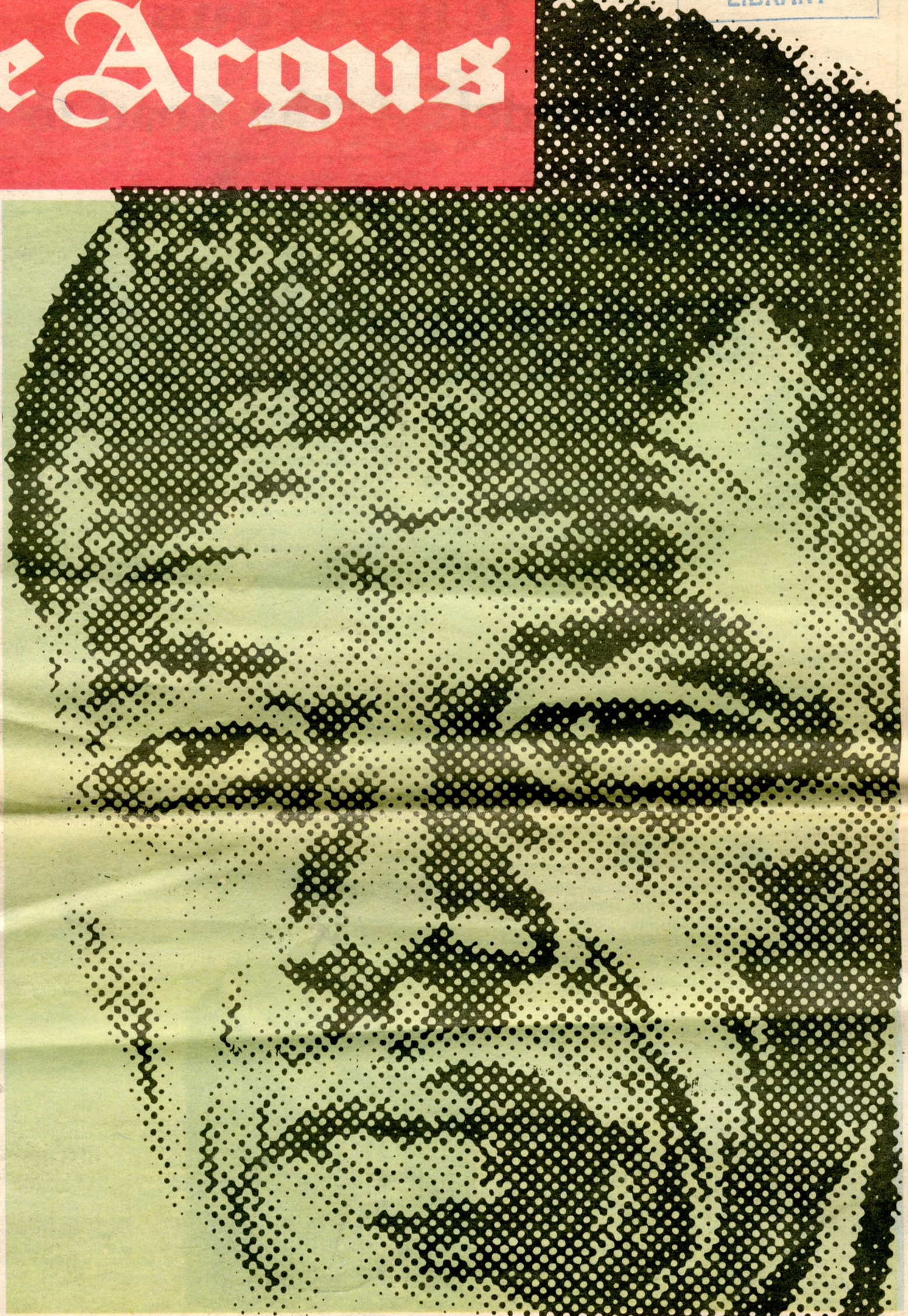


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MANDATE



the road to FREEDOM

EXCLUSIVE
PART
1

The Argus

Nelson Mandela — The Road to Freedom

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CONTENTS



Dennis
Cruywagen

MONTHS were spent researching and preparing this four-part series on the dramatic events surrounding **NELSON MANDELA**, the life-term prisoner who has cast a larger than life shadow on South African politics.

