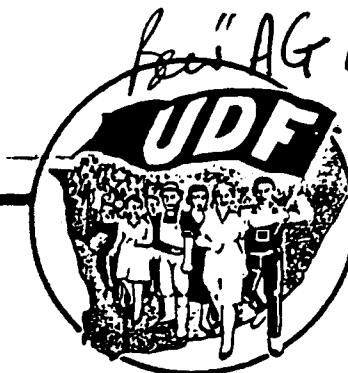


ASSESSOR

AG1

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

UDF UNITES! APARTHEID DIVIDES!



NATIONAL OFFICE

KHOTSO HOUSE
42 DE VILLIERS STREET
JOHANNESBURG
P.O. BOX 10366
TEL: 29-1916
29-1917

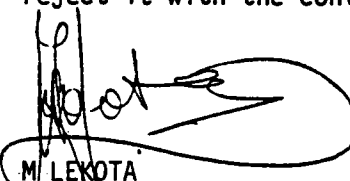
7 January 1985

ON RELEASE TO BANTUSTANS

The attempt to release Nelson Mandela and other imprisoned leaders to the care of Bantustan leaders against their known and declared opposition to the move is intended to destroy their credibility.

In the present national and international political climate in which the so-called new dispensation is collapsing and in which humanity is demanding the immediate eradication of Apartheid this may well be the Nationalist Party's desperate effort to appease the anger of the people at home and deceive the world at large.

The UDF would regard the release of these leaders under the proposed terms as no different from the time-wasting antics employed against SWAPO on the issue of Namibian independence. The UDF would reject it with the contempt it deserves.



M LUKOTA

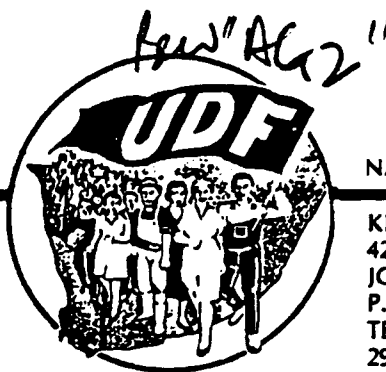
Presidents: Oscar Mpetha, Albertina Sisulu, Archie Gumede
Eastern Cape President: Edgar Ngoyi
Border President: Steve Tshwete

National Treasurers: Cassim Saloojee, Mewa Ramgobin
National Publicity Secretary: Mosiuoa 'Terror' Lekota
National Secretary: Popo Molefe

AG2

NATED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

DF UNITES! APARTHEID DIVIDES!



NATIONAL OFFICE

**KHOTSO HOUSE
42 DE VILLIERS STREET
JOHANNESBURG
P.O. BOX 10366
TEL: 29-1916
29-1917**

21/9/1984

On the basis of information the UDF has with regard to the call for a stayaway from work by the RMC, it is clear that the call only applied to Monday 17.

The UDF notes with concern that people returning from work are facing problems of not having heeded the stayaway call. In this regard the UDF wishes to emphasise that the call was only for one day.

There's therefore need for absolute restraint and discipline on the part of all who wish to prolong the stayaway. This measure is prone to bring about unnecessary loss of life and destruction of property.

The UDF condemns in the strongest terms the government's action of banning all meetings. Meetings at this point are absolutely necessary to resolve the present state of affairs. The government's action only exacerbates a highly volatile situation.

REV. Frank Chikane

Found WDF Jhs **AG3**

(19)

19/8/87

Res "AG 3"

STATEMENT ON THE RELEASE OF NELSON MANDELA

31/1/85

The government must realise that so long as Mandela or any other Anti-Apartheid S Africans remain imprisoned the scale of conflict in our society must just widen and deepen. For this the blame will be at their door.

No 19
19/8/87

But release under conditions of confinement to Bantustans amounts to a demand that political prisoners should abandon their opposition to apartheid. And this is impossible.

Only the unconditional release of prisoners and the dismantling of Apartheid structures will bring about stability and lasting peace in this country.

P LEKOTA

(20) 30/9/87

Ben "Ally" 4"

PRESS STATEMENT ON P. W. BOTHA'S PARLIAMENTARY ADDRESS

31/1/1985

We have doubts as to the practicality of the condition that has been set. Mandela is known for his strong views on Apartheid and his very deep commitment to the programme of the ANC.

We cannot see him making a pledge of the nature. A pledge like this one would mean that Mandela should distance himself from the ANC and his entire political struggle to date.

In our judgement this cannot receive acceptability from the man.

Only the unconditional release of political prisoners and the dismantling of Apartheid structures will bring about stability and lasting peace in this country.

M P LEKOTA

No 19
26/8/87

20 30/9/87

No (19) 248787

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

IF UNITES! APARTHEID DIVIDES!

19



NATIONAL OFFICE

KHOTSO HOUSE
42 DE VILLIERS STREET
JOHANNESBURG
P.O. BOX 10366
TEL: 29-1916
29-1917

16 Feb 85

UDF PRESS RELEASE ON MANDELA'S RESPONSE TO PRESIDENT BOTHA'S OFFER

.....9 FEBRUARY 1985.....

~~The South African government has made an offer to the public and the international community to release Nelson Mandela and his comrades under certain conditions. Even before Mandela's response to this offer can be communicated to our people, we need to state that up until yesterday afternoon president Botha had not had the courtesy to communicate this offer to Mandela and his comrades personally.~~

In this context the sole source of his information has been the newspapers. From this it is clear that the government is still not prepared to accept the fact that Mandela and his comrades represent the aspirations and the will of our people.

The fact that the government has not given Mandela the opportunity to respond has given rise to speculation locally and internationally as to how he will respond. Because of this speculation Mandela and his comrades at Pollsmoor have found it necessary and imperative to respond immediately and to put an end to all speculation. Mandela has therefore requested that this response be communicated to our people and the international community at the Jabulani Ampitheatre tomorrow.

At this stage we can divulge that Mr. Mandela will not only be communicating his response to president P.W. Botha's offer, but will also make known his position on negotiation with the South African government.

We of the UDF are greatly privileged and honoured that Mr. Mandela has chosen our platform to make this announcement.

Presidents: Oscar Mpepha, Albertina Sisulu, Archie Gumede
Eastern Cape President: Edgar Ngoyi
Border President: Steve Tshwete

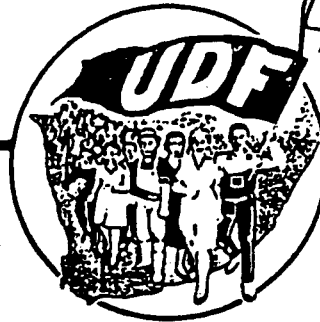
National Treasurers: Cassim Saloojee, Mewa Ramogobin
National Publicity Secretary: Moshuoa 'Terror' Letlora
National Secretary: Popo Molefe

AG6



UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

UDF UNITES! APARTHEID DIVIDES!



NATIONAL OFFICE

KHOTSO HOUSE
42 DE VILLIERS STREET
JOHANNESBURG
P.O. BOX 10366
TEL: 29-1916
29-1917

26 July 1984

Mr Cooper
University of the Witwatersrand
JOHANNESBURG

Dear Mr Cooper

It has come to the attention of the United Democratic Front that in an exclusive interview with the New York Times in April 1983 you made certain allegations and statements deprecatory of the image and public standing of Nelson Mandela.

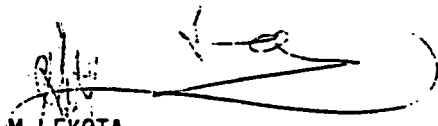
Your attention is drawn to the fact that Nelson Mandela is incarcerated and, therefore, unable personally to refute your allegations in the foreseeable future. This is an unfortunate circumstance indeed.

However, because Nelson Mandela is the patron of the United Democratic Front steps have been taken to redress the situation and you are invited to participate in an exclusive press conference together with six or seven other former in-mates who have known Nelson before, during and after you had made contact with him.

This press conference will take place on Thursday 2 August 1984 in Khotso House. For further information please contact the undersigned at the Head Office of the Front.

Thank you.

Sincerely


M LKOTA
PUBLICITY SECRETARY

AG7

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

UDF UNITES! APARTHEID DIVIDES!



NATIONAL OFFICE

KHOTSO HOUSE
42 DE VILLIERS STREET
JOHANNESBURG
P.O. BOX 10366
TEL: 29-1916
29-1917

Newsly 7"

MEMORANDUM

TO : ALL REGIONAL SECRETARIES

FROM: HEAD OFFICE

DATE: 11 FEBRUARY, 1985

SUBJECT: TREASON TRIAL

Dear Comrades

As you know the state has finally refused bail to our eight (8) comrades standing trial on charges of treason. This means that they will remain in jail for as long as their trial is in process.

Now, we of the UDF have been contending that the Apartheid regime is illegitimate and so is its pernicious system of detention and charges under its security legislation. It seems therefore that the opportunity has arisen for us to challenge the state to release our comrades.

The matter has been discussed with the comrades concerned. The view is that a campaign for their release must be launched and that this be linked with other matters. They have mandated the N.E.C to do all in its powers to launch and intensify the campaign.

We would like to appeal to all Secretaries to set in motion, as a matter of urgency a discussion on this matter, first at the level of affiliates and then that of regional General Councils. The N.E.C will also discuss the matter. But finally our campaign must be the synthesis of the recommendations of the regions.

We shall appreciate it if this matter will receive your urgent attention.

Yours in struggle,

POPO MOLEFE
GENERAL SECRETARY

Presidents: Oscar Mpepha, Albertina Sisulu, Archie Gumede
Eastern Cape President: Edgar Ngoyi
Border President: Soave Tshwete

National Treasurers: Cassim Saloojee, Mewa Ramgobin
National Publicity Secretary: Mosiuoa 'Terror' Lekota
National Secretary: Popo Molefe

AG8

p. 20 No 80

NELSON MANDELA



The People's Leader

Throughout South Africa's history of struggle against apartheid exploitation and oppression, Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela has been the source of inspiration to all the oppressed people of this land. Nelson Mandela (65) has been declared a leader of the people, a leader who has shared with his countrymen the yoke of oppression; a leader who has stood with the people in their fight for a non-racial democratic South Africa. A leader who has been incursirated in prison for the last 19 years by the S.A. regime. Throughout the country and the world, the cry for the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners continues. The Free Mandela Campaign was launched in 1980 and has gained momentum.

Nelson Mandela was born in the Transkei in 1918. After studying at Healdtown, Mandela went to Fort Hare in 1938, but was suspended in 1940 after a student protest. He completed his B.A. degree in 1942 through UNISA and in 1943 began to study for a law degree at Wits with Walter Sisulu.

Mandela together with Sisulu and Oliver Tambo, helped form the African National Congress Youth League (ANC YL), thus the foundation for the creation of a mass political organisation was built. The ANC Youth League was one result of their tireless efforts and more important it succeeded in injecting new vitality into the ANC. In 1949, Nelson Mandela was elected onto the National Executive of the ANC, and in 1950 Mandela became National President of ANC Youth League. Through him the ANC rejected the aging tactic of petitions and sending deputations to the government - instead Mandela instituted the move to organising united mass resistance. This was manifested in the Programme of Action of the ANC which was adopted in 1949.

By June 1952 Mandela became volunteer in-chief of the Defiance Campaign launched against unjust repressive laws.

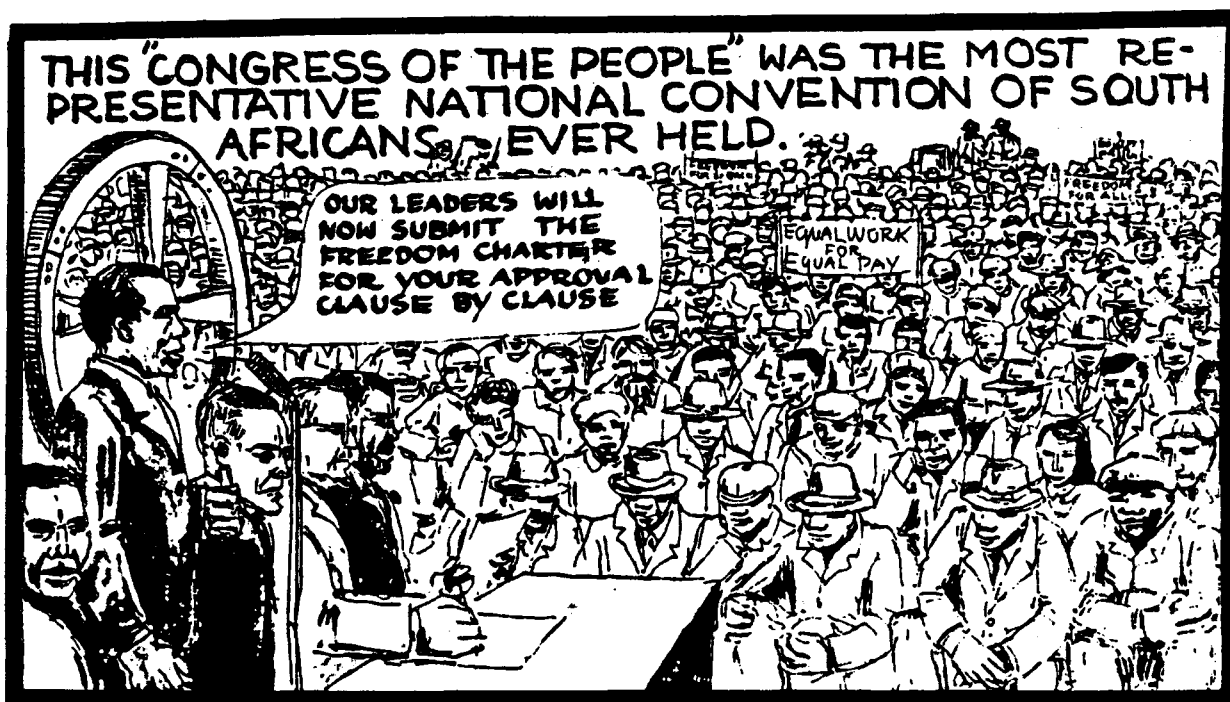
The Defiance Campaign, one of our country's most historic events, led to a massive show of support for the call made by the ANC and its allies.

