

6-28-1990

# Nelson Mandela's Detroit Visit Commemorative Edition

John Green

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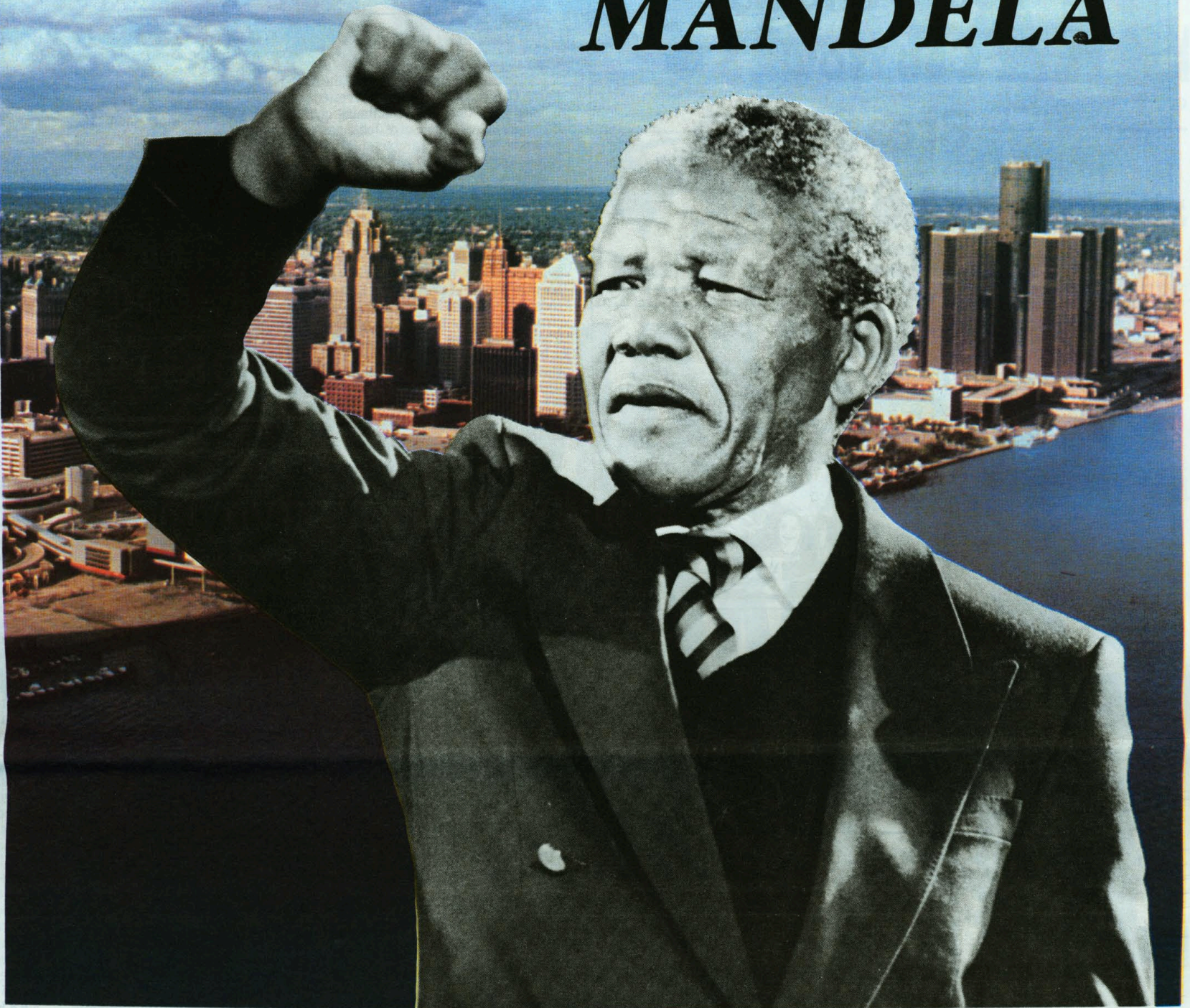
## Recommended Citation

Green, John, "Nelson Mandela's Detroit Visit Commemorative Edition" (1990). *Detroit Area Peace and Justice Groups*. Paper 10.  
<http://digitalcommons.wayne.edu/dapg/10>

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# Freedom's Gateway Welcomes **MANDELA**



Metropolitan Detroit Convention & Visitors Bureau

Wide World Photos

## Nelson R. Mandela: Freedom Symbol

by Frances O. Young, Ph. D.

Millions of people in America, in the world sat glued to television sets, waiting for the much-publicized release from Victor Verster Prison in South Africa of Nelson Mandela. It was February 1990, and the well-known freedom fighter finally was being released after twenty-seven years in prison.

As events unfolded, many questions came to mind about this hero. Questions such as, Who is this freedom fighter who sacrificed a major part of his life for his countrymen's freedom? What events brought him to the center of world attention in 1990? And, why did it take twenty-seven years for world opinion to raise to a crescendo and force his freedom?

Some answers to these questions are buried in old news files; and using the *New York Times* as a barometer of United States awareness, you can find news of the struggle against apartheid in South Africa appearing in the early 1950's when racial strife escalated.

In 1952, the African National Congress (ANC) organized protest demonstrations against South Africa's escalating repression. In the news, Nelson Mandela's name surfaces as one of the "top leaders of the defiance campaign." Mandela, ANC President Dr. Moroka and Y. Cachalia were jailed because of the protest demonstrations.

News of the protests continued form many months. There was non-violent defiance of laws mandating separate railroad waiting rooms, curfews, pass laws, separate railroad coaches, and bans of peaceful assemblies. The authorities responded with a show of brute force, and many unarmed were killed and injured.

Countries in the west, other parts of Africa, India, and Pakistan protested South Africa's brutality towards its majority population. Appeals were made to the United Nations for intervention. A commission to study the racial segregation policies was appointed through the UN Political Committee, but the position was reasserted that the UN must not interfere in South Africa's domestic affairs. Dr. Ralph Bunche, African-American diplomat, was one of the three commission members investigating apartheid policies. It was through this Defiance Against Unjust Laws Campaign or "Defiance Campaign" that Nelson Mandela emerged as an internationally-known freedom fighter.

Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela was born in 1918 into a royal African family. His father, Henry Mandela, was chief of the Tembu tribe, from the Transkei territory of the Eastern Cape, and Nelson's heritage was succession to the chiefdom of the tribe. This was not desirable to him; he renounced his hereditary rights because he wanted to prepare himself to assist in the freedom struggles of his people. Mandela's formal education began at the University College

at Fort Hare, but was interrupted when he participated in a student strike in 1940 and was expelled. He then went to work as a policeman in the mines and studied law through a correspondence course at Witwatersrand University. He obtained a law degree from the University of South Africa in 1942 and was now prepared to fight apartheid.

In 1944, Mandela joined the African National Congress (ANC), the first permanent South African political organization. The ANC was founded in 1912 as the South African native National Congress and through the years became the principal advocate for African nationalism. Mandela was active with the ANC Youth League, which he co-founded.

The Youth league, formed in 1944, rejected the old "language of supplication" which they felt characterized the ANC's past activities and spurred them to adopt more militant tactics. As the government enacted more repressive laws, the ANC abandoned mediation tactics and adopted Mohandas Ghandi's non-violent protest approach. Mandela and other ANC leaders struggled for a decade against all vestiges of apartheid; and in 1952, launched the "Defiance Campaign," which gained world attention for their plight.

Mandela was president of the ANC Youth league from 1951-52 and deputy national president of ANC under Albert Luthuli, Zulu

To the citizens of Detroit and Michigan we are indeed proud to provide you with this special commemorative edition of news articles which were taken from South African English Newspapers proved to us by some of the 29 newspapers publishers who were contacted, at no charge to us. We want it understood that these articles are appearing in these United States for the first time which in our opinion make them a real collector's item, in terms of Nelson Mandela's visit to Detroit. Detroit-the capitol of the famous underground railroad, Detroit a place of freedom, welcomes a world known African Freedom Fighter.

John M. Green  
Executive Director  
Warren T. Young  
Executive Secretary

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Chief and Nobel Peace Prize winner in 1961. Because of his role in organizing the "Defiance Campaign," Nelson was arrested and banned from 1953 to 1955. Banning confined Mandela to the district of Johannesburg, where he and Oliver Tambo set up the first black law partnership in South Africa.

Banning is one of the South African government's most hated weapons of repression. A banned person is forbidden to leave the restricted district, to be interviewed, to be photographed, to be quoted, to attend public gatherings, and on. The person is a non-person, as Nelson was in 1953 and his wife Winnie in 1961. During his banning, Nelson worked in the background for the struggle then resumed a public role in 1955 when the ban was lifted.

In 1956, Mandela, Sisulu and other ANC leaders were again arrested and charged with treason. They were held under the Suppression of Communism Act and charged with advocating revolution and seeking to establish a people's democracy. The trial lasted from 1956 to 1961.

In 1958, while free on bail, Nelson married Winnie (Winnie) Nomzamo, a medical social worker. They set up their home in a Johannesburg suburb. This marriage was destined to be an historical one, as Winnie would become Nelson's spokesperson and an activist in her own right during the long period of his incarceration.

Mandela and his co-defendants achieved a brief moral victory when they were acquitted in 1961 because of insufficient evidence. Government intensification of repression continued, including more killings and detentions without charges or trial. Mandela was forced to rethink his philosophy of non-violent resistance. He became head of the guerilla branch of ANC, Umkhonto We Sizwe (Spear of the Nation). Mandela organized a campaign of sabotage and guerilla warfare against symbolic apartheid and economic targets but did not commit terrorist acts against people.

The more militant freedom fighters, Pan African Congress (PAC), organized a demonstration against stricter pass laws; the protest was staged in front of a police station. The police responded by firing into the unarmed crowd, killing many. The authorities then banned the ANC and PAC. Mandela again was sought for arrest in connection with his activities with Umkhonto We Sizwe. He was forced to abandon his wife Winnie and children and go underground. For a year, the family did not know where he was; and the secret police hounded them, bursting into their home as they slept trying to capture the elusive Nelson Mandela.

Nelson was everywhere and nowhere; he traveled throughout the country, into other parts of Africa, and into Europe, working for the freedom cause. His evasive tactics earned him the title "Black Pimpernel". The news reveals in 1990, the Mandels' eventual capture was assisted by the American Central Intelligence Agency; Mandela was apprehended and jailed in 1962. He was tried and sentenced to five years imprisonment for inciting strikes and for leaving the country without valid travel documents.

Pursuit of freedom fighters continued. Other leaders of Umkhonto We Sizwe were captured, and Mandela was taken from prison in 1963 to be charged for more serious crimes. Eight other leaders, black, and white, were brought to trial. At the trial, Mandela admitted that he had planned sabotage but not terrorism. He asserted that, "All other means opposing" (apartheid) "were closed by legislation." "We either had to accept inferiority or fight against it with violence." The nine men faced death, despite the fact that lives were not taken during their struggles.

Public outcry around the world and in the UN saved their lives. A UN resolution to ask South Africa to end the trials was supported by many countries; the United States and eight other nations abstained. In the forefront of the U.S. anti-apartheid activity were the Congress on Racial Equality (CORE) and the American Committee of Africa; together they halted the unloading of South African ships in Brooklyn. Apar-

theid opposition activities were reported around the world; nevertheless, the eight defendants were sentenced to life imprisonment, and Mandela was given life plus his five year sentence.

After the imprisonment of Mandela and other leaders, a period of de-moralization followed. Then in the late 1960's, leadership emerged from among the young. Steve Biko, as head of the South African Student Organization (SASO) traveled the country espousing the philosophy of black-consciousness. He and other youth urged their countrymen to be proud of heritage and to become self-aware. The government sought to suppress black-consciousness; and in 1976 in Soweto, insisted on the use of Afrikaans, the oppressor's language, for one-third of student instruction. Young students protested, and a riot ensued where many of the children were killed. In 1977, Steve Biko suffered "accidental" death while in prison.

The struggle continued for Mandela inside prison. At Robben Island penal colony, he is credited with establishing an informal training network for black prisoners that fostered learning and debate. He helped create a rare prison environment where morality, brotherhood and trust characterized inmate behavior. By the time authorities discovered what was happening and moved Mandela, Robben Island was already established as the "university of the struggle."

The protests and demonstrations of the 1970's and 1980's resulted in resurgence of interest in the ANC in South Africa, and the young activists projected the imprisoned Mandela as their freedom symbol. In January 1980, three black nationalists took hostages at a bank in Pretoria; it was an attempt to force the freeing of Mandela. "FREE MANDELA!" became the rallying cry for freedom in South Africa and abroad.

The South African government responded in 1984 by offering Mandela conditional freedom; he must renounce the struggle, go to another country or to his appointed homeland, and give up political activities. Mandela refused. Freedom for Nelson Mandela must be total and unconditional. Further government attempts at appeasement included relaxation of some apartheid laws and inclusions of blacks into selected trade unions. These modest reforms were insufficient to halt the activities of the masses; protests, work stoppages, sit-ins, bombings, and other forms of civil disobedience continued. Violent opposition to apartheid rule was endemic. "FREE MANDELA!" was still the rallying cry.

Moral outrage and economic sanctions ultimately forced government reevaluation of apartheid policies. Economic sanctions were pivotal in the change; slowly, world organizations and countries enacted measure after measure—boycotts, sanctions, exclusions, and forced inclusion of black workers into the work force of foreign companies doing business in South Africa.

Facing economic problems, continued isolation by world communities, and endemic violence on all fronts at home, the South African government has been forced to begin dismantling apartheid. Freeing Mandela in February 1990 was a symbolic move which heralded willingness to begin negotiations.

Nelson Mandela's freedom is cause for celebration, and he is welcomed back into the struggle by Winnie, his family, fellow ANC leaders, his countrymen, and those who cherish freedom. Mandela's life commitment to the ideal and reality of freedom, provides the answers to questions of who he is and why his sacrifice. His refusal to compromise the right of Africans to self-government, his insistence on an open, free society for all, and his personal martyrdom, have been examples that inspire people of goodwill throughout the world. Slowly, change has come to South Africa, and Nelson Mandela's work to reshape and build a truly multi-racial South African society is just beginning.

Dr. Frances O. Young  
Assistant Director  
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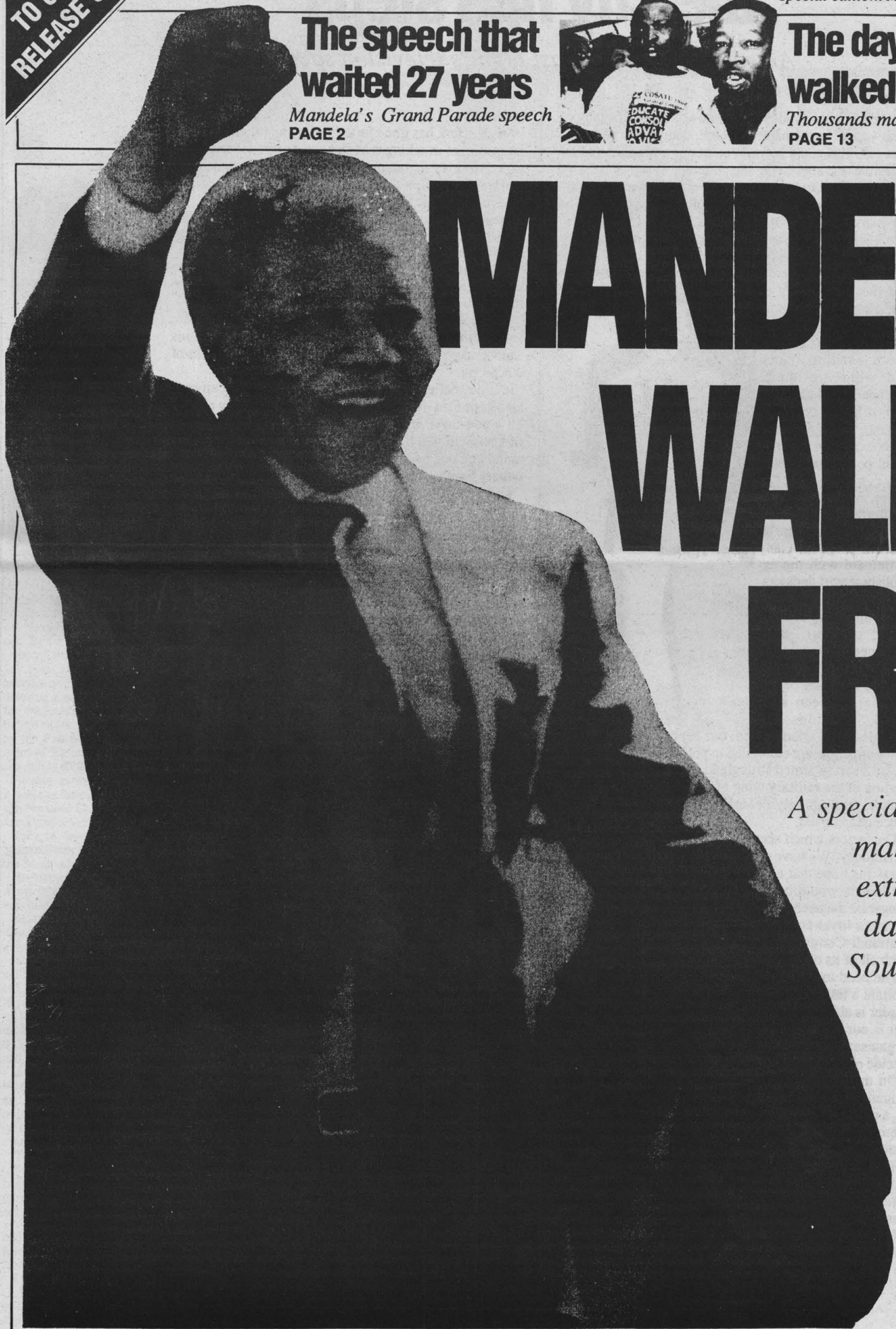
**The speech that  
waited 27 years**

*Mandela's Grand Parade speech*  
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**The day uhuru  
walked the streets**

*Thousands march in the rain*  
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**MANDELA  
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## THE CITY HALL SPEECH

# Mandela's speech from the city hall steps

*An edited version of last night's television speech*

"FRIENDS, comrades and fellow South Africans, I greet you all in the name of peace, democracy and freedom for all. I stand before you not as a prophet, but as a humble servant of you, the people.

Your tireless and heroic sacrifices have made it possible for me to be here today. I therefore place the remaining years of my life in your hands. Before I go any further, I wish to make the point that I intend making only a few preliminary comments at this stage.

I will make a more public statement only after I have had the opportunity to consult with my comrades.

Today, the majority of South Africans, black and white, recognise that apartheid has no future. It has to be ended by our own decisive mass action in order to build peace and security.

The mass campaigns of defiance and other actions of our organisation and people can only culminate with the establishment of democracy.

The apartheid destruction of our sub-continent is incalculable. The fabric of family life of millions of our people has been shattered. Millions are homeless and unemployed, our economy lies in ruins and our people are embroiled in political strife.

Our resort to armed struggle in the 1960s with the formation of the military wing of the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe, was a purely defensive action against the violence of apartheid.

The factors which necessitated the armed struggle still exist today. We have no option but to continue. We express the hope that a climate conducive to a negotiated settlement would be created soon so that there may no longer be the need for the armed struggle.

I am a loyal and disciplined member of the African National Congress. I am therefore in full agreement with all of its objectives, strategies and tactics.

The need to unite the people of our country is as important a task now as it always has been. No individual leader is able to take on this enormous task on his own.

It is our task as leaders to place our view before our organisation and to allow the democratic structures to decide on the way forward.

On the question of democratic practice, I feel duty bound to make the point that a leader of the movement is a person who has been democratically elected at a national conference. This is a principle which must be upheld without any exceptions.

Today I wish to report to you that my talks with the government have been aimed at normalising the political situation in the country. We have not as yet begun discussing the basic demands of the struggle.

I wish to stress that I, myself, have at no time entered into negotiation about the future of our country, except to insist on a meeting between the ANC and the govern-



ment.

Mr de Klerk has gone further than any other Nationalist president in taking real steps to normalise the situation. However there are further steps as outlined in the Harare declaration that have to be met before negotiations on the basic demands of our people can begin.

I reiterate our call for, inter alia, the immediate ending of the State of Emergency and the freeing of all and not only some political prisoners.

Only such a normalised situation, which allows for free political activity, can allow us to consult our people in order to obtain a mandate.