Staff writer **DENNIS CRUYWAGEN** travelled extensively to interview at first hand — or by other means, where necessary — those stalwart ANC veterans who were convicted in

the Rivonia Treason Trial and jailed with Mandela.

He talked, too, to members of the Mandela family, politicians, lawyers and many others who were close to or knowledgeable about the ANC leader. Official records and other sources on the life and times of Nelson Mandela were also consulted.

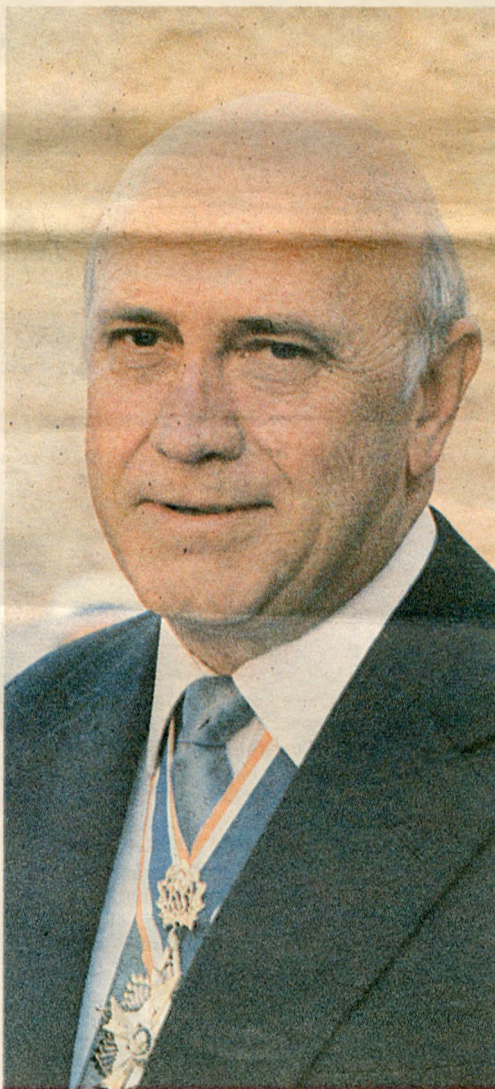
Compiling the vast amount of information sometimes led to unusual situations. For instance, Mrs Winnie Man-

dela, always pressed for time, was interviewed — not in her home in Diepkloof, Soweto, as arranged but in a hired car in a Johannesburg traffic jam while following a vehicle driven by her driver. She was late for another appointment.

Drawn from various sources this series sets out to reconstruct an overview of 25 years and more of political and personal drama, passion and poignancy.

TODAY

- The early years ... from Transkei to Egoli (City of Gold); law, politics and prison. The climb to ANC leadership — pages 3, 4 and 5.
- The gathering of the clan — page 5.
- Evelyn ... the first Mrs Mandela. Family tragedies — page 6
- Winnie Mandela ... on love and marriage, page 7



President De Klerk

TOMORROW

- The Rivonia Treason Trial ... for life or death.

ALSO

Diary of a mission in Africa

What they said after the trial

What South Africa was like in those times.

WITH the steps the government has taken it has proven its good faith and the table is laid for sensible leaders to begin talking about a new dispensation, to reach an understanding by way of dialogue and discussion.

The agenda is open and the overall aims to which we are aspiring should be acceptable to all reasonable South Africans.

Among other things,

those aims include a new, democratic constitution; universal franchise; no domination; equality before an independent judiciary; the protection of minorities as well as of individual rights; freedom of religion; a sound economy based on proven economic principles and private enterprise; dynamic programmes directed at better education, health services, housing and social conditions for all.

QUOTE

In this connection Mr Nelson Mandela could play an important part. The government has noted that he has declared himself to be willing to make a constructive contribution to the peaceful political process in South Africa.

I wish to put it plainly

that the government has taken a firm decision to release Mr Mandela unconditionally. I am serious about bringing this matter to finality without delay. The government will take a decision soon on the date of his release. Unfortunately, a further short passage of time is unavoidable.

Normally there is a certain passage of time between the decision to release and the actual release

because of logistical and administrative requirements. In the case of Mr Mandela there are factors in the way of his immediate release, of which his personal circumstances and safety are not the least. He has not been an ordinary prisoner for quite some time. Because of that, his case requires particular circumspection.

— Mr F W de Klerk in his address to parliament.