In it, historical alliances were made between the ANC and the South African Indian Congress. The campaign, involving tens of thousands of people, succeeded in creating an increasing awareness both at home and abroad on the plight of the oppressed people of South Africa. In December, Mandela was one of 20 charged under suppression of Communism Act and given a 9 months suspended sentence and banned from attending gatherings.

In order to decentralize and strengthen the organisation, Mandela implemented the M - Plan (named after him), a scheme to build a mass membership that was organised into cells at grassroot levels. Mandela, in the meantime joined Oliver Tambo in forming a joint legal practise, but obstacles were placed on their path by the Transvaal Law Society.

because it contains the concrete demands of oppressed people. It has linked all these demands together, and shown how they form part of the national democratic struggle. The Freedom Charter also expresses the unity of all progressive forces. It is a broadly democratic document, including the demands of all groups. Nevertheless, the demands of the workers, the most oppressed and exploited group, are clearly the leading demands. 28 years later, none of these demands have been met. But struggles in the communities, schools, universities and factories still find their basis in the Charter.

In 1956, Mandela and 155 Congress Alliance leaders were charged with treason. The Treason Trial ended in 1961 and the people's leaders were acquitted due to lack of state



Thus we^{see} Nelson Mandela involved in mass work with the ANC. After the historic defiance campaign, the Congress Alliance (ANC, South African Indian Congress, S.A. Coloured Peoples Congress, white Congress of Democrats, South African Congress of Trade Unions) embarked on the historic task of asking people what they want.

Thus on June 26 1955, 3000 delegates from all over South Africa gathered in Kliptown to draft the most democratic document in our history of resistance - the FREEDOM CHARTER. Since then, the Freedom Charter (the minimum demands of the people) has lived in the hearts of the people. It lives

evidence. Concurrent with the trials, all legitimate and peaceful means of resistance were met with violence by the state. After the anti-pass campaign of 1960 and the Sharpeville massacre, the state declared a State of Emergency and the ANC was banned. (8 April 1960). More and more people were arrested. Many left the country to continue the struggle from outside the borders of South Africa. Some leaders, like Oliver Tambo began to co-ordinate the action of the ANC and the external mission was established. This was the time when many men and women left home, it was also the time when South Africa's people's leaders felt there was no

alternative, but the armed struggle. It was a hard decision to make, but it made clear that all other avenues for peaceful change was closed, thus the ANC was forced to take up arms.

During 1961 Mandela helped create Umkhonto weSizwe (Spear of the Nation), the military wing of the ANC. He then slipped out of the country to rally support and obtain assistance for the coming armed struggle. After undergoing a brief military training in Algeria, Mandela addressed the Conference of the Pan African Freedom Movement in Addis Ababa in January 1962. He explained why the move to armed struggle had been made and stated that channels for peaceful change no longer existed. Mandela returned home in August 1962 and was arrested in Durban and sentenced for 5 years for calling a strike and leaving the country illegally.

Raymond Mhlaba, Andrew Mlangeni, Govin Mbeki, Dennis Goldberg and many other leaders. In the "Rivonia Trials" Mandela was the 1st accused and found guilty of high treason and being a member of the MK, Nelson Mandela and his comrades were thus sentenced to life imprisonment on Robben Island.

During the trial, Mandela outlined the reasons for his involvement in the struggle for liberation. He admitted that he was guilty of sabotage and preparations for guerilla warfare. He argued that he could not obey the laws that entrenched

white minority domination since he and the black people of South Africa had had no say in its formulation. His ideal was a non-racial democratic South Africa and it was an ideal that he was prepared to die for.

THE TREASON TRIAL WENT ON FOR FIVE YEARS

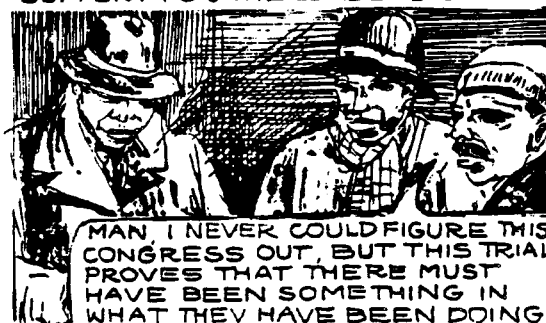


THE TRIAL BOOSTED THE PRESTIGE OF THE ANC AND ITS LEADERS AND STRENGTHENED SOLIDARITY WITH ITS ALLIES, AS WELL AS WITH THE BLACK MASSES

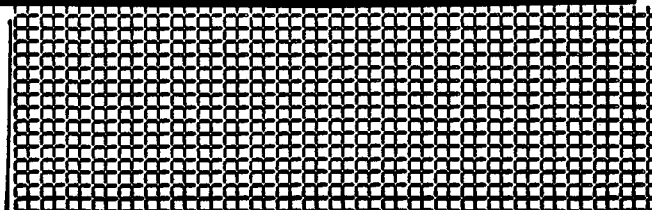
THE ACCUSED BECAME HEROES.



SUPPORT FOR THE LEADERS GREW.



In 1963, the underground leadership was arrested in Rivonia. Mandela was brought from prison to stand trial as a member of the Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) high command. He stood together with Walter Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada, Elias Motsoaledi,



Mandela must go Free

The Campaign to free Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners has spread to all parts of South Africa and the world. The call was made out of an understanding of what is needed by South Africa to resolve conflict and eliminate repression and exploitation.

Mandela is the obvious leader of the people. He is a symbol of the will of the people. His ideals are in unity with those of the people - the Freedom Charter. As such they can neither ever be suppressed nor destroyed. The call for the release of Mandela, Sisulu, Mbeki and all other political prisoners stems from a deep commitment to justice and democracy. It stems from a belief that the future of our country can only be shaped by all its people. Therefore the release of the true leaders of the people is a necessary prerequisite.

Today Mandela still creates a spirit of resistance which has led the oppressed people in their struggles. That same spirit evokes in us deep commitment, conviction and will to carry on, and the knowledge that victory is certain.

The call is:

FREE MANDELA and ALL OTHER POLITICAL PRISONERS!

LONG LIVE THE FREEDOM CHARTER!



Demonstrations of support during the Treason Trial.

Transference of Political prisoners to Pollsmoor

There has been wide spread speculation on why the Government removed Mandela, Sisulu and other political prisoners from Robben Island to Pollsmoor on the Cape mainland. The regime has kept its intentions secret. But no matter where, Mandela, Sisulu and the others are still in prison.

Firstly, there is talk that the regime will do away with Robben Island and turn it into a tourist resort or more likely into a military base.

Secondly, it is clear that throughout their period of imprisonment, the State has failed to break the unity of the group. It is also clear that all efforts, including the harsh conditions and torture, did not break down their spirit of determination.

Therefore this move by the State could be the beginning of the breaking up of that solid group who acted courageously and demonstrated the true calibre of leadership.

But whether in Robben Island or Pollsmoor, they are still the prisoners and therefore the campaign for their release must continue.

MANDELA - RECOGNISED WORLD WIDE

AS A PEOPLES LEADER

Nelson Mandela, South Africa's most recognised political prisoner and leader of the ANC has an impressive list of honours conferred on him. The following attests to the fact that he is recognised both nationally and internationally as the true leader of the South African people.

1. Volunteer-in-chief of National Defiance Campaign - 1952.
2. ANC executive - 1953.
3. President Transvaal ANC - 1953.
4. Commander-in-chief of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK).
5. Life imprisonment for sabotage - 1964.
6. Honorary President of Leeds University Union - 1964.
7. Honorary President of University College of London - 1964.
8. Nuclear particle discovered at Leeds University was named after him - 1973.
9. Honorary life membership conferred on him by the University of London Union, in recognition of the historic role he has played in the worldwide fight against racism. - 1975.
10. Doctor of Laws - University of Lesotho - 1979.
11. Jawaharlal Nehru Award for International understanding-India - 1979.
12. Freedom of the city of Glasgow - 1981.
13. Bruno Kreisky Foundation Award for "Meritorious work in Human Rights - Austria 1981".
14. Freedom of the City of Rome - 1982. (Highest Award in Rome).
15. Leeds City Council named the gardens in front of the city hall after the ANC leader in "Tribute to a man who is paying the price for struggling for freedom" - 1982.

16. Honorary citizen of the Greek Village of Ancient Olympia - March 1983.

17. Doctor of Laws - City College of New York - 1983.

18. Other honours include a street in Camden, North London, where the anti-apartheid movement has its headquarters, to be named after him.

The South African government has refused permission for some of the awards to be conferred on the ANC leader now in Pollsmoor Prison. The government has also refused to allow Mrs Winnie Mandela, his wife to travel outside the country to receive the awards on his behalf.



THE FREEDOM CHARTER

- *The people shall govern
- *All national groups shall have equal rights
- *The people shall share in the country's wealth
- *The land shall be shared among those who work it
- *All shall be equal before the law
- *All shall enjoy equal human rights
- *There shall be work and security
- *The doors of learning and culture shall be opened
- *There shall be houses, security and comfort
- *There shall be peace and friendship

'Bid to break Mandela'

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Complaints by ANC leader Nelson Mandela about his conditions at Pollsmoor Prison have been laid before the United Nations Human Rights Commission with an appeal that the Security Council be alerted.

An explanation of the "subtle cruelty" to which Mandela was allegedly being subjected was given here this week to a specialist group from the UN commission by writer Mary Benson, a friend of the Mandela family.

Miss Benson gave evidence to the group, which is making its annual visit from Geneva to gather information about human rights violations in South Africa.

The chairman of the group, Ghana's ambassador Mr A Cato, promised the group would "explore ways of making his (Mandela's) conditions more tolerable."

Miss Benson's evidence was based on a letter she received from Mrs Winnie Mandela explaining her husband's hardships.

"In all the 21 years of Nelson Mandela's imprisonment. I have never before detected such a note of desperation in a description of a visit to him," said Miss Benson, who was born in South Africa but expelled from there in 1966 after serving a term of house imprisonment.

Mr and Mrs Mandela had decided to risk breaking prison regulations and the law by publicising his conditions because these were "deteriorating terribly" and the authorities refused

to receive their complaints, said Miss Benson.

After the move from Robben Island to Pollsmoor in April 1982, Mandela had been separated from the friends he had lived with for the past 20 years.

He was sharing a cell with five other prisoners which made studying difficult.

He was particularly worried about the damp in the cell.

Mandela and his cellmates were isolated from other prisoners and were not even taken outside for exercise, she said.

Mandela's prison conditions were criticised in a letter to The Times this week signed by the Duke of Devonshire, Mr Denis Healey and Mr David Steel.

The three also claim to have had news of Mandela in "a letter reaching London" from his wife Winnie.

It was hoped, the correspondents wrote, that the move to a prison near Cape Town would bring an improvement in their conditions. "Mrs Mandela's letter brings the sinister news that the opposite is the case."

They claim that Mandela had told his wife "in a restricted conversation" that he and the other five had been moved to increase the severity of their punishment.

The Duke, the deputy leader of the Labour Party and the leader of the Liberals concluded their letter: "Mrs Mandela's letter is a plain cry for help."

"If we in the West take no notice, the younger generation of African leaders are not likely to forget."

Betray the Freedom Charter and you betray the people — Mandela

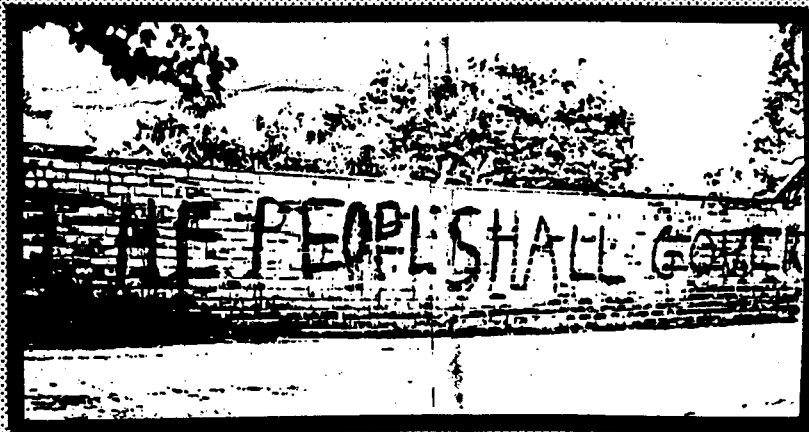
Zinzi Mandela, daughter of jailed ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, has labelled those who rejected the Freedom Charter as "traitors". Those who dared attack the Charter and pose alternatives in the form of their manifesto are diverting the peoples struggle. These people also spend much time attacking political leaders who could not reply because they were in jail, she said.

These individuals had no relevance to the popular movements and only attacked apartheid because they wish to govern under a similar system themselves. "The ANC is the future government of the country".

Another speaker, Dr Essop Jassat, president of the TIC, also said, "some people" had met recently under the guise of unity, and under this guise, began to attack democratic bodies such as the UDF and TIC. We reject this ~~attack~~ with the contempt it deserves. We, of the progressive democratic movement are proud of our history of struggle. "The greatest acts of unity came from the Congress Alliance, led by the ANC".

To those who hope to divert the struggle and confuse the people, to them, we say, history will bear harsh judgement on you all.

THE PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN - what's wrong with that?



J. K. ...
2013-85

Issued by U.N.B.-MSRC-an ASASO affiliate.

Ben "AG 9!"

WE STAND UNITED BEHIND OUR LEADERS

**ON MONDAY 10TH DECEMBER 1984, THE FOLLOWING
LEADERS WERE CHARGED WITH TREASON IN DURBAN**

**Essop Jassat - President TIC
George Sewparsad - President NIC
Curtis Nkondo - Chairperson RMC**

**M.J. Naidoo - NIC
Mewa Ramgoben - NIC
Aubrey Makoena - RMC**

**All the above are also senior members of the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT
They had been held under preventative detention since August 1984**

Nobody is fooled by these charges which are a response to the mounting opposition to detentions, both within the country as well as in Britain, America and other countries.

