unions, students etc. presented an Open Letter to the Dutch government together with the Dutch Anti-Apartheid Movement demanding the release of James Mange and Nelson Mandela. A first campaigning leaflet was produced and distributed. After the holidays, in the course of August, a signature campaign was started for the 'unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners in South Africa and Namibia'. The campaign was organised by the Dutch Anti-Apartheid Movement together with the Workgroup Kairos, which mainly concentrated on the churches. The collecting of signatures was combined with the distribution of other campaigning material, o.a. posters, badges, stickers, T-shirts 'Free Nelson Mandela' and a cassette, containing selections of some major speeches and statements by Mandela and South African freedom songs.

Organisations were asked to express official support for the campaign and its main demand. The result was very impressive: over 40 organisations gave their political support, including most political parties (a.o. the Dutch Labour Party and the Christian Democratic Party), both Trade Union Federations (FNV and CNV), the Dutch Council of Churches and a large number of churches and church-based organisations, youth organisations, solidarity groups etc. Most of these organisations took also part in the collecting of signatures, mainly through their local branches, churches, etc. Consequently the campaign developed into the biggest signature campaign ever held on Southern Africa in the Netherlands. Now, one week before the conclusion of the campaign already almost 50.000 signatures have been collected and every more are still coming in. Over 100 local groups have been active in the campaign by appealing to the public in over 60 cities and villages throughout the country to sign the Mandela-petition. Almost 500 groups and individuals sent in completed signatures-lists, collected amongst friends, on working places, in schools, meetings, etc. In one town a campaign was started for the official re-naming of the local 'Jan van Riebeeck' street into 'Nelson Mandela street'; the federationcongress of the trade union in the printing sector voted unanimously for the release of Mandela and in Amsterdam several weekends were used by the AAM to collect on a mass-scale signatures on markets and squares in the town-centre while a continuous picket-line for two weeks against the showing of a South African movie in one of the local cinema's was used to collect another 2000 signatures (the protest against this film, 'Funny People' of the South African director Jamie Uys, resulted in the calling off of the film after two weeks for Amsterdam and the rest of the country). In november the Dutch AAM distributed with the support of a large number of local groups some 20.000 small campaigning leaflets calling for the release of Mandela and to support the campaign; also, these pamphlets - printed in a way similar to the leaflets etc. distributed by the underground ANC and SACTU-machinery in South Africa - called for support to the Dutch AAM's main campaign in the months to come: "The People Shall Govern", a campaign to deepen the understanding of the present stage of the liberationstruggle in Southern Africa and the role of the liberationmovements and underground trade union movement and to raise financial support to the various underground politisation and mobilisation material of ANC, SACTU and SWAPO.

The signatures under the Nelson Mandela petition will be presented to the Dutch government and parliament on Wednesday November 26th, during a visit by ANC-President Oliver Tambo to The Hague. Reports on the conclusion and follow-up of the campaign will follow.

Dutch Anti-Apartheid Movement

Amsterdam, 19-11-1980

the campaign and we expect a few thousand more. As stated earlier the petition will be handed to the Dutch Government in November to pressure the government to support the campaign. The height of our campaign will be reached on the 18th and 19th October when we organize a "campaign weekend". During these two days meetings will be had throughout the Netherlands, Mandelas name will be mentioned from the various pulpits and we hope to mobilize the mass media.

This then is how we support the Mandela Campaign. Surely your courageous action together with the support of the international community must convince the Apartheid adherents that Apartheid is doomed.

FREE NELSON MANDELA

Yours sincerely,
The Dutch AAM.

29th September 1980

Dear Friends,

The Free Nelson Mandela Campaign which is being carried and supported by all the democratic forces in South Africa have found wide support in the international community. The purpose of this letter is to inform you of the activities of the Dutch AAM and other organisations in support of the Mandela Campaign.

We have started a Petition in which the unconditional release of Mandela and all political prisoners in South Africa are demanded. The petition is to be widely distributed throughout the Netherlands and will be handed to the Dutch Government in November. With the petition we distribute information material explaining Mandelas case and stressing that his release is a fundamental condition for the abolishment of Apartheid and for the installation of a democratic government that will do justice to the demands of the majority in South Africa. In addition to the petition and information leaflets we also distribute buttons and posters in the colours yellow green and black with a picture of Mandela and the words Free Nelson Mandela. Last but certainly not least we have had T-shirts printed with a picture of Mandela and the same text as on the button and poster. The T-shirts are selling well and you can see many activists all over the country wearing them. A sight for sore eyes.

We have the active support of the major political parties (except the conservative party) as well as thirteen youth organizations. They all organize meetings in their respective communities, stand on the markets with T-shirts, buttons and most important the Mandela Petition. The labour unions have come out in active support of the campaign as well as various organizations. We are lobbying the churches for their support and we are certain that they will not lag behind. Our petitions have gone to a considerable number of denominations and they have all been returned fully signed. We have also had positive responses from many preachers and church leaders. Within two weeks from the 29th the churches have a big meeting. The Mandela Campaign is on the agenda and will be discussed. We also get telephone calls daily from church people asking for petition lists.

More than 10,000 people have signed the petition since the start of

APPENDIX - NELSON MANDELA CAMPAIGN

Addresses: x Mrs. Nomzano Winnie Mandela
802, Brandfort Location
P.O. BRANDFORT 9400
Orange Free State
South Africa

x The Editor
Sunday Post
P.O. Box 43004
Industria 2,000
JOHANNESBURG
South Africa

x FREE NELSON MANDELA COMMITTEE
P.O. Box 48060
QUALBERT, 4078
South Africa

UN Special Committee against Apartheid
United Nations
NEW YORK, NY 10017
USA

Provisional Headquarters
African National Congress of South Africa
P.O. Box 31791
LUSAKA
Zambia

Text of Sunday Post Petition

"We, the undersigned, support Sunday Post's request to have Nelson Mandela released."

Text of British Anti-Apartheid Movement "Nelson Mandela Declaration"

"We, the undersigned, declare our support for the release of Nelson Mandela and all South African political prisoners."

Release Nelson Mandela and All South African Political Prisoners

Introduction

On 9 March 1980, within days of the election victory of Robert Mugabe in Zimbabwe, the Sunday Post, the Johannesburg newspaper edited by Percy Qoboza with a predominately Black readership, launched a campaign for the release of Nelson Mandela.

The campaign has captured the imagination of much of the Black community in South Africa. Supporters of the campaign include the South African Council of Churches, the Soweto Committee of 10, the Natal Indian Congress and the Coloured Labour Party. The only opposition to the campaign has come from Chief Gataha Buthelezi, the Zulu Bantustan Chief Minister, and his Inkatha organization, which argues that the campaign will undermine the prospects of Mandela's release!

Signatures are being collected to petitions, over 50,000 were received during the opening weeks of the campaign, and Free Mandela Committees established. The SACC has arranged for petitions to be distributed through the churches.

The Anti-Apartheid Movement has launched a campaign to mobilize international support for the Free Mandela Campaign. Activities are taking place in Britain and other anti-apartheid and solidarity movements are also planning activities.

Background on Mandela

Nelson Mandela is an outstanding African nationalist leader. Born the cousin of a Paramount Chief and a member of the Tembu ruling family, he qualified as an attorney and joined the African National Congress in 1944. He was a founder member and General Secretary of the ANC Youth League which played a crucial role in the late 1940s in transforming the ANC into a fighting and defiant organisation which was prepared to confront the South African regime.

In 1951 Mandela was appointed Volunteer in Chief of the Defiance Campaign in which 8,500 went to jail for defying unjust laws. For organizing the campaign, with 20 others, he was charged, convicted and given a nine month sentence. Subsequently he was issued with a banning order prohibiting him from attending gatherings and confining him to Johannesburg. Then in 1953 the ban was renewed with the extra provision that he resign from the ANC.

Mandela was effectively silenced but he continued to be actively involved in the struggle whilst working from his legal practice which he set up with Oliver Tambo in Johannesburg. These activities included the "M" plan which involved the building of a mass membership for the ANC.