Mandela — the Road to Freedom

MANDELA started as a compound policeman, posted to guard the gate where black miners lived. He was equipped with a knobkerrie and a whistle . . . the job lasted three days.

MY flat was overcrowded and I threatened to evict him because every part of the three-roomed flat, including the kitchen, was filled with his clients. It used to go on like that the whole day. We still joke about it . . .

— Ahmed Kathrada on lawyer Nelson Mandela's temporary "offices".

AS I grew to love him I understood his kind of life — that it wasn't a normal kind of life. Marrying him was not really marrying the man . . . I was marrying the struggle.

— Mrs Winnie Mandela.

The early years . . .

NELSON Rolihlahla Mandela, like most young black men in those days, found his first job on a gold mine.

But unlike many others, he was not lured to *Egoli*, as The Golden City is known, by the prospect of fat wages.

He fled there to escape getting married to a girl in a traditional ceremony arranged by his uncle and ward, Chief David Dalindyebo, of the Tembus.

Nelson Mandela, the only son of Chief Henry Gadla Mandela and Nonqaphi Mandela, was born on July 18, 1918 in Transkei. He became Chief Dalindyebo's ward in 1930 when his seriously ill father presented him to the then acting paramount chief and asked him to look after him.

The young Mandela, a Methodist all his life, matriculated at Healdtown before enrolling for a BA degree at Fort Hare College, the melting pot of black student politics in those days.

Founded in 1916, Fort Hare was where students from distant parts of east, central and southern Africa — the likes of Robert Mugabe, now president of Zimbabwe — made their way to study.

It was here that Mandela, still a teenager, crossed paths with Oliver Tambo, who was later to become his associate in Johannesburg's first black legal partnership and a fellow leader of the African National Congress.

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Tall, lithe and oozing leadership qualities, Nelson Mandela was elected to the Students' Representative Council and became vice-chairman of the athletics union.

But his stay at Fort Hare ended in 1940 when he resigned from the SRC in protest against the decision of the authorities to curb its power. He joined a student boycott and was suspended.

He returned home to Mqokezweni, the Great Place of the Paramount Chief where Chief Dalindyebo ordered him to abandon the boycott and resume his studies. But an impending marriage persuaded him otherwise.

Chief Dalindyebo felt it time Mandela married and had selected a "girl, fat and dignified" as his wife.

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"My guardian . . . loved me very much and looked after me as diligently as my father had, but he was no democrat and did not think it worthwhile to consult me about a wife," Nelson wrote years later to James Kantor, one of his co-accused in the Rivonia treason trial against whom charges were withdrawn.

Lobola, the price for the bride which is traditionally paid to her family, had been paid and arrangements were in hand for the wedding.

Then just 23, Nelson took a decision which dramatically changed his life.

With his cousin Justice Mtirar, who had also been sent down from Fort Hare, the youthful Mandela fled rural Transkei for Johannesburg.

IT was 1941, the world was at war with Germany and Jan Smuts was Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa. For Nelson Mandela Johannesburg was indeed a strange and faraway place from Transkei.

One of the first to befriend him was Walter Sisulu. It was to be an enduring friendship, sustained in crisis and adversity.

Sisulu, former general-secretary of the ANC, takes up the story:

"I was among the first to meet him when he arrived in Johannesburg. He was with Justice.

"They went to Crown Mines and saw the induna of Crown Mines who was known to the paramount chief of the Tembus. He welcomed them as relatives of the paramount chief but did not know they had run away. He gave them protection and decided they would be employed."

□□□□

Mandela started as a compound policeman, posted to guard the gate to the compound where black miners lived. He was equipped with a knobkerrie and a whistle. His relative, who was four years older, became a learner clerk.

But the induna discovered that "these boys" had run away — and that was the end of the stint at the mine. It had lasted three days.

"I was with them more or less within this period. I myself, having come into contact with them, was being harassed by Dr A B Xuma (president general of the ANC, 1940-49) who was highly respected by the Tembu royal house.

"He got to know I was in contact with the chaps and informed me I was not entitled to keep the boys. I think they also saw him and he told them they were wanted at home. It's a complicated story which can only be given by Nelson himself."

Walter Sisulu, who was then an estate agent with an office in Barclay Arcade, on the corner of Market Street and Diagonal Street in downtown Johannesburg, had these first impressions of Nelson Mandela:

"Well, he was a very bright young man, impressive and open about things. He appeared quite ambitious to develop educationally. I liked him very much."