Botha, Rajbansi, Hendrikse have responded to this opposition by trying to create the impression that our leaders are "CRIMINALS". We know that the Internal Security Act (like the Group Areas Act, Pass Laws etc.) is an unjust law. Thus, whilst murderers are allowed bail, our respected leaders are refused bail. We feel that there can be no justice in an unjust society and our leaders cannot be tried in a just manner.

WE strongly reject these unjust and ludicrous charges and contend that:

- Our leaders only "CRIME" is the exposure of the states Tri- Cameral Parliament and their unwavering expression of the legitimate aspirations and struggles of our people.
- Our leaders have always conducted our just struggles in a peaceful manner in accordance with the UN Declaration of Human Rights and the demand of the Freedom Charter.
- Our Leaders are prominent and respectable members of our communities and have a long history of peaceful opposition to unjust laws.
- The government is deliberately trying to buy time, both internally and externally. On the one hand, they think that by trying to convict our leaders under their unjust laws, Reagan and Thatcher will be able to counter the anti-apartheid groups in their countries. The British Government can also use this as an excuse to reject our leaders from the consulate. On the other hand, the government thinks that if it keeps people like Essop Jassat and George Sewparsad in jail, the community will be left without leaders to oppose Rajbansi, Hendrikse, Reddy etc. In this way, the government hopes to use the first six months of 1985 to make its Tri-Cameral system work on a day-to-day basis by imposing it on a leaderless people.
- By repressing the peaceful struggles of our people, the government is inviting and encouraging a show of violence. We thus put the recent unrest in the Townships squarely on the shoulders of the state.

WE CALL UPON OUR PEOPLE TO:

- Stand united behind our leaders
- Observe the festive period as a period of mourning
- Demand the unconditional release of our leaders
- Demand the resignation of Rajbansi, Reddy, Hendrikse etc.

WE APPEAL TO MOSQUES, TEMPLES AND CHURCHES TO HAVE PRAYER SERVICES FOR OUR LEADERS AS WELL AS THOSE WHO HAVE DIED IN THE VAAL AND OTHER AREAS.

AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL

**LESSOP JASSAT
CHARGED FOR TREASON!**

**SHOW YOUR OPPOSITION
TO THIS UNJUST ACTION**

**ATTEND
PROTEST RALLY**

**AT THE
AVALON CINEMA**

93 CENTRAL ROAD FORDSBURG
JOHANNESBURG

DATE: THURSDAY 13TH DECEMBER 1984

TIME: 8-00 p.m.

Speakers: Dr. R.A.M. Saloojee (TIC Vice-President just released from Detention)

"TERROR" Lekota (UDF publicity secretary just released from Detention)

MANIBEN SITA (Daughter of the late Nana Sita and TIC council member)

**WE DEMAND THE
UNCONDITIONAL RELEASE OF ALL
OUR LEADERS**

AG10

Rev '83 10"
RELEASE MANDELA COMMITTEE

invites you to a

PRAYER MEETING

in solidarity with

NELSON MANDELA

on his 65th Birthday - 18 July

and commemorating death of

ALBERT LUTHULI

killed on 21 July 1966



St. Anthony's Church Hall

SUNDAY, 24 JULY 1983

at 2 p.m.

ISSUED BY RELEASE MANDELA COMMITTEE

SPEEDY PRINTERS - 54a PRINCE EDWARD STREET - DURBAN

AG11

WORKING DOCUMENT

1. INTRODUCTION

This document is meant to be a general guide for the R.M.C. Operation throughout the country. It is thus not meant to be prescriptive. Branches are encouraged to contextualise it. However, as far as possible, uniformity is desired. This document is not definitive; it will be improved and finalised in April at an envisaged National consultative meeting.

2. RATIONALE

The vitally indispensable role that the R.M.C. plays in the struggle for liberation in this country cannot be over-emphasized. The Release Mandela Campaign, is essentially a political effort. The R.M.C. is incisive in its call for the unconditional release of all political prisoners, the abrogation of bannings, banishments, detentions and all allied repressive legislations and, finally, the return of all exiles - all culminating in a national convention for the end of apartheid, economic exploitation and all vestiges of injustice, for the creation of a true non-racial democratic, open, egalitarian society, wherein man will not be judged by the colour of his skin but on merit. In a nutshell, what lies at the heart of the R.M.C's call is a quest for the termination of the political conflict by releasing the true leaders of all freedom-loving people and thereby, preventing further bloodshed of valuable lives that our country needs for the new society.

As matters stand, the R.M.C. exists in three regions viz. Natal (4 yrs) Transvaal (7 months) and Border (East London) (2 months). Oscar Mpheta made an appeal at the end of the U.D.F. conference in P.E. that the R.M.C. must be intensified this year and echoed throughout all the corners of S.A. This important call must be recognised throughout the campaign.

3. OBJECTIVE AND MODUS OPERANDI

Now, this document proposes a skeletal budget for setting up R.M.C. regions throughout the country, more specifically in the remaining following areas:

- * Port Elizabeth
- * Western Cape
- * Kimberley
- * Kuruman
- * Orange Free State

This exercise will culminate in a national consultative meeting of the 8 R.M.C. regions and branches. The object of this meeting will be:

- * To give the R.M.C. a national character through compiling a working document or constitution.
- * To work out a uniform way of conducting the Campaign
- * To look into fundraising possibilities.
- * To design all R.M.C. symbols, insignia and T-Shirts
- * To moot the idea of setting up a national office.

4. TIMING

The UDF is engaging in a 1-million signature campaign which will run for 3 months. It has been agreed that the RMC defer its petition campaign and relaunch it after the UDF one in April 1984.

However, during the 3-month period, the programme of setting up R.M.C. regions and branches must be instituted vigorously. Regarding the national consultative meeting, the following are proposed:

- * Date: Friday 6th - Sunday, 8th April
- * Time: Friday 9h00 - Sunday, 12h00
- * Venue: JISWA Centre - Lenasia
- * Composition: 7 delegates per region
- * Programme: Tentative programme to be drawn by Transvaal and Natal.

5. PROGRAMME OF ACTION

The following is a suggested programme of action for all RMC branches:

- 5.1. Setting up more RMC branches throughout the country.
- 5.2. Compiling a newsletter which will be the mouthpiece of the RMC.
- 5.3. Printing T-Shirts stickers and other symbols.
- 5.4. Popularising the Freedom Charter, making it available in all languages.
- 5.5. Relating the demands of the Freedom Charter to topical political issues e.g. education, housing, removals etc.
- 5.6. Sustaining the call through a vigorous signature campaign.
- 5.7. Utilising media such as post cards, pamphlets, calendars and posters to highlight the political significance of the imprisoned leaders.
- 5.8. Liaising with overseas bodies that are in sympathy with the spirit of the campaign.
- 5.9. Holding seminars, workshops and conferences in order to give impetus and direction to the campaign.

6. BUDGET

6.1. REGIONAL FORMATION

The following is a skeletal budget for organising the intended 8 regions.

6.1.1 Port Elizabeth:

(a) Transport	= R 600-00
(b) Advertising material	= <u>400-00</u>
Sub-Total	= <u>R1 000-00</u>

6.1.2 Western Cape:

(a) Transport	= R 800-00
(b) Advertising material	= <u>500-00</u>
Sub-Total	= <u>R1 300-00</u>

6.1.3 O.F.S.:

(a) Transport	= R 400-00
(b) Advertising material	= <u>500-00</u>
Sub-Total	= <u>R 900-00</u>

6.1.4 KIMBERLEY

(a) Transport	= R 400-00
(b) Advertising material	= <u>400-00</u>
Sub-Total	= <u>R 800-00</u>

6.1.5 KURUMAN:

(a) Transport	= R 400-00
(b) Advertising material	= <u>400-00</u>
Sub-Total	= <u>R 800-00</u>
TOTAL	= <u>R4 800-00</u>

6.2. NATIONAL CONSULTATIVE MEETING

6.2.1 Hiring of Jiswa Centre	= R 250-00
6.2.2 Advertising material (Posters, fact-sheets, programme stationery etc.	= R2 000-00
6.2.3 Catering for: 8 Regions X 7 delegates X R10-00 ea.	= R 560-00
6.2.4 Travel allowance for 2 guest speakers	= R 400-00
6.2.5 Transportation allowance of delegates X R25 ea. (60 X R25)	= R1 500-00
6.2.6 Contingencies	= <u>R1 000-00</u>
Sub-Total	= <u>R3 460-00</u>

6.3. NATIONAL OFFICE ESTABLISHMENT

6.3.1 Rent	= R 1 800-00
6.3.2 Telephone (R200 X 12)	= R 2 400-00
6.3.3 Furniture	= R 2 000-00
6.3.4 Stationery	= R 5 000-00
6.3.5 Petition Campaign Co-ordination	= R 5 000-00
6.3.6 Salary of Permanent Organiser (R500 X 12)	= R 6 000-00
6.3.7 Salary of typist (R300 X 12)	= R 3 000-00
6.3.8 Car leasing (R350 X 12)	= R 4 200-00
6.3.9 Car maintenance (350 X 12)	= R 3 600-00
6.3.10 Petty cash (100 X 12)	= <u>R 1 200-00</u>
Sub-Total	= <u>R34 800-00</u>

6.1.4 KIMBERLEY		
(a) Transport		= R 400-00
(b) Advertising material		= <u>400-00</u>
Sub-Total		= <u>R 800-00</u>
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6.3.9 Car maintenance (350 X 12)		= R 3 600-00
6.3.10 Petty cash (100 X 12)		= <u>R 1 200-00</u>
Sub-Total		= <u>R34 200-00</u>

6.4. REGIONAL SEMINARS

Funds permitting, seminars shall be organised for each region (8 X R2 000) = R16 000-00

6.5. PUBLICITY AND PUBLICATION

6.5.1 RMC Newsletter = R15 000-00

6.5.2 T-Shirts (initial capital outlay)
(R2 500 X R4-00) = R10 000-00

These 2 500 T-Shirts will be sold at R5-00 yielding a net profit of R2 500 which will be ploughed back into office running costs.

GRAND TOTAL R23 460-00

7. CONCLUSION

In keeping with the spirit of not being exclusive, the R.M.C in Natal and Transvaal has opened its doors to various organisations and agencies from diverse walks of life to participate in the Big Call and support all its concomitant programmes.

Some of the invited organisations are discussing this matter while others such as the Black Sash, the Anti-President Council Proposals Committee, the Transvaal Indian Congress as well as the Soweto Civic Association, have responded positively.

While the process of broadening the R.M.C's base is continuing, the R.M.C in the Transvaal enjoys a formal relationship with the following organisations:

- AZASO (Azanian Students' Organisation)
- COSAS (Congress of South African Students)
- SOYCO (Soweto Youth Congress)
- FEDSAW (Federation of South African Women)

It must be pointed out that the relationship with the R.M.C can either be formal or informal. More organisations, especially churches and Trade Unions are expected to throw in their lot with the RMC. It is hoped that this relational process will be consolidated in April at the National Consolative meeting herein planned for.

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AG12

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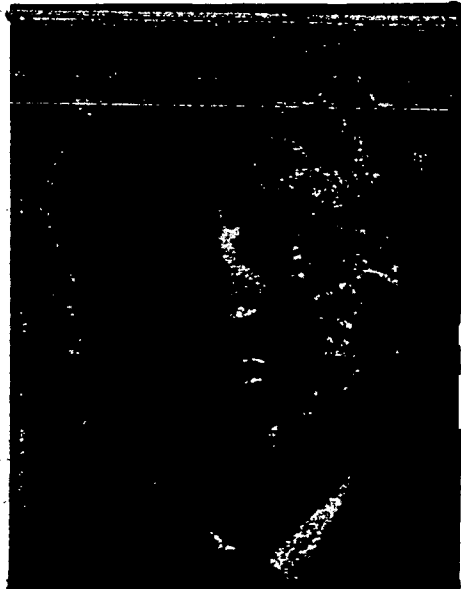
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YUSUF DADOO

1909-1983

Ben AG 12/11



**HE FOUGHT
FOR FREEDOM**

**HE DIED
OUR LEADER**

PORTRAIT OF A FREEDOM FIGHTER

- Leading figure in the Non-European United Front. (1939)
- Vice-chairman of the Anti-Pass Council. (1944-5)
- President of the Transvaal Indian Congress. (1946)
- Charged and jailed under the Riotous Assemblies Act during the 1946 African mineworkers strike.
- President of the South African Indian Congress. (1948)
- Succeeded in forging unity of the oppressed peoples through the Doctors Pact and the Congress Alliance.
- First person to be banned under the Suppression of Communism Act.
- Member of the National Planning Committee and Assistant Volunteer-in-Chief to Nelson Mandela during the Defiance Campaign.
- Awarded honour of ISITWALANDWE at the Congress of the People.
- Forced into exile but continued to play a prominent role in exile politics.

**Tribute to the
People's Leader**

ATTEND MASS RALLY

MOBILE A TO NATION OF

Saturday 24 September 1983

at PATIDAR HALL

Sylvia St

Lenasia

at 3:00 pm

Issued by the Transvaal Indian Congress, P.O. Box 25063 Ferreirstown

AG13

FREE MANDELA

Rev "AG 13"

The campaign for the release of Nelson Mandela was first launched in 1980 and received widespread local and international support.

Those who support the campaign for the release of Mandela and all other political prisoners include presidents; Samora Machel of Mozambique, Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, Canaan Banana of Zimbabwe, Bishop Desmond Tutu and Archbishop Denis Hurley.

The campaign was launched because of the realisation by many South Africans that without the wise contribution of Mandela and other political prisoners, South Africa will never experience a stable democracy or know a permanent peace.

Mandela symbolises all those who have been imprisoned for representing the views of the oppressed people of our country.

Since 1980, more than a million people throughout the world have signed petitions for the release of Mandela.