In 1956 at dawn on 5 December Mandela was among 156 people arrested and charged with treason. The charges were dropped against all but 30 including Mandela who were brought to trial. For four and a half years while the Treason Trial dragged on the State tried to prove that the ANC was part of an international communist inspired effort to overthrow the government by violence. Eventually they were all acquitted.

Whilst this trial proceeded the struggle was intensifying. On March 21 1960 the police opened fire on a pass protest called by the PAC, formed by a group which had broken from the ANC. This was at Sharpeville - 69 were killed in cold blood. As mass demonstration spread throughout South Africa in response to this massacre the ANC and PAC were banned and Mandela was amongst 20,000 people detained.

AP/WIDE WORLD



**FREE
NELSON
MANDELA!**

**SOLIDARITY WITH
SOUTH AFRICAN
AND NAMIBIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS!**

POSTCARD

By Airmail

WE, THE UNDERSIGNED, SUPPORT SUNDAY POST'S
REQUEST TO HAVE NELSON MANDELA RELEASED.

NAME	ADDRESS

*Affix
15p
stamp*

**To:
The Editor
SUNDAY POST
PO Box 43004
Industria 2000
Johannesburg
South Africa**

On his release he played a key role as Secretary of the National Action Council which called a national stay-at-home on the eve of South Africa becoming a white republic on 31st May 1961. By this time Mandela had gone underground and for 18 months evaded the police until his arrest on 5 August 1962. Whilst underground he had left the country illegally visiting African capitals, Algeria and London. It was at this time that Mandela and other ANC and Congress leaders decided they had no choice but to submit or fight. Submission was out of the question and so Umkhonto we Sizwe - the Spear of the Nation - was formed and on 16 December 1961 carried out a series of planned attacks on government installations.

Background to Rivonia

Mandela was originally charged and sentenced, following his arrest, for inciting Africans to strike in 1961 and leaving the country without valid travel documents. However he was brought back to trial in October 1963 as accused Number 1 at the Rivonia Trial. This trial represented a major setback for the liberation movement for in July 1963 during a police raid on a farm at Rivonia near Johannesburg leaders of the ANC had been captured with material relating to the activities of Umkhonto we Sizwe. The Rivonia Trial was to become the most important in South Africa's history. Eventually on 11 June Mandela and eight of his codefendants Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Raymond Mhlaba, Ahmed Kathrada, Elias Motsoaledi and Andrew Mlangeni were found guilty and the following day sentenced to life imprisonment.

The Trial aroused tremendous international interest. The UN Security Council called for the release of the defendants and The Times in an editorial stated "The verdict of history will be that the ultimate guilty party is the government in power - and that already is the verdict of world opinion."

The Campaign

The objective of this campaign is to arouse public opinion about the case of Nelson Mandela and all South African political prisoners; to provide international solidarity for those campaigning within South Africa for Mandela's release; to exert pressure on the British and other western governments to act; all with the primary objective of securing the release of Mandela and all political prisoners.

The AAM has produced leaflets, stickers and badges and an attractive poster all aimed to give maximum publicity to the campaign. Supporters are urged to buy quantities of this material and ensure that it is widely distributed.

In addition there are two particular campaigning priorities:

- (a) the Mandela Declaration: this is for endorsement by organisations and individuals. The aim is to show as rapidly as possible the extent of public support for the campaign. Supporters are urged to ensure that they get as many different organizations as possible to endorse the declaration.
- (b) the Postcard Campaign: these are special postcards which are addressed to the Sunday Post. Get as many people as possible to sign them and then send them to South Africa.

Activities

There are four events taking place during the campaign which will be a focus for action:

- (a) Day of Action - June 11 with a picket of South Africa House, 1-2pm and a meeting in the Grand Committee Room of the House of Commons at 7.30pm.
- (b) South Africa Freedom Day - 26th June public rally which will focus on Mandela's release. Main speaker Oliver Tambo, President of the ANC(SA).
- (c) June 28th SATIS March in solidarity with South African and Namibian political prisoners. Assemble Temple Place, the Embankment at 2pm.
- (d) July 18th Mandela's 62nd birthday contact the AAM for details of planned activities.

Other Suggestions

In addition to these main priorities there are other things you can do:

- * write to the Foreign Secretary urging the British Government to secure Mandela's release
- * send messages of greetings and solidarity to Nomzamo Winnie Mandela at 802 Brandfort Location, PO Brandfort 9400, Orange Free State, Republic of South Africa
- * contribute to the International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa at 104 Newgate Street, London EC1

The Response to the Campaign

The South African authorities have been adamant in their **refusal** to release Mandela. Within South Africa surprising support has come for whatever reasons from the South African Foundation and the former head of BOSS, General van den Berg. The South African authorities have tried to undermine the campaign by circulating forged leaflets purporting to come from the ANC opposing the petition campaign.

The British Government has refused to intervene on behalf of Mandela on the grounds that it has no standing on the matter. However the Lord Privy Seal, Sir Ian Gilmour, stated in parliament that "I am sure that the South African Government recognize very well what an excellent effect on international opinion the release of Mr Mandela would have."

Campaign Material

The following material related to the campaign is available:

- Free Mandela Declaration
- Leaflets for the June 26th Rally
- Leaflets for the Satis March 28th June
- Sunday Post Editorial of 9 March, 1980
- Free Mandela Badges @ 20p ea
- Free Mandela Stickers @ 2p ea
- Free Mandela Postcards @ 5p ea (£1 for 100)
- Free Mandela Posters @ 20p ea
- Free Mandela Leaflets @ £5.50 per 1,000

"I am prepared to die" 20p

"The struggle is my life" £1.85

"Freedom, justice and dignity for all in South Africa" 15p

Release Mandela

Against the background of peace and prosperity becoming realities in Zimbabwe, and in the light of growing evidence of escalating conflict in South Africa, Sunday Post today calls on the South African government to take urgent, decisive steps to avert a major confrontation in our nation.

Of these none would be as decisive, as dramatic or have the most shattering impact on our national life as the release from Robben Island of Mr Nelson Mandela. We have asked our readers elsewhere in this paper to join us in sending a petition to the government that would help expedite Mandela's release from jail. We have taken this step in the full knowledge and confidence that such a step would go a long way towards demonstrating the government's willingness to talk to the leaders of our people. It would also be a demonstration of faith on the part of the Prime Minister P W Botha and would give credibility to his often-expressed wish for greater dialogue and change among the peoples of this land.

Recent surveys have shown beyond a shadow of a doubt that by far the largest percentage of our people still regard Nelson Mandela as the number one leader of our people. If one considers that Mandela has been in prison for nearly 16 years and has therefore been away from public view, this is a phenomenal achievement – one that must surely tell us that his image is well and alive in the hearts and minds of the people.

We cannot, at this point in time, ignore the unmistakable signs so formidably demonstrated by Robert Mugabe's overwhelming victory in Zimbabwe. The lesson to be learned from that experience is that no society and no community would forever sustain and support leaders imposed on them, as was the attempt to impose Abel Muzorewa on the people of Zimbabwe.

The myths and the lies that were fed the people of that country – and South Africa – were shattered when the voice of the people began to be heard in the polling booths. Sunday Post has said all along that the tune of the masses would differ tremendously from the discord that was pushed down our throats by misguided politicians backed by their off-tune newspapers. We predicted it would happen in Zimbabwe in the same way we predicted that Swapo would sweep the boards in a free and fair election in Namibia. We therefore call on the government to accept the realities of our situation. We ask them to sit down with us and together seek a dispensation for South Africa.

We implore them to heed the voices of reason, expressed in one of our stories today, for the holding of a national convention. All of us must not underestimate the crisis facing this nation. All have a special and moral obligation to come to the aid of South Africa at her time of need.

All our efforts would be doomed to failure if we did not have the wise and courageous leadership of people like Nelson Mandela. This is why we want him released. For the South African government this may well be the stark choice between chaos and community. For all our sakes we implore them to choose the latter.

Sunday Post, March 9th, 1980



Nelson
Mandela

FREIHEIT FÜR NELSON MANDELA (SÜDAFRIKA)!

