

HAN HANSEL "C"

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MR NELSON MANDELA'S RESPONSE TO PRESIDENT P W
BOTHAS OFFER MADE IN PARLIAMENT

AAZ(13)

ADDRESS GIVEN TO THE PEOPLE AT JABULANI AMPHITHEATRE BY
ZINDZI MANDELA ON SUNDAY THE 10th FEBRUARY 1985.

ON FRIDAY MY MOTHER AND OUR ATTORNEY SAW MY FATHER AT POLLSMOOR PRISON TO OBTAIN HIS ANSWER TO BOTHAS OFFER OF CONDITIONAL RELEASE.

THE PRISON AUTHORITIES ATTEMPTED TO STOP THIS STATEMENT BEING MADE BUT HE WOULD HAVE NONE OF THIS AND MADE IT CLEAR THAT HE WOULD MAKE THE STATEMENT TO YOU, THE PEOPLE.

STRANGERS LIKE BETHELL FROM ENGLAND AND PROFESSOR DASH FROM THE UNITED STATES HAVE IN RECENT WEEKS BEEN AUTHORISED BY PRETORIA TO SEE MY FATHER WITHOUT RESTRICTION YET PRETORIA CANNOT ALLOW YOU, THE PEOPLE, TO HEAR WHAT HE HAS TO SAY DIRECTLY. HE SHOULD BE HERE HIMSELF TO TELL YOU WHAT HE THINKS OF THIS STATEMENT BY BOTHAS. HE IS NOT ALLOWED TO DO SO. MY MOTHER WHO ALSO HEARD HIS WORDS IS ALSO NOT ALLOWED TO SPEAK TO YOU TODAY.

MY FATHER AND HIS COMRADES AT POLLSMOOR PRISON SEND THEIR GREETINGS TO YOU THE FREEDOM LOVING PEOPLE OF THIS OUR TRAGIC LAND IN THE FULL CONFIDENCE THAT YOU WILL CARRY ON THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM.

HE, WITH HIS COMRADES AT POLLSMOOR PRISON SEND THEIR VERY WARMEST GREETINGS TO BISHOP TUTU. BISHOP TUTU HAS MADE IT CLEAR TO THE WORLD THAT THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE BELONGS TO YOU WHO ARE THE PEOPLE. WE SALUTE HIM.

MY FATHER AND HIS COMRADES AT POLLSMOOR PRISON ARE GRATEFUL TO THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT WHO WITHOUT HESITATION MADE THIS VENUE AVAILABLE TO THEM SO THAT THEY COULD SPEAK TO YOU TODAY.

MY FATHER AND HIS COMRADES WISH TO MAKE THIS STATEMENT TO YOU, THE PEOPLE, FIRST. THEY ARE CLEAR THAT THEY ARE ACCOUNTABLE TO YOU AND TO YOU ALONE. AND THAT YOU SHOULD HEAR THEIR VIEWS

DIRECTLY AND NOT THROUGH OTHERS.

MY FATHER SPEAKS NOT ONLY FOR HIMSELF AND FOR HIS COMRADES AT POLLSMOOR PRISON BUT HE HOPES HE ALSO SPEAKS FOR ALL THOSE IN JAIL FOR THEIR OPPOSITION TO APARTHEID, FOR ALL THOSE WHO ARE BANISHED, FOR ALL THOSE WHO ARE IN EXILE, FOR ALL THOSE WHO SUFFER UNDER APARTHEID, FOR ALL THOSE WHO ARE OPPONENTS OF APARTHEID AND FOR ALL THOSE WHO ARE OPPRESSED AND EXPLOITED.

THROUGHOUT OUR STRUGGLE THERE HAVE BEEN PUPPETS WHO HAVE CLAIMED TO SPEAK FOR YOU. THEY HAVE MADE THIS CLAIM, BOTH HERE AND ABROAD. THEY ARE OF NO CONSEQUENCE. MY FATHER AND HIS COLLEAGUES WILL NOT BE LIKE THEM.

MY FATHER SAYS I AM A MEMBER OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS. I HAVE ALWAYS BEEN A MEMBER OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS AND I WILL REMAIN A MEMBER OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS UNTIL THE DAY I DIE. OLIVER TAMBO IS MUCH MORE THAN A BROTHER TO ME. HE IS MY GREATEST FRIEND AND COMRADE FOR NEARLY FIFTY YEARS. IF THERE IS ANY ONE AMONGST YOU WHO CHERISHES MY FREEDOM OLIVER TAMBO CHERISHES IT MORE AND I KNOW THAT HE WOULD GIVE HIS LIFE TO SEE ME FREE. THERE IS NO DIFFERENCE BETWEEN HIS VIEWS AND MINE.