This year Mandela celebrated his 65th birthday, his 19th year in imprisonment. The majority of the people in South Africa do not agree with his continued incarceration because his imprisonment and that of his fellow prisoners have deprived South Africa of a vital leadership which is of crucial importance at this time.

Mandela is a man who has committed himself to the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. He and other political prisoners represent substantial force for peaceful change in South Africa.

Regional committees are going to be set up throughout the country to co-ordinate the campaign and the FREE MANDELA COMMITTEE will inform and advise people on the developments of the developments of the campaign.

THOSE WHO SUPPORT THE CAMPAIGN SAY:

"It is clear to all peace-loving people that Mandela must be released," SAM NUJOMA president of SWAPO.

"It is because the South African Council of Churches is totally committed to peaceful change that we have called for Mandela's release and will continue to do so," PETER STOREY, former president of the SACC

"In five years there will be a Black Prime Minister in this country and it will be NELSON MANDELA," Bishop Desmond Tutu

AG14

A PAPER ON THE PLANNING OF THE RELEASE
MANDELA CAMPAIGN

Bew 11

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper is intended to outline the nature of the Release Mandela Campaign and its modus operandi. (i.e. the way it is going to be carried out). It is not an absolute or definitive document but only meant to suggest and is subject to improvement by deliberations that will follow its presentation.

2. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

Just to repeat what is already known to people, the RMC is essentially a political effort. It is incisive in its call for the unconditional release of all political prisoners, the ending of bannings, banishments, detentions and all allied repressive legislation and, finally the return of all exiles - all culminating in a national convention for the end of apartheid, economic exploitation and all vestiges of injustice, for the creation of a true non-racial, democratic society. However the RMC is not to be construed as a permanent political organization, but a committee specifically established to facilitate and popularize the aims and objectives of the RMC which are proposed as

- (i) to campaign actively for the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all other S.A political prisoners and detainees.*
- (ii) to campaign actively (a) for the unbanning of the oppressed and the exploited people liberation movements and the return of all political exiles.
(b) the unbanning and unbanishment of people's leaders.*
- (iii) to campaign actively for the abolishment of all banning and banishment orders and all allied expressive legislations.*
- (iv) to encourage the widest possible participation of the masses and organizations in the RMC at home and abroad.*
- (v) to promote the Freedom Charter as the viable democratic basis for an alternative SA society as envisaged by Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners and exiles*
- (iv) to actively oppose all reformist legislation and other measures that fall short of accommodating the above-mentioned principles.*

This consultative meeting is, besides bringing different experiences from all over the country together; intended

- (i) to encourage consultation with one another,*
- (ii) to agree on uniform tactics and strategies,*
- (iii) to lay down a basis for co-operation and co-ordination.*
- (iv) to look into fundraising possibilities, the design of all RMC symbols, insignia and T-Shirts (e.g. see logo hereto attached), A*
- (v) to look into the idea of giving the RMC a national character,*
- (iv) to look into possibilities of the establishment of a National Co-ordinating Committee the purpose of which will be amongst others work out the format of launching the campaign nationally and projects that would keep the RMC actively involved with issues that would identify it with community need*

For instance the working committee of RMC, whilst on its mission to form RMC branches throughout the country, identified a community need at Taung in the form of a bridge. In order to implant the campaign in the minds of the people of Taung, and indeed the whole of the N. Cape, it is hereby proposed that the RMC undertakes, as a community development project, the construction of a bridge. This will be done in conjunction with local people. Consultations shall be conducted with engineers and architects.

The purpose of the RMC must be to generate active mass involvement in this campaign for the unconditional release of all legitimate and authentic leaders of the people of South Africa.

4. STRUCTURE

The RMC is not an innovation. Attempts have been made in the past to call for the release of our leaders. However, from our analysis, the campaign fizzled out due to lack of co-ordination and concrete structures that would sustain it. In order to be able to direct and sustain the campaign, a formal and concrete structure should be instituted. It is proposed that regional structures may be established in any region where there exist 3 or more RMC branches that would be able to co-ordinate with one another and contain the campaign.

These regional committees will in consultation with the Co-ordinating Committee carry the responsibility of implementing the RMC programme of action through the establishment of the following sub-committees:

- a) Publicity
- b) Contact (Co-ordinating)
- c) Education
- d) Finance
- e) International liason
- f) Media Distribution
- g) Legal Consultation

(See structure diagram hereto attached) B

The proposed National Co-ordinating Committee and regional committees shall consult with and encourage other organisations to participate in the campaign. The Co-ordination committee and regional committees shall as far as possible facilitate the maximum participation of the masses and organisation in accordance with non-racial democratic principles and on the basis of guidelines which will be drawn by the said structures in the course of the campaign.

6. BUDGET

Putting up structures and ensuring the general smooth running of the campaign inevitably involves financial commitment of serious proportions. It is proposed here that the RMC budget accomodate the following basic points

- Transport
- National Co-ordinating office
- Seminars
- Publicity and Publications (e.g. RMC Newsletter)
- Employment of full-time functionaries.

7. ON RELATIONS WITH OTHER ORGANISATIONS

Because, as it has already been reiterated that the RMC is essentially an overt political effort, there is a possibility that, in the course of taking up or responding to certain issues directly or indirectly falling within the scope of its operation, there may be incidents of duplication and lack of co-ordination between the RMC and other organisations. In this light, it needs to be emphasised that the nature of the relationship of the RMC with such organisations

should be designed as elaborate, uncomplicated and democratic as far as possible and should guard against duplicating already existing structures such as the U.D.F.

PROFILE & FRAMEWORK OF OPERATION

Whilst the RMC will be flexible in terms of the way it conducts the campaign, there is a need to draw a framework within which the RMC will operate and to determine its profile in accordance with the aims and objects of the overall campaign.

In keeping with the aim of promoting the Freedom Charter as set out in the 5th of the above proposed aims and objectives, the F.C. itself will inevitably become the theme and framework within which the RMC will operate. This involves:

- a. Popularizing the Freedom Charter
- b. Creating a deeper understanding of the F.C. by the masses
- c. Contextualizing and linking it throughout the campaign to the day-to-day issues, struggles and activities of the masses and their progressive organisations through those clauses that correspond to the relevant issues, struggles and activities.

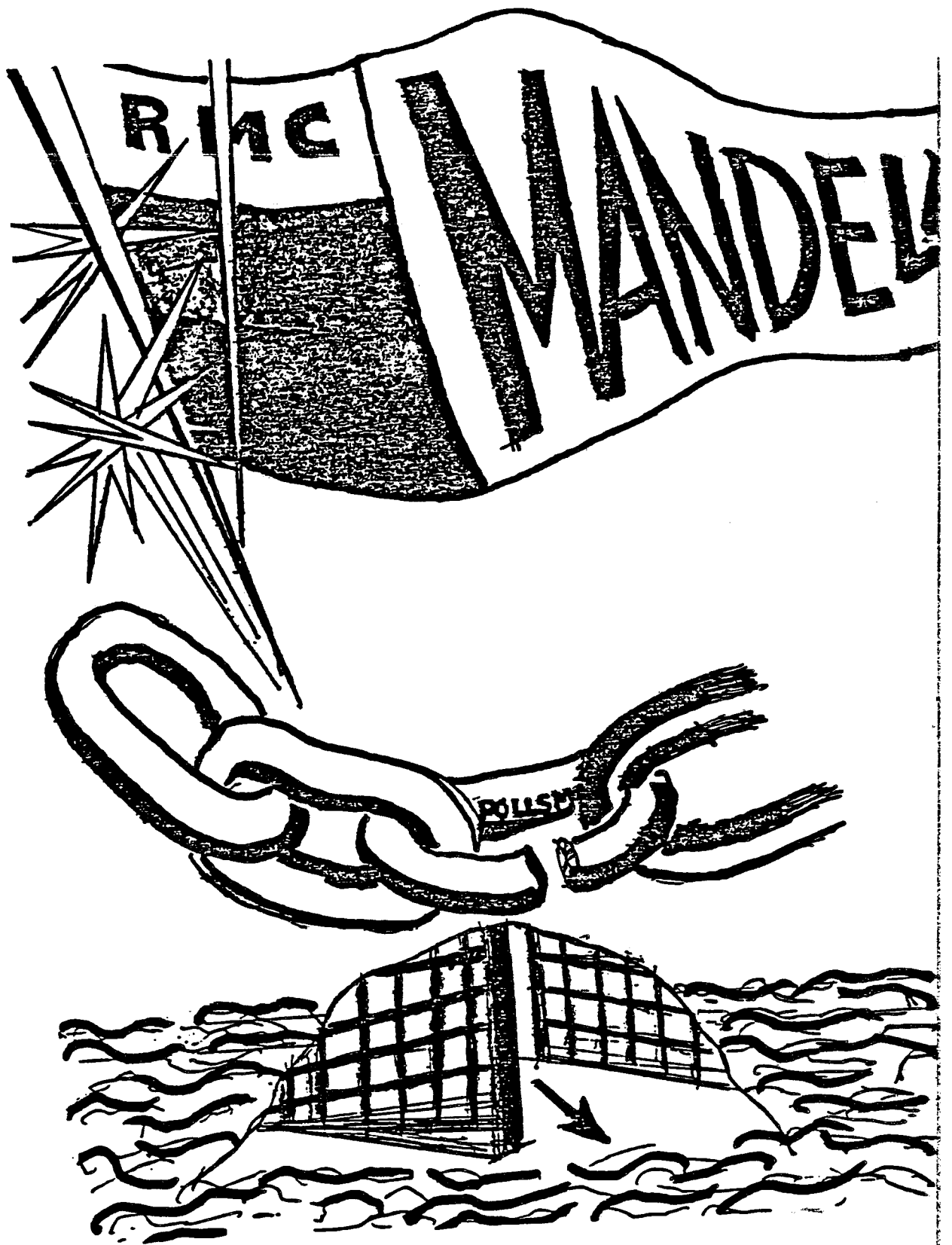
This does not suggest that the RMC will deprive organisations of important issues or struggles, but on the contrary it means that the RMC will facilitate the issues and strengthen the struggles by reinforcing their demands either with those of the F.C. or in any other way depending on the nature of the RMC's relationship with the involved organisation. In the light of this, it will become imperative on the part of the RMC to

- a. be in constant contact with all organisations reachable to the campaign
- b. be constantly conscious of issues and struggles taking place at a particular point in time
- c. keep a calendar of dates which are relevant to the campaign around which programmes or activities can be organized (e.g. Freedom Day or Day of the Rivonia Trial)

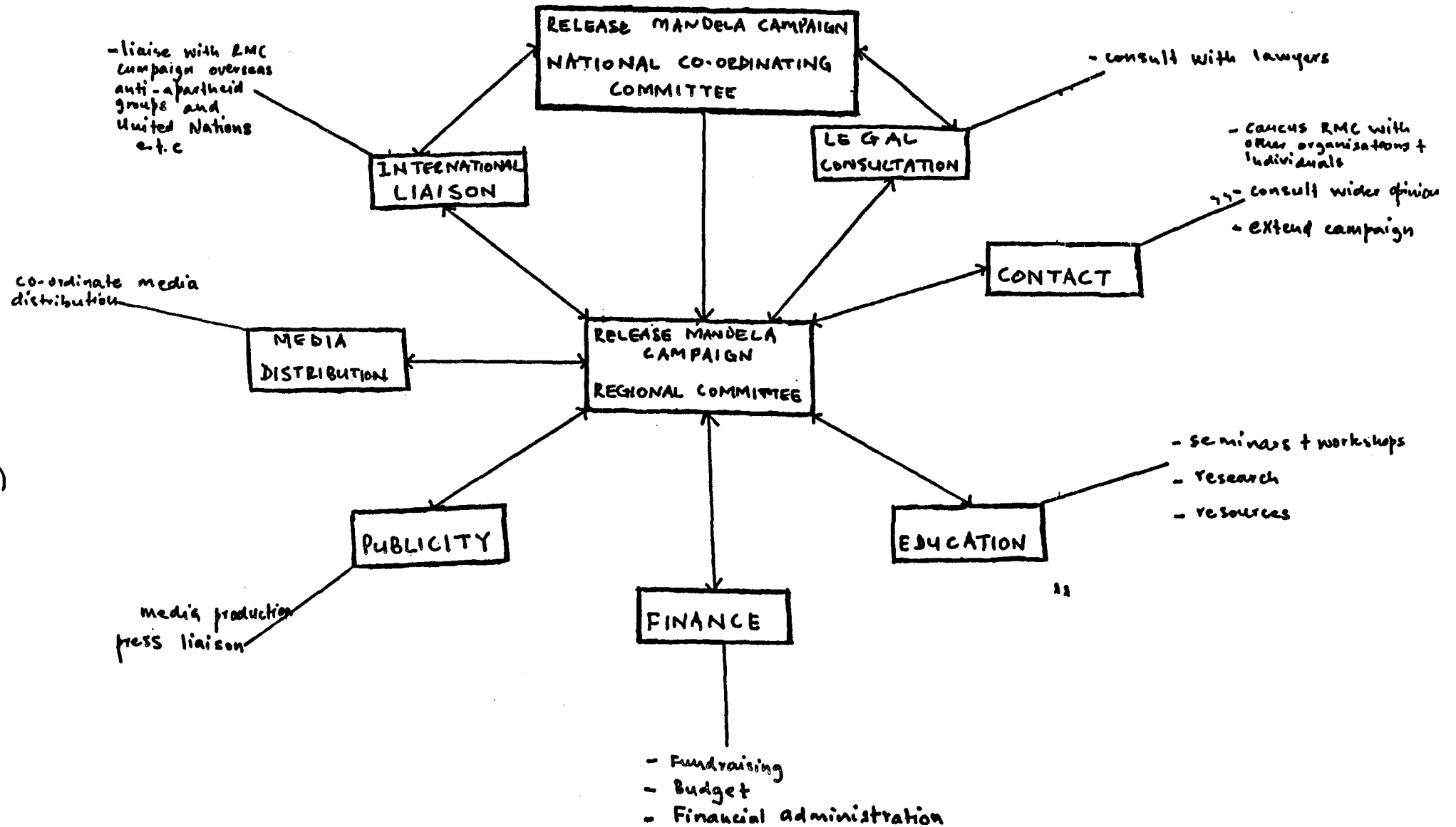
9. QUESTIONS

1. How do you see the RMC plan fitting in your local situation with reference to
 - a. fund-raising
 - b. projects
 - c. structure and
 - d. the political dimension of the campaign itself?