The people need to be consulted on who will negotiate and on the content of such negotiation. Negotiations cannot take place above the heads or behind the backs of our people.

It is our belief that the future of our country can only be determined by a body which is democratically elected on a non-racial basis. Negotiations on the dismantling of apartheid will have to address the overwhelming demands of our people for a democratic, non-racial and unitary South Africa.

There must be an end to white monopoly on political power and a fundamental restructuring of our political and economic system to ensure that the inequalities of apartheid are addressed and our society thoroughly democratised.

It must be added that Mr De Klerk himself is a man of integrity who is acutely aware of the danger of a public figure not honouring his undertakings.

But as an organisation we base our policy and strategies on the harsh reality we are faced with and this reality is that we are still suffering under the policy of the Nationalist government. Our struggle has reached a decisive moment. We call on our people to seize this moment so that the process towards democracy is rapid and uninterrupted.

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.

The sight of freedom looming on the horizon should encourage us to redouble our efforts. It is only through disciplined mass action that our victory can be assured.

We call on our white compatriots to join us in the shaping of a new South Africa. The freedom movement is a political home for you too. 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 towards the complete eradication of apartheid. Our march to freedom is irreversible. We must not allow fear to stand in our way.

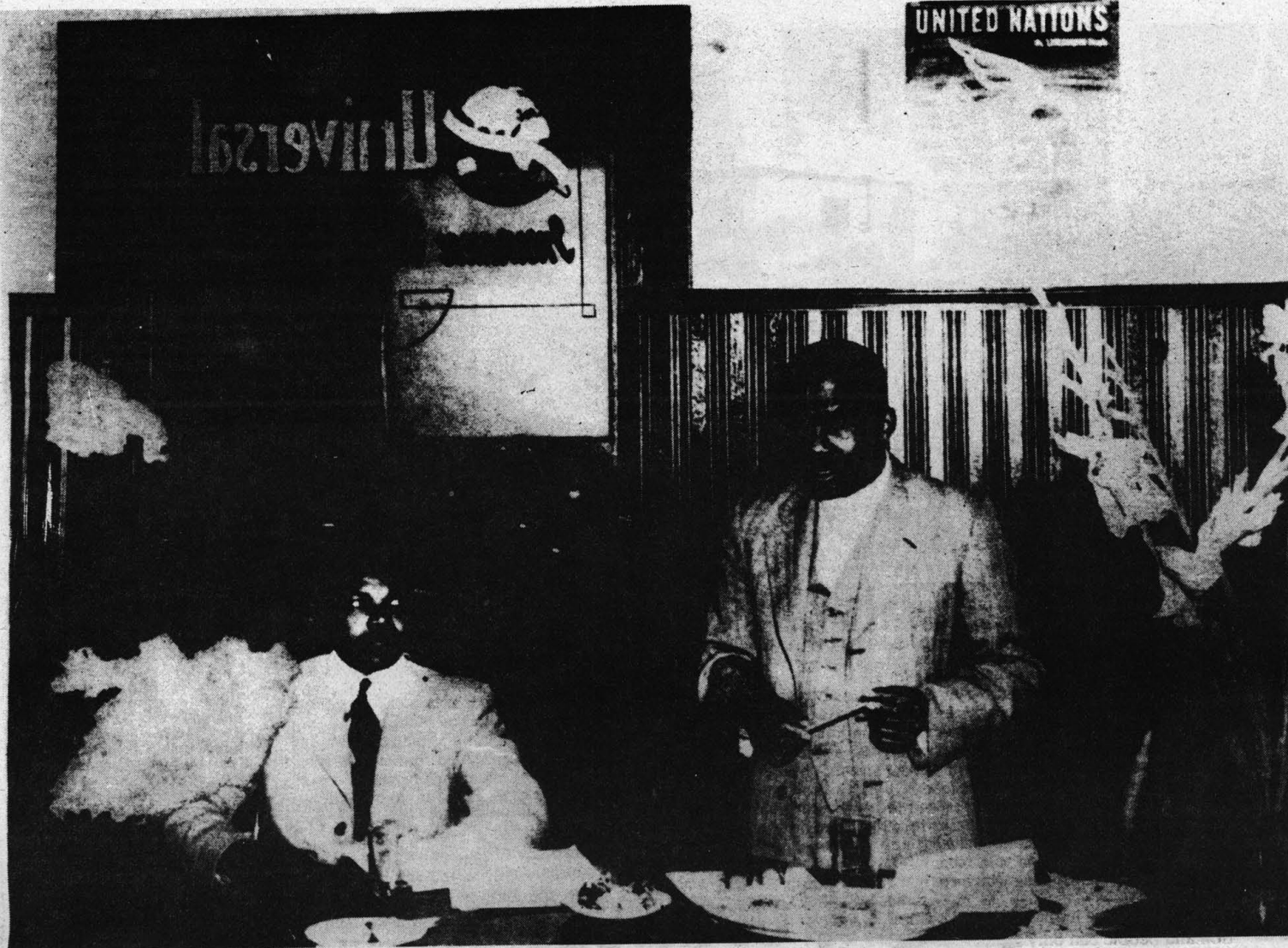
Universal suffrage on a common voters' roll in a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa is the only way to peace and racial harmony.

In conclusion, I wish to quote my own words during my trial in 1964. They are as true today as they were then. I quote: "I have fought against white domination and I have fought against black domination. I have carried the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunity. 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."

I hope you will disperse with dignity and not a single one of you should do anything which will make other people to say that we can't control our own people.



MANDELA ON THE RUN



Nelson Mandela listens as African National Congress leader Dr AB Xuma addresses a meeting in Johannesburg more than four decades ago. Pictures courtesy of Yusuf and Amina Cachalia

By PHIL MOLEFE

# Black Pimpernel Mandela ducks the police for months

*The elusive Mandela is hunted for two years ... then police swoop in Durban*

ALMOST 28 years ago this month, Nelson Mandela secretly slipped out of the country to meet African and overseas leaders and win their support for the liberation movement.

He left the country illegally in January 1962 and stayed away for five months, addressing meetings in London and a congress in Addis Ababa for the heads of states of the newly independent African countries, held by the Pan African Freedom Movement of Eastern, Central and Southern Africa (Pafmecca).

He also received military training in Algeria as the commander of the African National Congress military wing, Umkhonto weSizwe.

Back in South Africa, the elusive Mandela was hunted high and low by the South African Police.

He had gone underground in early April 1961, shortly after the ANC was outlawed.

During this period he assumed the name David Motsamai, and acquired a false identity document.

Mandela, called "The Black Pimpernel" by the media, became the target of a frantic police hunt after his return in June 1962.

The SAP Special Branch (SB) launched an intense search for Mandela, often waking his wife Winnie and their young children late at night.

In a newspaper interview at the time Winnie said: "Whenever my children and I are about to sleep security branch police arrive. They ask me where my husband is and sometimes search the house.

"Sometimes they joke and at other times they are aggressive, which frightens the children. There are rumours that Nelson is back, but I have not seen or heard from him."

Meanwhile, the "Black Pimpernel" had established a safe base on Lilliesleaf farm in the northern Johannesburg suburb of Rivonia.

The farm was bought by Arthur Goldreich, one of the leading figures of the Congress Alliance movement, and was a base for most ANC leaders who had gone underground.

These included Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki and other Rivonia trialists.

Strict arrangements were made for Mandela's family to be brought to Rivonia and see him there.

Makgatho, Mandela's son from his first marriage, is quoted in Fatima Meer's *Higher Than Hope* as saying that the family knew their father was in hiding.

"We knew Tata was in hiding. I can't say how I felt about it. It made me afraid. I could not say then why, but now I know I was afraid because I thought we could lose him," he said.

In August 1962 Mandela had to leave his base in Rivonia and travel to Durban to consult with ANC President-General Chief Albert Luthuli about the overseas tour and how far he had succeeded in mobilising international support for the struggle in South Africa.

He went to Durban in style, disguised as a chauffeur and driving the limousine of his "wealthy white boss", Cecil Williams.

Williams, in reality a dramatist, was also a member of the Congress of Democrats.

Their itinerary was said to have been very strict and known only to people they were due to meet.

A former member of the South Af-

rican Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu) and ANC stalwart Curnick Ndlovu says Mandela did not disclose his next move.

"After he met with Chief Luthuli and M B Yengwa, Nelson also met other activists in the Natal region. We all met him in that short space of time but he did not say what his next move would be," recalls Ndlovu.

"In fact, he was arrested on his way back to Johannesburg after he had met most of us in Durban," he says.

On Sunday, August 5 Mandela met a number of friends, among them Fatima and Ismail Meer, the Singhs, Dr Naicker and Yengwa at the home of *Post* journalist, G R Naidoo.

According to Fatima Meer it was a pleasant day and the group ate, drank and discussed politics.

It did not occur to the group that had gathered at Naidoo's place that the chauffeur and his white boss would fall into a police trap two hours after leaving for Johannesburg.

The limousine drove out of Durban just after lunch on a warm Natal Sunday with David Motsamai (Mandela) on the driver's seat and the "boss" on the back seat.

The car ran into a police roadblock at Howick, a small town between Pietermaritzburg and Mooi River.

According to Ndlovu, the police did not even know Mandela but were act-



A sign of the times ... the front page of the Rand Daily Mail on Friday, June 12 1964 tells of the repercussions of the Rivonia trial judgement

ing on instructions from Johannesburg to stop the car with the stipulated registration number.

A white man and his "native chauffeur" were arrested and taken to segregated cells in Pietermaritzburg.

A Detective Sergeant W A Vorster of the SAP special branch in Johannesburg went down to Pietermaritzburg and triumphantly identified David Motsamai as Nelson Mandela.

Vorster had been responsible for looking out for Mandela during the police manhunt for the ANC leader.

By arresting Mandela the police believed that they would "cut off the head of the snake" and bring an end to "subversive" ANC activities.

"David Motsamai" was brought to court two days later and faced charges of leaving the country illegally and receiving military training.

Newspaper headlines read: "Police swoop ends two years on the run, Nelson Mandela is under arrest".

He was sentenced in the Johannes-

burg Magistrate's Court to five years in jail on November 7, 1962.

His lawyers, James Kantor and Harold Wolpe, unsuccessfully tried to arrange visits for the Mandelas after he was sentenced and sent down to Robben Island.

Mandela was only granted visits eight months after his sentencing, on July 13, 1963 — two days after police arrested the other ANC leaders in the Rivonia raid.

Mandela was recalled from his prison cell and joined his comrades in what came to be known as the Rivonia trial.

At the end of the trial, in July 1964, Mandela and eight other Rivonia trialists were sentenced to life imprisonment for plotting to overthrow the government by violence.

A police spokesman said Detective Sergeant Vorster had retired from the SAP and since passed away.

"Motsamai's white boss" Williams is believed to have died in exile.



## MANDELA'S BIRTHPLACE



Picture: PETER AUF DER HEYDE, Afrapix

This plot of land in the Transkei village of Qunu marks the place where Nelson Mandela was born.

A BARE and windswept site between a gravel quarry and a rough soccer field has been set aside in Qunu for Nelson Mandela when he returns to the village where he spent his childhood.

It's far bigger than any of the other sites in the village, "because he needs it", his cousin, Chief Dalibhunga Joyi, said last week. It was being used for communal grazing, and no one knew what Mandela would do with the land. Suggestions ranged from building a homestead to erecting clinics and schools.

"It will be up to him what to do about this place," Joyi said. "But it's his place."

*"I have the most pleasant recollection and dreams about the Transkei of my childhood, where I hunted and played sticks, stole mealies on the cob and where I learnt to court. It is a world which is gone."*

Mandela's recollections of Qunu, 25km from Umtata on the East London road, were published in Fatima Meer's biography *Higher Than Hope*.

The *Weekly Mail* tried to trace the footsteps of the young Mandela. The journey into the heart of his childhood and the Transkei began on the veranda of the Umtata law offices of Prince Madikizela, among a number of Thembu chiefs and elders. The old men were waiting for transport to the royal place at Bumbane where they would perform a ceremonial welcoming of the new Thembu king who had recently returned from exile in Zambia and Zimbabwe: Buyelekhaya, the son of Sabatha Dalindyebo. Mandela had struggled for a number of years to restore the Dalindyebo succession.

It is possible that Mandela may walk to Madikizela's law firm one day and find these men sitting on this veranda telling old Thembu tales of chiefs, people and their difficulties. Just like the old days, when young Nelson was a schoolboy in Qunu.

Qunu is a very poor but beautiful village. The colour orange dominates the scenery. It is present in the orange soil, on the orange-dyed traditional clothes of some of the people of Qunu, on the painted faces of the women and the evening skies over their heads.

## Land of sweet childhood dreams

*It all began in the little village of Qunu in the Transkei ...*

Reported by  
**THANDEKA GQUBULE  
and LOUISE FLANAGAN**

Half-naked children play on the hillsides, just as Mandela remembers he used to do. They carry sticks and tend diminishing flocks of sheep and goats — there are very few cattle to be seen.

The area does not appear to have changed in decades. The houses are rondavels, most made of mud but some built with cement. The soil is eroded and the yield is low, so the residents of Qunu depend largely on pensions and the wages of migrant labourers in Umtata or Butterworth or on mines on the Reef.

The area needs dams, schools and agricultural equipment, and residents believe their lives will improve when Mandela comes home, at least for a visit.

"His coming home will contribute very much to the upliftment of this village," his nephew Nompilisi Mandela, who lives across from the site designated for Mandela, said last week.

"It's because of his greatness that his stay here will really make a difference." He was one of many residents who mentioned the hope that Mandela's presence would help them find jobs.

"We can inherit something from his experience," added his wife, Nosinala Mandela.

Still living in Qunu are Mandela's relatives, elders who remember him from childhood and youths who have never seen him.

The Mandela family is, together with the Joyis and Mtiraras, part of



A self-assured young man of nineteen ... young Mandela in Qunu

the Thembu great house. Chief Dalibhunga Joyi remembers "growing up with Chief Nelson Mandela when he was brought up by the regent, Paramount Chief David Jongilanga.

"He seemed to be a 'Haji fellow well met' type. He seemed to be the type to lead the immature to maturity," he said.

"He used to play sticks; he was very good. I also remember him as an articulate and magnanimous speaker, even in his childhood."

Not far from the greengrocer's is Mandela's old school. He is likely to find it looking much the same, but newly-painted white.

People greet each other by their clan

names here and everyone in the area knows who Rholihlahla Mandela is. He is likely to be greeted with cries of "Ah, Dalibhunga", the name given to him on achieving manhood after the circumcision — or as Madiba, Dalindyebo, Mthemb'omhle — particularly by the group of Thembu men who sit awaiting their monthly pension outside the greengrocer.

An old man, part of the Madiba clan and thin from the lack of food and too much sorghum beer, was reluctant to talk because he had heard anyone who mentioned Mandela's name would find himself in prison.

In time, however, he recalled that Mandela was very bright at school. He said he remembered times when the entire school would have to attend competitions in Umtata and in those days a trip to Umtata, which would take about 15 minutes today, could take the entire day. They carried food for the journey and sang all the way.

Mandela's mother Fanny Mandela died in Umtata hospital in 1968 and was buried at Qunu. The old man tried to emphasise the importance in his view of Mandela coming back to pay his respects to the grave of his mother. He said he was sure Mandela's visit to the grave would lay her soul to rest.

He said he would be able to recognise Mandela but did not know if Mandela would recognise him because "Rholihlahla was a man of great books and important papers" but the old man was only a "red man" — a man of no formal education. But after he had pondered the question for a few minutes he smiled and said Mandela would greet him — and he would ask Mandela what had happened to him in prison all these years.

Mandela's sister-in-law Nomonde Joyi stays near the large national road that leads to East London. She married into the family while Mandela was in Johannesburg and has since become one of the mainstays of Qunu.

When visited a few days ago she was grinding grain on a stone. A toddler who cried at the sight of a white journalist clung to her skirt, although the family had received many visits from journalists recently.

● Continued on PAGE 5



## MANDELA'S BIRTHPLACE

●From PAGE 3

She said that children with the surname Mandela had problems at school and in getting work in the surrounding towns, which may be why a matric certificate of one of Nomonde's sons hangs proudly on the wall in the lounge.

She told *The Weekly Mail* that she remembered fondly the days when Rholihlahla would return from Johannesburg. The children would spot the car at a distance and then run with it until it parked near the house. She said the excitement was caused by the fact that everyone knew he or she would receive a gift from Mandela. Then they would have to settle down to a lecture that he delivered each time he returned about the importance of sending the children to school.

He would demand to see their school reports and ask persistently about their academic progress, Nomonde said.

She takes us to show us the overgrown, derelict plot of land on which Mandela was born. She says when he returns there will be large celebrations at Mqhekezweni. Cows and goats will be slaughtered and people will come from all over Thembuland to welcome him.

Proceeding deeper into Thembuland, crossing the river and the railway station, one can climb the hill where the Great Place stands.

Mqhekezweni, or the Great Place, was once the centre of the Thembu world, when Jongintaba, who was regent, established it as the capital of Thembuland.

It is here that the young earnest Mandela came to continue with his elementary studies soon after his father had died.

It is the members of his clan who took this bright young boy to grow up under the chiefs — to be schooled both in the ways of the clan and in the ways of Christian education.

"Our families are far larger than those of whites," he wrote for *Higher Than Hope*, "and it is always a pleasure to be fully accepted throughout a village, district or even several districts, accompanied by your clan, and be a beloved household member, where you can call at any time ... and freely take part in the discussion of problems, where you can even be given livestock and land to build on free of charge."

"It was a member of the clan who educated me from elementary education to Fort Hare and never expected any refund."

Here Mandela grew up eating out of the same plate as his good friend and cousin, Justice Zwelidumile Mbirara, heir to the chieftainship of Mqhekezweni.

When he returns he will find the rondavel — facing the valley and a hill opposite — that he used to share with Justice still standing in the yard.

Here at Mqhekezweni, Mandela was groomed by the royal family of the Transkei and inducted into its affairs.

It is a fitting place for such training, for facing the gate of the yard of the Great Place is the school Mandela once attended. On the walls of the dining room are pictures of all the great paramount chiefs and their right-hand wives. These are framed in shining copper with flower-like branches. Among them is a picture of a young Nelson Mandela in a suit and tie.

Facing the mountain lies the grave of the Paramount Chief Jongintaba Dalindyebo. Then next to him lies his wife, Justice's mother, and Justice Zwelidumile himself.

Mandela went to school with Justice from the time he arrived at Mqhekezweni. It was with Justice that he must have discussed his first political ideas as a boy, schooled from a young age in the history and politics of the region. He was able to sit at the feet of men who had lived through the times that many South Africans only read about in books.



Nelson Mandela's former wife, Eveline Ntoko, has retired from running her trading store in Cofimvaba

NEARLY three decades of imprisonment have kept Nelson Mandela — husband, father, grandfather, great-grandfather — away from his family. But even before he began his last term in 1964, political commitments and furious campaigning for the African National Congress frequently kept him away from home. His family had to share him with the people.

Mandela has four living children, 12 grandchildren and two great-grandchildren.

He lost a son and a daughter in the early years, both from his first marriage to Eveline Ntoko, a nursing sister.

Nelson and Eveline had three children: Tembi, Makgatho and Makaziwe — named after their second child, who died at nine months.

Mandela and Eveline separated when their children were quite young and two years later Mandela divorced Eveline to marry social worker Winnie Madikizela.

Tembi was eight, Makgatho, five and Makaziwe two, and the children spent their time between their mother's home in Orlando East and their father's in Orlando West.

It is said that Tembi at eight was old enough to understand the implications of his parents' divorce. When he died in a car accident in 1969 at the age of 24, leaving his two daughters — Ndileka, three, and Nandi, eight months — he had never visited his father in prison.

Ndileka is now studying nursing at the Medical University of South Africa, and Nandi is a BA student at the University of Cape Town. Each has provided Mandela with a great-grandchild.

It is here at Mqhekezweni that Nelson used to be visited by young Kaiser and George Matanzima, who used to be brought over from the neighbouring village. Their father was a headman under Dalindyebo rule. Kaiser and Nelson were the same age. With Justice, they both proceeded to study law at the the University of Fort Hare. Justice and Nelson were expelled after participating in a strike over the quality of the food.

When Mandela returns to Thembuland he may be expected to tackle the issue of the separation of Thembuland into two territories — one of the issues about which the Thembu people are most unhappy.