MY FATHER SAYS I AM SURPRISED AT THE CONDITIONS THAT THE GOVERNMENT WANTS TO IMPOSE ON ME. I AM NOT A VIOLENT MAN. MY COLLEAGUES AND I WROTE IN 1952 TO MALAN ASKING FOR A ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE TO FIND A SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEMS OF OUR COUNTRY BUT THAT WAS IGNORED.

WHEN STRIJDOM WAS IN POWER, WE MADE THE SAME OFFER. AGAIN IT WAS IGNORED.

WHEN VERWOERD WAS IN POWER WE ASKED FOR A NATIONAL CONVENTION FOR ALL THE PEOPLE IN SOUTH AFRICA TO DECIDE ON THEIR FUTURE. THIS TOO, WAS IN VAIN.

IT WAS ONLY THEN WHEN ALL OTHER FORMS OF RESISTANCE WERE NO LONGER OPEN TO US THAT WE TURNED TO ARMED STRUGGLE.

LET BOTHA SHOW THAT HE IS DIFFERENT TO MALAN, STRIJDOM AND VERWOERD.

LET HIM RENOUNCE VIOLENCE.

LET HIM SAY THAT HE WILL DISMANTLE APARTHEID.

LET HIM UNBAN THE PEOPLES ORGANISATION, THE
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

LET HIM FREE ALL WHO HAVE BEEN IMPRISONED
BANISHED OR EXILED FOR THEIR OPPOSITION TO
APARTHEID.

LET HIM GUARANTEE FREE POLITICAL ACTIVITY SO
THAT THE PEOPLE MAY DECIDE WHO WILL GOVERN THEM.

I CHERISH MY OWN FREEDOM DEARLY BUT I CARE EVEN
MORE FOR YOUR FREEDOM. TOO MANY HAVE DIED SINCE
I WENT TO PRISON. TOO MANY HAVE SUFFERED FOR THE
LOVE OF FREEDOM. I OWE IT TO THEIR WIDOWS, TO
THEIR ORPHANS, TO THEIR MOTHERS AND TO THEIR
FATHERS WHO HAVE GRIEVED AND WEPT FOR THEM. NOT
ONLY I HAVE SUFFERED DURING THESE LONG LONELY
WASTED YEARS. I AM NOT LESS LIFE LOVING THAN YOU
ARE. BUT I CANNOT SELL MY BIRTHRIGHT NOR AM I
PREPARED TO SELL THE BIRTHRIGHT OF THE PEOPLE TO
BE FREE. I AM IN PRISON AS THE REPRESENTATIVE OF
THE PEOPLE AND OF YOUR ORGANISATION THE AFRICAN
NATIONAL CONGRESS WHICH WAS BANNED. WHAT FREEDOM
AM I BEING OFFERED WHILST THE ORGANISATION OF
THE PEOPLE REMAINS BANNED. WHAT FREEDOM AM I
BEING OFFERED WHEN I MAY BE ARRESTED ON A PASS
OFFENCE. WHAT FREEDOM AM I BEING OFFERED TO LIVE
MY LIFE AS A FAMILY WITH MY DEAR WIFE WHO
REMAINS IN BANISHMENT IN BRANDFORT. WHAT FREEDOM
AM I BEING OFFERED WHEN I MUST ASK FOR
PERMISSION TO LIVE IN AN URBAN AREA. WHAT
FREEDOM AM I BEING OFFERED WHEN I NEED A STAMP
IN MY PASS TO SEEK WORK. WHAT FREEDOM AM I BEING
OFFERED WHEN MY VERY SOUTH AFRICAN CITIZENSHIP
IS NOT RESPECTED.

ONLY FREE MEN CAN NEGOTIATE. PRISONERS CANNOT
ENTER INTO CONTRACTS. HERMAN TOIVO JA TOIVO,
WHEN FREED, NEVER GAVE ANY UNDERTAKING, NOR WAS
HE CALLED UPON TO DO SO. MY FATHER SAYS I CANNOT
AND WILL NOT GIVE ANY UNDERTAKING AT A TIME WHEN
I AND YOU THE PEOPLE ARE NOT FREE. YOUR FREEDOM
AND MINE CANNOT BE SEPERATED. I WILL RETURN.

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