2. How can we co-ordinate and strengthen RMC branches throughout the country?



RELEASE MANDELA CAMPAIGN - PROPOSED STRUCTURE



-B-





RELEASE MANDELA CAMPAIGN

Dev. A.C. 16

WORKING DOCUMENT

1. INTRODUCTION

This document is meant to be a general guide for the R.M.C. Operation throughout the country. It is thus not meant to be prescriptive. Branches are encouraged to contextualise it. However, as far as possible, uniformity is desired. This document is not definitive; it will be improved and finalised in April at an envisaged National consultative meeting.

2. RATIONALE

The vitally indispensable role that the R.M.C. plays in the struggle for liberation in this country cannot be over-emphasized. The Release Mandela Campaign, is essentially a political effort. The R.M.C. is incisive in its call for the unconditional release of all political prisoners, the abrogation of bannings, banishments, detentions and all allied repressive legislations and, finally, the return of all exiles - all culminating in a national convention for the end of apartheid, economic exploitation and all vestiges of injustice, for the creation of a true non-racial democratic, open, egalitarian society, wherein man will not be judged by the colour of his skin but on merit. In a nutshell, what lies at the heart of the R.M.C's call is a quest for the termination of the political conflict by releasing the true leaders of all freedom-loving people and thereby, preventing further bloodshed of valuable lives that our country needs for the new society.

As matters stand, the R.M.C. exists in three regions viz. Natal (4 yrs) Transvaal (7 months) and Border (East London) (2 months). Oscar Mpheta, made an appeal at the end of the U.D.F. conference in P.E. that the R.M.C. must be intensified this year and echoed throughout all the corners of S.A. This important call must be recognised throughout the campaign.

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- * Kuruman
- * Orange Free State

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- * To design all R.M.C. symbols, insignia and T-Shirts
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However, during the 3-month period, the programme of setting up R.M.C. regions and branches must be instituted vigorously. Regarding the national consultative meeting, the following are proposed:

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- * Time: Friday 9h00 - Sunday, 12h00
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Funds permitting, seminars shall be organised for each region (8 X R2 000) = R16 000-00

6.5. PUBLICITY AND PUBLICATION

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(R2 500 X R4-00) = R10 000-00

These 2 500 T-Shirts will be sold at R5-00 yielding a net profit of R2 500 which will be ploughed back into office running costs.

GRAND TOTAL = R68 060-00

7. CONCLUSION

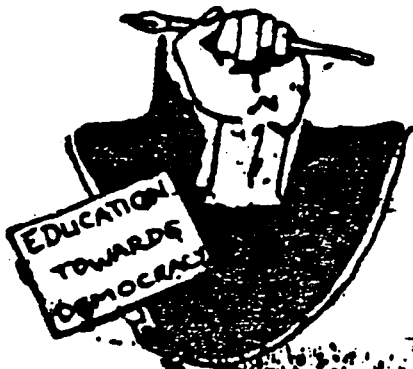
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AZASO

Dev AG: 17

RELEASE

MANDELA

Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela has been the source of inspiration to all the oppressed people of this land. He has shared with his countrymen the yoke of oppression and tirelessly fought for a truly non-racial, non-exploitative and democratic South Africa. He symbolises courageous men and women who have been incarcerated in prison by the racist South African regime because of their love for freedom and equality.

This year Mandela celebrated his 65th birthday, his 19th year in imprisonment. The majority of the people in South Africa object to his continued incarceration because his imprisonment and that of his fellow prisoners have deprived South Africa of a vital leadership which is of crucial importance at this time.

Mandela is a man who has committed himself to the idea of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and equality. He and other political prisoners represent a substantial force for change in South Africa.

Mandela together with Sisulu and Oliver Tambo, helped form the African National Congress Youth League (ANC YL), thus the foundation for the creation of a mass political organisation was built. The ANC Youth League was one result of their tireless efforts and more important it succeeded in injecting new vitality into the ANC. In 1949, Nelson Mandela was elected onto the National Executive of the ANC, and in 1950 Mandela became National President of ANC Youth League. Through him the ANC rejected the aging tactic of petitions and sending deputations to the government - instead Mandela instituted the move to organising united mass resistance. This was manifested in the Programme of Action of the ANC which was adopted in 1949.

Since that time he, together with Sisulu and Tambo steered the ANC away from the policy of compromise - a policy which he totally rejected and which he dismissed with the contempt that it truly deserved. His objection to such policy led to his taking initiative and being volunteer-in-chief in one of the most significant

his charismatic personality and courage, coupled with his intellect and eloquence, was bound to result in him becoming the acknowledged leader of militant black opinion in South Africa.

In order to decentralise and strengthen the organisation, Mandela implemented the 4-plan which was meant to build mass membership for the organisation. This then led to the Congress Alliance which was led by the ANC and included the South African Indian Congress, South Africa Coloured People's Congress, the Congress of Democrats and the South African Congress of Trade Unions.

This Alliance led to the drafting of the FREEDOM CHARTER. The charter was preceded by a massive campaign of asking the people what they want and what their impressions of freedom are. Our people from the farms to the factories, from the schools to the colleges, from the church to the mosque were called to talk about freedom - talk they did and the Charter was born.

Mandela's influence and popularity rose to heights intolerable to those bent on maintaining a racist and exploitative society. This led to Mandela being charged and acquitted for High Treason, then charged with leaving the country illegally, and receiving military training. His activity culminated in him, together with Sisulu, Mbeki, Kathrada, Mhlaba, Goldberg and others charged in the great Treason Trial wherein they were convicted of engaging in an armed revolution "against the Republic of South Africa". Mandela was the first commander-in-chief of UMKHONTO WE SIZWE - the military wing of the ANC.

Mandela was imprisoned leader of our people and still remains so up to this day.

MANDELA MUST GO FREE

The Campaign to free Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners has spread to all parts of South Africa and the world. The call was made out of an understanding of what is needed by South Africa to resolve conflict and eliminate repression and exploitation.

Mandela is the obvious leader of the people. He is a symbol of the will of the people. His ideals are in unity with those of the people - the Freedom Charter. As such they can neither ever be suppressed nor destroyed. The call for the release of Mandela, Sisulu, Mbeki and all other political prisoners stems from a deep commitment to justice and democracy. It stems from a belief that the future of our country can only be shaped by all its people. Therefore the release of the true leaders of the people is a necessary prerequisite.

Today Mandela still creates a spirit of resistance which has led the oppressed people in their struggles. That same spirit evokes in us deep commitment, conviction and will to carry on, and the knowledge that victory is certain.

The call is :

FREE MANDELA AND ALL OTHER POLITICAL PRISONERS !
LONG LIVE THE FREEDOM CHARTER !

AG18



Angel Instant 836-5454

RELEASE
OUR LEADERS
NOW!

Ben AG 18



Issued by TIC, BOX 25063, FERREIRASTOWN 2048

AG19

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24/8/87

Ben AG 19

POPO SIMON MOLEFE

National General Secretary, UDF

Born in Sophiatown, Johannesburg, on 26 April 1952, Popo Molefe was adopted by his aunt Sanah Tsatsimbe. In 1960 the family moved to Soweto and he attended the Atamelang Lower Primary School in Naledi, and the Tau-Pedi Higher Primary School. His studies were interrupted for financial reasons, but he later attended Naledi High School where he was Head Prefect in 1976.

Whilst at high school he was a member of the black consciousness South African Students' Movement and participated in the school's debating society which functioned independently from teacher control and thereby attract~~ed~~^{ed} a significant section of the student leadership.

As Head Prefect, Molefe became involved in the campaign against the Government's policy of equalization of Afrikaans and English as media of instruction in the schools, and on 13 June 1976 the SASM called a meeting to deal with the issue. A decision was taken to organise protest marches in Soweto to demonstrate their rejection of the use of Afrikaans in the schools. Other schools participating included, inter alia, Batswana, Thomas Mofolo, Morris Isaacson and Moletsane Secondary Schools.

It is Molefe's view that the initial intention was to march on the one day only and then return to class, with no violence anticipated. However, events changed radically leading to police involvement and the 1976 riots broke out.

As a result of the riots, the Soweto Students' Representative Council was formed and Molefe played a leading role in its planning and regularly attended meetings.

On 18 August 1976 Molefe was detained and held in various police stations for seven months. On his release in 1977 he continued with political work in the Black People's Convention and did not return to school.

The BPC was banned in October 1977, and in April 1978 Molefe and others called the first conference to create a new political organisation, the Azanian Peoples Organisation, but it remained fairly inactive for the next two years. In September 1979 AZAPO was revived following the ~~organisation~~^{establishment} of branches throughout the country and Molefe became the first Chairman of the Soweto branch.

While/.....

While still at school Molefe was influenced by the writings of Trevor Huddleston, Martin Luther King, Nelson Mandela and Kwame Nkrumah. He first perceived the South African problem as between black and white and felt the ultimate solution would be the replacement of the white Government with a black one. However, his views changed later and he realized that it was not argumentation that was important, but the individual's ideals and beliefs. ~~Exxx~~ Crucial to this change in viewpoint was his experience during the 1976 riots when he saw black police confronting students and he realized that his opponents could still hide behind the same skin colour and language. In addition he realized there were whites who were prepared to sacrifice everything for the same ideals as his own.

A great influence in his change of view was Joe Gabi, an ANC member, who brought Molefe to commit himself to the ideals enshrined in the Freedom Charter, the principle of non-racialism and the concept that South Africa belonged to all those who lived in it.

From 1980, ideological differences developed within AZAPO as to ~~whether~~ its commitment to the Freedom Charter, and Molefe noticed that certain organisations committed to the Charter were not participating in AZAPO programmes. He lost confidence in the ability of the black consciousness movement to bring about change in South Africa and ~~he~~ resigned from AZAPO in 1981.

Molefe became co-ordinator of the Anti-Republic Celebration Committee and in December 1982 he was elected to the Committee of Ten of the Soweto Civic Association. He is still a member, working as co-ordinator in the Education and Training Committee.

When the idea of the United Democratic Front emerged in January 1983, Molefe participated in the discussions and planning of its formation. He was appointed Secretary of the Transvaal region and thereby automatically became a member of the advance planning committee dealing with the proposed launch of the UDF in Cape Town. In August 1983, Molefe was appointed the National General-Secretary of the UDF.

After leaving school, Molefe worked variously as a shop assistant, a microfilm machine operator, a records clerk and a photographic printing machine operator. ~~He is~~ He is presently employed by the UDF in his capacity as National General Secretary.

Molefe is married to Olymnia, a teacher, and they live in Soweto.

Interviewed 16 April 1984 Johannesburg.

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Hew' AG 20.

Let us who shall bear the burden of the struggle for a free, non-racial and democratic South Africa the most significant family unit is the extended-family of fellow freedom-fighters. What binds us into one is our common commitment to the welfare of ~~the~~ our people - the people of S. Africa. It is our struggle against Apartheid, oppression and exploitation of man by man. We are, therefore, here to bury one of our kind - a member of the family.

But let me not be understood to mean that the conventional nuclear family is irrelevant. On the contrary, it is within that family unit that we first learn the art and significance of family ties. In the course of the struggle we ~~extend~~ ^{transform} our commitment to blood relatives into commitment to the welfare of the people as a whole. There is no doubt in my mind that this is what Bette did in his living days.

He lived for the ideal of a S. Africa that will be free, non-racial and democratic. Yes a S. Africa in which the people shall govern. In which the good things of life ~~would~~ ^{will} be dispensed of without greed or favour. One in which all the people of S. Africa ~~will~~ ^{will} enjoy life without ~~discrimination~~ ^{properly defined} racial discrimination and inequality of any kind. His ~~too~~ ^{untimely} death has robbed us of a dedicated worker and freedom-fighter. We will have to work doubly hard to make up for the gap that his loss has created.

This funeral is a nodal point that culminates Bette's life and opens new challenges for us ^{who} remain on the scene. We ~~are~~ ^{are} left to carry ^{out} the other side of the covenant to free our people. There can be no turning back on the demanding tasks we ~~face~~ ^{set} ourselves with Bette, Brian Ben Palmer,

No (79)

Mlungo, Biko, Moizi Lube, ^{Sello} ~~and~~ Mlung, Jiso and others.

These are some of the lives which have been given wholly for freedom. These may be cynics who will ask what have their lives been worth? Has it not been all in vain seeing apartheid remains intact? To them we must reply that "the essential thing about life is not conquering but fighting well!" What is ~~so~~ important ~~about that~~ above all else is not the date ^{and hour of the arrival of} ~~of~~ freedom - it is the ^{very fact of} struggle itself.

The ~~most~~ greatest achievement of Bertie's is that he has taught us how to ^{live} fighting lives. And on behalf of the United Democratic Front I must insist that whatever ^{weaknesses} ~~shortcomings~~ he may have ^{had} ~~committed~~ our activists ^{old and young} must seek out those ~~elements~~ strong points which enabled him to survive the deprivations of ghetto life and a six year prison ^{term} ~~sentence~~ on Robben Island - and still emerge ^{freedom} a fighter in his own right.

Thank you!

(19)

26/8/87

J. de
Ben

For us who shoulder the burden of the struggle for a free, non-racial and democratic South Africa the most significant family unit is the extended-family of fellow freedom-fighters. What binds us into one is our common commitment to the welfare of ~~the~~ our people - the people of S. Africa. It is our struggle against Apartheid, oppression and exploitation of man by man. We see, therefore, here to bury one of our kind a member of the family.

But let me not be understood to mean that the conventional nuclear family is irrelevant. On the contrary, it is within that family unit that we first learn the art and significance of family ties. In the course of the struggle we ~~extend~~ ^{transform} our commitment to blood relatives into commitment to the welfare of the people as a whole. There is no doubt in my mind that this is what Bertie did in his living days.