When the Nationalists came to power, Greater Thembuland remained under the chieftainship of the Dalindyebo family, but Western Thembuland was hived off to give the Matanzimas a political base.

## A family scattered from Kei to Boston

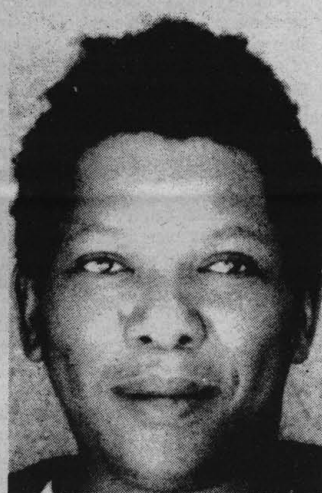
Makaziwe, Mandela's third child from his first marriage, is studying for a PhD in anthropology at the University of Massachusetts and will begin lecturing at the university in June. Although she was only two when her parents divorced, she apparently also suffered from the split. She told a Washington newspaper that when she was a teenager she "became so angry with her father that after years of dealing with him through a stepmother she stopped visiting him altogether".

Explained a friend of the family: "Naturally Winnie was head of the family when Nelson was away and she arranged schooling and finance for all the children."

But prompted by her mother, Makaziwe reconciled with her father in the late 1970s. She was excited at the thought of her father's release: "I'm finally going to have a father, hopefully," she told the newspaper.

Her three children, Kwaku, Dumani and Nobulali, will also gain a grandfather.

Mandela's second son Makgatho is the father of two boys, Mandla, who attends Waterford School in Swaziland, and seven-year-old Thembikile, who attends the Orient School in Durban, where he is "very happy". Makgatho has "never taken a political profile, is very reticent and



A chip off the old block ... Nelson Mandela's son Makgatho

retiring and for many years helped his mother run the trading store in the Transkei", according to the family friend.

Makaziwe, however, is described as very forthright and independent in her assessment of the South African situation and the various political groupings in the country.

Among the grandchildren of the first marriage, Nandi is the most politically active. But they are all "highly supportive of their grandfather and stand by him in his political beliefs", adds the family friend.

Pictures: PETER AUF DER HEYDE, Afrapix

The Mandela grandchildren are also ambitious academically — their inspiration comes from their grandfather's encouragement and guidance.

Eveline has now retired from running her business, the Mandela Trading Store in Cofimvaba. Said the family friend: "She is a woman in her own right, she has tremendous integrity and high morals — she did not even sell cigarettes at her shop because she opposes smoking."

"She respects (Mandela) and still loves him although she experienced great unhappiness at their divorce."

● Louise Flanagan reports that Eveline Mandela still lives in Cofimvaba, a tiny town near Queenstown. It's a dusty town of trading stores and not much else.

A few days before Mandela's release there was a meeting of Jehovah's Witnesses at her home next door to the shop she used to run and a group of youths playing the radio loudly across the road in the dusk.

On her door was a notice asking the media to leave her alone. She seemed bitter about her years of struggle when she and her children were ignored by the press, only to be invaded years later by dozens of journalists hoping for new stories. She also said that the ANC knew where she was but never helped her.

She was very reluctant to talk about the man she still regards as her husband and whose wedding ring she still wears.

While she said she was glad he would soon be out, she said she wouldn't go to see him. "He knows where I am," she said simply.

Cassandra Moodley



Mandela's sister-in-law, Nomonde Joyi, at his mother's grave.



WHAT THE RELEASE MEANS

# A symbolic moment that can change our history

*If the government believes it can control the reform process it has begun, it is fooling itself.*

By GAVIN EVANS

IT WAS only a few steps beyond the line that marked the entrance to Victor Verster Prison, and a brief gesture with one fist in the air, but it is likely to change the course of South Africa's future.

The release of the world's most famous prisoner could be South Africa's equivalent of the fall of the Berlin Wall — an event of singular importance which represents a turning point for a nation.

It is one of those decisive moments in history which arise out of the accumulation of a thousand pressures on a system and sometimes lead to the creation of a thousand new ones.

The release has massive symbolic importance. Mandela is the man who has come to embody South Africa's fight against minority rule and for non-racial democracy. To have him walk the streets is the most visible evidence so far that years of stagnant minority rule have given way to a situation of flux and dynamism.

But its importance is not only symbolic. It is also an event of direct political importance, because by releasing Mandela the government has unleashed a force that it can no longer control. Mandela's international stature, his local popularity, the force of his personality ensures that he will not be leashed again.

If the government still believes it can control the reform process it has started, it is kidding itself.

Ironically, it is the government more than anyone else which has created the "Mandela phenomenon". How does a man who has not been publicly seen or heard for almost three decades become such an international personality? It is only because the government has kept him in prison for so long and allowed interest to grow to such a fevered pitch.

The key protagonists in the conflict in the country — the African National Congress and the South African government — are both keenly aware that Nelson Mandela's release is an event loaded with potential and danger.

If the welcomings lead to ongoing street celebrations and protests, how will the government, and the police, respond? Can the protest be sustained — and if it is, will the result be Berlin or Tiananmen Square? Already, the signs in the first few hours of his release indicated that there would be mass reaction — and the real possibility of unrest.

Are the events likely to surround Mandela's release going to lead to an increase in rightwing terrorism and a resumption of the activities of police death squads? Police behaviour in the past few weeks have fuelled fears that the frustrations of some rightwing police may be expressed in trigger-happy crowd control.

Mandela's release could herald a rapid end to sanctions and other forms of international pressure — but

De Klerk's best efforts at becoming an internationally-respected leader could well be eclipsed by the arrival of his prisoner on the world stage.

Can De Klerk control the pace of change if the speed of events overtakes his current plans? And can Mandela live up to the massive public expectations built up over the 28 years of his incarceration?

Will his role as statesman and mediator be accepted by the militant township youth frustrated with the politics of negotiation? Is the white community capable of accepting Mandela's role as a leader of a militant liberation movement? And will they reject De Klerk as a white leader once the implications of his concessions become apparent?

These questions, and many others, are usually answered with the journalistic cliché of "it remains to be seen". And while no definitive answers are available, there are a few pointers.

The internal expectations surrounding Mandela's release cannot be compared with that of any other political prisoners, here or abroad.

Two years ago former ANC National Chairman Govan Mbeki was released in the midst of the State of Emergency. His release was met with enthusiasm by activists around the country — and mass jubilation in his home town of Port Elizabeth.

But when the authorities realised he was not going into quiet retirement they cracked down and placed him under virtual house arrest.

When the Sisulu seven were released in October crowds of 80 000 were attracted to rallies in Soweto, Umtata and elsewhere. There were mass celebrations in the streets of many townships and a new climate of political freedom was opened up.

De Klerk's concessions to local and international pressures ensured there were no crackdowns, and the seven were free to move as ANC leaders.

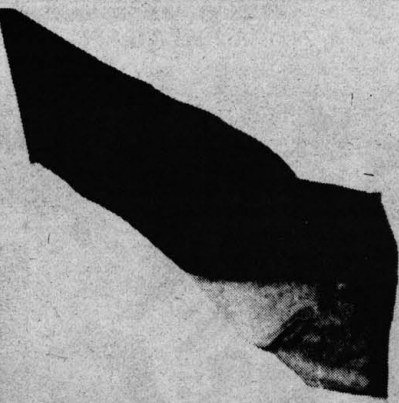
The government has probably calculated that the euphoria cannot last longer than it takes for Mandela to tour the country. And then, they hope, they will be able to move ahead in a less volatile environment, free from sanctions and free from causes of which they are the butt.

But things might not be that simple. There is the question of De Klerk's position. He has moved swiftly in the past few months to try and prove his credibility as a reformer, outpacing even the most optimistic predictions.

But still in the path of negotiations are "obstacles" such as the State of Emergency, several hundred political prisoners, the Internal Security Act and the continued presence of troops in a handful of townships.

And in the way of a settlement are the Group Areas Act, the Land Act, the tri-cameral parliament, the current conscription system and the Population Registration Act.

All of these obstacles provide fertile



Flags, toyi-toyi-ing and thousands of celebrators at yesterday's Jabulani Stadium rally

Picture: Afrapix

ground for ongoing protest, perhaps on an escalating scale.

Much will depend on how an angry police force, not taken with De Klerk's assurances, respond to hundreds of thousands of militant people in the streets.

Their mixed response to the various relatively small-scale dress rehearsals do not suggest a process as smooth as De Klerk hopes. Certainly they did not take kindly to the ANC's unbanning and their leash is looking increasingly strained.

A related issue is that of an angry, but divided far right, which correctly sees that all it has fought for is on its way out of the window.

An increasingly militant Conservative Party has spoken with a note of desperation about the past week's events. "As long as Mandela adheres to violence he should not be freed," CP MP Koos van der Merwe said in a terse statement.

The CP has now indicated that it too will take to the streets in protest marches and other extra-parliamentary actions.

The increasingly discredited Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Eugene TerreBlanche said his divided movement would defend its people and property "with violence" to restore law and order.

What certainly can be expected is a resurgence of far right anger, and perhaps a desperately renewed sense of unity.

Also on the cards are random displays of rightist violence aimed at blacks or anyone else who gets in the way. As has been the case in the past in many areas, the police will be reluctant to intervene and may well participate in their official or unofficial capacities.

Even more worrying is the possibil-

ity that the current hiatus in the train of state-linked death squad activities will come to an end.

Even if the upper echelons of the police and army are no longer involved, less senior officers and men, and their far right contacts, could well resume their dirty war.

Another side of the equation is how the youth section of Mandela's support base will respond to some of the complexities of the role he will be required to play.

Already, for many ANC youth supporters, the current politics of negotiation is being seen at best as an unacceptable compromise, at worst as a total sell-out.

Mandela, of course, will be a key component to these negotiations. In the process he will need to be winning over the NGK *krings*, the *sake-kamers* and other captains of industry, as well as rallying the masses.

What is certain is that this delicate balance will not please all of the people all of the time, and the displays of anger may well be emphatic.

Mandela's role in winning the support, or at least allaying the suspicions, of the white middle ground will also be vitally important.

Initially his release will provide a huge boost to stocks and shares and will certainly be welcomed by business. But when the hard bargaining begins the honeymoon will be over.

The white community in general, and the business community in particular, will not find further talk of nationalisations encouraging.

The Democratic Party has welcomed news of Mandela's release as, in the words of its national chairman, "a further move towards a more normalised political situation".

But already former DP supporters are moving in droves to the De Klerk

## Free Strydom too - Boerestaat Party

THE ultra-rightwing Boerestaat Party said it granted Nelson Mandela his freedom "as a Xhosa" and hoped he would use his energy to further the wellbeing of the Xhosa nation.

Party leader, Robert van Tonder, said Mandela would be making a "deadly mistake" if he thought he could "rob" the "boerevolk" of their rightful land and freedom, by involving himself in State President FW de Klerk's government.

"It also follows logically that Barend Strydom should be immediately released because Mandela's ANC has killed many more people than ... Strydom could have ever dreamed to kill," Van Tonder said. — Sapa

camp. With Mandela out, a minority will be attracted to the ANC and a majority are likely to see De Klerk as the safe path between a resurgent right and a defiant left. The position of the current parliament as a forum of significance will be significantly diminished.

Mandela's role as a bridge-builder raises another vital question, which has become the subject of growing speculation, not only in the press but also within the ranks of the ANC.

Will Mandela be elected the next leader of the ANC?

Six months ago, when the universally-respected Oliver Tambo was still healthy, the general answer from within ANC ranks was "probably not".

Mandela's role was seen as one of a statesman — an ANC leader who was more than just an ANC leader. At the time many in the press were predicting that younger men like Thabo Mbeki, or perhaps even Chris Hani, both of whom turn 48 in June, would eventually take over.

Such speculation has waned since Tambo's stroke. The acting leader is Secretary-General Alfred Nzo, who turns 65 before the ANC's crucial mid-year Consultative Conference. But there are few who see him as more than a temporary caretaker.

While the 72-year-old Tambo is in full command of his considerable intellectual capabilities, it is unlikely he will be able to continue his presidential role for much longer.

It is also unlikely that the enormous role to be assumed by a released Mandela can be contained in a "mere" ANC executive position. His current role may contain an element of mediation, but once the talks about talks begin he will be on the ANC side of the table. If Tambo is unavailable it will be hard to see Mandela as anything less than delegation leader.

There could, however, be several complicating factors.

One of them is that Mandela turns 72 in July, and much will depend on how his health responds to the immense pressures and strains which will soon confront him.

An important decision affecting the nature of Mandela's role will be that of when the exiles decide to return.

Whatever happens the return of people like Tambo, Joe Slovo, Govan Mbeki and Chris Hani will be of enormous significance which could eclipse even Mandela's release in mass response. It could have the effect of putting Mandela's role into more human proportions.

Internationally, it is certain that Mandela's release will help ease the sanctions pressures on Pretoria.

British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and American President George Bush have already indicated significant moves in this direction, and with Mandela out others will follow suit.

But much will depend on internal reaction.

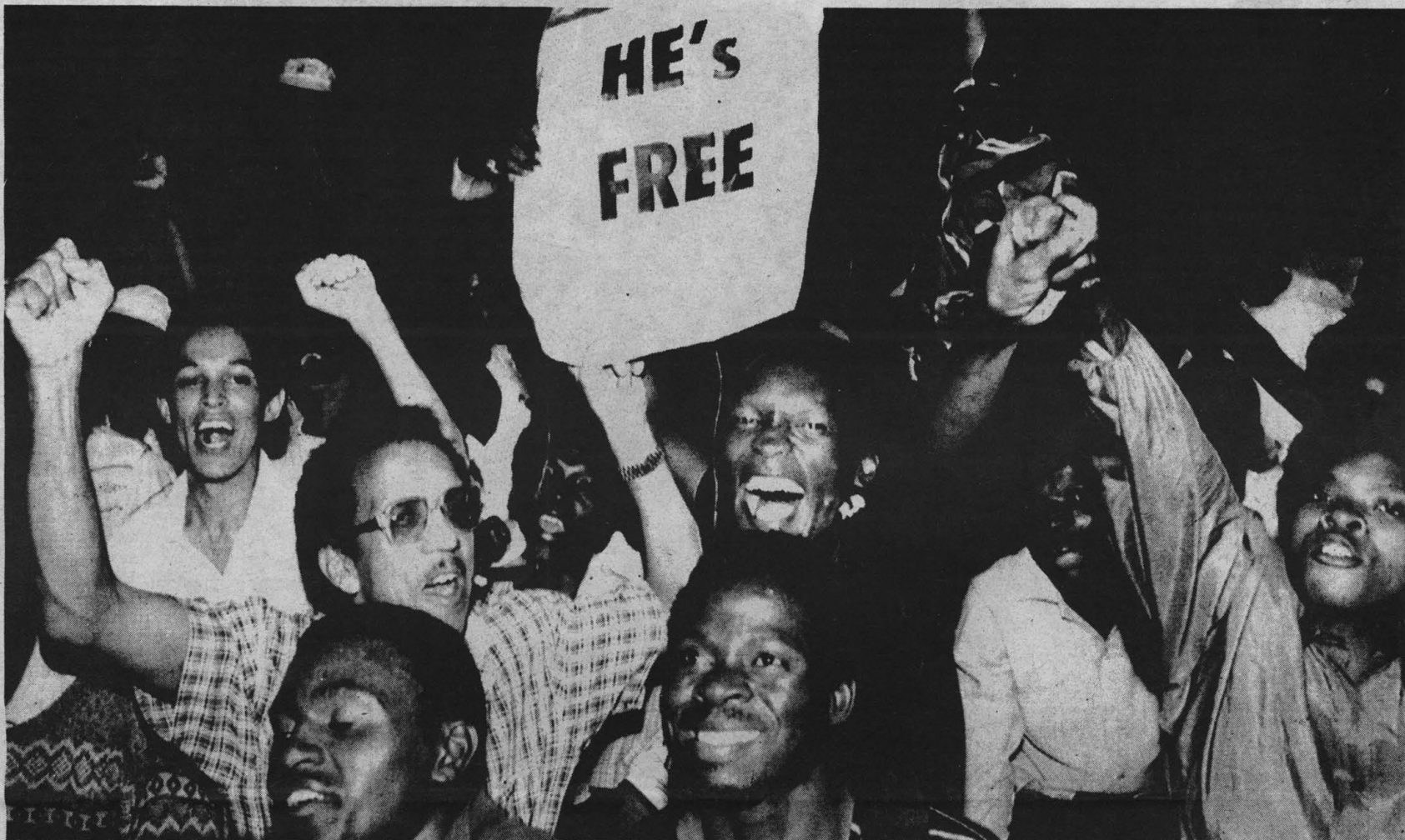
If, for example, the police crack down in a big way or De Klerk digs in on apartheid reforms in the face of mass opposition, De Klerk could well lose the tentative international sympathy he has won.



## SATURDAY NIGHT CELEBRATIONS

# The rain poured, but no-one cared

*Some people thought their wages would go up, others that rents would be scrapped*



Saturday night and Hillbrow celebrates ... from high up, it looked like a vast human river meandering through the streets

Pictures: JOHN PARKIN (AP)

By **THANDEKA QGUBULE, MZIMKULU MALUNGA and MUSA ZONDI**

LONG before the seven o'clock news began on TV 2 and 3 on Saturday night, youths were already chanting, whistling and moving up and down the streets in other parts of Soweto.

At about 5pm at Merafe Station on the western side of the township, a group of about 50 youths were carrying an African National Congress flag, singing and shouting "Viva ANC!" and "Long live Nelson Mandela!"

At one street corner in Tladi township, a lone "comrade" wearing an "abolish death penalty" T-shirt was dancing while an ANC flag he had tied to a string and wore like a necklace waved on his chest.

The mood was absolute euphoria when the news of the Mandela's imminent release hit the streets of this country's largest township.

Cars hooted along the Old Potchefstroom Road as drivers and pedestrians greeted each other with clenched fists. Others made peace signs and whistled as they drove or walked by, and the road was lined with toyi-toying residents, young and old.

An old man near Funda Centre waved a knobkerrie and danced as he shouted "Ah Daliwonga", a reference to the name given to Mandela after circumcision; it means "creator of a parliament".

The main song as the Potchefstroom Road turned briefly into a street party was "Thina lomhlaba sowuphendula" — we will transform this land.

Some people thought their wages would be increased because Mandela was released, while others expected rent would be scrapped in Soweto. Others feared the rightwing would go for people indiscriminately because they were displeased that Mandela was a free man.

The rain poured down but people

## Shebeens run dry

HILLBROW shebeens ran dry on Sunday as hundreds celebrated the release of Nelson Mandela.

Demands for alcohol to be drunk there or for "takeaways" reached such a pitch, said shebeen owners, that supplies ran out.

Gibson Tshabalala, owner of Little Soweto shebeen, said that when the announcement of Mandela's release was made on Saturday he bought R1 000's worth of alcohol. But by 10am on Sunday, it was sold out.

Thula Hlatshwayo, owner of the Sunbeam shebeen, said that on Saturday night "I must have sold about 300 cases of quarts. On Sunday morning, beer went like mad and was sold out by 11am." — Sapa

continued to toyi-toyi, many of them heading to the Mandela house in Orlando.

At the house the street was packed with toyi-toyi-ing youth. There were many journalists, both local and foreign. People were chanting slogans; one man recited passages from the Freedom Charter.

Many people in the streets wore yellow T-shirts with African National Congress and South African Communist Party slogans — while others wore a very popular T-shirt in black, green and gold with a photograph of Mandela and the words "Welcome back, Nelson Mandela".

An activist of the Soweto Civic Association excitedly said "The people must enjoy this hour because they have struggled long for this day. Nothing should deflate their spirits."

Youths in various parts of Soweto toyi-toyed up and down their streets. Along the main road in Dube, taxis hooted and passengers waved at each other. Whistles sounded round about 9pm as a large crowd, mainly



Archbishop Desmond Tutu dances for joy outside his Soweto home

youths, carrying an ANC flag and Mandela posters marched from Jabulani township down to Molapo.

As the night dragged on, despite heavy rain, large groups of people were still waiting at taxi stops hoping to get transport to Mandela's house in Orlando West.

"I will sleep outside his house if possible, because the only thing I want is to see him," said a young man who believed Mandela was going to be released in the early hours of Sunday.

Hillbrow is never dull on Saturday

night but on this one the atmosphere was not just happy, it was electric. A crowd surged from Smit Street and made its way up towards the busiest streets crossing Kotze. They were joined by more people on the way up.