Nelson confided that he wanted to study law. Sisulu helped him to complete his BA degree and also introduced him to a law firm which later recruited him while he was doing his LJB at the University of the Witwatersrand.

Sisulu is uncertain about who paid for Mandela's studies.

"Let me see . . . who paid for his studies? I helped in some way. I don't think I paid his fees. It was

only for clothes and books. I don't know who paid the fees . . .

"I also know that Dr Xuma and I were asked to sign a guarantee by the Bantu Welfare Trust (to study for an LJB at Wits).

"It was this period which was very dark for Nelson. He had no real financial resources. Some of us who were sympathetic could not meet his requirements. He wasn't married then."

Living with Walter and Albertina Sisulu in Soweto exposed Nelson Mandela to leading lights in the African National Congress, such as Anton Lembede, A P Mda, a teacher who was later to become a lawyer, and Oliver Tambo.

Mandela joined the ANC in 1944. "No, I didn't recruit him. He was recruited by a chap called Ramowana who was then either a president or secretary of the Transvaal ANC. I was very much pleased when he joined."

Sisulu, Tambo, Anton Lembede, A P Mda and Mandela formed the Youth League. In April that year Lembede became president, Tambo was secretary, Sisulu treasurer and Mandela a member of the executive.

The goals of the youth league were to rejuvenate the ANC which it recognised as the symbol and embodiment of the African will to present a united front against all forms of oppression. These young turks believed the ANC was weak and needed to be shaken up to give a lead and that the Youth League was to be the "brains trust

and power station of the spirit of African nationalism".

Foreign leadership was rejected. So, too, was the importation of foreign ideologies, a clear indication of the anti-communist stance of the Youth League.

AHMED KATHRADA, one of the accused at Rivonia with Mandela and Sisulu, remembers those days clearly.

"When I met them (Walter and Nelson) they were both members of the ANC Youth League. Nelson, Walter and I were friends, but not as close as we are today.

"The age gap was a bit big and it counted in those years. But we were friends. In those days when they were in the Youth League they were cautious about co-operation with the Communist Party and the Indian Congress.

"Their thinking was very much like that of the Pan African Congress. They felt the struggle should be an African struggle and they were not in favour of an alliance at that stage."

Elias Motsoaledi, freed last October from life-long imprisonment with Kathrada and five other ANC veterans, agreed.

"I found Mandela to be a capable leader. Very capable in the sense that he was quite brave. He could face the odds and at the time of meeting him he was one of the founders of the Youth



Walter Sisulu has had an enduring friendship with Nelson Mandela and befriended the young Mandela when he first went to live in Johannesburg. Sisulu plays with two of his grandchildren at his Soweto home following his release after spending 26 years in jail.

IT has not been easy for me during the past period to separate myself from my wife and children, to say goodbye to the good old days when, at the end of a strenuous day, I could look forward to joining my family at the dinner table, and instead to take up the life of a man hunted continuously by the police . . . in my own country facing continuously the hazards of detection and arrest.

— Nelson Mandela.

League in 1944 under the leadership of Anton Lembede.

"I was a member of the Communist Party; he was a member of the Youth League, an organisation which hated the Communist Party. I was under the impression that the Youth League was founded as a pressure group to force the mother body against the Communist Party.

"Later he changed his views together with some of his colleagues. When I say some of his colleagues I must mention among them the secretary general Walter Sisulu and the president Oliver R Tambo."

Was Mandela a communist? "He was not a member of the Communist Party, as far as I know. Definitely not."

Fate, however, and the advent of the '50s changed the outlook of Mandela and Tambo and they were to work more closely with communists.

Says Kathrada: "They changed in 1950. There was the strike of May 1, 1950 which the Youth League opposed. It was a strike against the banning — you know the Suppression of Communism Act had been passed — and they had banned a number of people, like Dr Yusuf Dadoo.

"This one-day strike, called the Freedom Day Strike, which only took place on the Rand was organised by the ANC (Transvaal), Transvaal Indian Congress and the Communist Party."

Continued on page 4



Mandela — the Road to Freedom

A meteoric climb to leadership of the ANC

NELSON MANDELA'S rise through the ANC ranks was meteoric. His contribution to the 1952 Defiance Campaign was, by insider accounts, impressive — so much so that he was elected president of the Transvaal ANC in the same year.

