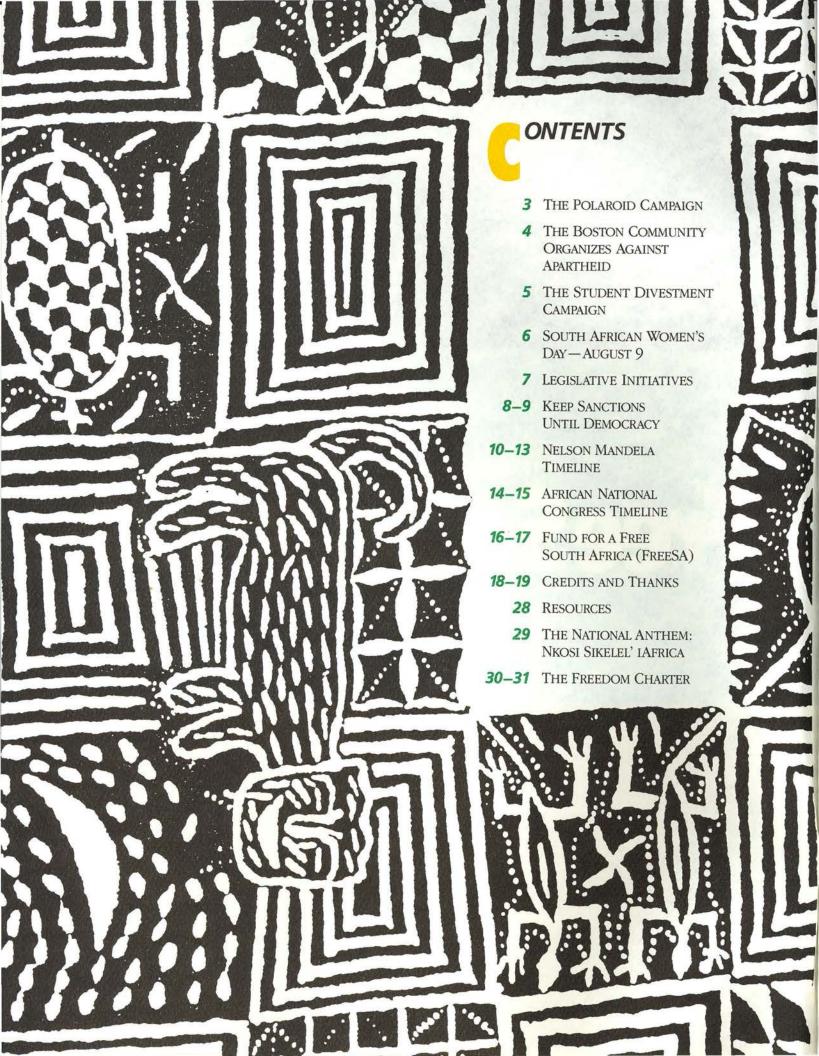
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A TRIBUTE TO NELSON MANDELA

# Free South Africa

Boston, Massachusetts · June 23, 1990





# HE POLAROID CAMPAIGN

THE MASSACHUSETTS MOVEMENT to disengage American society and business from apartheid was launched in October of 1969 when two courageous and committed workers at the Polaroid Corporation, Caroline Hunter and Ken Williams, protested that company's involvement in the South African pass system through the "Instant

I.D. 2 System." This photographic process was being used by the South African government as part of their Pass Law system that required all blacks to carry a pass book, used mainly to control their movements.

Establishing the Polaroid Revolutionary Workers Movement, Hunter and Williams staged a series of protest and leaflet campaigns that cost them their jobs. Ultimately, however, their actions led Polaroid to attempt a kind of precursor to the "Sullivan Code" approach, and then, in keeping with assertions of the prodemocracy forces in South Africa that such business involvement adds more strength to the system than to its opponents, to pull out of South Africa altogether.

# Polarised protest

TE one Sunday afternoon Late one Sunday afternoon

last October. a group of

black employees: plasterd the
walls of the Polaroid Corporation buildings with mineographed leaflets. When
ographed leaflets. arrived
their fellow workers arrived
for work on Monday morning,
they were confronted everytor work on aionasy morning, they were confronted every-where with "Polaroid imprisons black people in 60 seconds"

seconds.

Polaroid was singled out because it sold film for use in the South African Governin the South African Governin the South African Governing the South African Governing the South African Governing the South African Governing the South South State South Sta in the South African Government's passbook system—one
ment's passbook system—one
a Government representing
three million whites controls
the movements of 16 million
non-whites.

Paleroid responded to ye polaroid responded to rain demand from employees to end this trade by annuuncing that it would no longer scill its film to the South African

Its film to the South American Now some other trade or companies which trade or have investments at the degree of they see as a test case run by black militants who whould like to harass other corporate giants on the same corporate siding apartheid. The apartheid corporation had corporation had chase Manhattan Hank authors heen picketed by authors partheid forces before the apartheid decision. like to harass other grounds

# Robert Maynard reports from Cambridge, Mass.

But there is another important side to this particular to case. That is the extent to which the South African which the South African issue was only a symptom of grievances by plack employees against the Polaroid Corpora-

Mithough South Africa has tion management. become one of the symbols of trustration among the 1,000 trustration among the 1,000 black employees; (out of about 10,000) at Polaroid, it was not the primary source. The employees to the constraint policies of the constraint policies of the constraint policies of the constraint policies. 10,000) at Polaroid, it was not the primary source. The employment policies of the company of which are pany many of evoked and being changed, being changed, being changed the present anger that fuelled the present showed that blacks were being showed that blacks were being haid. 22 per cent less than paid 22 per cent less than whites doing the same jobs. Blacks are linding promotion. Blacks are linding promotions slow that there is a quota on the number of blacks, who are highest.

New the company feels it is a linear white promotion, and a linear white promotion, a linear white linear whit hirad:

"even equal to whites, the white people feel blacks are white people feel blacks are getting preferential treatment, and a black official of the company, Harry Relations of the Community Relations of the Community said that "the Lepartment, said that "the white backlash here is a serious problem."

serious problem."