They paused at the Highpoint complex where an impromptu meeting took place, with speakers stressing the need for non-violence and vigilance. Soon afterwards, the streets were filled with singing people again. They ran around the block and jammed the streets as irritated motorists hooted in

vain. Some started banging cars but self-appointed marshals stopped people from doing so.

From a vantage point high up in a residential block, the crowd looked like a meandering river, following its course into nowhere.

Police kept a low profile. They followed the crowd and in some cases blocked streets for demonstrators to continue unhindered.

The crowd congregated at the course next to Fontana Inn. Rousing oratory and a flood of slogans were the order of the day, as various self-appointed speakers stood up to address the assembled masses.

One stood on a dust bin as he attempted to read excerpts from Mandela's speech on the dock but he could hardly finish a word without the cries from the crowd of "Viva!"

The scene in Judith's Paarl at the Roman Catholic Centre was more subdued but no less joyous as old faithfuls of the Congress movement gathered to meet Barbara Hogan, jailed eight years ago for treason and released on Friday, two years early. They hugged and kissed and could hardly believe that this day had finally arrived.

White activists, many of them left-wing, also celebrated and danced the night away in the suburb of Mayfair, much of it occupied by rightwing activists. They rocked to the tune of exiled Hugh Masekela's song *Release Nelson Mandela* — "Bring him right back to Soweto. I want to see him walking down the streets of South Africa with Winnie Mandela."

The parties and the joy went on throughout the night.

Some people were a bit cautious amid the spontaneous celebrations on the streets of Soweto. As hooters and whistles could be heard around him, an old man said to his neighbour: "I will only believe that they want to free Mandela when I hear he is out."



## REJOICING IN SOWETO



At exactly three o'clock, the crowd, which could no longer fit into the bursting stadium, was asked to stand and sing the national anthem ...

Picture: A Uzi, Afrapix

## The crippled, the blind, the deaf come out

SOWETANS packed the Jabulani Stadium beyond capacity yesterday, waiting for Mandela. The stadium trembled as over 35 000 people stamped their feet and sang "Mandela sabela ubabizwa" (Mandela, answer — you are being called).

A police helicopter flew over the stadium and the crowd thudded in unison: "ANC, ANC, ANC ..." almost drowning out the sound of the hovering aircraft. One by one the different regions of Soweto arrived in the stadium, each bringing its own song to add to the mosaic of sounds that rang out into the blue sky.

And each brought with them a flag in the colours of the African National Congress, bearing the name of the Soweto region represented. Molapo and Mndeneni were among the flags hoisted.

All wore broad smiles and feelings of victory. Flags were on sale at the gate. The ANC Youth League charged R3 per flag, and these disappeared like hot potatoes.

The ANC's colours dominated the scenery as women, men and children appeared out of the streets of Soweto dressed in black, green and gold. People carrying the front pages of yesterday's papers bearing the headlines "Mandela Free Today", mounted on cardboards and sticks, waved around for all to get the message.

Plastic flowers in the colours of the ANC and the South African Communist Party circulated in the crowd.

Then there were the flags of notable creativity. One read: "Africa is like a sleeping lion, beautiful — but when it wakes up it is dangerous."

Symbolising the continuing commitment to armed struggle, the youth carried toy guns and imitated the sounds made by a rifle as they danced and sang.

Freedom songs were sung jubilant-

ly — even in the current spirit of negotiations, the inherent militancy of the songs remained.

When the crowd sang "uTambo uyabuya" (Tambo is coming back), it sounded possible, even likely.

The master of ceremonies, an activist of the South African Youth Congress (Sayco), Iphrahim Nkwe, told the crowd to sing so that even Mandela could hear as he walked out of Victor Verster Prison.

It was a day of much rhetoric. But it blended so well with the real significance of the day that no speaker need have said anything — the people of Soweto had said it all and they had said it loud and clear: We support the ANC and we are overjoyed that we are soon to set our eyes on Nelson Mandela.

At exactly three o'clock the crowd which could no longer be contained by the bursting stadium, was asked to stand to sing the national anthem as Mandela took his first steps out of Victor Verster. More than 35 thousand people rose and as many fists went up against the sky. The national anthem was sung and some people, particularly women, were in tears. Small children stood with both arms up — one with a flag and the other with a little clenched fist.

Even the crippled, the blind and the deaf came out in the hope of hearing or seeing Mandela.

There were some harsh words thrown at State President FW de Klerk by the youth leadership. Nkwe said that while the youth welcomed the steps taken by De Klerk they were not enough. Another youth leader said it was a "known fact" that many of South African youths were members of the ANC's military wing Umkhonto weSizwe (MK), and he said that as youth they were con-

*Yesterday's newspapers turned into today's placards as thousands of Sowetans packed Jabulani stadium.*  
THANDEKA GQUBULE reports

cerned about the government's vagueness about criteria for the return of exiles, particularly those who had taken up arms in exile.

Sayco speakers demanded prisoner-of-war status for those cadres of MK who were serving sentences and were on death row. They told the crowd apartheid was still intact and reminded De Klerk that the South African community was at war with itself.

The crowd was also told that State President FW de Klerk was still committed to the principles of the Nationalist Party. "Nelson Mandela is going

to walk out a free man today and it will be because of your struggles that he will be back to lead us again," Nkwe told the gathering.

As he spoke and the crowds cheered "Viva!", bugles sounded from the audience. And slogans like "Long live the spirit of no surrender!" and "No compromise!" rang out.

The day was also graced by various cultural performances. Gumboot dancers acted out the lives of mine workers as the gleeful crowd cheered. Drum majorettes in black, green and gold, with little male drummers the same size as the drums they beat, also performed.

But the highlight of the afternoon was when released Rivonia trialist Andrew Mlangeni appeared in the crowd — looking magnificent and waving his clenched fist at the thousands assembled.

He delivered a speech in which he pleaded with people to strengthen their structures. While waiting for guidance from the ANC, he said, they should continue "as if the ANC

had not been banned". Mlangeni also brought the crowd a message from Oliver Tambo, the ailing president of the ANC: "The struggle must go on."

He told the crowds: "I can see it in your faces that you have become very thirsty for freedom." He appealed to the crowd to receive Mandela in the most dignified manner possible.

As the crowd moved out of the stadium, it began to rain. But this did not deter jubilant Sowetans from streaming out into the streets.

All roads led the crowd to Mandela's house in Orlando. Cars were stopped as youths appealed for lifts and hung out of doors and windows, shaking clenched fists and shouting "Viva!"

The hooping of cars sounded like one continuous scream as taxis and cars negotiated their way through toyi-toying crowds.

Near Diepkloof, a group of chickens was scattered by passing residents and one said: "Today in Soweto even the chickens are doing the toyi-toyi."

### CAR PLOUGHS INTO CROWD AT PE WELCOME RALLY

A RALLY in Port Elizabeth's Zwide township yesterday which had been called to campaign for the abolition of the death penalty turned into a rally to celebrate Nelson Mandela's release.

The rally, organised by the National Association of Democratic Lawyers (Nadel), drew close on 90 000 people to the Dan Qeque.

Speakers included regional ANC leaders Gugile Nkwinti and Mkhulisi Jack, Congress of South African Trade Unions national vice-president, John Gomomo, Save the Patriots organiser Michael Mambukwe and the local Nadel president Silas Nkanunu.

While most speakers focussed on the

death penalty, the ANC and Mandela, Jack called for support to stop the English rebel cricket tour. "The battle lines are drawn. If they don't heed the warning then a repetition of the 1986 consumer boycott is on the cards," he said.

Gomomo warned the ANC not to be caught off guard. "We need to build structures on the ground," he said.

The rally ended at about 2.30 to enable people to watch the release on television. As people dispersed they formed smaller groups and toyi-toyed through the township. The atmosphere was like a carnival. Throughout the township you couldn't escape the feeling that a new era had arrived.

Port Elizabeth's celebration of Mandela's release initially started on a sour note when a car ploughed into crowd of people celebrating in the Zwide streets on Saturday.

Unconfirmed reports say that four people died and numerous others were injured in the incident. Full details are not yet known, but local leaders are blaming rightwing elements or death squads.

"There are many people who have not come to term with the changes and they are quite capable of doing something like that," said one.

Peter Auf der Hyde



MANDELA'S ROLE AS UNIFIER

WILL Nelson Mandela be able to play the role of unifier of the fragmented extra-parliamentary groups?

Disunity among extra-parliamentary groups has exploded in inter-ethnic violence, particularly in 1984 and 1985, seriously hampering the resistance struggle.

Many activists believe a united front of liberation organisations is crucial — and should take priority above the question of negotiations or talks about talks.

Mandela has indicated he is willing to work with people who are not members of the African National Congress to forge as broad an alliance as possible.

The response to this initiative has been ambivalent. Certainly the euphoria surrounding his release has not seemed to sway other extra-parliamentary groups from their political beliefs.

But as Azanian People's Organisation President Nkosi Molala says: "We believe that in fact the time for real unity within the liberation movement has arrived."

Other non-charterist groups like the Pan Africanist Movement and the Cape Action League also see the need for unity.

CAL Chairperson Jean Pease says: "Mandela should use his status to bring together all organisations in a united front."

But PAM General Secretary Benny Alexander comments: "There is no individual messiah in the land. A solution to the country's problems lies with the action of the toiling masses."

"The only meaningful role we see for Mandela and all revolutionaries is to fight for the return of the land."

Pease agrees: "CAL has problems with building one person up into a unifier."

But the groups concede that, through the work of the media and the Release Mandela Campaign, Mandela has assumed a position above that of an ordinary political prisoner in the eyes of the people.

Azapo's Molala says: "This image



*Black opposition groups are deeply and bitterly divided. The only man able to command respect across ideological divides is Nelson Mandela. Here, CASSANDRA MOODLEY talks to the ANC's Africanist and black consciousness rivals*

that has been created around him has been translated into a unifying factor."

But will Mandela's visions of unity and the concept of a united front coincide with the aspirations of other groups?

Reports cite Mandela as prepared to work with certain "homeland" leaders, his intention being to draw these men to the ANC's side and away from the government. Leaders such

as Enos Mabuza of KaNgwane and Major-General Bantu Holomisa of Transkei have been received by the exiled ANC leadership in Lusaka.

Alexander says: "He (Mandela) could play a unifying role provided he seeks to unify liberation forces under a programme of action aimed at totally liquidating the colonial settler regime."

"The object of a united front is to fight the enemy jointly. There is no

need for a united front to compromise," he adds.

Azapo believes, says its spokesman: "It will best serve the interests of struggle if Mandela could assume a position that places him above his political home (the ANC). Only then will it be possible for him to become a unifying factor — he will become more accessible to organisations of different ideological persuasions, unlike the recently released (ANC) seven. And all organisations would then be able to interact freely with him in such a context."

"The united front that the BCM envisages involves and is confined to components of the broad liberation movement."

"We consider those operating in government-created structures to have voluntarily decided to make common cause with the regime and the onus is not on us but on them to disengage from the regime's clutches."

"United fronts in struggles the world over have not included, as far as we know, people and elements who have been in the payroll of the respective oppressive regimes."

"We, however, are not averse to discussing such issues with other components of the liberation movement."

Pease feels that "Mandela could bring about unity by calling for a forum where all progressive organisations could attend and thrash out certain issues." She stresses, however, that CAL is opposed to collaboration with state-created institutions.

"If all the progressive organisations united in pressing for the demands of one person one vote in a unitary state, a lot of infighting would be put to an end."

Pease says her organisation "certainly respects the person and sacrifice he had made but you don't see any one person as facilitator, negotiator and the one on whom change depends — changes have and will be brought about by all the work and sacrifice of all the oppressed people".

Perhaps Molala's resolve sums up one of the tasks that awaits Mandela from his first day of freedom: "He should serve as a catalyst or a person giving directives and creating conditions necessary for suspicion-free interaction between and amongst components of the broad liberation movement."

"In the same way that the release of political prisoners has hitherto not been accompanied by any meaningful change, there is no reason to believe Mandela's release will bring about meaningful change on the part of the regime."

"But the change we should see taking place would lie in the liberation movement and that would be his role in relation to the much-sought-out process of unity in action."

INKATHA'S BUTHELEZI WELCOMES THE RETURN OF A TRUSTED FRIEND

RELATIONS between the African National Congress and Inkatha have been increasingly strained over the last decade, but the release of Nelson Mandela may bring a thaw in hostilities.

Despite animosity between the ANC and Inkatha leaderships, Inkatha President Mangosuthu Buthelezi can count on an old friendship with Mandela, dating back to their student days at the University of Fort Hare.

Buthelezi has been a consistent lobbyist for the unconditional freeing of Mandela, something commented on appreciatively by the ANC leader in his most recent letter to Buthelezi, written a year ago.

For Buthelezi, Mandela's release means more than simply the return of a personal friend whose home he often visited; a friend who played draughts with Buthelezi's father-in-law at the Bantu Men's Social Centre.

In private and at public rallies he calls Mandela a "martyr of the struggle". He recognises that Mandela has a crucial role to play in negotiations, and as a facilitator of unity between black and white, as well as between different black groups.

In an interview last week, he also said he hoped Mandela would have a significant impact on the continuing Natal violence.

"He has shown his agony (over the killings), and the pain of the man is loud and clear in the letter he wrote me. He is concerned. Very much so."

However Buthelezi cautioned Mandela was "no magic wand" and that the situation was far more than simply a clash between the supporters of different organisations.

"There are also criminals like the Sinyoras, and factors like unemployment and sanctions all play a part in the problem."

Despite the complexity of the prob-

*Mangosuthu Buthelezi, foe of both the UDF and ANC, but a long-time friend of Mandela's, discusses the prospects for reconciliation. CARMEL RICKARD reports*

lem, Buthelezi said, "knowing Mandela's concern about the violence and his commitment to liberation" he would do everything he could to bring an end to the killings.

But the release of Mandela could make Buthelezi's own position more complicated.

Relations between the ANC and Inkatha have been increasingly strained over the last decade, and ANC publications have slated the kwaZulu leader, calling him the kind of names which Buthelezi believes has partly provoked the Natal violence.

Buthelezi hopes Mandela will be able to improve these relations, but he also runs the associated risk that Inkatha will lose support to the ANC. It's a risk Buthelezi said he's ready to take.

"How can I prophesy what will happen? There could be a lot of euphoria and some people could move over. But likewise we have some old ANC members who feel Inkatha has chosen the correct path."

"(ANC secretary-general) Alfred Nzo himself said they have no ability to succeed in a violent struggle, and yet they are following this path (of violence). People cannot be confused by this (contradiction)."

He said his organisation identifies closely with the aims of the ANC, but disagrees about means to these ends, in particular about sanctions and violence. Any absorption of Inkatha into the ANC is unlikely, to put it mildly:

"Inkatha and the ANC have similar ideals," he said. "I do not see myself as a rival of the ANC. We even use the same colours because we believe in the same ideals."

But communications between the ANC and Inkatha broke down in 1979. "We differed even then on violence and sanctions. They still stick to (both). We differ on these issues and I cannot see my followers compromising on either issue."

"However this (possibility of a merger) would have to be discussed by both parties and I do not see anything wrong with that if people agree."

He conceded it was "very odd" that there should be two organisations both welcoming and praising the same hero, Mandela, while remaining at loggerheads with each other.

One of Buthelezi's greatest concerns was that Mandela might be "captive" to the ANC now he's been released and unable to act as he believes best — particularly on the question of talks with Buthelezi.

He gave the example of Walter Sisulu, who was invited by Buthelezi and King Goodwill Zwelithini for talks. Sisulu responded positively in the media and followed this with a message confirming he had received the invitation and that he would reply.

"He has not yet done so. To me it seems Sisulu is some kind of captive now, and I hope this will not happen to Mandela."

"He (Mandela) says he cannot and will not do anything against the wishes of the external mission."

"We think he has no problem himself about talks (with Buthelezi), but there is a perception that the released ANC leaders are 'captives' and we hope this will not happen to him."

Nevertheless, Buthelezi said he believes Mandela "has a backbone rare in politicians" and sticks by his principles.



Mangosuthu Buthelezi: Prepared to take the risks

Given the strained relations between Inkatha and the ANC, Buthelezi said it would have been understandable if Mandela had not kept in touch with him. But he had done so, and had told visitors of the part he believed Buthelezi could play.

"For example he told Helen Suzman that Inkatha and I have a role to play, and he wrote a letter last year saying he hoped relations between me and (ANC president) Tambo and between the two organisations would be restored to their former cordiality."

"(To say that) is greatness itself in the light of the attitude of people who are his allies."

"It takes courage to stand separate from them and Mandela has repeatedly shown he does have the courage of his convictions."

"We are also concerned that some people are being over-ambitious and are refusing to give him his due," he said. "No one has sacrificed as much as he has done and he should not now be elbowed out."

Buthelezi's association with Mandela goes back to when he knew him as a law student, 10 years older, and part of a group of "young turks" responsible for revamping the ANC.

They kept in touch with each other after university, and in 1951/2 when Buthelezi was preparing to begin articles in a law firm, the "young turks" were influential in making him change his mind.

Buthelezi said at that time he had a letter from his mother that his uncle, who was acting for him as chief of the Buthelezis, was grooming his oldest half-brother to take over the position.

He said Mandela, ANC president Albert Luthuli and others were partly responsible for his decision to drop his plans for a legal career, and return home to take up the Buthelezi chieftainship.

"Because of the position of the clan as most senior after the king, the leader of the Buthelezis is very influential in the Zulu royal family."

"The ANC leadership at the time thought it was important to have someone from their ranks in such an influential position in the family and in Zulu affairs."

While Buthelezi said he had no doubt it was the right decision, he was equally adamant it was the course urged on him by Mandela and other ANC leaders.

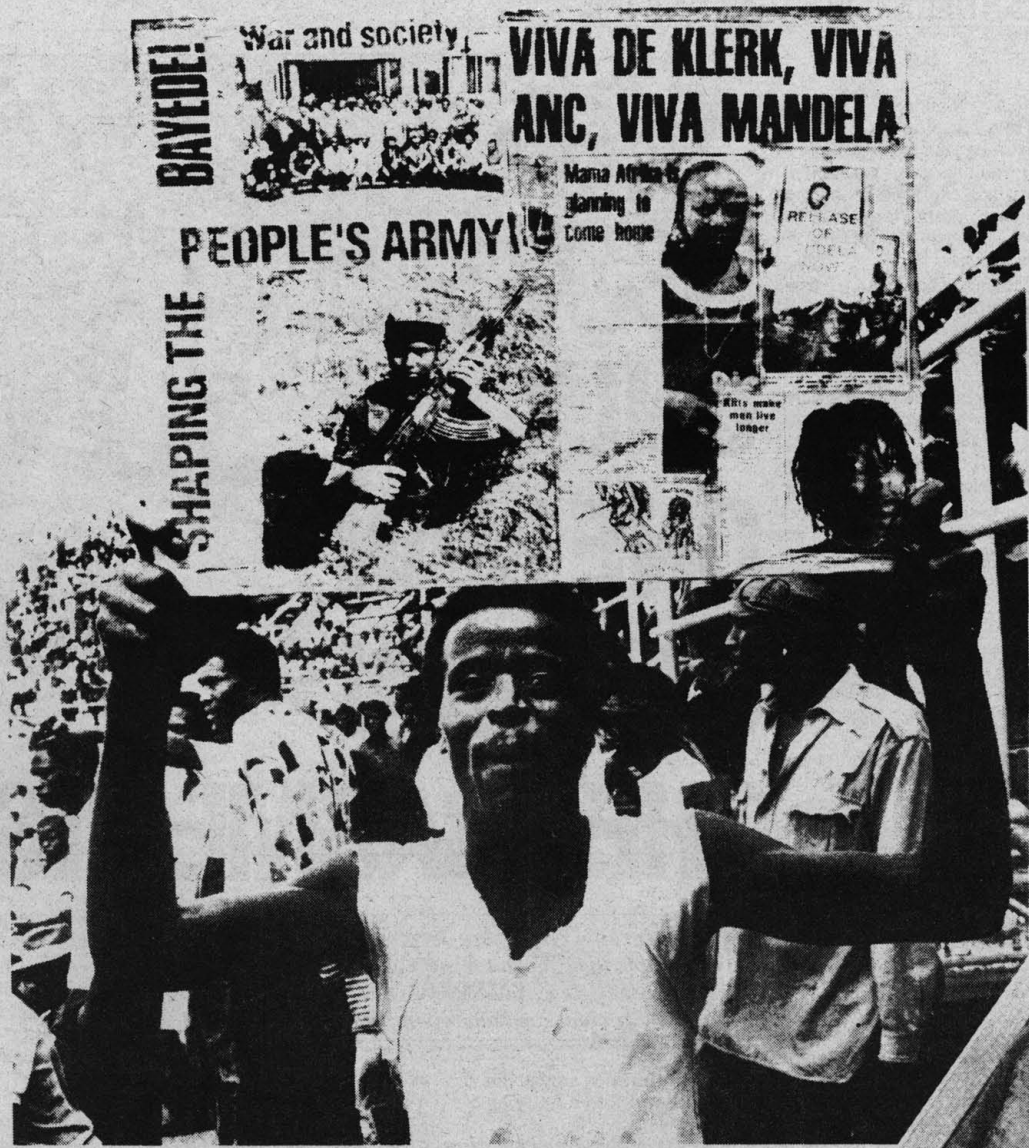
After he took up the chieftainship, he maintained contact and said whenever he visited Johannesburg "there was never a time when Mandela would not invite me home to dinner".