Hiermit fordere ich Sie auf, für die Freilassung von Nelson Mandela öffentlich und mit allen erdenklichen Mitteln einzutreten.

MANDELA wurde am 11. Juni 1964 zu lebenslangem Gefängnis verurteilt. Er gilt als wichtigster Führer Südafrikas und dessen unterdrückter schwarzer Bevölkerungsmehrheit.

MANDELA steht wie kein anderer für alle unter dem Apartheidregime verurteilten politischen Gefangenen, Gebannten und Unterdrückten.

MANDELA wird zunehmend auch von weißen Südafrikanern als Schlüsselfigur ihres Landes angesehen. Der „African National Congress (ANC)“ ruft die Weltöffentlichkeit zu einer internationalen „Free Mandela Campaign“ auf.

ZIEL DIESER KAMPAGNE: je früher Mandela und seine Mitstreiter als Verhandlungspartner akzeptiert werden, desto unblutiger wird sich der Übergang von der weißen Minderheitsherrschaft zu gleichberechtigter Partnerschaft und einer demokratischen Mehrheitsregierung vollziehen.

Darum fordere ich Sie auf, für die Freilassung von Nelson Mandela und aller politischen Gefangenen in Südafrika einzutreten – wo immer dies Ihnen möglich ist.

Datum/Unterschrift: _____

Rechtsanwalt und ANC-Führer Mandela beschloß auf folgende Weise seine berühmte Verteidigungsrede im Rivonia-Prozeß (1964):

„Dem Kampf des afrikanischen Volkes habe ich mein Leben gewidmet. Ich habe gegen die Vorherrschaft der Weißen, und ich habe gegen die Vorherrschaft der Schwarzen gekämpft. Eine demokratische und freie Gesellschaft, in der alle friedlich und mit gleichen Möglichkeiten zusammenleben können, hat mir stets als Ideal vorgeschwebt. Es ist ein Ideal, für das ich leben, und das ich verwirklichen möchte. Aber wenn es sein muß, bin ich bereit, für dieses Ideal zu sterben.“



HINWEISE FÜR DIE POSTKARTENAKTION

zur internationalen Kampagne „Freiheit für Nelson Mandela (Südafrika)!“

1. Als **ADRESSATEN** sind vor allem Mitglieder des Bundestages und der Bundesregierung gedacht, denen Sie – nach eigener Wahl – die abgetrennte Karte zusenden. Bei Bundestagsabgeordneten: Name und „Bundeshaus“ eintragen; bei Ministern: Name und/oder Ministerium; dazu in beiden Fällen: 5300 Bonn. Aber Sie können auch andere Adressaten wählen. – Das Mandela-Bild auf der Umseite ist unser Geschenk an Sie.
2. Wer darüber hinaus zu einer **MANDELA-SOLIDARITÄTSSPENDE** bereit ist, und zwar zugunsten einer vom ANC (African National Congress) in Morogoro, Tansania, im Ausbau befindlichen Schule für aus Südafrika vertriebene Schüler, kann diese Spende (Vermerk „für Morogoro-Schule“) überweisen an die Mandela-Aktionsgruppe: Postscheckkonto Nr. 37233-703 beim Postscheckamt Stuttgart.
3. Wir bitten nachdrücklich um **UNTERSTÜTZUNG DER ARBEIT DER ANTI-APARTHEID-BEWEGUNG IN DER BUNDESREPUBLIK**. Die Bundesrepublik ist einer der wichtigsten Handelspartner Südafrikas und unterstützt durch Investitionen, Nukleartechnik und Kredite nachhaltig das Apartheidregime mit seiner Unterdrückung der schwarzen Bevölkerungsmehrheit. Die Anti-Apartheid-Bewegung setzt sich entschieden für eine Beendigung dieser Unterstützung des Apartheidregimes ein. Werden Sie darum Mitglied in der Anti-Apartheid-Bewegung (AAB), Blücherstraße 14, 5300 Bonn (Telefon 0228-21 13 55).
Dort können Sie auch weiteres Informationsmaterial erhalten.

ÜBEN SIE INTERNATIONALE SOLIDARITÄT!

Karl Schmidt, Elfriede Mederake, Kuno Pauly, Brigitta Pfütze, Bernhard Faltn
Vorstand der Aktionsgruppe „FREIHEIT FÜR NELSON MANDELA (SÜDAFRIKA)!“ e.V.
D-7000 Stuttgart 50, Altenburger Steige 20

Absender:

SUNDAY POST

Johannesburg, 9. März 1980:

Laßt Mandela frei!

„Kein anderer Schritt zur Verhinderung einer gefährlichen Konfrontation wäre so entscheidend, so dramatisch, und hätte für unser nationales Leben eine größere Bedeutung als die Freilassung von Nelson Mandela aus dem Gefängnis von Robben Island . . .

Kürzliche Umfragen haben zweifelsfrei ergeben, daß bei weitem die größte Mehrheit unseres Volkes in Nelson Mandela immer noch den Führer Nr. 1 sieht. Wenn man bedenkt, daß Mandela beinahe 16 Jahre im Gefängnis sitzt, den Augen der Öffentlichkeit entzogen, dann ist das ein phänomenales Ereignis.“

50 Pf.



**FREE
NELSON
MANDELA!**

**SOLIDARITY WITH
SOUTH AFRICAN
AND NAMIBIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS!**

NO EASY WALK

On 9 March 1980, within days of the election victory of Robert Mugabe in Zimbabwe, the **Sunday Post**, a Johannesburg newspaper with a predominantly Black readership, launched a campaign for the release of Nelson Mandela. This appeal captured the imagination of the people of South Africa and an unprecedented campaign is growing in South Africa. Nelson Mandela Committees have been formed, petition forms distributed and mass meetings organised. The campaign has been endorsed by the South African Council of Churches, the Soweto Committee of 10, the Natal Indian Congress, the Coloured Labour Party and numerous other national and local organisations. Significantly it has received the endorsement of important figures in the white community.

Nelson Mandela, leader of South Africa's liberation movement – the African National Congress – was sentenced to life imprisonment at the Rivonia Trial in June 1964. He was found guilty of planning acts of sabotage and making preparations for guerrilla warfare against the apartheid state.

Mandela explained his actions with these words from the dock:

'It was only when all else failed, when all channels of peaceful protest had been barred to us, that the decision was made to embark on violent forms of political struggle, and to form Umkhonto we Sizwe. We did so not because we desired such a course, but solely because the government left us with no other choice'.

The Rivonia Trial attracted widespread international attention. The United Nations Security Council, at a special meeting in June 1964, called for the release of the defendants. In Britain the then Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Ramsey, said:

'The men were guilty of sabotage and other offences against the law as it exists, but their actions were the outcome of conscience, and wherever in the world there is respect for conscience and hatred of the policy of apartheid, there will be understanding of Mr Mandela's words that he acted from *'a calm and sober assessment of the situation after many years of oppression and tyranny of my people by the whites'*. If he is guilty before the existing law, the guilt before heaven belongs to the policy which the law is designed to enforce. The ideal and practice of apartheid is a denial of God's law of the relation of man to man as, irrespective of colour, created in the image of God'.

In South Africa itself the African National Congress President and Nobel Peace Prize winner, Chief Albert Lutuli, warned:

'In the face of uncompromising white refusal to abandon a policy which denies the African and other oppressed South Africans their rightful heritage – freedom – no one can blame brave men for seeking justice by the use of violent methods; nor could they be blamed if they tried to create an organised force in order to ultimately establish peace and racial harmony. For this, they are to be sentenced to be shut away for long years in the brutal and degrading prisons of South Africa. With them will be interred this country's hopes of racial co-operation. They will leave a vacuum in leadership that may only be filled by bitter hate and racial strife'.

K TO FREEDOM

These prophetic words were fulfilled in the blood of the young students of Soweto in June 1976, for whom Mandela and other imprisoned leaders were a constant source of inspiration.