To many of the blacks, however, the concern with white backlash appears as nothing backlash appears as nothing more than officially sanctioned racialism. Morgan said: "I find that they do work."

I find that they do work."

But many blacks at polaroid. But many blacks at polaroid see them as further evidence of racialism.

South Africa's policy of

"South Africa's policy of perand apartheid" hecamo grand apartneid became the black revolution in America has become more and more concerned with the fate of blacks elsewhere... When the problem of South Africa came un two years ago," redected prontem or South Africa came
up two years ago, redected
Robert Palmer, pelaroid's
roumunity relations director,
community relations director,
reserval ufficials of the company said there were other
pany said there were other
priorities, such as sales probpany said there were officer priorities, such as sales prob-lems and internal problems, that had to come before

Africa. Africa was, after all, 10,000 miles away as far as most people around here were concerned."

concerned."

Charles Hightower, of the American Committee on Africa based in Washington. Africa based in Washington. Africa based in Washington. Africa corporations will force major corporations will force major corporations will force attitude. Hightower says attitude. Hightower and African culture were not African culture were not culture. Are not culture among American respectable among American respectable among we witness Negroes. Today, we witness in the specific case of Polaroid in the specific case of Polaroid deciding to put their johs and deciding to put their johs and their futures on the line to their employer in South of their employer in South of their employer in South

Afrida."

Afrida The Washington Post





# HE BOSTON COMMUNITY

## ORGANIZES AGAINST APARTHEID

THE BOSTON COMMITTEE FOR THE Liberation of Southern Africa (BCLSA) was formed following the Soweto uprising in 1976 and included representatives of the African National Congress and Boston area solidarity and student groups. The BCLSA, led by Themba Vilakazi, worked to draw attention to the oppressive character of apartheid, and to highlight its significance for women, especially following the banning of Winnie Mandela. One BCLSA campaign called for a boycott of the First National Bank of Boston because of its investments in South Africa.

TransAfrica's first local chapter was the Boston Chapter, founded in 1978 by Willard Johnson. In support of the Free South Africa Movement demonstrations at the South African Embassy in Washington, the TransAfrica Boston Chapter founded the Boston Free South Africa Movement as a coalition with the other local anti-apartheid groups.

This movement not only succeeded in convincing the South African Honorary Counsul to resign, but after eight months of demonstrations and scores of arrests of prominent community, religious and academic leaders and



DR. WILLARD JOHNSON, REPRESENTATIVE MEL KING, COUNCILLOR CHARLES YANCEY (*LEFT TO RIGHT*) WERE AMONG THE ACTIVISTS THAT SUCCEEDED IN CONVINCING THE SOUTH AFRICAN HONORARY CONSUL TO RESIGN.

elected officials including George Wald, Williard Johnson Steve Lewis, Karen Fields, Bill Sutherland and Marily Richardson. The campaign convinced the Deak-Perrera Company, the country's largest currency and precious coins dealer, to cease to handle the Krugerrand, South Africa's gold coin. These demonstrations were instrumental in the national ban on Krugerrand sales as part of the 1986 national comprehensive sanctions bill.

Locally, Shell Oil, a company with major holdings in South Africa, was boycotted by a coalition of labor unions and community organizations, successfully impacting on sales. Charles Laquidara and Katy Abel of WBCN Radio helped organize the "Shell Shock" campaign in 1988, which called on listeners with Shell Oil credit cards to return them to the company. By the end of the campaign well over 1,000 listeners had responded.

"POLITICAL DECISION BASED ON COLOUR IS ENTIRELY ARTIFICIAL AND, WHEN IT DISAPPEARS, SO WILL THE DOMINATION OF ONE COLOUR AGAINST ANOTHER."

Nelson Mandela at the Rivonia Trial, 1964





I FN SHIB PH





# HE STUDENT DIVESTMENT

## **CAMPAIGN**

THE STUDENT DIVESTMENT MOVEMENT in Massachusetts commenced in the early 1970s with demonstrations at Harvard University under the leadership of Law School student Randall Robinson and Divinity School student Chris Nteta, to have the university divest itself of its vast holdings in companies involved throughout oppressed Southern Africa. One such company, Gulf Company in Angola, subsequently became the target of a national boycott organized by Robinson, Willard Johnson and others who would later found TransAfrica.



"WE CALL ON OUR WHITE COM-PATRIOTS TO JOIN US IN THE SHAPING OF A NEW SOUTH AFRICA."

Nelson Mandela at Cape Town, February 11, 1990

In 1977, Hampshire College became the first in the nation to divest its endowment of holdings in firms with investments in South Africa. Following suit was Smith College and statewide demonstrations, protests and sit-ins by students at many other colleges



LINCOLN-SUDBURY REGIONAL HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS PARTICIPATE IN A STUDENTS RALLY ON THE BOSTON COMMON.



and universities, including Tufts University, Brandeis, M.I.T., Boston University, Clark University, and the University of Massachusetts at Amherst.

The divestment movement at Harvard has expanded to the

alumni, who have sought to elect pro-divestment candidates to the Board of Overseers. Bishop Desmond Tutu holds a seat on the Board as a result of these efforts.





# OUTH AFRICAN WOMEN'S DAY— AUGUST 9

"Now you have touched the women You have struck a rock You have dislodged a boulder You will be crushed."

> Women's Anti-Pass Campaign Song, 1956

In 1955 the government of South Africa announced that African women would be issued passes. Up until then, only men had been required to carry passes.

The first big protest against passes for women took place in October 1955 with 2,000 women, converging on Pretoria.

The women's anti-pass movement, lead by Lilian Ngoyi, President of the Women's Federation, grew as marches and demonstrations took place nationwide. On August 9, 1956, 20,000 women from all over the country assembled in Pretoria to protest. Women were eventually forced to carry pass books, but in honor of the courageous resistance displayed by so many women, August 9 has since been designated "Women's Day" in South Africa.