He lived for the ideal of a S. Africa that will be free, non-racial and democratic. Yes a S. Africa in which the people shall govern. In which the good things of life ~~would~~ ^{will} be dispensed of without greed or favour. One in which all the people of S. Africa ~~would~~ ^{will} enjoy life without ~~discrimination~~ ^{property discrimination} racial discrimination and inequity of any kind. His ~~too~~ ^{untimely} death has robbed us of a dedicated worker and freedom-fighter. We will have to work doubly hard to make up for the gap that his loss has created.

This funeral is a moral point that culminates Bertie's life and opens new challenges for us ^{who} remain on the scene. We ~~are~~ ^{are} left to carry ~~on~~ ^{out} the other side of the covenant to free our people. ~~There can be no turning back at the~~ ^{demanding} ~~test~~ ^{we} ~~set~~ ^{set} ourselves with Bertie, Brian Ben Palmer,

Mxenge, Biko, Mosisi Sabe, ^{Sello} ~~and~~ Moeeng, Tsiso and others.

These are some of the lives which have been given wholly for freedom. There may be cynics who will ask what have these lives been worth? Has it not been all in vain seeing apartheid remains intact. To them we must reply that "the essential thing about life is not conquering but fighting well!" What is important ~~about that~~ ^{and how the arrival of} above all else is not the date ~~of~~ ^{of} freedom - it is the ^{very fact of} struggle itself.

The ~~most~~ greatest achievement of Bertie's is that he has taught us how to ^{live} fighting lives. And on behalf of the United Democratic Front I must insist that whatever ^{weaknesses} ~~mistakes~~ he may have ^{had} ~~committed~~ our activists, ^{old and young} must pick out those ~~elements~~ strong points which enabled him to survive the deprivations of ghetto life and a six year prison ~~term~~ ^{sentence} on Robben Island - and still emerge ^{freedom} a fighter in his own right.

Thank you!

AG21

GRIFFITHS MLUNGISI

MXENGE

newly 21"

ASSASINATED NOVEMBER 19, 1981



... the struggle was his life.

HIS STRUGGLE FO

1935 Born in King William's Town on February 27

1956 matriculated at Newell High School, Port Elizabeth

1961 Following footsteps of some of Africa's great leaders Tambo, Mugabe, and Mbeki obtained BA degree at University of Fort Hare.

1962 Entered University of Natal for LLB degree

Married Victoria Nonyamezelo Mxenge

1966 Detained under 180 day detention law



1971-1973 Served articles under Rabie Bugwandeen of Natal Indian Congress. Had problems about admission after articles because of his conviction in terms of Suppression of Communism Act.

1973 Served with a further five year banning order.

1973-1974 Worked with George Sewpershad, the banned President of the NIC.

Dec. '74 Admitted as an Attorney of the Supreme Court of S.A.

First son Mbasa born while Griffith was in detention

Charged under Suppression of Communism Act for furthering the aims of ANC with co-accused Albert Dlomo who is presently in exile

1967 Sentenced to jail for two years. Served sentence on Robben Island. Known to fellow Robben Islanders as their Latin and English "teacher" and legal representative.

1969 Released from Robben Island. Served with a 2 year banning order and not allowed to enter University premises. With the assistance of the Dean of the Law Faculty, Prof Matthews, managed to get written notes to enable him to complete his LLB degree. Obtained his LLB degree and graduated in April 1970.

1970 Second son Viwe born

1975 Started his legal practice in Durban. Birth of daughter Namhla

1975-1981 Acted as attorney in many political trials including the Mdluli case, Mohapi, Nxasana, Bethal PAC trial. Involved in many community problems, including the Umlazi Water Accounts problem. Treasurer of Release Mandela Committee. Worked closely with Natal Indian Congress. Actively supported resurgence of trade union movement.

1976 Detained under Section 6 of Terrorism Act for 103 days. Refused to give evidence for State in Pietermaritzburg case. State versus Gwala and others now on Robben Island

When A Man Dies ...

If a man happened to be 36-years-old, as I happen to be and some truth stands before the door of his life; some great opportunity to stand up for that which is right and that which is just, and he refuses to stand up because he wants to live longer or he is afraid his home will get bombed, or he is afraid that he will lose his job, or he is afraid that he will get shot, he may go on and live-until he is 80 ... and then the cessation of breath is merely the belated announcement of an earlier death of the spirit.

A man dies when he refuses to stand up for that which is right. A man dies when he refuses to take a stand for that which is true. So, we are going to stand up right here ... letting the world know that we are determined to be free.

MARTIN LUTHER KING

R DEMOCRACY

GRIFFITHS MXENGE, affectionately known to his comrades as GM was destined for greatness. No teenager in the 1950's could escape the influence of the Defiance Campaign of 1952, the historic Congress of the People of 1955, the Treason Trial, the Pound-A-Day Campaign or the State of Emergency of 1960. Like thousands of others, he became a member of the African National Congress while still a youth.

FREEDOM CHARTER

The Freedom Charter adopted at the Congress of the People at Kliptown on June 26, 1955 became his guiding light in the struggle of democracy. Until the very end of his active life, GM spoke about the message of the Charter and at the recent Anti-SAIC Conference, called it "a living document"

ROBBEN ISLAND

In 1967 he was jailed for two years on Robben Island for furthering the aims of the ANC. GM always regarded his stay on the Island in the company of our great leaders as the most important period of his life. Here he learnt that humility goes with leadership.

COMMUNITY STRUGGLES

He worked closely with both the Umlazi Residents' Association and the Umlazi Water Accounts Committee, helping to solve the day-to-day problems of residents. He believed that strong community organisation, founded and functioning on democratic principles, were the immediate solution to the day-to-day oppression of our people.



FRIEND OF TRADE UNIONS

He played an important part in the development of the trade union movement in Durban and the Eastern Cape. He encouraged and helped trade unionists and workers - his office was always open to them. GM often spoke about the need for the unity of workers and the vital role they play in our struggle.

RELEASE MANDELA

To-gether with Archie Gumede, George Sewpershad and Paul David he was a leading member of the Release Mandela Committee which mobilised thousands of Black and White democrats to demand for the release of all political prisoners. GM publicly acclaimed Nelson Mandela as his leader. During the Campaign he said many times that the Freedom Charter provided the only alternative to the present racist and exploitative system.



MR ARCHIE GUMEDE

STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRATIC EDUCATION

GM believed that students had the right to struggle for a better education by whatever means they chose. He stood by them during the 1980 school boycotts despite many attacks on him. He supported democratic student organisations like COSAS and AZASO and the SRC's at the universities in their effort to organise students.

COURAGE

GM was the symbol of a freedom fighter. Brave and fearless, he never gave up in the face of great difficulties. As a defence lawyer in the country's many political trials he showed his courage and ability time and again. No amount of harrassment and threats could stop him. His political opponent feared his unbreakable courage. This fear drove them to butcher him. But his spirit lives on!

ANTI-SAIC

GM lived to see the fruit of his efforts in the Anti-SAIC Campaign. He will be remembered for his brilliant speech to the people of Merebank. He cut a defiant and inspiring figure at the National Anti-SAIC Conference in Durban, committing himself to the Declaration of the Conference.

Our struggle for freedom has many pitfalls. Puppets in government - created bodies will continue to divide our people. Courageous fighters for freedom will continue to be harassed, beaten and butchered by the enemies of the people.

But the ideals of the Freedom Charter will live on

DECLARATION

adopted at
NATIONAL ANTI-SAIC CONFERENCE
ON OCTOBER 10 and 11, 1981, IN DURBAN

WE SOUTH AFRICAN DEMOCRATS,

gathered in Durban on this day, recognising the unequivocal rejection of government-created ethnic institutions by the oppressed people and having experienced this directly in the Anti-South African Indian Council Campaign hereby declare for all South Africans and the world to know that the struggles of the past 25 years have convinced us that the only viable alternative to the present exploitative and repressive system is one based on the principles of the FREEDOM CHARTER.

Accordingly, this National Conference firmly believes that:

1. THE PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN

True democracy must be based on the will of all the people of South Africa in a unitary national state.

All adult South Africans shall participate in the political process and institutions at every level of government.

The present government, Bantustans, Presidents Council, South African Indian Council and local advisory bodies reinforce domination and exploitation by a minority and exclude the possibility of establishing a people's democracy.

2. THE LAND SHALL BE SHARED AMONG THOSE WHO WORK IT

The land belongs to all the people, whereas at present it is owned by a minority.

The creation and consolidation of Bantustans and the implementation of the Group Areas Act and similar legislation continues to uproot and dispossess settled communities.

3. THE DOORS OF LEARNING AND CULTURE SHALL BE OPENED TO ALL

Separate education is specifically used by the State to perpetuate Apartheid. Protests in schools and Universities in these past few years has demonstrated quite clearly that this education has failed to satisfy the needs of the majority of South Africans who demand a system whose objectives are consistent with the achievement of a free, equal, just and democratic society.

Racist society distorts and destroys the culture of the people.

The free expression of cultural values and the development of an authentic national culture can only occur in a free and democratic society.

4. THERE SHALL BE HOUSES, SECURITY AND COMFORT

Decent housing at rents and prices people can afford, comfort and security are inaccessible to the majority of South Africans. The absence of these necessities, inter alia, has resulted in the destruction of family life. Democratic control by the people will guarantee the provision of these essentials and eliminate the mass removals of settled communities.

The disabilities that our people suffer in health and welfare are directly due to and exacerbated by the poverty imposed on our people.

These problems of the people can only be eliminated by a new social order which guarantees optimum health and welfare.

5. ALL SHALL BE EQUAL BEFORE THE LAW

The law as it exists, is repressive, discriminatory and designed to entrench apartheid.

The law must not only be just but must be seen to be so.

This is only possible if it is based on the will of the people and accords with the people's concept of justice.

6. THERE SHALL BE WORK AND SECURITY

The majority of workers are still denied the right to free association and control over their own affairs.

Continuing and ever increasing worker action reveals national discontent of working people who will settle for nothing less than full participation in free and democratic trade unions.

7. THE WEALTH SHALL BE SHARED AMONGST ALL THE PEOPLE

The natural and human resources of this country are being exploited in the interests of a privileged minority. Control of South African resources by the people will ensure its utilisation towards the benefit of the people as a whole.

In believing so, WE DECLARE,

that in the absence of the democratic freedoms outlined herein no constitutional schemes or dispensations are acceptable to us and that we will not participate in any constitutional arrangement that does not flow from a national convention representative of all the peoples of South Africa.

and that

the preconditions for a successful holding of such a convention are the release of all political prisoners, the return of all exiles and banished, the unbanning of all persons and organisations and the repeal of all unjust laws.

In the intervening period we hereby rededicate ourselves to fight side by side for these freedoms through genuine people's organisations and pledge that we will not rest until we have established a democratic South Africa based on the FREEDOM CHARTER.

ISSUED BY RELEASE MANDELA COMMITTEE AND NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS





CONGRESS

Rev "AG 22"



DEMANDS

RELEASE OUR LEADERS!



INSIDE !

Our leaders in Natal are crammed into a single room at the British Consulate in Durban. There are no washing or toilet facilities in the office and all six sleep on the floor. They are doing this to focus world attention on the plight of detainees in South Africa, and to expose the British Government support for apartheid.

PROTEST RALLY

against...

- the detentions of our leaders.
- the killing of over 80 people and the shooting of hundreds more in Soweto, the East Rand, the Vaal and the mines.
- the unjust police brutality against those who opposed Apartheid in Lenasia, Actonville, Soweto and other townships.

RAMAKRISHNA HALL, KINGFISHER STR. LENASIA

THURS 11 OCTOBER 1984 - 8 p.m.

SPEAKERS:



Rev. Eugene Mkhize



Zeph Graca Zac Yacoob



Tiego Mosenke

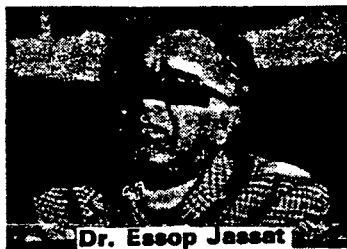
WE STAND BY OUR LEADERS!

DETENTION WITHOUT TRIAL

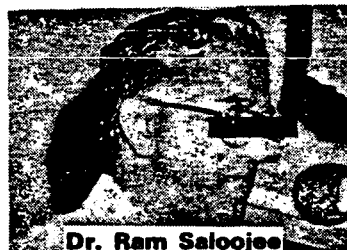
IN all countries around the world, a person has to be found guilty in Court before being jailed.

In South Africa, the government can throw anybody into jail for as long as they like, without giving them a court trial.

Those who suffer under this system of detention without trial have not broken the law. They have stood up for our rights — our leaders.



Dr. Essop Jassat



Dr. Ram Saloojee



Mr. Terror Lekota

THE GAGGING ACT

THE government now has a "Gagging Act." Anyone detained under this Act can be "listed."

This means that:

- We cannot quote what the listed person has said;
- & The listed person cannot be involved in any organisation;
- Leaders that are released or detained will not be able to carry on the work in the interests of our people.

The government is using the "Gagging Act" to silence our leaders.



George Sewpersadhi



Mr. Popo Molefe



Mr. Archie Gumede



Aubrey Mokoena



Mr. Billy Nair

WE SAY TO THE GOVERNMENT . . .

Our cause is just. We have the support of peace-loving and democratic people worldwide. **STOP** harassing our leaders. You cannot force us to support your government, Botha. Your junior partners, Rajbansi, Hendrikse, Reddy, definitely don't speak for us.

By silencing our leaders, you cannot stop us fighting apartheid.

Our people will continue to struggle for equal rights for all.

Our leaders have shown their determination, their sacrifice, their dignity.

We stand by them and join in the struggle.

Botha, Hendrikse, Rajbansi —

LEAVE OUR LEADERS ALONE!