This relationship has continued during the years of Mandela's imprisonment. Buthelezi, who believes Mandela "has the political courage to do what he believes is right", said he is sure it is a relationship which will continue.



THE DAY IN PICTURES

# A leader returns, a nation celebrates



Mandela walks free ... left, Jabulani jubilation; top, a people's patchwork poster; top right, a free Mandela, Winnie alongside

Pictures: A UZI, Afrapix; GREG ENGLISH, AP







“

I have fought against white domination and I have fought against black domination. I have carried the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all

persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunity. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die.

”

— Nelson Mandela, spoken from the dock in 1964; repeated on the Grand Parade, February 11, 1990



Writing on the wall ... township graffiti passes a vote of confidence in a wide range of black leaders  
Picture: A UZI Afrapix



THE party really came alive on Sunday. Soweto, Hillbrow, Sharpeville, Katlehong ... in fact the whole country, broke into impromptu celebrations.

It was on Saturday night that it actually began. Thousands took to the streets the moment the announcement was made, marching in the streets of Soweto (in pouring rain), singing and toyi-toying until well after midnight.

And on Monday, the celebrations continued as thousands of people stayed away from work.

There was no official call for a stay-away, no pamphlets were distributed, neither were there the usual nocturnal evangelists calling on workers to stay at home. It just happened and the people stayed away on their own to welcome the released African National Congress leader.

"*Inkokheli ibuyile asi phangele namhlanje* (The leader is back, we are not working today)," was the

# 'If I can just touch his hand,

IT WAS THE BIGGEST PARTY THE COUNTRY HAD SEEN. IT STARTED ON SATURDAY NIGHT,

message.

A few taxis and buses were running to town early in the early morning, but they disappeared shortly after 7am. A handful of students in uniform went to school, but hung around the premises rather than going into classes.

At about 8am, hundreds of people had already lined up the main road in Orlando East, Afrika Street, which leads onto the Soweto Highway to the city. An amorphous group of youths sat in the road anxiously waiting for Mandela.

"We are here to form a guard of honour for Comrade Mandela when he enters Soweto for the first time in many years on his way home," said one youth wearing a gold, green and

black T-shirt at the Orlando/Diepkloof entrance to Soweto.

The Old Potchefstroom Road, the main route for people travelling to the city from the west and eastern parts of Soweto, was overcrowded with people hoping Mandela would use that route on his way to his Orlando West home.

As I headed for the Orlando railway bridge, which connects Orlando East to Orlando West, about 200 people came running down Mooki Street singing: "*Mandela sabela uyabizwa* (Mandela respond, you are being called)."

A large crowd had already assem-

bled outside house number 8115 Orlando West, hoping to catch a glimpse of the 72-year-old ANC leader. They came with crutches, wheelchairs, walking sticks; others chanted and ran all the way to welcome their hero.

"If I can just touch his hand, I will go home in peace," said an old man, David Phumo, who had come all the way from Mofokeng Section, Katlehong. "I knew him when he was still young but now his hair is as white as mine."

"He was the best lawyer in town but the Boers made him to spend all his life in prison," lamented Phumo.

The whole street leading up to the Maponya shopping complex was a hive of activity as thousands more joined in the vigil.

A battery of cameras were focussed on Mandela's house, flashes popping all the time. Journalists had virtually camped outside the house and some have been sleeping there for days in caravans and trucks parked in the street.

The marshals, frequently taking orders from their superiors, had a busy time throughout as the crowds surged forward to be nearer the house.

The South African Police had an easy day leaving the whole thing to



Sign of the times ... Supporters of Nelson Mandela find a vantage point to wait eagerly for the moment of his appearance as a free man. Picture: PAUL GRENDON, Afrapix

## Patience, people, patience. Then

By DAVID BERESFORD

SO the history books can show that it was at 4.16pm on Sunday, February 11 1990, that he finally came out of prison — 27 years, six months and six days after he was captured in the little town of Howick, supposedly betrayed by a CIA agent.

As it happened, the timing was all wrong. President FW de Klerk had promised he would be out at 3pm, so he was one-and-a-quarter-hours late, which, when you think about, is a little strange for a man who must have been longing to get the hell out of there for more than quarter of a century. But then that was just one small element in a pretty surrealistic day and, besides, he was having a cup of tea in the prison with his family and nobody was begrudging him that.

But by the time he made that magnificent, if fleeting, appearance at the gates of Victor Verster Prison, the air was electric with all the waiting and the excitement. The media had been there, of course, in growing numbers from about eight in the morning, one American network setting up a "cherry picker" with hydraulic lift for the best angles; rival networks flitting overhead from time to time in search of better angles; the hoi poloi behind the ropes on the ground, strapped by more limited expense budgets, squabbling over who was to enter a "pool" which would give them a 20 foot advantage when the great man came

striding out to freedom.

Others were gathering as well; a crowd of well-wishers swelling to some 2 000 who danced and sang their way through the day with a stamina to be expected of supporters of one of the world's longest-running liberation struggles. There were about 100 uniformed police standing more tiredly at the gates themselves; a few dozen more loitering under pine-trees on an adjoining rugby field; two truck-loads over-looking the scene from a nearby mountain-side; groups of plain clothes men hanging about in surrounding vineyards and troops lurking in nearby bushes — one bunch of whom were highly embarrassed when a woman photographer stumbled into their dug-out in search of a public convenience.

The end of the long wait was heralded, inevitably, by the networks, when four of their helicopters, tipped off by radio, came hurtling over the hills and went zigzagging across the ground like an angler's floats signalling a shoal of hooked fish. In this case it was a joint catch and as realisation dawned on the waiting crowd that it was the man's car they were tracking, on its way from his prison bungalow, the shouts and cheers reached hysterical proportions.

The car drew up and he stepped out



Outside Victor Verster Prison, waiting for the world's most famous political prisoner to walk to freedom, the ANC flag is hoisted. Picture: PAUL GRENDON, Afrapix



# I will go home in peace'

WARMED UP ON SUNDAY AND WAS GOING STRONG ON TUESDAY. PHIL MOLEFE REPORTS

the people to handle it for themselves. Police representative Colonel Tienne Halgryn, said the mood in Soweto was "normal".

"We have sent out our normal patrols and we have been on the line to them every five minutes. They report everything as normal. Few celebrations have taken place ... and there has been no need for us to intervene in any action," he said.

Scores of vehicles including taxis and buses had joined in the merry-making, blarring their horns.

"O kae jwale a sa fihle? (Where is he now?)," said one old woman as she patiently waited in the blazing

sun.

Just before midday word had already spread in the sprawling township that the leader would be addressing the masses at Orlando Stadium soon after his arrival from Cape Town.

"It is going to be full at the stadium, we should be making our way to Orlando now," said Florence Masekwameng, a student at a nearby high school as she persuaded her friend that they should leave.

"I want to shake his hand first before I listen to him speak at the stadium," replied Maki, Florence's friend. Some old people who could not

make their way to the stadium waited patiently outside the Mandela household. "In the African tradition he can't go to the stadium before he goes into his house and thanks his ancestors for keeping him all these years," remarked one old man.

From the Orlando West hill top next to Mandela's house, scores of people could be seen making their way to the stadium. They marched from Mzimhlophe, Dube, Mofolo and Meadowlands in the West, and from Klipspruit and Orlando in the East.

Never before was Orlando Stadium so full. A Pirates-Kaizer Chiefs cup final at the stadium used to draw a

crowd of about 60 000.

But on Monday the Soweto soccer mecca was full beyond capacity. Two children were reported killed in a stampede and scores of other people were injured.

The people waited and Mandela did not arrive. His failure to arrive did not dampen the spirits. Thousands chanted and *toyitoyied* in the streets on their way home after the rally had been called off.

The news late in the evening that Mandela had finally landed in Johannesburg and would be addressing a rally at the First National Bank stadium on Tuesday sparked another round of celebrations.

Scores of people headed for Orlando West hoping he would sneak in at

the last hour. Television cameras took fresh positions and the marshalls were down to work again.

Some journalists had already heard through the grapevine that Mandela was whisked away to a secret place in Honeydew and he was likely to spend the night there.

But the people hung around.

The real moment for him to be seen in Soweto came only at about 2pm on Tuesday when he appeared at the FNB stadium. Even Abdul Bhamjee, the National Soccer League public relations officer, admitted that day that Soccer City had never been that full.

After the speech, when the National Reception Committee chose to fly Mandela from the stadium in a helicopter, they made him miss what was happening on the ground.

"Mandela belongs to us, he belongs to the masses so why fly him above the people," grumbled one activist.

Standing in the crowd, I wished Mandela had been able to see it all.



Relaxed and regal ... Nelson Mandela with Winnie Mandela at the Soccer City rally  
Picture: ANNA ZIEMINSKI, Afrapix



Joyfully reunited ... proud grandfather Nelson Mandela — the day after his release — with his wife Winnie and their daughter Zinzi (far right) and her children, Zoleka (left), Gadaffi (centre) and the newest baby (in Zinzi's arms).  
Picture: BENNY GOOL, Afrapix

## suddenly, he was there

to give a clenched-fist salute and advanced towards the gates, some 10 yards away, which symbolised freedom. A young woman among the press gave a piercing shriek which would have done a reincarnated Elvis Presley proud and, as if on the signal, the photographers stampeded and jumped upon each other with an air of desperation born of the fond belief that fame and fortune lay in a clear shot of the man.

After shaking a few hands their target made a strategic retreat to his car and was whisked off in what was just one of the surrealistic sights: that of the "desperate criminal" and "bloodthirsty terrorist" of yesteryear being protected by the wailing sirens of motorcycle cops riding with all the pride of a presidential escort.

They took the back-roads to Cape Town which was a pity, because the 50km length of the national road from nearby Paarl to the mother city was lined by crowds and groups of well wishers waiting for a glimpse of the living legend. They lined the flyovers, gazing down into the cars hurtling along the motorway underneath. Families watched hopefully next to empty picnic hampers under shady trees and gesticulating youths dancing along the verges with ANC flags, precipitating traffic jams and at least one pile-up as they exchanged jubilant clenched-fist salutes with passing cars speeding to the Cape Town rally.

When the convoy reached the city it was to find a huge, seething crowd of some 80 000 gathered on the Grand Parade in front of Cape Town city hall, awaiting the appearance of the man. On a porch under a huge ANC flag two anti-apartheid clerics, the Rev Frank Chikane and the Rev Allan Boesak, urged them to patience as the hours ticked by. The heat in the middle of the crowd was almost unbearable, even in the summer's evening.

One by one fainting youths were passed over heads and hauled up to the podium for air. Nearby a water main was broken open and people scrambled for handfuls of water. On the edge of the parade ground the crowd surged now and then to the thud of gunshots as police in adjoining streets fired at alleged looters. In one corner a mobile medical clinic manned by university students tended to the injured lying on stretchers, some children in their pre-teens. The crowd waited on, heedless, for the man.

And then suddenly he was there, to a bellow of welcome. Looking gaunt in his grey suit and donnish in spectacles he read his carefully prepared speech.

And then the crowd broke into that great hymn, *Nkosi Sikelele iAfrika*, and all the waiting was forgotten in the moment: a man called Nelson Mandela had returned home to his people.

## We'll follow Mandela, the people sing

By VUSI GUNENE

FREEDOM songs are one of the most powerful and original forms of "folk" music in South Africa, a product of the experiences of the people, their anger and their determination to be free. Their origins are diverse, emanating from the changing political scenario.

But, during the Welcome Home rally at the Soccer City stadium this week, activists struggled over their choice of freedom songs — as so many call for the release of Nelson Mandela.

But one song that still works and was sung in most of the townships during the euphoria of the African National Congress leader's release is the one calling for Mandela to answer

back: "Nelson Mandela, *sabela uyabizwa*" (Nelson answer back, you are being called).

Most of the freedom songs created for campaigns such as the defiance campaign, the pass campaigns and the women's march on the Union Buildings, are still sung today, with slight modifications.

Such songs, despite being "outdated" on one level, still have the power to mobilise communities around a variety of issues.

Some of the songs are influenced by the rhythms and lyrics of church hymns and are reworded to fit a particular event at a particular time.

During the nationwide uprising of 1976, the most popular song was *Senzeni na? Sidutshulwa nje nge zinja* (What should we do when we are being shot like dogs?). The song uses the same rhythm as a well-known hymn.

Later the songs shifted from their defensive stance to assume a tone of more positive protest. Some praised the military wing of the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe, while some praised the organisation's leadership.

During the rise of the workers movement, many songs called on the workers to unite and join the unions.

During the 1980s, a lot of songs were levelled at the government, in

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THE WELCOME ALONG THE REEF

# Sharpeville again, but no shots this time

Ten thousand people gather in front of a police station ... just as in Sharpeville, 1960. PHIL MOLEFE reports

THOUGHTS of the Sharpeville massacre flashed through my mind when more than 10 000 people gathered outside the Katlehong police station near Germiston yesterday, to celebrate the release of Nelson Mandela.

But unlike that day in 1960 no shots were fired. The police looked on as the crowd *toy-toy-ed* in front of the station and chanted: "*Kudala sizabala-za, uMandela ubuyile*" — we have been waging the struggle for too long, Mandela is back.

Traffic was brought to a standstill as residents took to the street waving African National Congress and South African Communist Party flags.

Even an alcoholic chap known in the township as "Professor" was overjoyed by the news of Mandela's release. "Our leader is back, the whole world will turn upside down," he said.

His friend, Mike, couldn't resist a jibe: "Mandela is going to do away with liquor, you are happy for nothing." To which Professor retorted: "Then he must go back if he's going to tamper with our drinking."

But that was a lone view, and was probably soon forgotten by the man who expressed it. "*Ku phuma inkosi — the king is released*" chanted the marchers, who must have covered

over 30 kilometres through the township as more and more people joined in.

Women dropped their pots and waved to the chanting masses, some joining in the march. "*Uyeza uMandela ngo three, usaleleni*" — Mandela is coming at three, what are you remaining behind for" said one woman.

Water buckets were lined up in the streets for the throng to quench their thirst. The marchers tramped down Schoeman Road which divides Katlehong from Thokoza. A cavalcade of cars and taxis, stretching about five kilometres, followed behind the marchers blowing their horns to the

skies.

There was more drama on the corner of Schoeman and Hospital roads as hundreds of people who were visiting their relatives at the Natalspruit Hospital changed direction and joined the march.

The ANC and SACP flags were again hoisted high amid shouts of "*amandla*" and "*viva Nelson Mandela*". The crowd then sat down and received fresh instructions from the organisers before they headed for the police station.

In Thokoza, on Saturday afternoon, two people were reportedly shot dead and many others injured af-

ter security forces opened fire when a crowd of some 5 000 demonstrated after a rent meeting.

But at the station police just waved at the crowd surrounding them. The crowd then sat and listened to one of the organisers say: "This is a victory for Mandela and a victory for the nation."

And then they broke into yet another song: "*Mandela o balla masole, O robaletseng tsohatsoha* — Mandela is looking for soldiers, wake up; what are you sleeping for?"

A heavy downpour arrived; but nothing was going to dampen the spirits of the crowd on a day like this.

## A river flows to the house of Moss Chikane

By VUSI GUNENE

COMMUNITY leaders in Pretoria townships met on Saturday to arrange the control of thousands of people filling the streets in celebration of the announcement of the long-awaited release of African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela.

The euphoria over the release is likely to result in work and schools stoppages as the news spreads throughout the townships.

Activists wearing ANC and recently made "Welcome Home Mandela" T-shirts yesterday filled the streets of the townships. Some had already taken taxis to Soweto in anticipation of a rally to be addressed by Mandela.

A further 15 "Zola Budd" combis left early in the morning carrying more than 100 marshals to the Jabulani Stadium in Soweto.

Churches and community halls could not accommodate the thousands of excited people.

Women ululated through the streets of Mamelodi.

"People filled up the streets like a flowing river on the announcement of the news. They sang, danced throughout the night — until police came after midnight to request that the crowds disperse," said the former Transvaal secretary of the United Democratic Front, Moss Chikane.

"But we told them that it was difficult to prevent a people excited at the release of their leader."

## Mandela's Qunu relations told by press

WITHOUT television or even telephones, Nelson Mandela's family in the tiny Transkei village of Qunu where he was born were unable to watch or hear details of his release.

While millions of South Africans watched and celebrated Mandela's release it was all quiet in Qunu, some 40 kilometres away from Umtata.

At about 4:15, minutes after Mandela had been released, his sister-in-law Agnietta Mandela was busy with her household chores. When news of his release was broken to her, she stared in disbelief.

"In the past, as early as last year, we have heard reports that he would be released soon. Because you are from the media, I will believe you," she said. — Sapa



CBS cameramen recover from being teargassed at Saturday's anti-cricket tour demonstration near the Wanderers

The singing and dancing did not stop. By 6am yesterday, hundreds had gathered outside Chikane's house and more and more took to the streets of Mamelodi; a crowd of more than 7 000 had gathered by 10 am.

Community leaders met to investigate the possibility of getting the crowds to the local community hall.

By 11.30am, about 15 000 people had already crammed into the Mamelodi Community Hall in what community leaders called "an impromptu rally".

The news of the release of the ANC leader spread like wildfire in the townships of Pretoria.

In Atteridgeville, chanting youth filled the streets and danced at the announcement. A youth leader interviewed by the *Weekly Mail* yesterday said that thousands of youths marched through the township. Programmes for the day had to be postponed to attend to "a situation which we feared might get out of hand."

"Obviously you cannot stop people from singing and celebrating the release of their leader. But our people — who have been singing almost throughout the night — have been disciplined."

"*Mandela lona, ubaba wethu, aayii aayii!* (This Mandela is our father)", they sang. The *toy-toyi*, which started with about 50 people, ended with about 300 others joining.

Section BB in Soshanguve, which

houses predominantly public servants like police and teachers, saw frantic activity.

Some policemen joined in the singing, shouting "Viva Mandela!" and "Viva ANC!"

"This has been a long wait. We have looked forward for this day for many years," said a teacher in Soshanguve. "We are going to celebrate the release of our leader with the school children on Monday."

But the celebrations were not only met with excitement. Many feared rightwing attacks following the release.

"Will the government protect our leader against the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and Conservative Party supporters?"

"I do not think it will be safe to roam the streets in town these days. One can easily find himself attacked by 'boers' who refuse to admit reality — that time to negotiate on a peaceful settlement towards our country's problems is here with us."

In Garankuwa, where more than 100 000 people marched last week in protest against high rents and to demand South African citizenship rather than that of Bophuthatswana, crowds gathered at Medunsa Stadium for the launching of the civic organisation.

The rally turned into a "Welcome Home Mandela Rally", with speakers calling for the renunciation of "homeland" citizenship.

## Anti-tour plans go on

By JOHN PERLMAN

THE campaign to stop the English rebel cricket tour will not be diverted by the release of Nelson Mandela, says National Sports Congress representative, Krish Naidoo.

"Mandela's release will spur people on to bring apartheid to an end and they will be homing in on things — like the tour — which represent it," he said. "The English rebels will find themselves the centre of even more attention."

Naidoo conceded that the Transvaal anti-tour committee was currently reviewing its strategy and might decide against any further attempts to demonstrate at the matches.

"The police are clearly bent on protecting the cricketers at all costs. We have to ask ourselves what protection we can afford to our people who are willing to challenge them," Naidoo said.