In 1985, Women for Racial and Economic Equality organized a South African Women's Day march in Boston to pay tribute to the valiant struggle being waged by the women of South Africa.



JUANITA WADE PARTICIPATING IN A SOUTH AFRICAN WOMEN'S DAY CELEBRATION, AUGUST 9, 1986.





## **EGISLATIVE** INITIATIVES

INSPIRED BY AFRICAN NATIONAL Congress and Zimbabwe liberation movement leadership, State Representative Mel King introduced legislation in 1976 to prohibit the state from purchasing South African, Rhodesian and Portuguese colonial goods and to restrict the use of Massachusetts ports for imports from these areas, and to deny tax and other privileges to businesses with trade or investment ties to them.

"OUR FIGHT IS AGAINST REAL, AND NOT IMAGINARY, HARDSHIPS... BASICALLY, WE FIGHT AGAINST TWO FEATURES WHICH ARE THE HALLMARKS OF AFRICAN LIFE IN SOUTH AFRICA...THESE FEATURES ARE POVERTY AND LACK OF HUMAN DIGNITY..."

Nelson Mandela at the Rivonia Trial, 1964

While this legislation was unsuccessful, in 1977, Massachusetts became the first state to pass a resolution encouraging corporations licensed in the state to end their business involvement in South Africa and two years later banned new investment of pension funds in such corporations and banks with

South Africa connections.

Movement toward divestment in Massachusetts quickened in 1980 with the introduction of a bill by Rep. Mel King and Sen. Jack Backman to require divestment of state employee and public school teachers' pension funds from all firms "doing business in or with South Africa." It was the most comprehensive state divestment legislation at the time.

To support this legislative initiative, Boston Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa, the African Liberation Support Committee, TransAfrica Boston and others then created Mass-Divest, which grouped together more than fifty organizations.

The act finally became law in 1983, and has brought about the divestment of millions of dollars

of South Africa related assets. Subsequently, Boston and Cambridge also have passed ordinances to divest pension funds of South Africa connections and to prevent purchases from businesses with South African ties. In Boston, the ordinance was co-sponsored by Councillors Charles Yancey and Bruce Bolling, and in Cambridge by Councillor Saundra Graham.

In January 1988, Governor Michael Dukakis signed an executive order banning purchases by the state from companies doing business in South Africa.

The latest effort of the Massachusetts movement is to promote a "selective purchase bill" sponsored by Representative Byron Rushing that would restrict the state government from purchasing from businesses with South African ties.









SOUTH AFRICA IS A LAND OF EXTREME WEALTH FOR THE WHITE minority and extreme poverty for the oppressed majority. Whites, 16 percent of the population, receive more than 60 percent of all income, making them among the richest people in the world and the country's blacks among the poorest.

From the arrival of the first white settlers in the mid-17th century, blacks have been excluded from decision making. They have been relegated to the most menial jobs and the least productive land. Through their superior armed force, the white minority has created a racially segregated society that allows

for white domination in land ownership, the legal sys-

tem, administration,

distribution of wealth and in every sphere of social relations.

Apartheid ("separateness") officially

came into being with the

victory of the Afrikaaner

Nationalist Party in 1948. Their apartheid policy has created a

complex network of laws to control and direct the black population. Apartheid is a form of violence that operates every moment of every day.

Under apartheid the black majority is divided into three main population groups—African, Colored and Indian. Areas of land have been identified for each racial group, the best land being reserved for whites.

It is estimated that by 1983 at least 3.5 million people had been uprooted and "resettled" elsewhere in the attempt to redraw the map of South Africa along apartheid lines. Under the new map, Africans, who make up 73 percent of the population are forced onto 13 percent of the land.

Nelson Mandela, like other Africans, cannot vote. The white government created legislative bodies for the Colored and Indian populations in 1986, but these entities exercise no real control and are at the mercy of the white parliament.

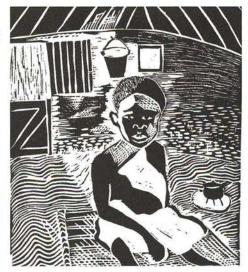
It is 30 years since the African National Congress first issued a call for an economic isolation of South Africa. The ANC was at that time under the leadership of Albert Luthuli, the first Nobel Peace Laureate from South Africa. That call was echoed as early as 1962 by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., who observed that in apartheid, the world was witnessing the reincarnation of the nightmarish ideology and practices of naziism.



According to a report of the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Africa, "the net effect of American investment has been to strengthen the economic and military self-sufficiency of South Africa's apartheid regime." U.S. investment has tended to concentrate in the most crucial sectors of the South African economy—automobiles, oil and energy, and computers. By strengthening the apartheid economy, U.S. involvement served to increase the ability of the white minority government to preserve its power.

Economic sanctions offer the international community a means of contributing to the process of transformation in South Africa, and of imposing a greater morality on the operations of the world economy.

There are some who say that if U.S. corporations stay in South Africa, but demand integration of workplace facilities, they can have a greater impact on South Africa. A few integrated workplaces, however, will exercise no leverage on the South African government to abolish the apartheid system; only withdrawal of U.S. corporations from the South African economy relieving the government of crucial international financial support will exert that crucial leverage. This has been demonstrated by the willingness of the deKlerk government



to begin a dialogue with the African National Congress. The economy of South Africa will never succeed as long as strong sanctions are in place. It is this pressure that will insure that the dialogue will continue and eventually lead to the creation of a free, democratic and non-racial government.



"I HAVE FOUGHT AGAINST WHITE
DOMINATION, AND I HAVE FOUGHT
AGAINST BLACK DOMINATION, AND
I HAVE CHERISHED THE IDEAL OF
DEMOCRATIC AND FREE SOCIETY IN
WHICH ALL PERSONS LIVE TOGETHER
IN HARMONY AND WITH EQUAL
OPPORTUNITIES. IT IS AN IDEAL WHICH
I HOPE TO LIVE FOR AND TO ACHIEVE.
BUT IF NEEDS BE, IT IS AN IDEAL FOR
WHICH I AM PREPARED TO DIE."

