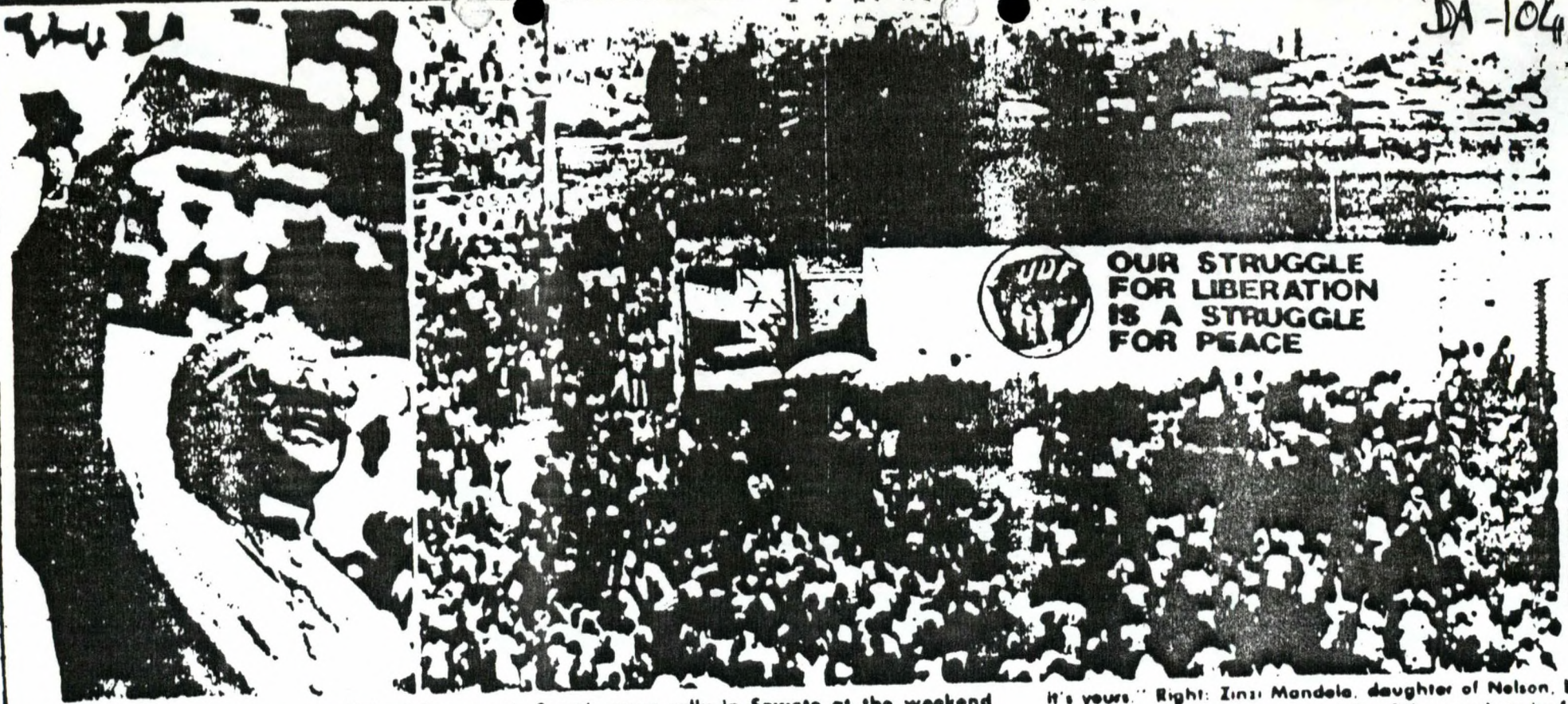


DA-104



Moments of drama during the United Democratic Front's mass rally in Soweto at the weekend. Left: Nobel laureate Bishop Desmond Tutu holds the Peace Prize medal up to the crowd, saying: "Take it.

It's yours." Right: Zinzi Mandela, daughter of Nelson, brings me my birthright, not the birthright of the people to be free."

First unban the ANC — M

This is the full text of Nelson Mandela's response to the conditional offer of freedom made in Parliament by the State President, Mr P W Botha. It was read by his daughter Zinzi.