Fouad prof Mohamed

AG23

(19)

26/8/87

See "FIG 23"

(7)

STATEMENT TO CITY PRESS RE: CLIFF SAUNDERS
REQUEST INTERVIEW WITH OLIVER TAMBO

We should welcome Oliver Tambo being interviewed on SABC so that all must be given the opportunity of hearing the views of those who are fighting against our oppressive regime for a democratic South Africa. However, we do not believe that he will be given a fair hearing and snippets will only be used to help booster up the regime under which we suffer. Tambo has spoken at length at Matola, Cassinga, Maseru, Tanzania, Angola, the United Nations and many where else and we have always been denied to hear his views. Publish all these many speeches of the leader of the vanguard movement of our country if we are to believe the intended interview with Tambo on SABC is nothing more than furthering the interest of the ruling class. Our service "Release Mandela" has been banned, we have been denied attendance at the funerals of our many people who have been killed, the mothers of three brave young many were robbed of live were denied to bury there sons along with all their comrades. We shall not forget and reflect their interview with Tambo.

I.J. MOHAMED
3/9/83

No 19 26/8/83



SONG SHEET

Ben A. Cizet

1. Angena 'majoni amajoni aseAfrika (2x)
Masiye masiye kusebenaza
Umsebenzi waseAfrika (2x) ,
Umkhulu umkhulu lomsebenzi
Umsebenzi wenkhululeko (2X)
UMandela ufuna amajoni
Amajoni wenkhululeko. (2x)
 2. Kubi kubi ba siyaya siyaya noba kubi
Watsho Sisulu.... (Watsho Samson)
 3. Mandela wethu (somlandela 2x)' we shall follow him/her
Noba siyaboshwa (somlandela 2x) despite detention
Nase majele (somlandela) even in jail:
 4. Agget wethu
sofel' etilongweni Agget (2x) we're going to die in jail
(siyaya siyabuya) siyaya siyabuya we go in, we come out:--
sofel' etilongweni Agget wethu
 5. (Akanatyala akanatyala...)
Release those detainees whose only crime
Is to work for the freedom of all people in our time
Mandela...is our comrade, his only crime
Is to work for the freedom of all people in our time
Amandla ngawethu mayibuye amandla ngawethu iAfrika
UOscar Mphetha uyathathwa uOscar Mphetha akanatyala
 6. Bamthatha (2x) bambe ka eBrandfort /Island/ Central/ polsmoor/ Jo'burg
Wasuka wakhala wathi "AMANDLA" (2x)
Khawuthethe Winnie/ Nelson/ Dennis/ Mphetha/..Cedric...Rob...
Thetha thetha Winnie thetha
Thetha Winnie thetha khulul' isizwe (2x)
 7. Unzima lomthwalo ufuna manina
Unzima lomthwalo ufuna madoda
Asikhathali noba siyaboshwa
Sizimisele inkhululeko
 8. Simanyen' isizwe
Ayangena ayaphuma ayadidizela
Ayasaba amagwala (amaBhulu)
Wenangw' ebaleka
Ayasaba amagwala (amaBhulu)
 9. Phalele bonke etilongweni (2x)
(Hi)ne (hi)ne helele (2x)
Nanku nanku nanku Mandela/ Sisulu/ Rob/ Mandla/ Prema/ Sarish
Nanku nanku etilongweni
Hine helele' Afrika
Ai, zonkeni zonkeni
Phahlele bonke etilongweni (2x)
 10. Mandela Mandela
LEADER: Mandela, Mandela
OTHERS: Mandela says fight for freedom
L: Freedom is in our hands
O: " " " "
L: Show us the way to freedom
O: " " " "
L: In our land of Afrika
O: " " "
- Olihlahla Olihlahla Mandela
Freedom is in your hands
Show us the way to freedom
In this land of Afrika.

SONG SHEET :

1. Here come the Soldiers in, Soldiers of Africa x2
Let us go, go and/to work
The work of Africa x 2
This is great, great work
The work of Liberation x 2
Mandela wants Soldiers
Soldiers of Liberation x 2

2. It is bad, it is bad, we are going, we are going
Even if it is bad
So said Sisulu (said Samson)

3. Song 3 is Translated on Original.

4. Song 4 is Translated on Original.

5. (He is innocent, he is innocent)
Release those detainees whose only crime
Is to work for the freedom of all people in our time
Mandela is our Comrade, his only crime
Is to work for the freedom of all people in our time
Power is ours, Let it come back x 2
Oscar Mpetha is taken, Oscar Mpetha is not guilty.

6. They took him/her x 2 and put her/him
At Brandfort/Island/Central/Pollsmoor/Jo'burg
And then he/she cried Power! x 2
Speak Winnie/Nelson/Dennis/Mpetha/Cedric Rob
Speak Winnie Speak
Speak Winnie Speak, and Liberate the Nation.

7. This burden is heavy/difficult it needs you!
This burden is heavy/difficult it needs Men
We do not cry even if we are arrested
We want Liberation.

8. The Nation is United
They come in and go out, They are shaking
The Cowards are scared (the Boers)
Wow! There they run away
The Cowards are scared (the Boers).

9. They are all sleeping in Jail
Humming Humming x 2
Here is, here is, here is
Mandela/Sisulu/Rob/Mandela/Prema/Sarish
He is in Jail
Humming ... Humming Africa
Al (not clear)
They are all sitting in Jail.

10. Mandela, Mandela: This Song is in English.

WE SHALL NOT BE MOVED

We shall not, we shall not be moved
We shall not, we shall not be moved
Just like a tree that's standing by the water side
We shall not be moved.

The movement is behind us....

We are workers altogether....

We are fighting for our freedom....

We are not afraid of teargas.

Detentions don't deter us....

We'll stand and fight together....

SOLIDARITY FOREVER

When the movement's inspiration through the workers blood shall run
There could be no greater power anywhere beneath the sun
Yet what force on earth is weaker than the feeble strength of one
But the movement makes us strong

Solidarity forever (3x)....For the movement makes us strong

It is we who ploughed the fields, built the cities where they trade
Dug the mines and built the workshops, endless miles of railroad laid
~~How we stand outcast and starving neath the wonders we have made~~
But the movement makes us strong

They have taken untold millions that they never toiled to earn
But without our brain and muscle not a single wheel can turn
We can break their haughty power, gain our freedom when we learn
That the movement makes us strong

In our hands is placed a power greater than their hoarded gold
Greater than the might of atoms magnified a thousand fold
We can bring to birth a new world from the ashes of the old
For the movement makes us strong.

MESSAGE OF SUPPORT

Greetings to all our struggling people gathered here today at this founding conference of the United Democratic Front and remembering always our brave patriots in the oppressors prisons, those beyond our borders and those so cruelly robbed of life on whose achievements we build.

The day marks another march forward for the oppressed and democratic people on the long road to ridding our country of the scourge of racism, oppression and exploitation.

Let this gathering give us all new determination to send down more and more strong roots into the community, on the factory shop floor and building site, in the townships and towns, in the resettlement camps and rural areas, in the churches and mosques and in the schools, colleges and universities. Let this gathering give us new strength to unite, mobilize and organise all our people and let us go forward sparing neither effort nor courage to create a new South Africa based on the Freedom Charter of the oppressed people.

I.J. MOHAMED
PROFESSOR
CHAIRMAN TVL. ANTI- P.C.

AG25



DOROTHY NYEMBE WELCOME

I am honoured to speak briefly here today in the presence of some of those who shared all with Dorothy Nyembu and in presence of Mssisulu, Ma Mhlanzini,

1. We gather here to welcome Dorothy Nyembe and in that welcome
 - (a) We pay tribute to her long hard years of suffering.
In that tribute we acknowledge her suffering.

- (1) We see her suffering also as the suffering of all the woman who were and are incarcerated behind the grim grey walls of the oppressors dungeons
- Joyce Mashamba,.....Makhiese, Esther
Tandisa Maqungo, Fezive
That tribute

- (2) Acknowledges her suffering is a personification of the suffering of all the woman who suffered harassment, bannings, banishment
- Lilian Ngoye, Albertina Sisulu , Winnie Mandela
.....

That Tribute

- (3) Acknowledge her suffering is symbolic of all the many thousands of mothers who see their little ones with extended bellies and emaciated bodies but with breast that drain their last strengths from their bodies to preserve those little lives - the lives that will free our country.

- (b) That Tribute

- (4) acknowledges the sufferin of the mothers who have been robbed of the precious lives they brought into this world and we think particularly of Mahlangu, Magoerane Motuany, Mosolodi and very particularly of Benjamin Molrise who is now waiting in the death cell to be robbed of live. We remember the mothers whose children and husbands fell at Casingaand Maseru

- (b) We pay tribute to her because we acknowledge her role in advancing our struggle

That tribute

- (1) Acknowledge her role in advancing from the dump when we knocked at the doors of Government begging for admission to determinial demands to the right to rule and determine the destiny of our country

That tribute

- (2) Acknowledge her role in sparing on our daughters, wives and mothers to create the contidions in which our struggle for liberation will flourish

2. In paying tribute to Dorothy Nyembe you are today here also paying tribute to our determination to free our country from racism, oppression and exploitation. My heart always miss a beat when I hear you sing of our struggle for liberation. But

2. those fires of liberation are pulsating in the blood of all our people in- Kwa MASHU Lamontville, and Chatsworth, in, Crossroads and Mitchells Plain in Atteridgeville, Naladi and Eldorado Park ,in Petersburg, Tsaneen and Vryburg
In short those fires of freedom are pulsating throughout the body of our country from our most southern shores to our most northern borders , from our Western coast right to the borders of Botswana
You like all our people
-Are claiming our birthright
-We are determined to put to an end the schemes of those who play God over our lives
-We are claiming the right to be ruled by the people of our choice
-We are claiming a fair share of the wealth we produce and paid for by the broken bodies and lives of our people.
-We are claiming the right to redistribute but land amongst those who work it.
-We are claiming these rights in the land of our birth, in the soil that nurtured our ancestors, the soil that absorbed their flesh and blood. We claim our land whose every blade of grass, whose every grain of sand and whose every drop of water is a precious part of our heritage and we mean to leave a free and liberated land to our children and the generations to come.
3. In gathering here today we are also signifying that we shall achieve these things provided we stand together as a united people
-on the factory shop floor
-in the community
-in the school and universities
-in the churches
In short we must build our people into a massive anvil. We must build them into an anvil on which the beast that is destroying our people in detention and imprisonment in Magopa, Leandra and so many other places will meet its end. The beast that is at your neighbourstoday will surely be at your door tomorrow. We dare not be fooled by the so called new deals. They are simply designed to divide us and beat our struggle and give exploitation, oppression and racism a new lease of life.
5. Let the suffering of Dorethy Nyembe and of our leaders Mandela, Sisulu,----- always make us remember that we are helots in the land of our birth. Let our brave youth who paid the supreme sacrifice so that we can achieve freedom standto ourthat we have yet to gain our freedom.
Let our brave sons and daughters who have gone to do the much they believe to be done fire us with new levels of courage and determination to grasp our freedom and see the dawn of a new bright South Africa for all our people.

I.J. MOHAMED
TALK GIVEN AT DOROTHY NYEMBE
WELCOME, UNIVERSITY OF NORTH
PETERSBURG 25/3/84

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Political Prisoners

We have all heard a lot about Nelson Mandela, who is serving a life sentence on Robben Island. He is recognised by many as a great leader in the struggle for a just and democratic South Africa, but it is important to remember that he is not the only person to have contributed to and sacrificed for the struggle. Here, we want to look at a cross-section of South Africans who have been convicted for a variety of political activities.

Mandela was sentenced to life imprisonment during the Rivonia Trial (1963-1964) along with 7 others (Sisulu, Goldberg, Mbeki, Mhlaba, Matsoaledi, Mlangeni and Kathrada). During this trial the state alleged that the men had embarked on a campaign to overthrow the government by violent revolution and by assisting in an armed invasion of the country by foreign troops. They were charged under the suppression of Communism Act. The judge accepted that the saboteurs had been instructed not to kill or injure any person. This was a part of the ANC's policy of militant non-violence. The formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of Nation) arose out of a realisation that blacks either to accept inferiority or fight against it: all legal channels for negotiation had been destroyed by the state.

Mandela and Sisulu were founding members of Umkhonto. Sisulu joined the ANC in 1940, and his militancy influenced the development of the ANC Youth League. As Secretary General, he was banned for his activities in the 1952 Defiance Campaign, which encouraged passive resistance to discriminatory laws. In 1953 he travelled to Russia and China, and became increasingly sympathetic to socialist ideas. He supported the Multiracial Congress Alliance in 1954, despite his previous black nationalism. He continued to work for the ANC after it was banned, and was arrested in July 1963 in the Rivonia Raid, which led to a conviction and life sentence for 8 of the defendants.

One of the 8 was Dennis Goldberg, an engineer from UCI who became a member of the South African Communist Party, and was involved in organising for the 1955 Congress of the People, which signed the Freedom Charter. During the trial, it became evident that he was responsible for manufacturing sabotage devices used by Umkhonto.

Another of those convicted at Rivonia was Ahmed Kathrada, who was also very involved in ANC activities, and had served 2 banning orders already when he was put under house arrest in 1960. He escaped and was an underground leader of Umkhonto until his arrest at Rivonia, which led to life imprisonment on Robben Island.

The ANC has continued to recruit members inside and outside South Africa. One of many of these is James Mange, who left South Africa in 1976 to receive his military training at ANC military camps in Angola. He returned to South Africa in 1978 to plan an attack on the Whittlesea Police Station, but this was preempted by his arrest on a driving charge. During November 1979, Mange was tried with 11 other ANC members at the Treason Trial in Pietermaritzburg. The trial was characterised by the accuseds' consistent expression of contempt for the South African political system, in which they have no say and limited rights, and for the judicial system, whose laws legitimate the injustices in this society. Mange proved to be the most militant, constantly disrupting court proceedings by leading the accused in the singing and chanting of freedom songs and

slogans. Mange was sentenced to death for High Treason, and to 18 months imprisonment for contempt of court. In September 1980, he won his appeal, and his sentence was commuted to 20 years imprisonment.