Nelson Mandela at the Rivonia Trial, 1964

Some say that blacks in South Africa suffer most from the economic crisis that is a result of economic sanctions. Apartheid has resulted in far greater suffering. The oppressed in South Africa will press on with their struggle for justice, irrespective of the costs entailed in the pursuit of this goal. It is precisely to reduce the costs in human blood that black South Africans have been willing to pay the price and face the sacrifices that are necessarily entailed in the disruption of the South African economy.

U.S. sanctions have been a significant factor in the success of the democratic movement in South Africa. Internationally, sanctions have cost the South African regime more than \$32 billion dollars since 1985. Sanctions have worked. It is essential that the economic isolation of the South African government be maintained and strengthened until the establishment of a just and democratic order.

Shortly after his release, Nelson Mandela said, "We call on the international community to continue the campaign to isolate the apartheid regime. To lift sanctions now would be to run the risk of aborting the process toward the complete eradication of apartheid."

Keep Sanctions Until Democracy!







## 1918

18 July: Rolihlaha Nelson Dalibhunga Mandela is born to Henry Gadla Mphakanyiswa and Nosekeni Fanny Mandela at Mbhashe in the Umtama district.

## 1927

Henry Mandela dies, entrusting his son to his close relative, Acting Paramount Chief of the Thembus, Jongintaba David Dalindyebo. Mandela attends school in the area.

## 1939

Enrolls at Fort Hare.

## 1940

Mandela is expelled from Fort Hare because of participation in a strike. He sets out for Johannesburg.

## **1941**He arrives

He arrives in Johannesburg and is employed at Crown Mines as a mine policeman. Shortly thereafter, he meets Walter Sisulu.

## 1942

Mandela obtains his B.A. degree and enrolls at the Witersand University in the Faculty of Law.

## 1944

Mandela joins the ANC. Mrs. Kate Mgudlwa, Nelson Mandela, Anton Lembede, A.P. Mda, Oliver Tambo, William Nkomo, Victor Mbodo, Lionel Majombozi, Congress Mbata, David Bopape, Jordan Ngubane, Mskinya and Walter Sisulu form the ANC youth league.

## 1947

Mandela is elected Secretary of the ANC Youth League and A.P. Mda succeeds Lembede as President after the latter's death. Tambo is elected Vice President.

## 1949

The youth league takes over the running of the ANC mother body. Sisulu becomes its secretary and Mandela and Tambo are voted onto the Executive Committee. The ANC adopts a plan of action and calls for a militant African campaign.





## The Cape Argus 🔀



ITALIAN DAMASKS

## GUILTY IN RIVONIA



Seven on all four charges and one on one count BERNSTEIN FREED. REARRESTED



NELSON MANDELA BURNING HIS PASSBOOK.



RRS BERNSTEIN AND DAUGHTER IN TEARS Natives shout and sing

outside the court

TO PRETORIA

THE VERDICT

WIFE HEARD

ACCUSED MEN TIRED AND NERVOUS



## 1951

NALTY

The Youth League joins forces with the Indian Congress to organize a national work stoppage. Sisulu and Yusef Cachalia are appointed joint secretaries of the planning council and Mandela is elected President of the Youth League.

## 1952

Mandela is arrested for his first time when he and others are canvassing recruits for a joint defiance campaign with the Indian Congress. Upon his release, he is elected President of the Transvaal ANC. He is once again detained with Sisulu and the national President of the ANC, and charged under the Suppression of Communism Act. Hence, Mandela is banned along with other high ranking members of the ANC.

## 1953-4

After his banning order expires, Mandela campaigns against forced removals in Sophiatown and western areas. Once again, he is banned and starts his legal practice with Oliver Tambo. A petition by the Transvaal Law Society to have Mandela struck from the roll fails.

## 1955

The Freedom Charter is adopted at the Congress of the People in Kliptown.

## 1956

Mandela is brought to trial with 155 others for treason. Passes are extended to African Women. The Federation of African Women is founded.

## 1957

Nelson meets Winnie Madikizela.

## 1958

Nelson and Winnie are married.

## 1959

The ANC organizes separate anti-pass campaigns.

## 1960

The Sharpeville Massacre where 69 are murdered and 180 are injured. A nationwide antipass defiance begins preceded by the banning of the ANC and a State of Emergency is declared. Mandela and Sisulu are detained along with thousands.



THE COFFIN IS CARRIED BY LEADERS OF THE ANC WOMEN'S LEAGUE, AMONG THEM ALBERTINA SISULU, WINNIE MANDELA, VIOLA HASHE.



ELLEN SHUB PHOTO

ZENANI DLAMINI, NELSON AND WINNIE MANDELA'S DAUGHTER, AT THE FUND FOR A FREE SOUTH AFRICA CELEBRATION OF HER FATHER'S RELEASE. ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL, FEBRUARY 11, 1990. (INSET). COUNCILLOR CHARLES YANCEY PRESENTS THEMBA VILAKAZI A 1985 BOSTON CITY COUNCIL PROCLAMATION HONORING NELSON MANDELA. (RIGHT).

## 1962

Mandela flees the country to meet with other African leaders such as Selassie of Ethiopia, Colonel Boumedienne of Algeria. Additionally he meets Nyerere, Kaunda, Odinga. At home, Winnie is banned. Upon his return, Mandela went back to Johannesburg, but was arrested after 17 months underground. He is sentenced to 5 years in imprisonment on Robben Island.

## 1963

The entire leadership of the ANC is arrested.

## 1964

The accused are found guilty in the infamous Rivonia Trial. Mandela and all others accused are found guilty of sabotage and sentenced to life in prison on Robben Island.

## 1966

Mandela is joined by Andimba ja Toivo of SWAPO.

## 1969

Winnie is arrested, tortured and banned for five years.

## 1972

There is an assassination attempt on Winnie Mandela in her home.

## 1973

The Government offers to release Mandela to Transkei. He refuses, and the family is harassed.