Since Mandela's arrest in August 1962 he has been in continuous detention or imprisonment; his life sentence means life, for there is no remission for South Africa's political prisoners. Conditions on Robben Island are arduous. Mandela himself is in a small group kept separate from his fellow prisoners.

Nelson Mandela has been a key figure in South Africa's liberation struggle since the early 1940s. An attorney by profession, he was a founding member of the African National Congress Youth League. In 1952 he was the 'Volunteer in Chief' during the Defiance Campaign. Then, in 1956, he was charged with 155 others in the 'Treason Trial'. The charges arose from the adoption of the *Freedom Charter* at the Congress of the People in 1955. The *Freedom Charter*, the apartheid state argued, was High Treason.

Its preamble states:

'We, the people of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know: that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people'.

After a trial lasting five years, all 156 were acquitted.

Following the Sharpeville massacre and the banning of the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress, Mandela played a key role in the founding of Umkhonto we Sizwe, which was to become the armed wing of the African National Congress. This marked a turning point in the history of the liberation struggle – a recognition of the inevitability of armed confrontation, a struggle which the United Nations General Assembly overwhelmingly endorsed in December 1977.

Since Mandela's imprisonment his wife, Nomzamo Winnie, has sought to continue the struggle to which he dedicated his life. She has been detained, tried, acquitted, then retried and acquitted, banned and constantly harrassed by the security police. Currently she is banished to a remote location in the Orange Free State. The fate of Nelson Mandela and all South African political prisoners must be of concern to the whole world. There can be no real change and certainly no peace whilst the true leaders of South Africa are imprisoned, detained or in exile.

Now is the time to act in solidarity with the campaign in South Africa for Mandela's release. It is vital that support is mobilised. Already publicity material has been banned, campaign activists have been detained and Mandela's wife harrassed by the police. There can be no doubt that draconian measures will be used to crush the campaign as a whole unless international support is sustained.

**The Anti-Apartheid Movement has launched a special campaign for Mandela's release.
There is much that can be done:**

- Support the Day of Action on 11th June (the 16th Anniversary of Mandela's conviction). There will be a protest outside South Africa House, Trafalgar Square, from 1 to 2 pm and a meeting at 7.30pm in the Grand Committee Room at the House of Commons, organised jointly by the International Defence and Aid Fund and the Anti-Apartheid Movement where the film *'Portrait of Mandela'* will be shown.
- Support the Nelson Mandela Declaration – for endorsement by organisations and individuals
- Support the Postcard Campaign – Special Postcards being sent to the **Sunday Post**
- Urge the British Government to secure the release of Nelson Mandela
- Send a message of greetings to Nomzamo Winnie Mandela at 802 Brandfort Location, PO Brandfort 9400, Orange Free State, Republic of South Africa
- Participate in the South African Freedom Day Rally on June 26th and the Satis March in solidarity with South African and Namibian political prisoners on 28th June
- Contribute to the International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa at 104 Newgate Street, London EC1
- Join the campaign to free all South African political prisoners

.....
I would like to receive the Free Mandela Campaign Briefing ... ; A Free Mandela Declaration ... ; Leaflets for the June 26th Rally ... ; Leaflets for the Satis March 28th June ... ; (Please tick as appropriate).

I would like to order Free Mandela Badges (20p each) ... ; Free Mandela Stickers (2p each) ... ; Free Mandela Postcards (5p each, £1 for 100) ... ; Free Mandela Posters (20p each) ...
(Please indicate quantity required)

If you are committed to the on-going struggle for freedom in Southern Africa, join the Anti-Apartheid Movement. Minimum annual membership fees, including a subscription for Anti-Apartheid News, are £7.50; £5 for students and apprentices, £2 for pensioners and claimants.

I wish to join the Anti-Apartheid Movement and enclose £ ...

Name:

Address:

..... **Tel No**

Please return this form to the Anti-Apartheid Movement, 89 Charlotte Street, London W1P 2DQ.
Telephone 01-580-5311

NELSON MANDELA DECLARATION

We, the undersigned, declare our support for the release of Nelson Mandela and all South African political prisoners.

SIGNED (POSITION HELD)

ORGANISATION

.....

.....

ADDRESS

MEMBERSHIP (approx No)

.....

.....

.....

SIGNED (POSITION HELD)

ORGANISATION

.....

.....

ADDRESS

MEMBERSHIP (approx No)

.....

.....

.....

SIGNED

ORGANISATION

.....

.....

ADDRESS

MEMBERSHIP (approx No)

.....

.....

.....

Please return to: Anti-Apartheid Movement, 89 Charlotte Street, London W1P 2DQ, if possible by 26 June 1980

Details of those endorsing the Declaration will be forwarded to the Secretary General of the United Nations, to the Rt Hon Margaret Thatcher MP, Prime Minister, and to the Editor, *Sunday Post*,* Johannesburg, South Africa

*The *Sunday Post* is the South African newspaper which initiated the current campaign within South Africa for the release of Nelson Mandela



UNITED NATIONS

CENTRE AGAINST *APARTHEID*

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL
AND SECURITY COUNCIL AFFAIRS

29 April 1980

Dear friend,

I have been thinking, as you no doubt have been, of the means for the most effective response to the campaign for the release of Nelson Mandela, which was recently launched in South Africa and which has received very wide support.

The Special Committee against Apartheid has supported the campaign and will soon consider appropriate international action.

Meantime, I have been informed of plans or ideas by several organizations such as: (a) promoting of statements of support or communications by Heads of State and Government, and other prominent leaders in public life; (b) a public campaign from Africa Liberation Day, 25 May, to the Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners, 11 October; (c) demonstrations on the anniversary of the sentencing in Rivonia trial, 12 June; (d) letters to Mrs. Nokukhanya Luthuli (Private Bag, Groutville, Stanger P.O., Natal, South Africa), patron of the Release Nelson Mandela Committee, etc.

Whatever the actions decided upon, I thought it would be useful for me to send some relevant documentation which is attached.

I would be most grateful if you can inform me of any action taken by your organization so that the Special Committee against Apartheid can publicize it and take it into account in its activities.

Yours sincerely

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'E. S. Reddy', is written over the typed name.

E. S. Reddy
Director
Centre against Apartheid

April 1980

NOTE ON THE RELEASE
MANDELA CAMPAIGN

A campaign for the release of Nelson Mandela and other leaders in prison, and for the free return of those in exile, launched recently in South Africa, has obtained massive support.

The recent campaign was initiated by Mr. Percy Qoboza, editor of the Johannesburg Post.

On 27 November 1979, soon after the conference convened by Prime Minister Botha with the Private sector to promote the "constellation of southern African States", Mr. Qoboza, writing in the Sunday Post, called on Mr. Botha to release Mr. Nelson Mandela, Mr. Walter Sisulu and other leaders and to draw them into the country's political negotiating process. He said:

"The sheer impact of releasing (Mandela) will have a massive and dramatic impact on the international community and would also have an immense influence in buying us the time to solve our problems in an atmosphere of calm and creativity".

He added:

"The political climate must be liberated from the present tensions that stand firmly in the path of progress. The Prime Minister must realize that what we have here is a political structure devised by whites, for whites and serving white interests only. Our people have not had an inkling of input into the formulation of these structures".

This demand for the release of leaders in prison assumed great importance and attracted wider attention after the victory of the Patriotic Front alliance in the Rhodesian elections and the statement by Prime Minister Botha, on 6 March, suggesting a conference of all races in South Africa.

Mr. Qoboza then launched the campaign through the Sunday Post, on 9 March. The Sunday Post said in an editorial on 9 March:

"Sunday Post today calls on our people to support us in our efforts to influence the South African Government to release Mr. Nelson Mandela from Robben Island.

In the light of events in Zimbabwe, we as a newspaper believe that the time has come for all of the peoples of the country to face the realities of our situation squarely in the face. We believe that Alice-in-Wonderland solutions presently being pursued in this country are leading us slowly and painfully to a crisis.

One of the realities we must face up to is that Nelson Mandela commands a following that is unheard of in this land. To embark on any solution or discussion without his wise input would only be following the blind politics of Ian Smith and Muzorewa in Zimbabwe and the outcome would be just as disastrous.