He was one of 20 leaders giv-

en a nine-months suspended sentence for organising the campaign. In December 1952, Mandela was served with a banning order, prohibiting him from attending gatherings and confining him to Johannesburg.

Nine years later Mandela

made a surprise appearance at the All-In African conference in March 1961 in Maritzburg where delegates rejected the Verwoerd government's decision to form a republic, calling instead for a union of all South Africans.

Mandela was elected secre-

tary of the newly-formed National Action Council which decided to call a general strike in retaliation for the government's refusal to meet black South Africans' demands.

Mandela felt he would be able to fulfil his new job more suc-

cessfully if he went underground.

The Black Pimpernel, as he became known, was eventually arrested and tried. Nelson Mandela, who vowed to continue the struggle "until the end of my days" was to become the world's most famous prisoner.

Continued from page 3

There were violent clashes that day in which several people died.

A joint meeting took place between the executives of the ANC, SA Indian Congress and Communist Party of South Africa "at which those people (Mandela and Tambo) were present".

It was resolved to call a national strike on June 26, 1950. "The co-operation began then. I'm now talking of the Youth League."

Kathrada says the strike was called as a protest against police action of May 1 and against the Suppression of Communism Act.

"Thereafter there was the Defiance Campaign of 1952 by which time all the reservations had disappeared and we worked closely together. We were also in a trial in which we were all sentenced to nine months suspended for our roles in the defiance campaign"

They were also involved in the Congress of the People at which the Freedom Charter, the ANC's guiding light, was adopted at Klipfontein on June 25, 1955.

"We were all banned, but were there in the vicinity. I suppose it was a great risk if they caught us. Some of us took precautions, like disguises, others did not," Kathrada recalls.

The bond between them grew closer and they found themselves back in court in 1956 in what became known as the Treason Trial.

On December 19, 1956, 156 people were charged in the Old Drill Hall, Johannesburg. The trial dragged on until 1961 when all were acquitted.

MANDELA may have been deeply involved in politics, but he still had time for divorce, romance and law in his life. He and Tambo started the firm of Mandela and Tambo.

When a state of emergency was declared in 1960 the ANC sent Tambo, who was acquitted in the early stages of the 1956 treason trial, abroad.

"After he left in 1960 we were, of course, in prison with the emergency and the firm of Mandela and Tambo was closed down. Mr Mandela thereafter continued his practice from my flat in Market Street right up to the time when he went underground in 1961.

"My flat was overcrowded and I threatened to evict him because every part of my three-roomed flat, including the kitchen, was filled with his clients. It used to go on like that the whole day. We still joke about how I threatened to evict him."

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Meanwhile, Mandela was rising in the ANC hierarchy. Anton Lembede died after a long illness in 1947 and Mandela, after being secretary, became national president of the Youth League towards the end of 1950.

Then he was elected deputy to ANC president Chief Albert Luthuli in December 1952.

Mandela and Sisulu, who was general-secretary of the ANC by then, and other Youth League members were grappling with the vexing question of applying non-violent methods against the State.

In 1951 their proposal was put to the ANC's annual conference in

Bloemfontein... they had decided to embark on a defiance campaign.

Among these laws were the Group Areas Act, Suppression of Communism Act and the pass laws.

Mandela was appointed national volunteer-in-chief of the Defiance Campaign. He travelled extensively with his deputy, Maulvi Cachalia and sometimes with Oliver Tambo.

The Defiance Campaign began on June 26 — and the same day Mandela was arrested in Johannesburg while on his way home from a meeting. He was released later, but was again arrested in a police raid on July 30.

Also taken in were Walter Sisulu and 33 others who were all charged with furthering the aims of communism.

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They stood trial in November, were found guilty and sentenced to nine months' imprisonment suspended for two years on condition they did not repeat the offence.

The next month Mandela was banned, like so many others. He was prohibited from attending gatherings and confined to Johannesburg for six months.

The ban expired in June 1953, but freedom was short-lived because in September Mandela was banned for two years. He was not allowed to attend meetings, confined to Johannesburg and forced to resign from the ANC and all related bodies.

At the time of the 1956 treason trial Mandela's marriage to Evelyn had broken down. They were married in 1944 and divorced in 1957.

Later, in 1958, he married Nomzamo Zaniwe Winnifred Madikizela, who became known as Winnie Mandela, and "Mother of the Nation" to her followers.