## 1975

The banning of Winnie expires and she continues her activities with the Federation of African Women.

## 1976

The Soweto Massacre occurs. Winnie is banned once again for her activities.

## 1977

Steve Biko is murdered.

## 1978

Winnie is sentenced to six months in prison—suspended for four years.











LEAVING VICTOR VESTOR PRISON, FEBRUARY 11, 1990.





1979

India awards Mandela the Nehru Award.

## 1980

Mandela is nominated for the Chancellorship at the University of London.

## 1981

Winnie is banned once again.

## 1982

President Kaunda urges Pretoria to release Mandela. Mandela, along with Sisulu, Kathrada, Mhlaba and Mhlangeni are moved to Pollsmoor Prison.

## 1983

Local authorities in Britain name streets and parks after Mandela. City College of New York bestows him an honorary degree.

## 1984

Pretoria announces a new constitution but Africans reject the plan if Mandela is not freed. Release Mandela committees are formed.

## 1985

Pretoria offers Mandela and other Rivonia prisoners a conditional release but they refuse.

## 1988

The world commemorates Mandela's seventieth birthday.

## 1989

Mandela meets the State President, P.W. Botha, and there are expectations of change through negotiations. October: All Rivonia prisoners are freed except Mandela. December: Mandela meets the State President, F.W. de Klerk.

## 1990

February: Mandela is released from prison.

Source: Higher Than Hope, by Fatima Meer.



NELSON MANDELA WITH OLIVER TAMBO, PRESIDENT OF THE ANC.



AHMED KATHRADA AND DENNIS GOLDBERG.

### 1910

Formation of the Union of South Africa by an Act of British Parliament. Despite representations by the South African Native Convention, forerunner of the ANC, the Union is established as a white minority regime.

## 1912

January: Formation of the African National Congress, dedicated to forging unity amongst the Africans in South Africa and fighting for their rights.

## 1948

Election of the National Party on a platform of "apartheid" and the systematic entrenchment of racism in South Africa's laws and constitution. The National Party has ruled South Africa ever since.

## 1949

The ANC adopts a program for mass direct action and defiance of the laws of apartheid. The state's response is violent. Eighteen demonstrators are killed on May 1, 1950 when the police open fire on peaceful demonstrations demanding universal franchise.

## 1955

Adoption of The Freedom Charter a statement of the democratic aspirations of the all the people of South Africa

## 1959

June: ANC President Albert Luthuli calls for a boycott of South African goods and the imposition of economic sanctions against apartheid. Two years later he is awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, the first African to win.

## 1960

March: The Government declares a State of Emergency and arrests more than 20,000 people. Within two weeks, the Unlawful Organizations Act is passed and used to ban the ANC and the Pan African Congress. The UN Security Council calls on South Africa to abandon apartheid.

## 1961

March: Faced with imminent expulsion, South Africa leaves the Commonwealth and declares itself a Republic. Under Mandela's leadership, a National Action council is convened to organize a threeday stay-at-home in protest. The regime responds by arresting thousands under new provisions allowing detention without trial.

## 1963

July: Police raid the Rivonia farmhouse near Johannesburg and arrest the ANC's underground leadership, including Walter Sisulu and Govan Mbeki. In the following Rivonia trial Mandela already in prison, is the first accused. The international solidarity campaign helps save Mandela and his co-accused from the gallows.

## 1969

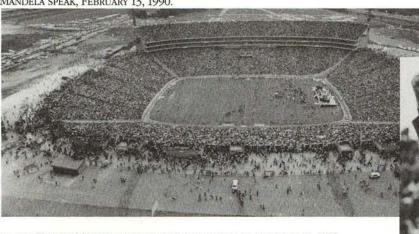
May: Winnie Mandela and 21 others are the first to be detained under the newly enacted Terrorism Act. Winnie is detained for 491 days, mostly in solitary confinement. She is charged under the Suppression of Communism Act but acquitted of all charges on the 16th of February, 1970.

## 1962

November: Mandela is imprisoned with a five year sentence for organizing a strike and leaving the country illegally.



THOUSANDS OF SUPPORTERS AT THE SOWETO SOCCER STADIUM GATHER TO HEAR NELSON MANDELA SPEAK, FEBRUARY 13, 1990.



NELSON AND WINNIE MANDELA ALONG WITH OTHER RECENTLY RELEASED ANC LEADERS AHMED KATHRADA, WALTER SISULU AND ANDREW MLANGENI AT AN ANC RALLY ORGANIZED TO WELCOME NELSON MANDELA HOME TO SOWETO, FEBRUARY 13, 1990.



## 1976

No.

June: School children protesting against apartheid education in Soweto are shot by police. Thirteen-year-old Hector Petersen is the first to die. Protests spread across the country and are brutally put down by the regime with hundreds of deaths and thousands forced into exile.

## 1977

October: Steve Biko dies in police custody, the forty-sixth person to die in police detention.

## 1983

August: Formation of the United Democratic Front in opposition to the setting up of a segregated parliament with coloured and Indian Houses, under white control, and excluding African participation.

### 1984

October: Troops go into the townships to suppress unrest. In the next two years tens of thousands of people are detained without trial, among them 11,000 children, some as young as nine years old. Many are subjected to psychological and physical torture.

### 1985

July: Chase Manhattan, America's second largest bank, announces that it will cease to lend to South Africa, precipitating the same action from other major creditors. The Rand plummets. September: South Africa announces a freeze on repayments of international debt, its most serious economic crisis to date. Within days, business leaders fly to Lusaka to meet the ANC. November: Formation of the Union of South Africa Trade Unions (COSATU) brings together most of the big trade unions.

## 1986

June: Nationwide State of Emergency proclaimed. Thousands of activists are detained, all outdoor gatherings banned and media censorship is made even tighter than before. October: The U.S. Senate overrides President Reagan's veto to impose the strongest sanctions of any South Africa's major trading partners.