Another significant Treason Trial was that held in Pietermaritzberg in 1977. Harry Gwala, Khanyile, Xaba, Nene, Magubane, Meyiwa, Ndebele, Mdalose, Nduli, and Mdhlovu were tried under the Terrorism and Suppression of Communism Acts. Harry Gwala was very active in trade unionism, especially in SACTU (South African Congress of Trade Unions), the trade union branch of the ANC. He served 8 years on Robben Island for recruiting people to undergo military training abroad. At the Maritzberg trial, along with the other 9, he pleaded not guilty. Mr Justice Howard said that the accused were 'dedicated revolutionaries...moved by a strong sense of grievance and frustration.' They were found guilty of 'terrorist' activities which were 'committed with intent to endanger the maintenance of law and order in South Africa.' Five of the accused (including Gwala-55 years old at the time) were imprisoned for life.

Passing on of information to groups considered dangerous by the state has also resulted in several convictions. One of these, Renfrew Christie, was a student at Wits, and became president of NUSAS in 1972, before studying at Oxford. At the time of his detention he was working as research fellow at SALDRU (South African Labour and Development Research Unit) at UCT. In October 1979 Christie was charged under the Terrorism Act, Internal Security Act, and the Atomic Energy Act.

While at Oxford, Christie was contacted by the ANC and asked to collect information on energy in South Africa. He was given a grant to do so by the IUEF (International University Education Fund), where Craig Williamson, ex-Wits SRC member and police spy, was well entrenched. During the trial, the defence stressed that the information which Christie was said to have given to the ANC was freely available to the public.

Judge Eloff recognised that Christie was a brilliant academic with a social conscience, yet Christie was sentenced to an effective 10 years imprisonment.

But it is not only people involved in the ANC who get convicted on political charges. Students challenging racist and inferior education are also considered dangerous to the state, because education is such an important weapon of control. Members of the Soweto Students Representative Council, (SSRC), formed during 1976, were put in this position despite their policy to avoid formal links with the ANC. Sechaba Montsitsi, the 3rd SSRC president, is still serving a sentence. He called for a boycott of exams in February 1977. While there was large division about strategy and principle amongst students in relation to this issue, the stand taken in April 1977 against rent increases, and the demands for the resignation of the Urban Bantu Council for having passively accepted these increases, was united and unequivocal. In June 1977, while preparations were being made for a June 16 Memorial Service, police swooped on a house on Diepkloof, and Montsitsi and 21 others were detained. They remained in detention for over a year before Montsitsi and 10 others were brought to trial on charges of sedition, and alternatively under the Terrorism Act.

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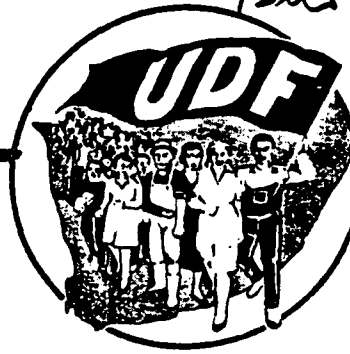


No (19) 26/8/87
(20) 28/9/87

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UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

UDF UNITES! APARTHEID DIVIDES!



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04 July 1984

No 19
26/7/84

Mr & Mrs Curtis and Family,

On behalf of the UDF and freedom-fighters of our country everywhere we send you our deepest sympathies at the loss of your daughter and her little child.

Jeannette Schoon

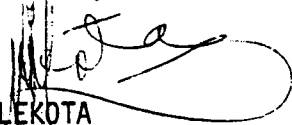
The death of any person always comes as a loss to the family involved but, that of a freedom-fighter like Jeannette, is one that extends far beyond the nuclear family. Black, White, Indian and Coloured South Africans are cast in gloom and seething anger at the perpetrators of her assassination.

As the Apartheid rulers of our country continue stubbornly to pursue their racial schemes our society is increasingly torn apart. Consequently, such incidents as Jeannette's assassination are becoming a daily occurrence. They underline the urgency for the eradication of Apartheid, the reconciliation of all South Africans on the basis of a democratic constitution, that will respect the humanity of all whatever their social standing. This is what your daughter lived for and gave her life to. It will remain to inspire us too.

Jeannette may be buried far away from her homeland but someday we shall bring her bones back and she will take her rightfully place side by side with other national heroes; and generations of our country's people will forever be grateful to her for her selfless sacrifice.

Fortitude, Friends, Fortitude! The screw of pain is mortal too!

Sincerely


P LEKOTA
PUBLICITY SECRETARY


P MOLEFE
GENERAL SECRETARY

American states, and the more collaborationist Western and Latin American states, are not monoliths. We need to understand the strengths, divisions and weaknesses within these States and groupings of States. If we are to make an effective intervention we cannot settle for easy simplistic analyses that ignore the complexity and precise character of international relations.

We need, in our international activities, to form a variety of types of relationships -with international organisations, states, political organisations, church groups, etc. In each case we have to form an assessment of the character of each such organisation or state. One cannot make certain requests of some types of states or of states in general. International relations are conducted in such a manner that we have to respect certain diplomatic conventions. (This is something that the Bolsheviks had to learn. At first they used the diplomatic bag to smuggle propaganda leaflets into their host countries. But gradually they came to distinguish the specific requirements of state-to -state relationships, that is, diplomatic relationships, from party activities)

Similarly, we need to be quite clear as to our expectations in any particular relationship. Certain states and organisations will genuinely assist us because they do support our struggle and do understand that it is a national liberation struggle. Other states and organisations may hope to drive a wedge between the various components of the forces struggling for liberation. Such states might try to mute the most advanced sections of the democratic movement, seek to transform our struggle into a civil rights movement and attempt to project a 'third force' outside or within our struggle.

The fact that certain states and organisations may not totally share our goals or may not share most of our goals, the fact that certain of their motives

in entering ~~a~~ relationship, may not coincide with ours, does not bar us from forming ~~a~~ relationship on terms favourable to us. Certainly it does not ~~mean~~ that such a relationship is without advantages for us.

We can ~~learn~~ from the international strategy of the Vietnamese in their epic struggle ~~against~~ imperialist occupation. At one stage the Vietnamese liberation ~~movement~~ sought United States support against the French colonialists. Then, in the ~~second~~ phase of struggle, after defeat of the French, the Vietnamese played off ~~the~~ French against the American imperialists.

Nevertheless, whatever relations we enter into, whatever diplomatic initiatives ~~we~~ undertake, must be measured against our overall goals. We must therefore ~~ask~~ when evaluating any particular action or possibility: does it or will it ~~advance~~ the struggle to end apartheid, either by widening and strengthening ~~the~~ anti-apartheid forces, and/or by weakening the regime and/or by ~~exposing~~ its criminal acts to the world and/or by loosening the ties between the ~~regime~~ and its sympathisers?

Alternatively, any activity that might diminish the power and prestige of the ~~democratic~~ forces against apartheid, any activity that might set the struggle back, must ~~obviously~~ be rejected.

Just as ~~the~~ UDF is formed internally on the basis of a united opposition to apartheid shared by a variety of groupings, externally it seeks support from all opponents of ~~apartheid~~. Our relations are generally with those who are sympathetic to the UDF ~~and~~ with which we share a generally similar understanding on a variety of issues. ~~We~~ have, also to be able to establish correct and principled relationships ~~not~~ only with such states and organisations. It may be very difficult to establish meaningful relationships with states which condemn apartheid on the one ~~hand~~, but whose internal policies may not be to our liking, or whose

attitudes on certain other issues may be in conflict with ours. It may, nevertheless, be in the interests of the UDF to establish and maintain such relationships -provided that they serve to advance our struggle.

If we are to conduct a sophisticated domestic and foreign policy, we have to be adept not only at direct attacks and responses, but also at spotting and exploiting differences in the enemy camp. Even with out-and-out reactionary governments our job is to make it more and more difficult for them to collaborate with apartheid. And within reactionary states, our quarrel is not with every party or organisation in such a state. Nor do we have any quarrel with the ordinary people who generally support our struggle.

These then are some of the considerations that should guide our international policy. How this has been pursued in relation to the elections and their aftermath, especially the consulate affair will now be considered. Finally, attention will be given to future priorities.

The Elections and their aftermath

During the recent elections for the new 'tricameral' parliament, the UDF sent letters to various national and international organisations and states, explaining its objection to the new constitution, emerging from a regime that has no right to govern the people of South Africa. It called for expressions of solidarity. Amongst the most significant were that of the late Indian Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi, who called for a boycott on the eve of the polls, and the unprecedented statement of the United Nations Security Council, declaring the new Constitution to be null and void.

Since the elections, the rising popular resistance has thrown the regime into a panic. Not only have leading democrats been arrested but state

terror has been unleashed against ordinary people on an unprecedented scale. It is in this context that we need to consider the British consulate affair and the recent visit of the British Labour representative on Southern Africa, Donald Anderson MP.

What would be the correct response for the UDF in this situation? The scale of repression appeared to signal a return to 'darker times' with a possible banning of UDF, wholesale banning of affiliates and leaders. The job of the UDF, it is suggested, was on the one hand to take defensive action, whatever action that could give our organisations protection. At the same time it had to intensify its offensive against the apartheid regime and its allies. In a changing situation it had to adopt flexible tactics in order to obtain maximum advantage. Its job was to ensure that whatever the regime sought to do to the democratic movement, would cost it a great deal, whether in internal resistance or increased international embarrassment and isolation. For every thing that is done to us we must try and exact a price, sufficiently dear to make the racists think before they attack us again.

(20)
1/10/87

After being freed by the Natal Supreme Court on the basis that their detention orders were defective, 5 UDF and Natal Indian Congress activists went underground. After the orders were modified, police launched a massive search for them. Had they simply given themselves up, these men would undoubtedly have been 'victims of apartheid'.

Instead of being objects of our pity and/or protest alone, the five UDF and NIC leaders, joined by Paul David, who was also being sought, presented themselves at the British Consulate and applied for temporary asylum.

Kader Hassim of APDUSA (before giving himself up to the police) suggested

that he didnt want to go to the consulate because he did not want to give Britain the opportunity of appearing to be the champion of South Africa's oppressed people. 'Britain is not an ally or friend of the oppressed and exploited people here or anywhere else. Britain, together with the other Western powers, are the technical advisers of the PW Botha Regime. (City Press 23.09.84)

Now I am sure that the Consulate Six had no illusions about Thatcher's government. Let us examine what they achieved, by creatively exploiting international contradictions:

Instead of giving themselves up and going meekly to prison, being leaders of the oppressed and democratic movement, they took the initiative and created an entirely new theatre of struggle.

* This threw into the international limelight the repression of democratic leaders, whose 'offence' was to have campaigned against the racist constitution of an illegitimate regime. The popular victory against the constitution, which was well-known within the country, became internationally publicised.

They were thus able to externalise and take forward the offensive around the constitutional 'reforms' by providing an international issue throughwhich the allies of the South African people could focus attention on the various atrocities being perpetrated by the apartheid regime

* This wiped out what 'gains' had been made in PW Botha's European tour in 'respectabilising' the regime -and upstaged his inauguration.

* Though activists have always known where Thatcher and Reagan stand, the consulate affair demonstrated ^{this reality} before the masses of South Africa and the world, ~~this reality~~, through their overt support for the racist government.

- * The UDF nevertheless appealed over the heads of Thatcher and Reagan to the people of their countries and democrats throughout the world. The result was a pressure which prevented the ejection of the people from the consulate.

- * Simultaneously, these events drove a wedge between the South African and the Thatcher regimes. The UK government was unable to kick the UDF leaders out. South Africa was unable to march into the consulate and retaliated by refusing to send its alleged arms smugglers back to Britain. The result was increased tension between 'friends'. One symptom of this tension was the United Kingdom's voting in favour of militant anti-apartheid resolution in the UN Security Council. Normally they would abstain or veto such resolutions.

- * These actions drove a further wedge within the western Five. While the UK and US were demonstrated to be collaborators, France sought to distance itself, with an unprecedented appearance before the special committee against apartheid.

- * The consulate made use of international media coverage to speak about events well beyond their own personal situation. Their occupation of the consulate provided a means for throwing the spotlight on racist repression in general, whether through detentions, shooting in the townships or other violence. It is unprecedented that we should read a statement by Archie Gumede, Billy Nair and Paul David, on the front pages not only of overseas newspapers but as the lead story of our own newspapers. In the Star of 18.10.84 we read of their call on the government that in the interests of peaceful change to stop all police violence in the Vaal Triangle, meet the demands of the people in this area, return the four men to London to face charges of arms smuggling, stop all acts of denigration and threats against the United Democratic Front, and undertake to scrap detention without trial.

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excessive

The visit of Mr Donald Anderson provided ~~unprecedented~~ coverage of police violence, genuine popular grievances and focussed repeated attention on the UDF. Never before has the UDF had so much opportunity to present its case through the media. The fact that the British Labour Party has taken up the issue ~~so~~ forcefully also ~~provides UDF with some protection, that would not have been~~ *so* ~~received~~ had it not made such contacts. *makes it more difficult for the state to act against UDF*

The Future

Despite this great success, there is still much that needs to be done before the UDF can develop an adequate international presence, as an important factor in the struggle for national liberation in South Africa.

The UDF needs to deepen and widen its links and activities on this front. It should increase its contacts with States, the United Nations, OAU, Commonwealth, Nonaligned movement, political, women, students, church and other organisations sympathetic to our struggle. These organisations and States need to be supplied with regular information to facilitate their campaign to isolate the regime.

The UDF and its affiliates are in a position to publicise the indiscriminate repression against blacks that the regime attempts to conceal. We must ensure that the truth is known in all corners of the earth.

We need to continually assert that the present minority regime has no right to represent the people of South Africa, whether inside or outside the country. The fact that the people do not and have never governed South Africa needs to be stressed as part of the struggle to combat attempts to characterise the people's struggle as being for civil rights. We must clearly state that ours is a struggle for self-determination, for the national liberation of the people of South Africa

*26
23/1/87*