For this reason, and for the sake of bringing about genuine peace and reconciliation in our troubled land, we ask you to join us in having Nelson Mandela released as soon as possible. We carry on Page 9

today a petition which you must fill in and post back to us as soon as possible. It must be sent to The Editor, PO Box 42003, Industria 2042.

The campaign was immediately supported by Bishop Desmond Tutu, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, in his personal capacity. Subsequently, the national executive of the council endorsed the campaign and stated:

"This national executive wholeheartedly supports the call made by the editor of the POST, and endorsed by Bishop Tutu in his personal capacity, for the release of Nelson Mandela ... and we note the calls being made in many quarters in South Africa for the recognition of our natural leaders. We believe that the Church, in its role as peacemaker, must help the people of South Africa to avoid needless suffering and bloodshed such as have been endured by the people of Zimbabwe. Such suffering can only be avoided if Mandela and other leaders in prison or in exile are enabled to share in the reshaping of a unitary South African society more conformed to God's will for justice and peace."

The Reverend Sam Buti, President of the Council, wrote to the Prime Minister calling on him to release Mandela and summon all leaders to a national convention.

He told the press:

"Ian Smith caused untold bloodshed in Rhodesia because he negotiated with the Muzorewas, the Sitholes and the Chikaremas."

If the Prime Minister wants to avoid a similar bloodbath then he should release those leaders still in jail and recall political exiles."

The Council decided to circulate in all churches a petition calling on the government to release Nelson Mandela.

Bishop Tutu was the first to sign petition. He said:

"We call for the release of Mandela because the Government has to deal with him as a leader of the blacks. Once they release him they will have difficulty in justifying the holding of other leaders such as Walter Sisulu."

Dr. Nthato Motlana said:

"When the Government calls a convention we will certainly be ready and willing to talk. But our authentic leaders on Robben Island will have to be present when such a convention is held."

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi said that a vital pre-condition for a convention was a general amnesty for political prisoners.

"They must participate in such a convention. I have always said this."

"A national convention is the only thing that can prevent the escalation of violence and which can guarantee peaceful change."

Mr. Wilson Skosana, acting chairman of Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organization (PEBCO) said:

"Although negotiations have failed blacks, I think a national convention

would be a healthy exercise if Mandela was allowed to take his rightful place.

"There are many black spokesmen who do not represent our aspirations and the only persons we can be confident in are Nelson Mandela and other leaders imprisoned with him."

Dr. Allen Boesak, a leading Black theologian and chaplain at the University of the Western Cape, felt that for the convention to be genuine Mandela and all other political prisoners should be released.

"The leaders must be released and be allowed time to hear the views of their people. Then those leaders will be elected by the people to go and represent them at the convention."

Reverend Allen Hendrickse, leader of the Coloured Labour Party, insisted that it was imperative that before everything else Mandela and his colleagues should be released and the ban on the ANC and PAC lifted.

"A national convention is essential for the drawing up of a new constitution for South Africa and until then no amount of deliberation and decision by the white parliament can meet the requirements of the majority of South Africans."

Mr. George Wauchope, publicity secretary for the Azania People's Organization (AZAPO) said:

"The only people who will decide whether a national convention is worth holding are the authentic leaders of black people on Robben Island, those in exile and those who are banned and banished."

Mr. Tom Manthata, a leading member of the Black Consciousness Movement, said a national convention would not be viable at this stage because blacks were in a position of weakness.

"Mandela must be released and his release must not be a condition of the convention being held. It is only after his release that he and his constituency shall decide on the convention."

Mr. Sam Motsuenyane, president of the Afribank, said on 14 March that the government could not escape the reality of one man, one vote.

"I think all people who have participated in the black liberation struggle should be called to the conference table.

"I am talking about Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki and others on Robben Island who have featured prominently in black politics.

"Their views should be negotiated and accommodated."

A large rally was held at the University of Witwatersrand on 20 March 1980, on the eve of the twentieth anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre, to call for the release of political prisoners. It was addressed by several prominent black leaders and Mrs. Sheena Duncan of Black Sash.

Mr. Qoboza said that the most visible act of faith by the Government would be to release Mandela. It would give immense credibility to the often expressed but never demonstrated intention to change. It would immediately release the frightening tension in the country and create an atmosphere favourable to negotiation.

"In spite of 16 years away from public life, Mandela is still the man black people will follow and this has been proved in many surveys."

Zinzi Mandela, daughter of Nelson Mandela, told the rally:

"On this occasion, I have not only joined you as a daughter calling for the release of her father - I've joined as part of my generation who have never known what a normal life is, what it is to be with a father and sometimes a mother, not because one's parents had committed any crimes. My generation have seen grave crimes of oppression committed against the people. We grew up discussing the latest pass raids, whose father had been detained, who had lost a parent in detention, or in which prison one of your parents is, when last they were visited, when the last police raid was in your home...This briefly was our childhood conversation."

She said that the call for the release of Nelson Mandela was to tell the authorities that there was an alternative to a bloodbath.

The Sunday Post reported on 23 March that 13,113 signatures have been collected on the petition for the release of Mandela: 4,548 were sent to the Post, 658 were sent to the South African Council of Churches and 7,907 were collected in street signings.

Signatures were also being collected in Maseru, Lesotho.

On 28 March, the Johannesburg Star published the results of a poll among 502 whites in Johannesburg area which showed that a large percentage were favourable to the unconditional or conditional release of Mandela.

Mrs. Luthuli - wife of the former President-General of the ANC - was elected patron of the Release Nelson Mandela Committee. (The Star, Johannesburg, weekly edition, 29 March 1980).

International reaction

In March, the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid issued two press statements supporting the campaign for release of political prisoners.

The Ad Hoc Monitoring Group on Southern Africa - which includes 48 members of the United States Congress - began a political prisoner project in March.

The International Commission of Jurists sent a cable to the South African Prime Minister asking for the release of Mandela to show that he was serious about his new approach to race relations.

The question of release of Mandela was raised in the United Kingdom House of Commons on 16 April. Sir Ian Gilmour, Deputy Foreign Secretary, said that Britain would welcome the release of Mr. Mandela from prison. But he rejected demands by the Opposition that Britain should urge South Africa to release him.

STATEMENT BY CHIEF ALBERT LUTHULI, PRESIDENT-
GENERAL OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS OF
SOUTH AFRICA, ON 12 JUNE 1964

Sentences of life imprisonment have been pronounced on Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada, Govan Mbeki, Dennis Goldberg, Raymond Mhlaba, Elias Motsoaledi and Andrew Mlangeni in the "Rivonia trial" in Pretoria.

Over the long years these leaders advocated a policy of racial co-operation, of goodwill, and of peaceful struggle that made the South African liberation movement one of the most ethical and responsible of our time. In the face of the most bitter racial persecution, they resolutely set themselves against racialism; in the face of continued provocation, they consistently chose the path of reason.

The African National Congress, with allied organizations representing all racial sections, sought every possible means of redress for intolerable conditions, and held consistently to a policy of using militant, non-violent means of struggle. Their common aim was to create a South Africa in which all South Africans would live and work together as fellow-citizens, enjoying equal rights without discrimination on grounds of race, colour or creed.

To this end, they used every accepted method: propaganda, public meetings and rallies, petitions, stay-at-home-strikes, appeals, boycotts. So carefully did they educate the people that in the four-year-long Treason Trial, one police witness after another voluntarily testified to this emphasis on non-violent methods of struggle in all aspects of their activities.

But finally all avenues of resistance were closed. The African National Congress and other organizations were made illegal; their leaders jailed, exiled or forced underground. The government sharpened its oppression of the peoples of South Africa, using its all-white Parliament as the vehicle for making repression legal, and utilizing every weapon of this highly industrialized and modern state to enforce that "legality". The stage was even reached where a white spokesman for the disenfranchised Africans was regarded by the Government as a traitor. In addition, sporadic acts of uncontrolled violence were increasing throughout the country. At first in one place, then in another, there were spontaneous eruptions against intolerable conditions; many of these acts increasingly assumed a racial character.