## 1988

February: Eighteen anti-apartheid organizations, including the UDF, are banned from all activities and COSATU is prohibited from engaging in any political activity. The churches step into the political vacuum and continue the fight. March: South African forces are decisively defeated at the battle of Cuito Cuanavale in Angola. Loss of air superiority because of the arms embargo

is a major factor. Negotiations with Angola on troop withdrawal and implementation of the UN Security Council Resolution 435 on Namibian Independence



November: SWAPO wins a substantial victory in Namibia's first free elections, leading the way to independence in March 1990.

## 1990

2 February: De Klerk announces the imminent release of Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of the ANC and other organizations. Other repressive laws are still in force. 11 February: Nelson Mandela walks free from Victor Verster Prison.



# UND FOR A FREE SOUTH AFRICA

## (FreeSA)

FUND FOR A FREE SOUTH AFRICA IS A tax-exempt, charitable foundation begun in 1986 by a group of South African exiles living in the United States. FreeSA was established to assist the process of empowering the oppressed majority in South Africa and to support the movement for a democratic non-racial South Africa.

South Africans concerned with social justice have not sat idly by in face of apartheid. There is a long tradition of resistance to oppression. That tradition is the legacy of numerous Youth Congresses, Women's Federations, the Trade Union Movement, Rent Associations, and Education and Community Crisis Committees that have blossomed throughout the black communities of South Africa. It is this multifaceted movement for democracy that FreeSA is in a position to support.

Specifically the goals of the Fund are:

• to provide financial and technical assistance to South African democratic organizations working in the areas of education, healthcare, labor, women, youth and media.



PARTICIPANTS SINGING NKOSI SIKELEL' I-AFRIKA, THE AFRICAN NATIONAL ANTHEM, AT THE CELEBRATION OF NELSON MANDELA'S RELEASE. ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL, FEBRUARY 11, 1990.



"WE HAVE WAITED TOO LONG FOR OUR FREEDOM. WE CAN NO LONGER WAIT.

NOW IS THE TIME TO INTENSIFY THE STRUGGLE ON ALL FRONTS. TO RELAX OUR EFFORT NOW WOULD BE A MISTAKE WHICH GENERATIONS TO COME WILL NOT BE ABLE TO FORGIVE."

Nelson Mandela at Cape Town, February 11, 1990



- to provide financial assistance to development, educational and self-help programs that work to improve the self-sufficiency, literacy and standard-of-living of the oppressed in South Africa.
- to provide direct humanitarian aid (i.e. food, clothing, medical supplies) to South African refugees in neighboring countries.

All contributions to Fund for a Free South Africa (FreeSA) are tax-deductible.

#### **FreeSA Grantmaking**

FreeSA's grantmaking program is divided into two distinct parts: projects located inside South Africa and refugee projects located in Southern Africa. The principal areas of funding are: education, health care, labor, women, youth, and economic development.

All grant decisions are made by a subcommittee of the Board of Directors. The Funding Committee, which is comprised of South Africans serving on the Board, reviews all proposals and makes all decisions on disbursement of grant funds.

Because of the potential danger to grantees, it is not possible to list the names of projects inside South Africa.

A representative list of grantees follows.





#### **EDUCATION**

#### Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College,

Mazimbu, Tanzania: Established in 1979, SOMAFCO meets the educational needs of the South African refugee community in Tanzania with a nursery school, primary school, high school and adult education center. FreeSA grants have been used for general support.

South Africa: Parents, students, and teachers formed this organization in response to the educational crisis in South Africa imposed by oppressive Bantu schooling. FreeSA's grant was for general support.

#### **HEALTH CARE**

ANC-Holland Solidarity Hospital, Mazimbu, Tanzania: A gift from the South African Solidarity Movement in Holland, this hospital serves the health needs of the South African refugee community in Mazimbu, many of whom are victims of torture and beatings. FreeSA contributed funds for general support and the purchase of medical supplies.

Africa: This organization of medical professionals is working to form a union for black nurses, who constitute 90 percent of the nurses in South Africa. These women work under exceedingly difficult circumstances, and their interests are not protected by the white-led South African Nurses Association. In addition, this organization has been involved in helping local groups gain the knowledge and skills they need to deal with medical emergencies in their community. FreeSA contributed to the production of educational materials and to staff salaries.

#### LABOR

This new non-racial union is affiliated with the Congress of South African Trade Unions. Located in the strategic center of the South African economy, this union has the potential to become a major force in progressive labor confrontations with the apartheid regime. FreeSA contributed to the production of educational materials and ten seminars held in

different parts of the country.

Africa: This COSATU affiliate waged a national strike which galvanized the South African labor movement. FreeSA's grant provided basic necessities for strikers and their families.

#### YOUTH

South Africa:

This organization, based in the province of Natal, is committed to rejuvenating and rebuilding grassroots leadership, especially among youth, in an area that has been devastated by imprisonment, banishment, and the use of paramilitary death squads. FreeSA's grant was used for workshops and training in community organizing for youth organizations.

## ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Chongela Farm, Lusaka, Zambia: Chongela is a 150-acre farm located north of Lusaka which was purchased with a grant from the Swedish government. The farm represents a major effort by the African National Congress to attain self-sufficiency in food production. It also serves as a training center in agriculture, animal husbandry and farm management. FreeSA's grant went toward the purchase of medical supplies for livestock.

#### WOMEN

#### Women's Section/African National

Congress, Lusaka, Zambia: The Women's Section of the ANC is a leading force in the movement to end apartheid. It administers projects that are run by and for women. FreeSA's shipments of clothing, personal hygiene items, office supplies and typewriters helped to ease shortages of these hard-to-procure items.

The Vusisizwe Players, (Watermelon Studios, Inc.) Boston, Massachusetts: In the fall of 1988, this troupe of South African women toured the United States and Canada, playing to sold-out audiences. FreeSA contributed funds to help cover the expense of this tour.

#### MEDIA

progressive black periodical has been involved in training community members, especially youth, to be reporters, writers, and photographers, and to produce simple leaflets and brochures. FreeSA contributed to the purchase of photographic equipment and computers.