But with the failure of the English rebels at the crease cutting the first test from five days to three, the focus of protest has, in any case, shifted away from Johannesburg.

And Naidoo said anti-tour forces in the next three cities to be visited — Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and Durban — were unlikely to adopt that kind of strategy. "In Port Elizabeth

they are saying not a ball should be bowled," he said.

Naidoo said he did not expect Mandela to play a direct role in opposing the tour. "He has got far bigger things to do and we've got things under control. A meeting between the NSC and Mandela had been lined up for February and that will still go ahead," Naidoo said.

The third day of the English rebels' visit to Johannesburg again brought demonstrators and police into conflict. A group of about 50 protesters were allowed to march to, and stop outside, the Wanderers with placards for a short period.

Some cricket fans inside the ground yelled abuse at the demonstrators, chants of "AWB" were heard. Bear was thrown at protesters and members of the press.

The clashes with police took place after the demonstrators had moved away from the stadium. Naidoo says that while he was negotiating the route by which the demonstrators should disperse with police, another group of policemen moved in and teargassed the crowd.

Naidoo was sprayed in the face from point-blank range, and batons were used on some of the other demonstrators.



# De Klerk's men gamble all on ex-prisoner Mandela

IF FW de Klerk and his cabinet created a political whirlpool in South Africa by releasing Nelson Mandela, there are signs that they see the ANC leader as a bulwark that will prevent them from being sucked under by the currents.

Constitutional Affairs Minister Gerit Viljoen — in the government's first public response to Mandela's first public speeches — this week made it clear the cabinet is banking heavily on Mandela's legendary leadership to end political violence on the left and to appease the anxiety that is driving many whites into rightwing rebellion.

Thus, in his assessment of the statements made by Mandela, Viljoen placed heavy emphasis on Mandela's commitment to negotiations aimed at "normalising" the political life of the country and his concern to appease white anxieties about a system of one-person-one-vote.

There were other "positive" sides to Mandela's statements since being set free, the minister added. These included the ANC leader's praise for President de Klerk as a man of integrity — "a likely future partner in a negotiating process" — and his expressed "rejection of both white dom-

ination and black domination".

Viljoen even excused Mandela for insisting that the armed struggle would continue until preconditions for negotiations had been met. Such statements, he said, could be understood because Mandela was, after all, operating "within the confines and discipline of ANC policy".

"It is clear Mr Mandela is ... expressing support for a peaceful settlement and I hope that the normalisation of political life would be enough to reduce the need for armed struggle."

There was much in Viljoen's comments that indicate a desire to maintain the image of Mandela as a bulwark against the forces of chaos. Thus the violence that marred the rally on the Grand Parade in Cape Town on Sunday, he said, was a problem of "crowd control" rather than "planned violence".

**It's not only the township masses who are counting on Mandela to deliver — so are the cabinet, who see in him a bulwark against chaos.**  
EDDIE KOCH reports

There were other areas where Viljoen indicated that the political eddies swirling around Mandela and De Klerk were pulling the supporters of the two men to the centre of the turbulence.

On the popular excitement that Mandela's "Welcome Home" rallies had generated, Viljoen said he hoped that co-ordination between the Mass Democratic Movement and the police would create order. "There has already been very good informal understanding and co-operation in the marches and the rallies," he said.

At times even the terminology that

Viljoen used was the same as Mandela's. "Normalisation of political life", the need for a "non-racial democracy", "structural mechanisms" to ensure protections for whites — these words were used by both the ANC leader and the government leader.

There was a clear sense in the tenor of Viljoen's press conference that the cabinet believed that, since the unbanning of the ANC and the release of Mandela, it had outmanoeuvred the ANC and broken the coherent strategies it had developed in the Harare Declaration.

There was now "a degree of confusion and contradiction on some issues" in the ranks of the ANC, he said. "It is incumbent on the ANC to adjust their positions rather than restate their preconditions (of the Harare Declaration) ... a shopping list that has been overtaken by events".

But, he said, with more than a little

condescension, the government was aware that the ANC needed time to sort itself out on these issues and was prepared to wait patiently until after the movement's executive meeting in Lusaka this week for a "coherent" response to the government's moves.

Viljoen used the occasion as an opportunity to hold out some carrots to the ANC on the eve of its big meeting. The lifting of the State of Emergency "was desirable and necessary to normalise political activity" and could be negotiated in early talks between the government and the ANC, he said.

This strategy was used by De Klerk in his interview with Ted Koppel, broadcast live during ABC's *Nightline* programme on Tuesday night.

Asked what was required from the ANC for the Emergency to be lifted, De Klerk replied:

"The test is that basically there must be stability. The occurrence of unrest-related things must be limited to, really, the marked exception ... If they want to send somebody to me, or to my ministers and say 'Let us sit down and discuss what is needed for the upliftment of the State of Emergency', they are welcome to do it."

Mandela's other major demand — that all political prisoners including those involved in armed struggle be released before a meeting between the movement and the government could take place — was also used by De Klerk to prod the ANC into accepting the need for preliminary talks.

"One will obviously have to decide what will be pardoned and what can't be pardoned. So it's a question once again for negotiation," he said.

Both the Viljoen and De Klerk interviews indicate that the cabinet has devised a coherent and sophisticated short-term strategy — based on the insight they have gained into Mandela's thinking on how the negotiation process could unfold. And, like Mandela, they are confident that the immediate obstacles to an early meeting with the ANC to discuss a truce can be overcome.

But it is in the longer-term, when it comes to bargaining around substantive issues like a new constitution and economic system for South Africa, that the centrifugal forces pulling Mandela and the men in the cabinet apart are strong.

Viljoen listed the ANC leader's support for continued sanctions and his reaffirmation of the ANC's nationalisation principles as the two negative factors in Mandela's speeches.

On the question of sanctions, he insisted that De Klerk's recent moves had proved the government was genuine about negotiations and there was no further need for punitive measures to be pressurised in this direction.

The ANC's policy of nationalising key sectors of the economy, he said, would put the negotiation process at risk. Here, instead of resorting to measured statements about the armed struggle, he said the government would "pillory" these ideas.

"Naive propositions on a future economic system could have negative effects on the future economy of South Africa."

## A funny thing or two happened on the ride from prison

By JOHN PERLMAN

SOMEWHERE near Paarl there is a family of four who will be able to look at their photo album and say: "That's us with Nelson Mandela. It was taken a few minutes after he was set free."

People travelling with Mandela in the 12-car convoy that drove away from Victor Verster prison — pausing briefly to let him walk the final steps through the outer gate — were amazed when he suddenly asked his driver to stop.

Mandela had seen a white couple and their two small children standing by the side of the road on one of the few parts of the route that was not jammed with people. The man had been trying to take a photograph of the convoy as it passed.

When the car stopped Mandela got out alone and walked over to talk to the couple. "He talked to them for about ten minutes, and played with the little boy and the little girl" said one of his party.

"It was informal and they laughed and smiled, but you could see the couple were completely amazed."

Before leaving, Mandela posed with the family and asked one of his party to take the picture. And as he was about to go, the man said something like: "I've always voted Nationalist but you will definitely get my vote."

That, at least, is how the story will be remembered.

Mandela seemed to make an instant impression on those who travelled with him from Paarl. People noticed that after greeting the Mass Democratic Movement leaders, he then called the drivers of the cars over.

"He greeted them with the same feeling as he did the others," said one. "He didn't seem to care at all who you were."

People also remarked on how readily Mandela rolled down the car window to shake hands with well-wishers whenever the car stopped. "We thought he would be afraid to do that," said one.

Once in Cape Town, the convoy pulled off into a quiet street in Mowbray to plan how best to move through the large crowd to the Grand Parade.

They waited there for about half-an-hour, during which time Mandela



saw a woman walking with two young children. "He asked if he could pick them up and put them on his lap," said someone who was there.

"One of the kids — they were twins — was a bit shy but the other one looked very pleased to be getting into the car. Then his father came and took a picture of him with Nelson Mandela."

The convoy's final stop before the Grand Parade was a house in Rondebosch where the party went in — somewhat unannounced — "to freshen up" before the rally.

While inside, the three traffic cops who had escorted the convoy, sent one of the drivers in to ask if Mandela would autograph their notebooks.

He agreed readily, then laughingly remarked that he had left his glasses in the prison. No problem said his hosts. There was a pair belonging to an aged relative in the house which might just do. And they did.

Those who travelled with Mandela that afternoon say they cannot remember much of what was said. He was calm throughout, "never a frown on his face to show it had been a long day," said one.

Another said he never saw Mandela

walk past an outstretched hand or ignore a greeting.

And as he arrived at the Grand Parade, the story goes, his first remarks were: "I didn't expect such a turn out. It's so late and there are still a lot of people waiting. I'd better go and speak to them."

## Singing freedom for Mandela

Continued from 15

particular, at the then State President PW Botha.

With the 1980s also came the era of the toyi-toyi, a dance which many activists claim began in the Eastern Cape.

Other songs emanate from ANC camps during times when the cadres recall loved ones, and dream about going home.

These songs, usually sung and broadcast on the ANC's Radio Freedom, somehow always filter through to South Africa.

Others still are inspired by political prisoners while in detention or serving their sentences.

Freedom songs grow directly from the experiences and emotions of the people.

Relaxing at last, back at home in Soweto, Nelson Mandela looks a little dubious as a gaudily dressed waiter offers him a card-board box draught of 'tropical fruit nectar'.

Picture: JUDA NGWENYA, Reuter

Already there is a new one, which was sung this week at the Soccer City rally for Mandela. It called on people to intensify the struggle in anticipation of the exiles, to be led by Oliver Tambo, returning:

*"Zabalaza, nako e fihlele. Ke bale ba tshela Limpopo ba khuhlela hae ba etetse pele ke Tambo. Ba khuhlela hae."*

At the close of Mandela's speech the crowds sang: "Somlandela, somlandela uMandela" (we will follow Mandela). But that was not a new song — it was first sung during 1950s when people sang "we will follow Luthuli".





The Human Rights Commission welcomes the release of Nelson Mandela and urges the South African Government to implement all the measures considered essential for

# Declaration on apartheid and its destructive consequences in Southern Africa

(A/RES/S-16/1)

## PREAMBLE

**W**e, the States Members of the United Nations, assembled at the sixteenth special session of the General Assembly, a special session apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa, guided by the fundamental and universal principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, in the context of our efforts to establish peace throughout the world by ending all conflicts through negotiations, and desirous of making serious efforts to bring an end to the unacceptable situation prevailing in southern Africa, which is the result of the policies and practices of apartheid, through negotiations based on the principle of justice and peace for all:

**Reaffirming** our conviction, which history confirms, that where colonial and racial domination or apartheid exist, there can be neither peace nor justice;

**Reiterating** accordingly, that while the apartheid system in South Africa persists, the peoples of Africa as a whole cannot achieve the fundamental objectives of justice, human dignity and peace which are both crucial in themselves and fundamental to the stability and development of the continent;

**Recognising** that, with regard to southern Africa, the entire world is vitally interested that the processes in which that region is involved, leading to the genuine national independence of Namibia and peace in Angola and Mozambique, should succeed in the shortest possible time, and equally recognising that the world is deeply concerned that destabilization by South Africa of the countries of the region, whether through direct aggression, sponsorship of surrogates, economic subversion or other means, is unacceptable in all its forms and must not occur;

**Also recognising** the reality that permanent peace and stability in southern Africa can only be achieved when the system of apartheid has been eradicated and South Africa has been transformed into a united, democratic and non-racial country, and therefore reiterating that all the necessary measures should be adopted now to bring a speedy end to the apartheid system in the interest of all the people of southern Africa, the continent and the world at large;

**Believing** that, as a result of the legitimate struggle of the South African people for the elimination of apartheid and of international pressure against that system, as well as global efforts to resolve regional conflicts, possibilities exist for further movement towards the resolution of the problems facing the people of South Africa;

**Reaffirming** the right of all peoples, including the people of South Africa, to determine their own destiny and to work out for themselves the institutions and the system of government under which they will, by general consent, live and work together to build a harmonious society, and remaining committed to doing everything possible and necessary to assist the people of South Africa, in such ways as they may, through their genuine representatives, determine to achieve this objective;

**Making** these commitments because we believe that all people are equal and have equal rights to human dignity and respect, regardless of colour, race, sex or creed, that all men and women have the right and duty to participate in their own government, as equal members of society,

and that no individual or group of individuals has any right to govern others without their democratic consent, and reiterating that the apartheid system violates all these fundamental and universal principles;

**Affirming** that apartheid, characterized as a crime against the conscience and dignity of mankind, is responsible for the death of countless numbers of people in South Africa, has sought to dehumanize entire peoples, and has imposed a brutal war on the region of southern Africa, which has resulted in untold loss of life, destruction of property and massive displacement of innocent men, women and children and which is a scourge and affront to humanity that must be fought and eradicated in its totality;

**Therefore** we support and continue to support all those in South Africa who pursue this noble objective. We believe this to be our duty, carried out in the interest of all humanity;

**While** extending this support to those who strive for a non-racial and democratic society in South Africa, a point on which no compromise is possible, we have repeatedly expressed our objective of a solution arrived at by peaceful means; we note that the people of South Africa, and their liberation movements who felt compelled to take up arms, have also upheld their preference for this position for many decades and continue to do so;

**Welcoming** the Declaration of the Ad-Hoc Committee of the Organisation of African Unity on Southern Africa on the Question of South Africa, adopted at Harare on 21 August 1989, and subsequently endorsed by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries at its Ninth Summit Conference held in Belgrade in September 1989, as a re-affirmation of readiness to resolve the problems of South Africa through negotiations. The Declaration is consistent with the positions contained in the Lusaka Manifesto of two decades ago, in particular regarding the preference of the African people for peaceful change, and takes into account the changes that have taken place in southern Africa since then. This Declaration constitutes a new challenge to the Pretoria regime to join in the noble efforts to end the apartheid system, an objective to which the United Nations has always been committed;

**Noting** with appreciation that the Commonwealth Heads of Government, at their meeting in Kuala Lumpur in October 1989, noted with satisfaction the strong preference for the path of negotiated and peaceful settlement inherent in the Harare Declaration and considered what further steps they might take to advance the prospects for negotiations;

**Also** noting with appreciation that the Francophone Summit in Dakar in May 1989 likewise called for negotiations between Pretoria and representatives of the majority of people with a view to the establishment of a democratic and egalitarian system in South Africa;

**Consequently**, we shall continue to do everything in our power to increase support for the legitimate struggle of the South African people, including maintaining international pressure against the system of apartheid until that system is ended and South Africa is transformed into a united, democratic and non-racial country, with justice and security for all its citizens;

**In** keeping with this solemn resolve, and responding directly to the wishes of the majority of the people of South Africa, we publicly pledge ourselves to the positions contained hereunder, convinced that their implementation will lead to a speedy end of the apartheid system and heralding the dawn of a new era of peace for the peoples of Africa, in a continent finally free from racism, white minority rule and colonial domination;

## UNITED NATIONS PRESS RELEASE OF 2nd FEBRUARY 1990

The Special Committee against Apartheid welcomes the significant measures announced today in parliament by F W De Klerk: the lifting of the ban on the African National Congress (ANC), the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) and other anti-apartheid organisations, the release of certain political prisoners, the sus-

pension of the imposition of the death penalty and the relaxation of media restrictions, as well as the announcement of the imminent release of Nelson Mandela.

Nevertheless, the appropriate climate for negotiations can only be created when the following measures are also implemented, as set forth in the United Nations General Assembly Declaration on South Africa adopted by consensus on 14 December 1989: the end of the state of emergency; the repeal of all legislation, such as the Internal Security Act, designed to circumscribe political



creating the climate necessary for the commencement of negotiations which would lead to the dismantling of apartheid and the creation of a democratic South Africa.

These measures are set forth in the United Nations Declaration, reproduced here, which was adopted by consensus on 14 December, 1989 by the General Assembly Special Session on Apartheid.

**DECLARE AS FOLLOWS:**

1. A conjuncture of circumstances exists, which, if there is a demonstrable readiness on the part of the South African regime to engage in negotiations genuinely and seriously, given the repeated expression of the majority of the people of South Africa of their long-standing preference to arrive at a political settlement, could create the possibility to end apartheid through negotiations.
2. We would therefore encourage the people of South Africa, as part of their legitimate struggle, to join together to negotiate an end to the apartheid system and agree on all the measures that are necessary to transform their country into a non-racial democracy. We support the position held by the majority of the people of South Africa that these objectives, and not the amendment or reform of the apartheid system, should be the goals of the negotiations.
3. We are at one with the people of South Africa that the outcome of such a process should be a new constitutional order determined by them and based on the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. We hold therefore the following fundamental principles to be of importance:
  - (a) South Africa shall become a united, non-racial and democratic State;
  - (b) All its people shall enjoy common and equal citizenship and nationality, regardless of race, colour, sex or creed;
  - (c) All its people shall have the right to participate in the government and administration of the country on the basis of universal, equal suffrage, under a non-racial voters role, and by secret ballot, in a united and non-fragmented South Africa;
  - (d) All shall have the right to form and join any political party of their choice, provided this is not a furtherance of racism;
  - (e) All shall enjoy universally recognised human rights, freedoms and civil liberties, protected under an entrenched bill of rights;
  - (f) South Africa shall have a legal system that will guarantee equality of all before the law;
  - (g) South Africa shall have an independent and non-racial judiciary;
  - (h) There shall be created an economic order that will promote and advance the well-being of all South Africans;
  - (i) A democratic South Africa shall respect the rights, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries and pursue a policy of peace, friendship, and mutually beneficial co-operation with all peoples.
4. We believe that acceptance of these fundamental principles could constitute the basis for an internationally acceptable solution that will enable South Africa to take its rightful place as an equal partner among the world community of nations.

**A. Climate for negotiations**

5. *We believe that it is essential that the necessary climate be created for negotiations. There is an urgent need to respond positively to this universally acclaimed demand and thus create this climate.*
6. *Accordingly, the present South African regime should, at the least:*
  - (a) *Release all political prisoners and detainees unconditionally and refrain from imposing any restrictions on them;*
  - (b) *Lift all bans and restriction on all proscribed and restricted organizations and persons;*
  - (c) *Remove all troops from the townships;*
  - (d) *End the state of emergency and repeal all legislation, such as the Internal Security Act, designed to circumscribe political activity;*
  - (e) *Cease all political trials and political executions.*
7. *These measures would help create the necessary climate in which free political discussion can take place - an essential condition to ensure that the people themselves participate in the process of remaking their country.*

**B. Guidelines to the process of negotiations**

8. We are of the view that the parties concerned should, in the context of the necessary climate, negotiate the future of their country and its people in good faith and in an atmosphere which, by mutual agreement between the liberation movements and the South African regime, would be free of violence. The process could commence along the following guidelines:
  - (a) Agreement on the mechanism for the drawing up of a new constitution, based on amongst others, the principles enunciated above, and the basis for its adoption;
  - (b) Agreement on the role to be played by the international community in ensuring a successful transition to a democratic order;
  - (c) Agreed transitional arrangements and modalities on the process of the drawing up and adoption of a new constitution, and of the transition to a democratic order, including the holding of elections;

**C. Programme of action**

9. In pursuance of the objectives stated in this Declaration, we hereby decide:
  - (a) To remain seized of the issue of a political resolution of the South African question;
  - (b) To step up all-round support for the opponents of apartheid and to campaign internationally in pursuance of this objective;
  - (c) To use concerted and effective measures, including the full observance by all countries of the mandatory arms embargo, aimed at applying pressure to ensure a speedy end to apartheid;
  - (d) To ensure that the international community does not relax existing measures aimed at encouraging the South African regime to eradicate apartheid, until there is clear evidence of profound and irreversible changes, bearing in mind the objectives of the declaration;
  - (e) To render all possible assistance to the front-line and neighbouring States to enable them: to rebuild their economies, which have been adversely affected by South Africa's acts of aggression and destabilization; to withstand any further such acts; and to continue to support the peoples of Namibia and South Africa;
  - (f) To extend such assistance to the Governments of Angola and Mozambique as they may request in order to secure peace for their peoples, and to encourage and support peace initiatives undertaken by the Governments of Angola and Mozambique aimed at bringing about peace and normalization of life in their countries;
  - (g) The new South Africa shall, upon adoption of the new constitution, participate fully in relevant organs and specialised agencies of the United Nations;
10. We request the Secretary-General to transmit copies of the present Declaration to the South African Government and the representatives of the oppressed people of South Africa and also request the Secretary-General to prepare a report and submit it to the General Assembly by 1 July 1990 on the progress made in the implementation of the present Declaration.

activity; the removal of all troops from the townships; and the release of all political prisoners and detainees. We expect that the international community, recognising the importance of the decisions announced by Mr De Klerk, will, nonetheless, remain fully aware that the system of apartheid, which cannot be reformed, remains intact. So long as the principles and objectives for negotiations as set out in the United Nations Declaration on South Africa are not met, the Special Committee Against Apartheid deems entirely pre-

ture any change of policy by the international community towards the apartheid regime.