The African National Congress never abandoned its method of a militant, non-violent struggle, and of creating in the process a spirit of militancy in the people. However, in the face of the uncompromising white refusal to abandon a policy which denies the African and other oppressed South Africans their rightful heritage - freedom - no one can blame brave just men for seeking justice by the use of violent methods; nor could they be blamed if they tried to create an organized force in order to ultimately establish peace and racial harmony.

For this, they are sentenced to be shut away for long years in the brutal and degrading prisons of South Africa. With them will be interred this country's hopes for racial co-operation. They will leave a vacuum in leadership that may only be filled by bitter hate and racial strife.

They represent the highest in morality and ethics in the South African political struggle; this morality and ethics has been sentenced to an imprisonment it may never survive. Their policies are in accordance with the deepest international principles of brotherhood and humanity; without their leadership, brotherhood and humanity may be blasted out of existence in South Africa for long decades to come. They believe profoundly in justice and reason; when they are locked away, justice and reason will have departed from the South African scene.

This is an appeal to save these men, not merely as individuals, but for what they stand for. In the name of justice, of hope, of truth and of peace, I appeal to South Africa's strongest allies, Britain and America. In the name of what we have come to believe Britain and America stand for, I appeal to those two powerful countries to take decisive action for full-scale action for sanctions that would precipitate the end of the hateful system of apartheid.

I appeal to all governments throughout the world, to people everywhere, to organizations and institutions in every land and at every level, to act now to impose such sanctions on South Africa that will bring about the vital necessary change and avert what can become the greatest African tragedy of our times.

EXTRACTS FROM ADDRESS BY H. E. MR. B. AKPORODE CLARK
TO NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS AT UNITED NATIONS
HEADQUARTERS

20 MARCH 1980

"Secondly, tomorrow we shall take advantage of the occasion to address the challenge of Prime Minister Botha to convene a national conference of all the races of South Africa in order to decide the future and destiny of their country. The only preconditions we make are as follows:

- "1. an open mind, earnestly desirous of justice and freedom for all the races of South Africa;
- "2. release of all the leaders of South Africa, like Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and others, from detention and imprisonment so that they can participate at the conference;
- "3. an international appraisal of the real objectives of the proposed convention so as to ensure that changes are brought about either in the form of a general election or by a referendum of all the people of South Africa;
- "4. that the only symbol with which the international mind will connect will be South Africa's desire for change through a programme of freedom and independence for the 22 million non-whites in South Africa;
- "5. that the convention should be fully representative of the entire population of South Africa;
- "6. that South Africa renounce its policy of expansion and intimidation against its neighbours;
- "7. that South Africa renounce its nuclear and militarist policy aimed at cowering down its own population and neighbours;
- "8. that international observers be invited to watch the proceedings of the convention so as to ensure that neither cajolry nor intimidation are resorted to in order to buy time for apartheid which a British Representative once described as 'morally abominable, intellectually grotesque and spiritually indefensible';
- "9. that as earnest of its desire to respect the Charter of the United Nations, South Africa should withdraw from Namibia forthwith; and
- "10. that South Africa should immediately lift the bans on the ANC and PAC because liberation is not possible without the liberation movements.

"These ten points, I hope, will enable the Special Committee to follow the deliberations of the convention being proposed by Mr. Botha for the amelioration of the situation in South Africa which seriously disturbs international peace and security. We are confident that the NGO's will give their fullest support to us in the fulfillment of these ten points.

Mr. Nelson (Rolihlahla D.) 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 to achieve. But if need be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die."

- From the statement from the dock by Mr. Mandela, 20 April 1964.

"Rolihlahla is a true national leader of the African people and not a puppet like other so-called leaders. He has been imprisoned for fighting for his people and their motherland."

- Paramount Chief Sabata Dalindyebo at the funeral of Mrs. Fanny Mandela, October 1968.

Mr. Mandela was born in Umtata in 1918 in the Tembu Royal House. His father was a prominent chief who was a member of the Bunga and chief councillor to the Paramount Chief.

As a boy in his village he was fascinated by the elders' epic stories of Dingaana and Bambata, Hintsa, Makana, Moshoeshoe and Sekhukhuni, and took pride in a feeling of identity with his people's history and culture. The African past became a source of inspiration to him.

He matriculated at Healdtown Institute in the Ciskei, and went on to Fort Hare University College. He was described as a gay and lively-minded all-rounder who threw himself into a wide variety of activities outside the lecture rooms - ballroom dancing, Sunday School teaching and athletics. He was vice-chairman of the Students' Athletic Union, and was particularly interested in boxing, an interest that he retained through later life.

He was drawn into student politics in his second year at Fort Hare, and was one of the leaders of the boycott of the elections to the Students' Representative Council in 1940.

He fled to Johannesburg at the beginning of 1941 to avoid an arranged tribal marriage in the royal household. He worked briefly as a mine policeman and a clerk. Then he happened to meet Mr. Walter Sisulu, who was well-known for the interest he took in the advancement of young Africans with intellectual ambitions. Mr. Sisulu introduced him to a legal firm to which he became articled.

In 1944, he joined the African National Congress and, along with Mr. Oliver Tambo and others, founded the militant Youth League of the ANC. He and Mr. Tambo had been at Fort Hare together and were articled to attorneys within a block of each other; they finally went into legal practice in 1951 as partners in their firm.

In 1952, Mr. Mandela became Transvaal President and Deputy National President of the ANC. He came into national prominence that year in the Campaign of Defiance of Unjust Laws as volunteer-in-chief leading the 8,500 volunteers who courted imprisonment. He received a suspended sentence and was soon served with banning orders preventing him from attending gatherings or leaving Johannesburg.

He was again arrested in December 1956 and charged in the Treason Trial which dragged on until 1961, when all the accused were acquitted.

Soon after, Mr. Mandela joined with others in organizing the All-in African Convention in Pietermaritzburg which called for a national convention of representatives of all the peoples of South Africa to work out a new democratic constitution. The banning orders on Mr. Mandela had expired on the eve of the convention, and he went into hiding to avoid being served with new orders. Making a surprise appearance at the convention, he was elected leader of the National Action Council to implement its decisions.

Immediately going underground, Mr. Mandela directed the organization of a nation-wide three-day strike on 29, 30 and 31 May 1961. The Government broke the strike with the arrests of thousands of Africans, and a massive show of military and police force.

Mr. Mandela and his colleagues then came to the conclusion that sole reliance on non-violent methods of struggle was no longer realistic. In June 1961, they decided to establish Umkonto We Sizwe, with Mr. Mandela as the leader. In December 1961, the Umkonto organized acts of sabotage in Johannesburg, Durban and Pretoria.

Meanwhile, Mr. Mandela went abroad. He participated at a conference of the Pan African Freedom Movement of East, Central and Southern Africa (PAFMECSA) in Addis Ababa in January 1962, and visited a number of African countries and the United Kingdom. At the PAFMECSA Conference, he called for international economic sanctions against South Africa. Such pressures, he said, give "a tremendous impetus to the freedom struggle inside South Africa." But, he added: "It would be fatal to create the illusion that external pressures make it unnecessary for us to tackle the enemy from within. The centre and cornerstone of the struggle...lies inside South Africa."

Returning to South Africa, he evaded the police until August 1962 when he was captured and charged with inciting the strikes in 1961 and leaving South Africa illegally. In November 1962 he was sentenced to five years' imprisonment. He was again brought to court in the "Rivonia trial" in October 1963 as accused number one. His statement from the dock, delivered on 20 April 1964, has been published by the United Nations.

Mr. Oliver Tambo, a close colleague of Mr. Mandela, wrote:

"As a man Nelson is passionate, emotional, sensitive, quickly stung to bitterness and retaliation by insult and patronage. He has a natural air of authority. He cannot help magnetizing a crowd: he is commanding with a tall, handsome bearing; trusts and is trusted by the youth, for their impatience reflects his own; appealing to the women. He is dedicated and fearless. He is the born mass leader..."