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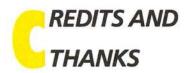
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FUND FOR A FREE SOUTH AFRICA wishes to thank His Excellency Governor Michael S. Dukakis and His Honor Mayor Raymond Flynn for their commitment and assistance, without which this day would not have been possible.

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"I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve but if need be it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die."

> Nelson Mandela 1964/1990



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The African National Congress would like to thank the organizations and individuals that have for so many years supported us in our struggles for the release of Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners.



There is so much that still needs to be done.

"Ningadinwa nangomuso Don't tire, even tomorrow."

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APR company is proud to salute Nelson and Winnie Mandela on their historic visit to Boston.

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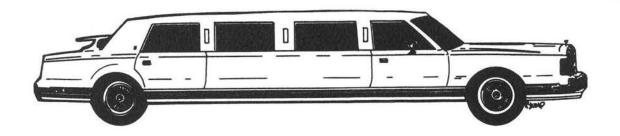
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join all people of good will in welcoming Nelson and Winnie Mandela to Boston.

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## THANK YOU NELSON MANDELA! THANK YOU ALL OF THE MANDELA FAMILY!

For all the pride, courage, hope, renewed energy and commitment that your lives and missions have brought us.

The Boston Chapter of TransAfrica will stay the course of the struggle to achieve a truly non-racial and democratic society in South Africa as well as in America. The work to be done on each side of the ocean remains monumental, but you convince us of its inevitable success.

The national office and the Boston Chapter of TransAfrica is especially proud to have already played a key role in creating the popular understanding and political will in this country to remove the acknowledged might of our society from the ranks of your opposition.



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VA PAUS.

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KALAYAAN

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In any language, forward to freedom. **WELCOME, NELSON and WINNIE MANDE** 

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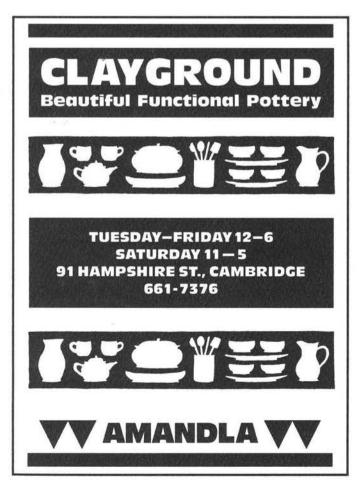
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# Welcome to NELSON and WINNIE MANDELA! Viva the ANC!



Haymarket People's Fund supports local groups all across New England organizing for peace, equality, and economic justice.

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## The American Friends Service Committee



Celebrates Nelson Mandela and the movement for social justice and peace for South Africa.

AFSC, 2161 Massachusetts Avenue Cambridge, MA 02140 • (617) 661-6130 The following is an excerpt from Lotus' current policy on Business Relations with South Africa:

"Lotus Development Corporation strongly objects to the policy and practice of apartheid in South Africa. In its dealings as a corporate entity, Lotus' commitment is to stand against discrimination in all aspects of our business. In that apartheid, both conceptually and in practice, starkly conflicts with this value, we are obliged to protest the actions of the South African government by not doing business in that country..."

While we applaud and support the recent signs of change coming from South Africa, we continue to look forward to the day when apartheid is abolished.

We are proud to welcome Nelson and Winnie Mandela to Boston!







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The United Nations Council on Namibia United Nations Plaza New York, NY 10017 212-754-5400

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# HE NATIONAL ANTHEM: NKOSI SIKELEL' I-AFRIKA

Nkosi sikelel' i-Afrika
Maluphakanyisw' uphondo lwayo
Yizwa imithandazo yethu
Nkosi sikelela — Nkosi sikelela
Nkosi sikelel' i-Afrika
Maluphakanyisw' uphondo lwayo
Yizwa imithandazo yethu
Nkosi sikelela—Thina Lusapho
lwayo

Woza Moya Woza Moya, oyingcwele Nkosi sikelela Thina Lusapho lwayo

Morena boloka Sechaba sa heso O fedise dintwa la Matswenyeho

Morena boloka
Sechaba se heso
O fedise dintwa le Matswenyeho
O se boloke—o se boloke
O se boloke—o se boloke

Sechaba sa heso Sechaba sa Afrika

O se boloke Morena o se boloke O se boloke Morena o se boloke Sechaba se heso Sechaba sa Afrika

Translation
Lord Bless Africa
Let its Horn be Raised
Listen also to our Prayers
Lord Bless
Lord Bless
Come Spirit
Come Spirit
Holy Spirit
Lord Bless Us
We, thy Children

NKOSI SIKELEL' IAFRIKA, THE
National Anthem of the people
of South Africa, has its roots
deeply embedded in South African
history and cultural traditions.

Its composer, Enoch Mankayi Sontonga, was born in Lovedale, Cape Province, in 1860. He left school at an early age and went to Johannesburg, where he was employed in various occupations. A Christian, Sontonga was endowed with a wonderful voice, and he wrote both music and lyrics. His songs, sung in churches and concerts, were popular throughout the country. Composed in 1897, Nkosi Sikelela was commonly sung by choirs, churches and in African schools and by the turn of the century was known throughout the country. Mankayi Sontonga died in Johannesburg in 1904—his grave is in the now all-white Brixton Cemetery.

It was SEK Mqhayi (1875–1945), imbongi yesizwe jikelele (the national poet), who added seven stanzas to the National Anthem. The Xhosa lyrics, with the exception of the first stanza, which was Sontonga's, was thus Mqhayi's version, and was first published in 1927.

Nkosi Sikelela, originally intended as a hymn, was sung in all provinces and steadily gained

recognition as the people's national anthem. The first verse (Sontonga's) has survived as the basis of the popular national anthem of today.

The ANC adopted *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* as its national anthem in 1925, and all organizations and churches followed suit. It was also at this time that the ANC adopted black, green and gold as the national colors. Today the song has become the national anthem of many countries in Africa north of the Limpopo River, including Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Namibia. Within South Africa, the song is sung in many languages.