\* Inserted by the Human Rights Commission, P O Box 32723, Braamfontein, 2017.



# Nelson's next step — a truce meeting with FW

FOR Nelson Mandela and the African National Congress, the first stepping-stone to negotiations is a face-to-face meeting with the government to discuss a truce.

This is a key element of Mandela's political vision which has emerged in each speech and interview this week — and it has been largely overlooked by observers, according to close Mandela associate Dullah Omar.

While there has been shock in some quarters, notably in the Western press, at Mandela's insistence on the retention of the armed struggle and sanctions, Omar believes it was naive to expect that he would unilaterally renounce longstanding positions of his movement, and this has distorted the interpretation put on his speeches.

The pivotal early step (and Mandela says he is "confident" that day is not very far) is direct discussion between the two key actors about the "normalisation" of political life.

This would take place simultaneously with longer-term moves toward a broader "solution".

According to Omar, Mandela envisages such a meeting ending the "civil war". The armed struggle could be suspended and "in return Mandela would expect the freeing of all political prisoners ... the lifting of the State of Emergency, an end to all political trials and the abolition of the Internal Security Act."

Both the government and the ANC appear to be in broad agreement that such "normalisation" is a necessary

By **SHAUN JOHNSON** and **EDDIE KOCH**

condition for real negotiations.

Should the "truce" meeting succeed, "Mandela would then envisage non-racial elections to get people together from all sectors of South Africa to work out a new constitution," predicts Omar.

Omar's interpretation of the ANC veteran's thinking is supported by a close analysis of his utterances since his release and by a study of the August 1989 Harare Declaration.

Mandela's statements on the subject since Sunday follow this path. At his first rally on the Grand Parade in Cape Town, he said: "I wish to stress

that I myself had at no time entered into negotiations about the future of our country, except to insist on a meeting between the ANC and the government."

His calls for the ending of the Emergency, a general amnesty, and the continuation of sanctions and mass action, followed directly after this key phrase. The two should be viewed as sides of a single coin.

At his media conference in the grounds of Bishopscourt on Monday, Mandela was asked about the apparent contradiction between his stated commitment to peace and his continuing endorsement of the armed struggle. He said: "There is no conflict between those two statements ... the armed struggle is merely defen-

sive ... If the government gives us the opportunity, if they normalise the situation, we are ready to make a positive contribution towards the peaceful settlement of the problems of this country."

He then addressed the question of the NP/ANC meeting directly. "So far as (the release of Sisulu et al) was concerned, I have been negotiating (with the government). But the second issue has been one of a meeting between the ANC and the government."

He had been acting as a mediator in his "countless" meetings with the government, he said, "because I believe that the first step towards a solution of our problems is a meeting between the ANC and the government."

## Having missed the big time, Jackson leaves

By **THANDEKA GQUBULE**

THE Reverend Jesse Jackson, who arrived in South Africa opportunely just after State President FW de Klerk's announcement of Nelson Mandela's release, left yesterday, cutting short his two-week "fact-finding" visit.

Jackson seemed eager to link himself to the dramatic release but was apparently unable to get close to Mandela until Sunday night.

De Klerk, asked whether Jackson's presence had anything to do with the timing of Mandela's release, said it was "totally irrelevant".

Jackson's limousine was virtually pulled apart when crowds mistook it for Mandela's car as he entered through the wrong entrance at Victor Verster Prison on the day of the release. The car, according to sources close to the American embassy, is now a wreck.

In a more happy accident, Jackson won the applause of the huge crowd waiting for Mandela at Cape Town's Grand Parade when he pulled a woman who was wounded by police fire to safety.

The well-known American civil rights leader flew to Windhoek to hold talks with the South West African People's Organisation leader Sam Nujoma. From Namibia, he will go to Zambia where he expects to meet with both President Kenneth Kaunda and the African National Congress.



The trip wasn't a total loss for American politician Jesse Jackson, who was welcomed by Sowetans

Picture: AVIGAIL UZI, Afrapix

## General warns Vlok over 'interference' in hit-squad probe

By **IVOR POWELL**

POLICE investigating death squads in the armed forces are being so hampered in their work that Major General Jaap Joubert, the chief investigating officer, has complained to Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok.

Joubert warned Vlok he would resign and tell everything he knew about assassinations in the armed forces unless high-ranking personnel stopped interfering with his probe.

The general's complaints were made in an affidavit to Vlok.

Meanwhile, as two more men have been arrested under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act, strong allegations have been made that men being held or hunted in connection with the murders of David Webster and Anton Lubowski were operatives of a secret arm of the Military Intelligence branch of the South African Defence Force.

The unit, known as the Civil Cooperation Bureau (CCB), is allegedly an official secret operations unit directly under the control of the Chief of the Defence Force, General Jannie Geldenhuys.

The allegations were made in an affidavit by senior police investigator Brigadier Floris Mostert during a Supreme Court hearing in connection with the detention of former police lieutenant Abrie van Zyl. The application had been brought by Van Zyl's wife, Brenda, after her husband's arrest two weeks ago in connection with the killings of Webster and Lubowski.

It was brought by Van Zyl on the grounds that her husband's detention was unlawful.

The allegations stand in stark contradiction of earlier claims made by police sources that members of the underground network were linked to the militant Afrikaner rightwing.

However, they bear out recent testimony that the former Brixton Murder and Robbery Unit policeman, Ferdinand Barnard, was on the payroll of Military Intelligence. At the time the claims, made by Barnard's lawyers, were dismissed by SADF officials.

In other developments related to the investigation:

● Two Cape Town men were arrested in connection with the investigation.

● Barnard has been released from Section 29 detention. Police said there was insufficient evidence to hold him.

● Another former Brixton Murder and Robbery policeman, Colonel "Staal" Burger, allegedly the leader of the CCB cell under investigation, has gone underground.

The *Weekly Mail* has confirmation from independent sources that all of these men were recruited by secret arms of the Military Intelligence octopus after being forced out of the police.

## Natal's war spreads to Indian areas

By **CARMEL RICKARD**

WHISTLES in the streets of kwaMashu yesterday almost sparked a panic — residents, their nerves already stretched to breaking point, rushed into the streets ready to fight for their lives, only to find the whistles coming from rubbish collectors emptying garbage bins.

The whistles have become the daytime signal of imminent attack, and all who value their lives and property have learnt to respond instantly when they hear the sound.

KwaMashu and the squatter areas adjoining the township were this week the scene of some of the worst fighting yet seen in the Natal violence.

In all, at least 50 people died over the weekend of Nelson Mandela's release, and well over a thousand people have fled their homes, confirming fears that in the immediate aftermath of his release, political tensions in Natal would soar.

Jubilant youths marching in the streets were attacked by vigilantes, while in other areas comrades are said to have taken the initiative, attacking their opponents.

Despite police assurances of strong action to prevent further outbreaks of violence, and an announcement by Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok of further security reinforcements for

Natal, Durban townships were in the grip of rumour and fear yesterday.

Adding to the township tension, anti-Indian violence of a scale not seen since 1985 led to many Indian families leaving Inanda and other areas.

At least six Indian-owned shops and a garage were destroyed in this week's violence, and the owner of one of the few surviving businesses in Inanda said last night he was staying at the shop day and night "to guard it with fire arms".

Hundreds of children from Oakford Convent were sent home yesterday morning after threats were reported to some of the children, and frightened residents of several Indian areas refused to go to town following rumours they would be attacked.

Unrest monitors blamed the upsurge of anti-Indian violence on an anonymous Zulu-language pamphlet circulated over the last fortnight, which urges action be taken against Indians.

The leaflet claims Indians are bribing union officials to call strikes so that black workers will lose their jobs and these will then be filled by Indians.

The unrest monitors also point to a



The *Ilanga* cartoon accused of causing all the trouble

cartoon and editorial in the Zulu-language Inkatha-owned newspaper *Ilanga*.

*Ilanga* accuses the Natal Indian Congress of leading the Mass Democratic Movement by the nose, and of poisoning them against Inkatha and the Zulus.

Editor TG Mthembu, however, denied *Ilanga's* opinion-piece was in any way responsible for the anti-Indian violence.

Both Mandela and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi slammed the anti-Indian violence and said it should immediately cease.

## Are Mandela's guards SAP men?

EVIDENCE is mounting that the Mass Democratic Movement and the security police have been involved in low-key collaboration to arrange bodyguards and other security measures for Nelson Mandela.

News reports, broadcast yesterday on Radio 702, quoted United Democratic Front sources as saying that security measures for Mandela were arranged jointly by the exiled leadership of the African National Congress and the South African security forces.

This coincides with reports from intelligence sources in the frontline states that former Police Commissioner Johann Coetsee had travelled to Harare last month to discuss security arrangements at Mandela's release.

Colonel MJ Halgryn, police PRO for Soweto, asked if security police had assisted in guarding Mandela, said: "We feel responsible for Mandela's security and if we are responsible for someone's security, we do the security our way."

The government has stated that it is vital to ensure Mandela's safety. Constitutional Minister Gerrit Viljoen said at a press conference this week that the action of "maverick or lunatic elements" posed one of the greatest risks to the negotiation process. Mandela, however, has insisted that he will not accept the protection of the SAP.

There are two theories circulating about the identities of Mandela's bodyguards: that they are members of the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto weSizwe, or that they are former policemen who have been recruited into a private security firm set up especially to provide a service to the MDM.



REACTION TO THE RELEASE

# Thrilled responses to release

*Reactions to the release of Mandela have been overwhelmingly good*

OVERJOYED, excited, even stunned — these were the reactions of various people and organisations after they heard about Mandela's release.

Of course, there were exceptions: **Koos van der Merwe** of the Conservative Party, for example, who described the African National Congress leader's release as a "complete capitulation" by the government.

A representative of the ANC in Lusaka, **James Stuart**, said the news about Mandela's release was "very exciting".

"It is a turning point in our history. It certainly is a great victory for our people and for the ANC who have led the campaign for his release for many years," he said.

Stuart said the ANC expected Mandela in Lusaka soon to have discussions with the movement's National Executive Committee.

**Tom Sebina** of the ANC's information department was "stunned" by the news: "For us it is very, very welcome news. It is what we have been calling for so long.

"I believe it is another step (State President FW) De Klerk has taken towards creating conditions for negotiations."

Meanwhile a representative of the organisation in London, **Frene Ginwalla**, said she believed De Klerk was "sincere" in his reform moves.

In an interview which was broadcast live on the BBC, she said, however, that the dispensation De Klerk was offering was still not the kind of democracy that the majority people wanted.

She said it was significant to note that despite the joy at Mandela's release, he would still not be a free man as he does not have a vote.

The leader of the Pan Africanist Congress, **Zeph Mothopeng**, said he was glad that Mandela was eventually free and was looking forward to meeting him.

"I am very happy that my colleague will be released and I am glad that most of the long-term political prisoners are out. I hope that even those remaining in prison will also be released," he said.



**Tutu ... hope for general amnesty**

He said De Klerk was not only carrying out "reforms" for the international community, but also for the interest of the oppressed black South Africans.

PAC Administrative Secretary **Joe Mkwanzali** said his organisation "welcomes the release of Comrade Nelson Mandela, who together with others, has languished in the racists' jails for so many years.

"While we rejoice that Mandela is now a relatively free person, the PAC has no praise for De Klerk."

The **United Democratic Front** described the release as a "great victory" for the people of South Africa.

"The release is an event which our people have the right to celebrate in the best and most dignified way befitting the stature of our leader."

A representative of the **Congress of South African Trade Unions** said: "We welcome the release of Comrade Mandela. We see his release as one of the greatest victories our people have scored in the march to freedom.

"We do not believe that at this stage



**Holomisa ... encouraged FW**

we need to relax our efforts to achieve the democratic country we have been fighting for. It must also be remembered that we need to intensify our struggle so that Comrade Orliwer Tambo and all exiles should return without fear of persecution and that all political prisoners and prisoners of war should be released unconditionally."

The **South African Youth Congress** said the release was a result of the "unflinching struggle" which has been waged by progressive people inside and outside South Africa.

The **National Council of Trade Unions'** Acting General Secretary, **Cullingham Ngcukana**, said: "We do welcome the release of Mandela — that is what we have been waiting for and we hope he will play an important role within the liberation movement in finding consensus on the strategic question of negotiations."

Ngcukana added Nactu hoped that now that Mandela was out, the liberation movement would "stop pointing fingers at each other", would rise to the occasion and place the interests of



**Buthelezi ... 'overjoyed'**

the country and the people above organisational interests.

A representative of the **Black Consciousness Movement**, **Muntu Myeza**, said Mandela's release "heralds a new era in our liberation struggle. For far too long our struggle has retrogressed than advanced.

"A contributory factor to the halt has been the jailing of our compatriots of whom Nelson Mandela has been the most prominent. We are alive to the fact that the real struggle for liberation has just begun."

The **Five Freedoms Forum** said Mandela's release was necessary for progress in this country. A representative said all white people should accept legitimate black leaders in their joint future with black South Africans.

Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town **Desmond Tutu** congratulated the state president for things "you have done and things you are going to do".

He said he was hoping for a general amnesty leading to the release of all political prisoners.

Tutu also thanked the international

community for the pressure it had mounted on the South African government for Mandela's release.

**KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi** said he was "overjoyed. Let our tribute to him be the one he would most want — the tribute of black unity."

Democratic Party leader **Zach de Beer** called on both blacks and whites to work together to build a future South Africa.

"Above all, blacks and whites will sink or swim together. Neither can succeed without the co-operation of the other," he said.

Said a spokesman for **British Petroleum Southern Africa**: "Mr Mandela's release will be an important step towards building a new South Africa and raises hope for progress in negotiating a fair and just democracy."

**Shell South Africa** said the release was "symbolic of the new hope being offered for a rapid and peaceful transition to a free, democratic, non-racial South Africa".

A former MP who visited Mandela in prison, **Helen Suzman** said she "absolutely delighted by the announcement".

Major General **Bantu Holomisa**, chairman of the ruling Transkei Military Council, welcomed Mandela's release and encouraged De Klerk to carry on with the reforms.

Foreign minister of the "homeland" of Bophuthatswana, **SL Rathebe**, said this "is the moment the whole of Southern Africa and the world have been waiting for".

The **Cape Action League** said: "We salute Nelson Mandela for his heroic contribution to the liberation struggle and welcome his release, but we demand the unconditional release of all political prisoners and granting of basic human rights to all the people of our country."

The secretary general of the South African Council of Churches, **Frank Chikane**, said it was clear that De Klerk was committed to creating conditions conducive to a negotiated settlement

**Mzimkulu Malunga**

## Delicate diplomacy ... and for now, Winnie's in favour

For now, Winnie Mandela, prominent at all the recent rallies, is back in favour. But dark clouds may loom on the not-so-distant horizon, reports **GAVIN EVANS**

**HUGH MASEKELA'S** dream of seeing Nelson and Winnie Mandela "walking hand in hand" finally came true this week.

For the moment he may only see it on television, but after 28 years the couple were together again, and the line from the popular Masekela song became a reality for millions.

For the wife of the country's first person, the past five days have returned her, for now, to a state of respectability.

While several dark clouds loom over what some have called her "rehabilitation", in the short term at least she is back in something approaching good favour.

Walter Sisulu introduced her at Tuesday's rally in Soweto, noting she had "also suffered and sacrificed", though the cheer greeting her from the 150 000-plus crowd was noticeably mute.

On several occasions Nelson paid tribute to the support of his wife, who, since Sunday, has seldom been absent from his side.

Unlike UDF president **Albertina Sisulu**, Winnie's role has now been trimmed to one of the wife of the leader. But there is also little doubt that once again this status has returned her to at least international acceptability.

A year ago, even six months ago, a rehabilitation of such proportions was difficult to imagine, at least in such a short period. But the prospect of Nelson Mandela's release, followed by the event itself, made it inevitable.

The event which ensured Winnie's fall from grace as the "Mother of the Nation" was the murder of 14-year-old Free State activist **Stompie Moekele-Seipei**, allegedly by members of the Mandela United football team.

The team, which doubled as her bodyguard, had already attracted a reputation for thuggery. It is now widely held that they were infiltrated

by security police agents.

Seipei and several other activists were kidnapped, held against their will at Winnie's Soweto home, and according to abduction victims were beaten by soccer team members as well as by Winnie herself.

Seipei was later murdered while another activist survived a murder attempt.

The team's former coach, **Jerry Richardson**, is currently on trial for murder and eight other members are facing charges of assault and kidnapping.

For at least three years prior to these events Winnie Mandela's star had been waning in the eyes of many activists and sections of the general public.

Her 1986 speech suggesting support for necklacing opponents was widely quoted as an excuse for the State of Emergency by government representatives.

Her decision to build a luxury "palace" in Orlando, Soweto was not well received by many in anti-apartheid circles.

And her relationship with controversial American **Robert Brown**, who was after a "franchise" on the Mandela name, had to be blocked by ANC and MDM leaders, including Nelson Mandela.

After the Stompie incident came to light the UDF publicly condemned Winnie, while the ANC issued a softer statement criticising Winnie's judgment but placing the blame on the soccer team itself. The ANC statement also called for Winnie to be reintegrated into structures.

For a few months Winnie virtually disappeared from public view, but more recently she has re-emerged as a speaker at public meetings and other MDM activities.

The national leadership of the South African Youth Congress in particular developed a close relationship with her. Recently family members have referred the press to Sayco general secretary, **Rapu Malekane**, for comment when asked about family issues.

Two weeks ago **Molekane** issued a press statement attacking those criticising Winnie for building the "palace", noting she was not responsible for the poverty in areas like Soweto.

Nelson Mandela's decision to move into Winnie's current Soweto "matchbox" seems to have put an end to the issue. It is possible the palatial house may now be used as offices.

It is possible, however, that Winnie's return to the good eye of the public may not be too long-lasting.



**Winnie Mandela ... status trimmed from political leader to wife of a leader**

Several potential obstacles stand in the way.

The Richardson trial has begun, and may soon reach the front pages.

Perhaps because of the government's apparent desire to ensure that Mandela's release is not complicated by extraneous factors, they have kept their hands clean of the Winnie issue.

What is clear, however, is that the state has a welter of information, allegations and statements which could cause further damage to Winnie's reputation.

Already fresh information of a "hit list" being found in the Mandela home has emerged in the Rand Supreme Court trial arising from the death of football team member, **Sanelo Madondo**.

The suggestion of further potentially damaging allegations emerged this week in the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into the death by hanging of **Clayton Sizwe Sithole**.

Sithole, said to be a boyfriend of **Zinzi Mandela**, allegedly committed suicide while being held in detention under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act on January 30.

One of the reasons cited by the state for his alleged suicide was that he had made a statement which included serious allegations against Winnie and **Zinzi Mandela**. Mr Justice **R J Goldstone** ruled that these should not be heard in court.

Another recent incident which has attracted controversy is Winnie's relationship with French businessman **Alain Guenon**, who is believed to have worked for the SABC, with the SADF and against sanctions.

He is said to have worked with Winnie, and in co-operation with the Sayco leadership, in setting up a press centre to co-ordinate news relating to Nelson Mandela.

While it is possible that all these issues will blow over or be swept under the carpet, there is no guarantee.

For one thing not all in the state with information on Winnie's affairs, have the best interests of either Nelson Mandela or FW de Klerk at heart.

Long after the initial euphoria around Mandela's release has subsided the "Winnie issue" could still be around.



IN the summer of 1944, three young Indian students were thrown off a tram "for carrying a *kaffir* and obstructing the conductor in the course of his duty".

The three students were prominent Indian activists. The "offending *kaffir*" was Nelson Mandela.

The struggle of the Indian people in South Africa, particularly the passive resistance campaign of 1946, greatly influenced Mandela as his political maturity grew.

But it wasn't always that way. The young Mandela was once a rival to Indian interests, according to life-long friends Yusuf and Amina Cachalia.

Yusuf Cachalia met the young Mandela during the 1940s when the latter was still a student. "We first met at Ismail Meer's flat in Market Street. I had no idea at the time this marked the beginning of a friendship that would last our lives."