"He is the symbol of the self-sacrificing leadership our struggle has thrown up and our people need. He is unrelenting, yet capable of flexibility and delicate judgement. He is an outstanding individual, but he knows that he derives his strength from the great masses of people who make up the freedom struggle in our country." (From introduction to Nelson Mandela, No Easy Walk to Freedom, Heinemann, London, 1965).

Mr. Mandela has been in jail since August 1962. During these twelve years, his brother (Mr. Mayeza Gush Mandela), his mother (Mrs. Fanny Mandela) and his son (Mr. Thandekile Styles Mandela) have died. The Government has consistently refused him even permission to attend the funerals.

His wife, Mrs. Winnie Mandela, a social worker, has faced constant harassment and persecution. They had married when Mr. Mandela was on trial for treason. A year after the marriage, in 1958, while pregnant, she was arrested for taking part in a demonstration against passes for African women. She spent a fortnight in jail before being acquitted. Since 28 January 1963, she has been restricted under banning orders which have been made more and more stringent and now place her under house arrest at nights and weekends. She had to obtain special permission even to attend her husband's trial and to visit him in prison.

She was repeatedly arrested on charges of technical infringements of banning orders. She was held incommunicado in detention for 600 days in 1969-70 under the Terrorism Act and brutally ill-treated despite a heart condition. (See Unit on Apartheid "Notes and Documents" No. 51/71, "Persecution of Mrs. Nonzano Winnie Mandela".)

African National Congress (South Africa)

PO Box 38, 28 Penton Street London N1 — Phone 01-8372012

18. 04. 80

FREE MANDELA CAMPAIGN

1980 - Year of the Charter

"P.W. Botha is calling this conference of ethnic groups, homeland "nations and people with separate "identities" with the added aim of laying a foundation for his "Constellation of Southern African States"....we, in South Africa, can have nothing to do with a conference called ostensibly to discuss South Africa's future, but whose real and sole intention is, and which can only serve, to reinforce our colonial status, consolidate the structures of apartheid, and ensure our continued super-exploitation....We shall not betray the national leaders and captured militants whose release from imprisonment has been, and continues to be the subject of world-wide demands and appeals by people from every walk of life."

O.R. Tambo, President ANC(SA), March 16 1980

While the Apartheid regime desperately searches for ways and means of strengthening and shielding itself from the crushing blows of the advancing liberation struggle, the oppressed and democratic forces of our country are stepping up mass resistance to racist rule. As the National Executive of the African National Congress recently stated: "On a mass level the spirit of revolt is sweeping throughout the length and breadth of our country...This has been emphasised during the current snowballing campaign calling for the release of Nelson Mandela". The demand for the release of ANC leader Nelson Mandela symbolises our people's total rejection of Botha's vain manoeuvres aimed at lending legitimacy to Apartheid tyranny — especially his recent call for a so-called conference to "deliberate matters affecting South Africa".

The ANC calls on democratic forces world-wide to urgently put every effort into complementing the country-wide Free Mandela Campaign being waged in South Africa. Let us show the Apartheid regime the full force and effectiveness of the international solidarity movement!

- * MOBILISE THE BROADEST FORCE BEHIND THE CAMPAIGN!
- * ENSURE THAT YOUR GOVERNMENT ADDS IT'S VOICE TO THE CAMPAIGN!
- * FLOOD THE RACIST REGIME WITH THE CAMPAIGN'S DEMAND!

LET OUR MESSAGE BE HEARD WORLD-WIDE:

FOR THE UNCONDITIONAL RELEASE OF NELSON MANDELA AND ALL SA POLITICAL PRISONERS!

FREE MANDELA!

AND ALL
SOUTH AFRICAN,
NAMIBIAN
AND OTHER
POLITICAL
PRISONERS -
AND ALL THOSE



DETAINED,
BANNED,
BANISHED -
OPEN SOUTH AFRICA'S
DOORS FOR THE
FREE RETURN OF
ALL THOSE
IN EXILE

LENT

1980

THE SUNDAY POST of Soweto has launched a campaign for the release of Nelson Mandela of the African National Congress - serving a life sentence at the Robben Island prison colony, and other leaders in prison, and for the free return of those in exile.

The Rev Sam Buti and Bishop Desmond Tutu, president and general secretary respectively of the South African Council of Churches, endorsed the campaign started by SUNDAY POST editor Percy Qoboza. The executive of the South African Council of Churches stated: 'This national executive wholeheartedly supports the call made by the editor of the POST, and endorsed by Bishop Tutu in his personal capacity, for the release of Nelson Mandela. We recognize the unique leadership role still accorded to Nelson Mandela by very many South Africans and we note the calls being made in many quarters in South Africa for the recognition of our natural leaders. We believe that the Church, in its role as peacemaker, must help the people of South Africa to avoid needless suffering and bloodshed such as have been endured by the people of Zimbabwe. Such suffering can only be avoided if Mandela and other leaders in prison or in exile are enabled to share in the reshaping of a unitary South African society more conformed to God's will for justice and peace.'

- AMERICANS: CALL ON YOUR CHURCH LEADERS TO SUPPORT THE SOUTH AFRICAN CALL FOR AMNESTY.
- CALL ON YOUR LEGISLATORS TO SUPPORT THE SOUTH AFRICAN CALL FOR AMNESTY.
- CALL ON PRESIDENT CARTER TO SUPPORT THE SOUTH AFRICAN CALL FOR AMNESTY.

EPISCOPAL CHURCHMEN
for
SOUTH AFRICA

Room 1005 • 853 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003 • Phone: (212) 477-0066

—For A Free Southern Africa—

SUNDAY POST

Sunday Post

Sunday, March 9, 1980

Release Mandela

AGAINST the background of peace and prosperity becoming realities in Zimbabwe, and in the light of growing evidence of escalating conflict in South Africa, SUNDAY POST today calls on the South African Government to take urgent, decisive steps to avert a major confrontation in our nation.

Of these none would be as decisive, as dramatic or have the most shattering impact on our national life than the release from Robben Island of Mr Nelson Mandela. We have asked our readers elsewhere in this paper to join us in sending a petition to the Government that would help expedite Mandela's release from jail.

We have taken this step in the full knowledge and confidence that such a step would go a long way towards demonstrating the Government's willingness to talk to the leaders of our people. It would also be a demonstration of faith on the part of the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, and would give credibility to his often-expressed wish for greater dialogue and change among the peoples of this land.

Recent surveys have shown beyond any shadow of doubt that by far the largest percentage of our people still regard Nelson Mandela as the number one leader of our people.

If one considers that Mandela has been in prison for nearly 16 years and has therefore been away from public view, this is a phenomenal achievement — one that must surely tell us that his image is well and alive in the hearts and the minds of the people.

We cannot, at this point in time, ignore the unmistakable signs so formidably demonstrated by Robert Mugabe's

overwhelming victory in Zimbabwe. The lesson to be learned from that experience is that no society and no community would forever sustain and support leaders imposed upon them, as was the attempt to impose Abel Muzorewa on the people of Zimbabwe.

The myths and the lies that were fed the people of that country — and South Africa — were shattered when the voice of the people began to be heard in the polling booths.

SUNDAY POST has said all along that the tune of the masses would differ tremendously from the discord that was pushed down our throats by misguided politicians backed by their off-tune newspapers. We predicted it would happen in Zimbabwe, in the same way we predicted that Swapo would sweep the boards in a free and fair election in Namibia. We therefore call on the Government to accept the realities of our situation. We ask them to sit down with us and together seek a dispensation for South Africa.

We implore them to heed the voices of reason, expressed in one of our stories today, for the holding of a national convention. All of us must not underestimate the crisis facing this nation. All have a special and moral obligation to come to the aid of South Africa at her time of need.

All our efforts would be doomed to failure if we did not have the wise and courageous leadership of people like Nelson Mandela. This is why we want him released. For the South African Government, this may well be the stark choice between chaos and community.

For all our sakes, we implore them to choose the latter.

'Release Mandela'

From Page 1

If it were held now, he said, the people who stood to gain from the convention were those in power: "Many people have called for the convention from a position of weakness and they cannot be seen to be genuine and honest brokers," Mr Manthata said.