Today, Sontonga's Nkosi Sikelela is closely associated with and symbolizes the struggle of African people for a democratic South Africa. It is heard at the protest and solidarity meetings, conferences and funerals. It is sung by workers, women, youths and students, who stand with fists raised while singing—a sign of respect for African peoples' traditions, cultures and the fight for freedom.







# HE FREEDOM CHARTER

WE, THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA, DECLARE FOR ALL OUR COUNTRY AND THE WORLD TO KNOW:

that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people;

that the people have been robbed of their birthright to land, liberty and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality;

that our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people can secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief;

And therefore, we, the people of South Africa, black and white together — equals, countrymen and brothers — adopt this Freedom Charter. And we pledge ourselves to strive together, sparing neither strength nor courage, until the democratic changes here set out have been won.



#### THE PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN!

Every man and woman shall have the right to vote for and to stand as a candidate for all bodies to make laws;

All people shall be entitled to take part in the administration of the country;

The rights of the people shall be the same, regardless of race, colour or sex;

All bodies of minority rule, advisory boards, councils and authorities shall be replaced by democratic organs of self-government.

## ALL NATIONAL GROUPS SHALL HAVE EQUAL RIGHTS!

There shall be equal status in the bodies of the state, in the courts and in the schools for all national groups and races;

All people shall have equal right to use their own languages, and to develop their own folk culture and customs;

All national groups shall be protected by law against insults to their race and national pride; The preaching and the practice of national, race or colour discrimination and contempt shall be a punishable crime;

All apartheid laws and practices shall be set aside.

## THE PEOPLE SHALL SHARE IN THE WEALTH OF THE COUNTRY!

The national wealth of our country, the heritage of South Africans shall be restored to the people;

The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the banks and the monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole;

All other industry and trade where they choose, to manufacture and enter all trades, crafts and professions.

## THE LAND SHALL BE SHARED AMONG THOSE WHO WORK IT!

Restrictions of land ownership on a racial basis shall be ended, and all of the land re-divided amongst those who work it to banish famine and land hunger;

The state shall help the peasants with implements, seeds, tractors and dams to save the soil and the tillers;

Free movement shall be guaranteed to all who work on the land;

All shall have the right to occupy land wherever they choose;

People shall not be robbed of their cattle, and forced labour and farm prisons shall be abolished.





## ALL SHALL BE EQUAL BEFORE THE LAW!

No-one shall be imprisoned, deported or restricted without a fair trial;

No-one shall be condemned by order of any Government official;

The courts shall be a representative of all the people;

Imprisonment shall be only for serious crimes against all the people, and shall aim at reeducation, not vengeance;

The police force and army shall be open to all on an equal basis and shall be the helpers and protectors of the people;

All laws which discriminate on grounds of race, colour or belief shall be repealed.

## ALL SHALL ENJOY EQUAL HUMAN RIGHTS!

The law shall guarantee to all their right to speak, to organise, to meet together, to publish, to preach, to worship and to educate their children;

The privacy of the house from the police shall be protected by law;

All shall be free to travel without restriction from countryside to town, from province to province, and from South Africa abroad; Pass Laws, permits and all other laws restricting these freedoms shall be abolished.

## THERE SHALL BE WORK AND SECURITY!

All who work shall be free to form trade unions, to elect their officers and to make agreements with their employers;

The state shall recognize the right and the duty of all and to draw full Men and [W]omen of all races shall receive equal pay for equal work; There shall be a forty-hour working week, a national minimum wage, paid leave, and sick leave for all workers, and maternity leave on full pay for all working mothers;

Miners, domestic workers, farm workers and civil servants shall have the same rights as all others who work;

Child labour, compounded labour, the tot system and contract labour shall be abolished.

## THE DOORS OF LEARNING AND CULTURE SHALL BE OPENED!

The government shall discover, develop and encourage national talent for the enhancement of our cultural life;

All the cultural treasures of mankind shall be open to all, by free exchange of books, ideas and contracts with other lands;

The aim of education shall be to teach the youth to love their people and their culture, honour human brotherhood, liberty and peace:

Education shall be free, compulsory, universal and equal for all children;

Higher education and technical training shall be opened to all by means of state allowances and scholarships awarded on the basis of merit; Adult illiteracy shall be ended by a mass state education plan;

Teachers shall have all the rights of other citizens;

The colour bar in cultural life, in sport and in education shall be abolished.

## THERE SHALL BE HOUSES, SECURITY AND COMFORT!

All people shall have the right to live where they choose, be decently housed, and to bring up their families in comfort and security;

Unused housing space to be made available to the people;

Rent and prices shall be lowered, food plentiful and no-one shall go hungry;

A preventive health scheme shall be run by the state;

Free medical care and hospitalisation shall be provided for all, with special care for mothers and young children;

Slums shall be abolished, and new suburbs built where all have transport, roads, lighting, playing fields, creches and social centres;

The aged, the orphans, the disabled and the sick shall be cared for by the state;

Rest, leisure and recreation shall be the right of all:

Fenced locations and ghettoes shall be abolished, and laws which break up families repealed.

## THERE SHALL BE PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP!

South Africa shall be a fully independent state, which respects the rights and the sovereignty of all nations;

South Africa shall strive to maintain world peace and the settlement of all international disputes by negotiation—not war;

Peace and friendship amongst all our people shall be secured by upholding the equal rights, opportunities and status of all;

The people of the protectorates — Basutoland, Bechaunaland, and Swaziland — shall be free to decide for themselves their own future; The right of all peoples of Africa to independence and self-government shall be recognised, and shall be the basis of close co-operation.

Let all who love their people and their country now say, as we say here:

"THESE FREEDOMS
WE WILL FIGHT FOR,
SIDE BY SIDE,
THROUGHOUT OUR LIVES,
UNTIL WE HAVE WON
OUR LIBERTY."

Adopted at the Congress of the People of Kliptown, South Africa, on 26 June 1955.





#### **Fund for a Free South Africa**

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