In those days Cachalia, former secretary of the South African Indian Congress and joint secretary, with Walter Sisulu, of the African National Congress/SAIC Congress Alliance, held differing views to Mandela.

"Nelson's views were fashioned by those of the Youth League of the ANC. They espoused an African Nationalism that allowed no significant role in the struggle for freedom for anyone except Africans.

"He actively opposed us. When we called for the 1950 strike to protest the banning of Yusuf Dadoo, Moses Kotane and JB Marks, he actually spoke in opposition to the call at our strike meeting."

The meeting was held at the appropriately named Red Square — now the car park of the Oriental Plaza. Cachalia speaks of the Oriental Plaza as "that monument to the Group Areas and Separate Amenities acts".

*Among the first people to visit Nelson Mandela at Victor Verster prison were friends Yusuf and Amina Cachalia. Here they talk about life with Mandela in the fifties, recorded by their son GHALEB CACHALIA*

Cachalia recalls the day in 1944 when three young Indian students were thrown off a tram in the city "for carrying a *kaffir*" — Nelson Mandela — and "obstructing the conductor in the course of his duty".

The three students, Ismail Meer, JN Singh and Ahmed Bhoola, were represented by Abraham Fischer, a member of the Communist Party and son of the Judge President of the Orange Free State, who managed to win their acquittal.

Cachalia has little doubt that the struggle of the Indian people greatly influenced the Youth League. "If you want a substantiation of this you can read it in ZK Matthews' address at the Treason Trial," says Cachalia.

"It was," according to Cachalia, "a result of the social and political experience of those early years that Mandela and the Youth League moved from Africanism to the programme of action of 1949, and onward to the alliance that laid the basis for the Defiance Campaign of 1952."

Cachalia recalls a meeting at JB



Yusuf Cachalia and Nelson Mandela wait with a young volunteer as the Defiance Campaign begins. Arrested immediately, Cachalia and Mandela shared a cell in Marshall Square.

Picture courtesy of Yusuf and Amina Cachalia against injustice."

Marks' office in Rosenberg's Arcade in Market Street to discuss political co-operation at which Mandela, Oliver Tambo, Ismail Meer, JB Marks, and Sisulu were present: "To begin with only JB had no reservations, but after a while Walter spoke up and said he was convinced of our sincerity. I suppose that was really the beginning of joint struggle. It marked the end of our differences and the start of a political and social interaction that was based on a common struggle

Amina Cachalia remembers first meeting Mandela at the ANC offices in 1948/9: "We hit it off from the start, and soon became firm friends."

She remembers particularly the Christmas lunches they used to have at Mandela's home at 8115 Orlando West: "Eveline used to cook, and we used to sit around in the courtyard and play with the children. After lunch we would all walk up the road to Walter's place."

One social event is etched into Amina's memory: "In 1951 I turned 21, and Nelson suggested we have a party. Yusuf suggested we cook pigeon, and Nelson decided to get hold of 21 pigeons. Yusuf and Nelson cooked. It was at Aggie Patel's flat. Arthur Goldreich, Robbie Resha, Duma Nokwe, and Essop Nugdee were there. I remember Nelson cleaning rice. Goodness, they had enough to drink."

On the political front the Defiance Campaign was about to take off. It was the first and singularly most important expression of joint struggle and co-operation. The government appropriately acknowledged this by arresting Mandela and Yusuf Cachalia on the first day of the campaign.

"We shared a cell in Marshall Square," remembers Cachalia, "and the next morning the warder brought us breakfast. Boiled eggs, toast and tea for me, and *putu* for Nelson. When Nelson protested the warder said that Nelson clearly did not know what a government gazette was and he should therefore shut up and eat. We laughed and shared the food."

Mandela emerged during this crucial period, according to Cachalia, as a man imbued with immense charisma, vision, and resolution.

"Then came the Treason Trial," says Amina Cachalia. "I'd either take him food at his offices or we would eat at Moretsele's restaurant. Moretsele was then president of the ANC (Transvaal). He was a fat fellow with a huge stomach and a dirty white apron. We didn't have much money in those days, but at Moretsele's we could eat at a discount and buy for credit."

"We used to go to Kapitans on Saturdays, all of us — Thandray, Bopape, Resha, Tloome, and Mandela. "We also ate regularly at Goolam

## BOOKS

WHILE political pundits argue about whether FW de Klerk has crossed the Rubicon, got stuck in the middle of it ... or simply taken an aeroplane instead, state institutions — among them the powerful Directorate of Publications — are trying to work out their next move.

The South African censors, arbiters of all we see, hear and read, have always been led in their tastes by the prevailing (official) socio-political climate; even while claiming, in much the same spirit as the judiciary, that all decisions are independently contrived.

Now that this climate is likely to become somewhat more clement, the question of how the Directorate will respond is uppermost in the minds of many authors and filmmakers whose work has been left to rot on the great South African trash heap of "undesirability".

One media lawyer says that since De Klerk announced the unbanning of several political organisations a fortnight ago, she has been "inundated" with queries from clients wanting to know whether their material is still banned.

The position is murky. In a statement last week, the Cape Town-based head of the Directorate, Dr A Coetzee, said that in the light of the legitimisation of the African National Congress, the South African Communist Party and the Pan Africanist Congress, among others, an immediate review of policy was clearly called for.

For instance, Coetzee said, the first step would be to lift the relevant section of the Publications Act which had been used to ban in perpetuity publications like the ANC mouthpiece, *Sechaba*, and the SACP's official journal, *The African Communist*.

This means that such publications would, in future, be subject to the "normal scrutiny" that casts its eye over the content of all newspapers and magazines.

However, it is unclear whether all such material will have to grind through the censorship machine yet again in order to achieve this status, or whether the Directorate intends reassessing every currently banned work of a political nature itself.

What the Directorate's decision does not mean is taking off the heat. The ANC may have been unbanned, but it is still committed to armed struggle. When this position is reflected in an edition of *Sechaba*, there is nothing to stop the state-attorney making a case out of it for the imposition of an outright ban.

Nothing in Coetzee's statement suggests that

## The time's come to dust out the banned list

FW de Klerk has unbanned organisations. Will the censors take his lead and unban their publications?  
CHARLOTTE BAUER reports

the rules of censorship will change and one of those rules says that anything felt to endanger the security and good order of the state, is "undesirable".

Equally, nothing suggests a spring-cleaning of the membership of either the secret censorship committees or of the Publications Appeal Board. The nameless, faceless people whose attitudes set the moral tone, are the same people they were yesterday and they will still be setting the moral tone.

We don't know who sits on the committees responsible for dishing out bans in the first place. We do know that the most (arguably the only) liberal voice on the Appeal Board, resigned in disgust last year. She was Linda Gillfillan, an English academic from the University of Pretoria, who was chairman Professor Cobus van Rooyen's strongest ally in efforts to lessen the stifling impact of censorship in its more sinister guises.

Van Rooyen, whose influence has undoubtedly inched the Appeal Board towards progress during the 1980s, was not prepared to comment on the possible shape of things to come. He explained he did not want to be seen as "pre-judging issues that are likely to come up before the board in the future".

One reason for Van Rooyen's reticence is probably the fact that his chairmanship comes up for review next month and he is playing safe, being anxious to hold onto the job. But going by his track record, it is fair to predict that Van Rooyen, if he keeps his job, will not



*Cry Freedom's* Denzil Washington and Kevin Kline ... police are going to hand the movie back to the distributors

let the momentous political changes affecting South Africa slide by unnoticed.

Meanwhile, the ironies of censorship continue to abound.

Just four days after the state president's historic plea for a new, more tolerant, multi-party South Africa, a censorship committee refused a group of film festival organisers at Wits University permission to screen a number of films (both local and foreign) which had already been screened at other festivals around the country.

*No Easy Road to Freedom*, a film by Kevin Harris about the political transition of Namibia, was banned by a committee three months before the elections for, among other things, its "sympathetic portrayal of the enemy (Swapo)". Presumably, now that the war is over, the

South African government no longer regards Swapo as "the enemy". No one does. But the film, despite the pointing out of such technical niceties, remains banned.

The film *Cry Freedom* was passed by the Appeal Board, only to be seized on its first day out by police acting under the Emergency regulations blanket. Now the police, having bypassed the authority of the censors (who, in police terms, were clearly thought to have acted too leniently) have decided to release the film back in to the care of its distributors.

The confusing messages thrown out by the fact the State of Emergency still exists, exerting massive control over everyone — even the censors — is liable to further frustrate renewed attempts at liberalising censorship from within.

Media lawyer Gilbert Marcus has pointed out until laws embraced by the State of Emergency and the Internal Security Act are amended, there can be little hope for dramatic changes within the Directorate.

However, this does not discount a shift in attitudes of a more philosophical nature.

For this to happen, the Appeal Board's vast armoury of existing criteria by which "desirability" is measured, could stretch the censors' imagination in almost any direction.

Says Marcus: "The criteria are sufficiently elastic to embrace an enormous discretionary component ... they are so protean as to be able to generate either incredible suppression or considerable freedom."

One lawyer believes that the changing political climate may have the effect of polarising the Directorate's censorship committees and the Appeal Board still further. In crude terms, the committees are widely perceived as being a lot more archaic and conservative than the Board.

Censorship-watchers will be paying close attention to Appeal Board decisions over the next couple of months in an effort to establish which way it's going to swing.

Of particular interest will be the Board's judgement concerning the film, *A Dry White Season*, which is being considered for general release. As the application revolves around permission for *Season* to be shown uncut at popular cinemas, rather than for a specified number of screenings at a largely inaccessible "art house" or festival, much rests upon the outcome.



OLD FRIENDS REMEMBER



On the eve of the 1952 Defiance Campaign Nelson Mandela hands over a letter outlining the aims and objectives of the planned action to a magistrate  
Picture courtesy of Yusuf and Amina Cachalia

Pahad's home. His wife, Amina used to hold open house for the whole movement."

Amina Cachalia remembers Mandela's return from Bizana after he married Winnie Madikizela: "He brought her home to our Vrededorp flat in 1958. I remember her as very reserved, very shy, very young, and very beautiful.

"They were good days, but sometimes also very trying. Yusuf, Nelson and the others went to jail during the Emergency for four months."

Yusuf recalls constant meetings in the evenings to prepare for the Treason Trial. Cachalia remembers him as a politically mature person then: "He is more politically mature now. He has become even wiser."

During the 1960/61 strike many activists and leaders went into hiding. Amina Cachalia's sister, Zaynab Asvat, arranged for the Cachalias and Mandela to live with a family in Jeppe.

Amina remembers: "We lived there for two or three weeks. Ben Turok used to visit disguised as a tram conductor. We could spot him a mile off.

Nelson had the use of a car, and the two of us would often sneak off to Leon Street's factory. He was very helpful."

Yusuf recalls Mandela's arrest in 1962: "He had gone off to address a meeting in Pietermaritzburg. Cecil Williams sat at the back of the car as if he were the boss, and Nelson played driver. They were arrested in

Mooi River, the result perhaps of a tip-off.

"When he was sentenced to five years it came as a relief. We thought freedom was just around the corner."

"Then came Rivonia," says Amina. "It all came as a big shock. I was in Durban at the time. I heard it on the radio, and I didn't even know if Yusuf had been arrested. Even then we didn't think it would take 28 years, particularly when Soweto exploded in 1976."

A decade would pass. Mandela was only permitted to receive more than one letter a month in the early 1970s. It was then that Amina Cachalia renewed her contact with her friend.

The letters are personal and poignant. They are about feelings, family and friends, and they all bear the stamp of officialdom which reads "Gesensor/Censored". Amina says: "I cannot begin to describe the feelings a letter from Nelson would evoke nor the butterflies in my stomach and the pounding of my heart when we saw him after all these years in 1989."

Of the future Yusuf Cachalia says: "He has displayed a constancy and perseverance of purpose that has made him the facilitator of freedom in our country."

Yusuf Cachalia turned 75 last month. The occasion was celebrated with old and new friends. But one friend was conspicuously absent. Still, that friend had not forgotten. He wrote this letter:

*"Dear Yusuf and Amina, 19.1.90.  
I am more than a thousand kilometres away from you, but I think of you daily, especially on 20 January 1990. I sincerely pray that you live for another 75 years ...  
Fondest regards and best wishes, Nelson"*

**"Black History published anywhere is information for people everywhere."**

# A day of triumph — and tragedy

*Mandela's first speech: a hardline message delivered from the steps of the Cape Town City Hall*

**WEEKLY MAIL REPORTERS**

IT WAS a day of triumph, as Nelson Mandela strolled out of prison and gave a dignified salute, ending 27 years of imprisonment and signalling victory in the longest, most famous campaign for the release of a political prisoner.

But yesterday was also a day of tragedy, as at least one person died and 100 others were injured by police birdshot when violence broke out while thousands of people waited on Cape Town's Grand Parade for their first glimpse of the African National Congress leader.

Mandela's arrival degenerated into half-an-hour of chaos as the crowd of over 50 000 grew impatient, volatile and unwieldy in the hot afternoon sun. Elements of the crowd ran amok, looting shops and Mandela's arrival was delayed by clashes between police, marshals and parts of the crowd.

The situation only calmed down when Mandela spoke just before 8pm, and he used his first address firmly to endorse all the positions of the ANCO and put an end to speculation that he might in some way be out of step with the organisation.

He delivered a hardline speech, giving support to the continuation of the armed struggle and sanctions and saying the conditions for negotiations

had not yet been met.

He praised State President FW de Klerk, saying he had gone further than any other Nationalist leader. "There are further steps (to be taken)," he said. "We have not yet begun to discuss the basic demands of the struggle."

Mandela had clearly decided that his appearance on the steps of Cape Town's City Hall was a time to reassure and mobilise his own followers, leaving detailed overtures and initiatives aimed at his opponents for later. He also pre-empted speculation about his own role perhaps usurping that of other ANC leaders by reaffirming Oliver Tambo's pre-eminent position as the organisation's elected president.

The speech can be viewed as an opening thrust; a consolidating speech which was carefully prepared and delivered strictly according to the text.

With the light fast fading on the Grand Parade, Mandela was introduced by his comrade Walter Sisulu.

Delivering his speech in a strong, charged, but not emotional voice, Mandela said he stood before the gathering "not as a prophet, but as a humble servant ...

"I place the remaining years of my life in your hands," he said to resounding cheers. His speech was re-

## Just a quiet day at the TV for Mbeki

By PETER AUF DER HEYDE

WHILE the men who had shared the leadership of the African National Congress and life on Robben Island with Nelson Mandela gathered at Victor Verster prison to welcome him, one man was forced to watch it all on television.

A disappointed Govan Mbeki sat with friends in his Port Elizabeth flat and waited, with millions of others, for Mandela to appear on the screen.

"My health is giving me some problems at the moment and my doctor said I should not travel to Cape Town," Mbeki said.

He said that while he was sad that he could not be present, he was delighted that Mandela had been freed.

Mbeki agreed that the ANC may have been taken by surprise by the fast pace of recent developments. "We knew he would be released soon, but obviously we did not know the exact date," he said.

Mbeki said he was on standby to fly to Johannesburg if the senior ANC leadership should be called together for talks. "The National Reception Committee has not yet told me the exact plan but I am waiting," he said.

peatedly interrupted by delighted outbursts of applause and cheers of "Viva!" from the crowd.

Taking pains to single out for praise all the major internal resistance or-

ganisations — as well as, of course, the ANC — he extended a special greeting to "the people of Cape Town ... the city which has been my home for more than three decades".

Mandela praised Umkhonto weSizwe, the ANC's military wing, the South African Communist Party, those white-based organisations — notably the Black Sash and the National Union of South African Students — which had "acted as the conscience of white South Africa in the darkest days", the international community, progressive religious communities, "traditional leaders" who had sided with the democratic movement and the Frontline states.

Mandela said it would be "incomplete" if he did not mention his wife Winnie.

"During the long and lonely years ... my beloved wife has given me strength; and I am convinced that your pain and suffering was far greater than my own," he said.

At the end of the long and historic day, supporters heeded Mandela's call to disperse with dignity and left the Parade happily and peacefully: groups of toyi-toyi-ing youths laughed and greeted groups of riot policemen and soldiers as they spread out into the night.

Mandela later cancelled a press con-

ference; National Release Committee officials said he would address a press conference on today in Johannesburg. He is expected to fly up on a private chartered plane during the morning.

Yesterday was marked by outpourings of joy around the country: in central Johannesburg, Hillbrow, Soweto, Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, East London, Kattlehong, Eldorado Park, Vosloorus, Thokoza ...

In Soweto, several thousand people formed a joyous human chain near the house of the released leader, ululating, dancing and chanting slogans. Hundreds of people poured out onto the streets and more than 35 000 packed into Jabulani Stadium for a tumultuous rally.

In Johannesburg, hundreds of people, shouting and waving, ran through the streets of the city centre. The celebrations focused on Hillbrow but flowed over into the city and other areas.

In Hillbrow, thousands of people toyi-toyi-ed in the streets and a cavalcade of cars, hooters blaring, drove through the city. One person was knocked down when a car plowed into the crowd, and then sped away.

In Port Elizabeth, four people were killed and 17 others injured when a car ploughed into a group of celebrators.



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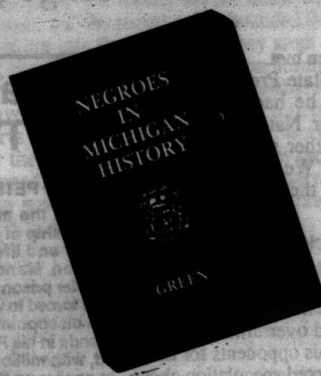
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## NELSON ROHLILAHLA MANDELA RELEASED FROM SOUTH AFRICA'S NOTORIOUS PRISON SYSTEM ON 11 FEBRUARY, 1990.

MARCH, 1990 we began our efforts to create a historical, commemorative item which would capture for all times this important event. Imagine, a man, who spent almost three decades incarcerated in South Africa's prison system, merely because he sought Freedom in the land of his birth! Not until it was firmly established that Mr. Mandela, "The World's Greatest Freedom Fighter," would visit Detroit in June, 1990 that we adopted a Commemorative, Historical, Collector's Edition newspaper as our project.

Immediately, we set about contacting 29 English language newspapers in South Africa. Ten responded. We were most impressed with the insert in THE WEEKLY MAIL, published in Johannesburg, South Africa. We sought and received exclusive rights from the editor to reprint, in its entirety, the insert in these United States.

Historical Research Repository, Inc., is exceedingly proud we had the foresight to publish this special 24 page tabloid honoring, "The World's Greatest Freedom Fighter," on his visit to Detroit's Freedom's Gateway, which focuses on Detroit's role as The Largest Terminal on the Underground Railroad (UGRR). When translated this means more enslaved (fugitive slaves) people crossed The Detroit River to Freedom in Canada than at any other point in these United States. Detroit's code name was MIDNIGHT. CANNAN was the code name for Canada.

During World War II, Detroit's tremendous, diverse industrial prowess earned for her the title, 'ARSENAL OF DEMOCRACY.' Freedom and efforts to keep people free has always been an integral part of Detroit's rich, colorful, and exciting history.

### BACKGROUND

The Repository became a Michigan not-for-profit organization in 1986, although, principals have been collecting, publishing, preserving and distributing Black historical materials since 1960, beginning with the addition of an index and editing of the 87 year old MICHIGAN MANUAL OF FREEDMEN'S PROGRESS, issued in 1915 by authorization of ACT 47, PUBLIC ACTS 1915. We renamed this historical book, NEGROES IN MICHIGAN HISTORY, reprinted and reissued it twice, in 1968 and 1985. This tome remains the most comprehensive chronicle which documents the vast contributions made by Blacks to Michigan history as recorded by Black people.

In 1985, while serving as historian for the Museum of African American History, Detroit, Michigan, I researched and mounted a 96 linear foot exhibit honoring the Five Black Nobel Prize Winners, at the request of Dr. Charles H. Wright, Museum's founder. The purpose was to honor Ralph Johnson Bunche, born in Detroit in 1904, became in 1950 the first Black person to be awarded a Nobel Prize. This was almost fifty years after these highly coveted awards were established by Dr. Alfred Bernhard Nobel in 1901. Dr. Bunche was cited for his success as United Nations mediator in bringing about the 1949 Rhodes armistice between Israel and its Arab adversaries, Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon and Syria for this he won the Prize for Peace in 1950.