Dr Allen Boesak, a leading black theologian and chaplain at the University of the Western Cape, felt that for the convention to be genuine Mandela and all other political prisoners should be released.

"The leaders must be released and be allowed time to hear the views of their people. Then those leaders will be elected by the people to go and represent them at the convention," Dr Boesak said.

The leader of the Coloured Labour Party, the Rev Allen Hendrickse, insisted that it was imperative that before everything else Mandela and his colleagues should be released and the ban on the ANC and PAC lifted.

He said: "A national convention is essential for the drawing up of a new constitution for South Africa and until then no amount of deliberation and decision by the white parliament can meet the requirements of the majority of South Africans."

Mr George Wauchope, publicity secretary for the Azanian Peoples Organisation (Azapo) said: "The only people who will decide whether a national convention is worth holding are the authentic leaders of black people on Robben Island, those in exile and those who are banned and banished."

The leaders warned that now that Mugabe had come into power in Zimbabwe, the spotlight would be on South Africa and there would be an escalation of violence leading to a confrontation.

The majority of leaders said it was the Government which would have to call such a convention to draw up a new constitution for South Africa, but were not optimistic that this would become a reality while the Government felt itself in an unassailable position of power.

"The majority of us have to suffer, before we'll come to a conference table," said Dr Motlana.

See Page 15 S. Post. 9.3.80

WATCHMAKING

9/3/80

RELEASE NELSON MANDELA. This was the reply of South Africa's black leaders to a call this week for a national convention to find ways of bringing about orderly change in South Africa.

The call for a convention, made by two influential Afrikaans newspapers, comes in the wake of Robert Mugabe's overwhelming election victory in Rhodesia.

But black leaders insist that before they participate in such a convention, the Government must:

- Release all political prisoners — including Mandela
- Allow those in exile to return unconditionally
- Lift bans on black organisations, including the ANC and the PAC, and
- Scrap apartheid to show its good faith.

They warn that now Mugabe is in power in Rhodesia, the struggle for the liberation of South Africa will intensify and there could well be a horrifying escalation of violence in this country.

"When the Government calls a convention we'll certainly be ready and willing to talk," Dr Ntsho Motlana of the Soweto Committee of Ten told SUNDAY POST this week.

"But our authentic leaders on Robben Island will have to be present when such a convention is held," he said.

The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, said a vital pre-condition for a convention was a general amnesty for political prisoners.

"They must participate in such a convention," he said. "I have always said this."

"A national convention is the only thing that can prevent the escalation of violence and which can guarantee peaceful change."

Disastrous results

"This is extremely urgent if we view the question against the background of what has been achieved in Zimbabwe and in the light of incidents such as the Silverton incident and other similar incidents which are now on the increase," Chief Buthelezi said.

He said he doubted whether the convention would be held in the immediate future because of the Prime Minister's utterances during the no confidence debate.

"The tragedy is that the longer a convention is delayed the greater will the polarisation between black and white grow — with disastrous results," he said.

The acting chairman of Pebco, Mr Wilson Skosana, was adamant: "Mandela must be released first."

"Although negotiations have failed blacks, I think a national convention would be a healthy exercise if Mandela was allowed to take his rightful place," Mr Skosana said.

Mr Skosana took over the leadership of Pebco when Mr Thozamile Botha was banned last week.

"There are many black spokesmen who do not represent our aspirations and the only person we can be confident in is Nelson Mandela and other leaders imprisoned with him," he said.

Most of the leaders also insisted that it was the Government which would have to convene the convention.

But a leading member of the Black Consciousness Movement, Mr Tom Manthata, said a national convention would not be viable at this stage because blacks were in a position of weakness.

"Mandela must be released without conditions and his release must not be a condition of the convention being held. It is only after his release that he and his constituency shall decide on the convention," he said.

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SUNDAY POST

Join our plea to free Mandela

SUNDAY POST today calls on our people to support us in our efforts to influence the South African Government to release Mr Nelson Mandela from Robben Island.

In the light of events in Zimbabwe, we as a newspaper believe the time has come for all of the peoples of the country to face the realities of our situation squarely in the face. We believe that Alice-in-Wonderland solutions presently being pursued in this country are leading us slowly and painfully to a crisis.

One of the realities we must face up to is that Nelson Mandela commands a following that is unheard of in this land. To embark on any solution or discussion without his wise input would only be following the blind politics of Ian Smith and Muzorewa in Zimbabwe and the outcome would be just as disastrous.

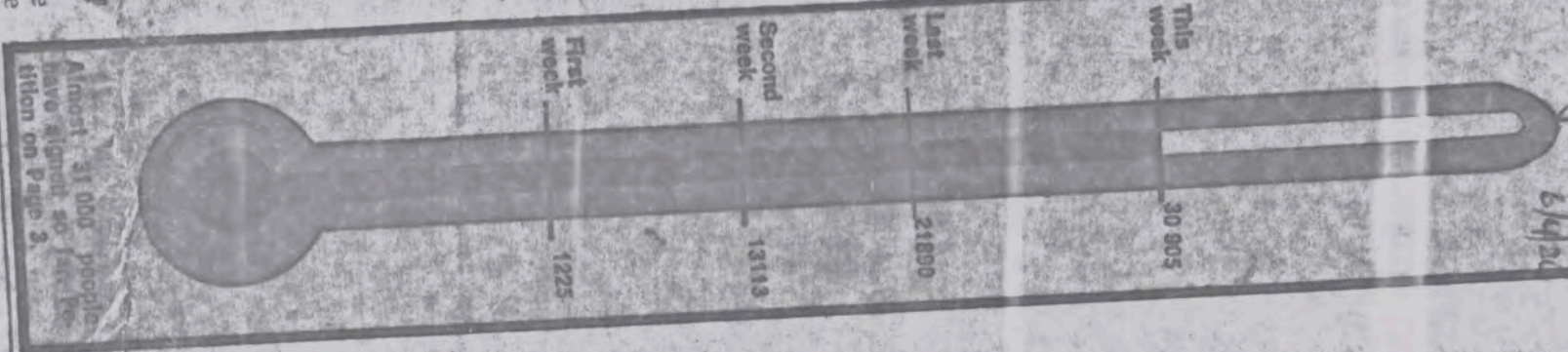
For this reason, and for the sake of bringing about genuine peace and reconciliation in our troubled land, we ask you to join us in having Nelson Mandela released as soon as possible. We carry on Page 9 today a petition which you must fill in and post back to us as soon as possible. It must be sent to The Editor, PO Box 43003, Industria 2042.

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To Page 2

RELEASE MANDELA CAMPAIGN

Sunday Post 6/4/80



Almost 31 000 people have signed so far. See edition on page 3.

in the foreground.

Zinzi Mandela, in Johannesburg for the Free Mandela rally at Wits University this week. With her are Mpho Moeketsi (left) and cousin Nthuthu Mabandla. Pic: MAC MOGOROSI

SUNDAY POST

Reporter

THERE was a massive build-up of support this week for SUNDAY POST's Free Mandela campaign.

By the time of going to press, 13 113 signatures had been collected on the petition calling for the release of the former ANC leader.

4 548 were sent in on the SUNDAY POST coupons, 658

were collected by the South African Council of Churches, and 7 907 were collected in street signings.

More than 3 000 people crammed into the Great Hall at the University of the Witwatersrand on Thursday in a rally organised as part of the campaign.

The campaign was launched in Port Elizabeth on Friday

when the petition was distributed at a rally of more than 3 000 people in New Brighton.

From Geneva the International Commission of Jurists, the most highly respected legal body in the world, sent a cable asking P W Botha to release Mandela to show that he was serious about his "new approach to race relations".

In Maseru a group of people carrying placards reading "Free Mandela" paraded along the busier sections of town and were also collecting signatures.

Yesterday a pamphlet allegedly drawn up by the ANC, but clearly a forgery, was circulated in Soweto, urging people not to sign the petition.

● See pages 3, 4 & 8.



Sunday Post 23/3/80