"On Friday my mother and our attorney saw my father at Pollsmoor Prison to obtain his answer to Botha's offer of conditional release.

"The prison authorities attempted to stop this statement being made but he would have none of this and made it clear that he would make the statement to you, the people.

"Strangers like Bethell from England and Professor Dash from the United States have in recent weeks been authorised by Pretoria to see my father without restriction yet Pretoria cannot allow you, the people, to hear what he has to say directly. He should be here himself to tell you what he thinks of this statement by Botha. He is

Rejection hits UK headlines

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It was only then we were no longer open to us that we

Let Botha show that word
Let him renounce violence
Let him say that he will
Let him unban the party
Congress

Let him free all who
for their opposition to a
Let him guarantee freedom
decide who will govern

I cherish my own freedom
Too many have suffered for the loss of

Moments of drama during the United Democratic Front's mass rally in Soweto at the weekend. Left: Nobel laureate Bishop Desmond Tutu holds the Peace Prize medal up to the crowd, saying: "Take it,

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First unban the ANC — Man

STAK 11/21/85 (B)

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"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, sends his 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

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Several correspondents note that Mandela appeared to leave open the possibility of negotiations with the Government

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

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

"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 longer open to us that we turned to armed s

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"I am not less life-loving than you ar birthright, nor am I prepared to sell the b be free. I am in prison as the representa your organisation, the African Nation, banned. What freedom am I being offered the people remains banned? What freedom I may be arrested on a pass offence? V offered to live my life as a family with r in banishment in Brandfont. What freedom I must ask for permission to live in an u am I being offered when I need a stamp. What freedom am I being offered whe citizenship is not respected."

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...Front's mass rally in Soweto at the weekend.
...the Peace Prize medal up to the crowd, saying: "Take it,

It's yours." Right: Zinzi Mandela, daughter of Nelson, brings her father's message from jail: "I cannot sell my birthright, nor the birthright of the people to be free."
Pictures by Juda Ngwenya.

Unban the ANC — Mandela

STAR 11/2/85

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It was only then when all other forms of resistance were no longer open to us that we turned to armed struggle.

Let Botha show that he is different to Malan, Strijdom and Verwoerd.

Let him renounce violence.

Let him say that he will dismantle apartheid.

Let him unban the people's organisation, the African National Congress.

Let him free all who have been imprisoned, banished or exiled for their opposition to apartheid.

Let him guarantee free political activity so that 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 while the organisation of the people remains banned? What freedom am I being offered when I may be arrested on a pass offence? What freedom am I being offered to live my life as a family with my dear wife who remains in banishment in Brandfort? What freedom am I being offered when I must ask for permission to live in an urban area? What freedom am I being offered when I need a stamp in my pass to seek work? What freedom am I being offered when my very South African citizenship is not respected?"

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

"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 separated. I will return.' Sapa

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I'm a leader by default, says Tutu

By Jo-Anne Collinge

Two men dominated the gathering of thousands in Soweto yesterday when the Nobel Peace Prize was brought "home" to the people of South Africa.

They were Bishop Desmond Tutu, who stood before the crowd with the prize medal in his hand, and Nelson Mandela, more than a thousand kilometres away in a prison cell in Cape Town.

Bishop Tutu, head of the Anglican Diocese of Johannesburg and patron of the United Democratic Front (UDF), said he and others like him were leaders by default because the true leaders had been jailed or exiled.

"Many of you young people here have never heard the likes of Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu or Oliver Tambo speak," he told the crowd in the massive UDF rally organised in his honour.

"These are the people the system says have been put into cold storage. But when I say to you 'Who are your leaders?' — there is absolutely no doubt."

Applause and chanting made clear the support the jailed and exiled African National Congress men command.

The bishop said the popular leaders of South Africa were not bloodthirsty, and were honoured elsewhere in the world.

The bishop warned "There is no hope for peace in this land until they (the present rulers) talk to our leaders."

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It's yours." Right: Zinzi Mandela, daughter of Nelson, brings her father's message from jail: "I cannot sell my birthright, nor the birthright of the people to be free."

Pictures by Juda Ngwenye

The ANC — Mandela

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SNK 11/2/85

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