"**WHEN** I met him he was one of the accused in the treason trial of 1956. I knew when we were married that our life wouldn't be normal and that he could be jailed.

"As I grew to love him I understood his kind of life — that it wasn't a normal kind of life. Marrying him was not really marrying the man... I was marrying the struggle."

The truth of this statement was borne out on the day of his acquittal in the treason trial.

"He drove home with the leadership of the ANC. Joe Modise, who is the commander of the armed forces outside (the country), came into the house and simply asked me for a bag or a small suitcase and said could I just give him one of his colleague's outfits. In fact, he asked for one suit and a shirt, underwear and clean socks.

"And he stressed just one set of clothing. Nelson never came inside. He remained talking outside with the others. He never even said goodbye, he just took the clothes from Joe Modise and they went off. I didn't even know where they were off to."

The next Winnie Mandela heard was that he had spoken at the All-in-Africa conference in Maritzburg on March 25, 1961.

"From there, I also learnt from



Ahmed Kathrada 'Mandela and Sisulu were cautious about co-operation with the Communist Party'

the Press, he had disappeared and that was the beginning of his journey to life imprisonment and the journey to liberate the people of this country."

Ahmed Kathrada relates that Mandela was the main speaker at the conference, and that he threatened to call a three-day strike in May if the government didn't agree to a national convention.

"His ban had expired before the conference and he went underground to organise the strike before they could renew it."

VARIOUS disguises — as a night watchman, labourer, gardener, a driver — became part of Nelson Mandela's life, says Kathrada who was on the committee responsible for all the underground arrangements.

"... like arranging meetings for him and transport and disguises. Everything relating to his underground life, even his trip abroad."

He also set up interviews with selected journalists.

"I recently saw a video of an underground interview by a foreign correspondent whom I had taken to a venue. It brought back lots of memories."

In 1961 Mandela — who was later dubbed the Black Pimpernel — secretly left the country on an ANC mission, an act which was to earn him five years in jail when eventually he was caught.

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"He had no passport and it was all illegal. When he left (in disguise, I think as a driver), we put him on a plane in Botswana.

"Then he was put on a specially chartered flight to Tanzania. This was pre-independence... His mission, off course, was to whip up support for the ANC and it was very, very successful.

"He left at the end of 1961 and returned in August '62. He had a very successful tour of Africa (Tanganyika, now Tanzania, Ethiopia, Sudan, Egypt, Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, Mali, Senegal, Guinea, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Ghana and Nigeria) and England.

(In all these states he met heads of state or other senior government officials. In England he was received by Hugh Gaitskell, then leader of the Labour Party, and Jo Grimmond, leader of the Liberal Party).



Oliver Tambo Mandela's associate in Johannesburg's first black legal partnership and fellow-leader of the ANC

AHMED KATHRADA had limited contact with the first Mrs Mandela, but he remembers Nelson courting Winnie.

"I met them while they were courting," he remembers. "When he was underground I used to convey messages to her and arrange secret meetings, that type of thing.

"Secret meetings took place at various places in many, many houses in the suburbs, all over the show. Depending on the type of gathering they were going to we had to choose accordingly.

"There must have been weekend meetings too. I took Winnie and the two kids to spend a weekend with him.

"She understood why he had gone underground. It must have been hard for her, but she didn't show it. At least I couldn't see any strain. But she must have been under strain."

LIFE on the run for the Black Pimpernel ended on August 5, 1962 when he was caught at a police roadblock on his way back from Durban after reporting to ANC leader Chief Albert Luthuli on his mission to Africa, an account of which appears elsewhere in this series.

"He was disguised as the driver for a white man. I don't know if he was given away. There were all kinds of rumours, including that he had been given away by the CIA," says Kathrada. I was surprised he'd been caught. There was surprise and solidarity. We formed the Free Mandela Committee and organised a campaign for his release."

Walter Sisulu was arrested two days later.

NELSON Mandela, wearing a heavy grey army-type overcoat with brass buttons, appeared in the Johannesburg magistrate's court charged with incitement on August 8, 1962. No evidence was led and the hearing was adjourned to August 16.

The prosecutor handed in a certificate from the Attorney-General of the Transvaal, Mr R W Rein, preventing Mandela from applying for bail for 12 days.

A handcuffed Mandela was brought in by two security policemen and two black constables. The handcuffs were removed in court and replaced when he left.

He appeared again on August 16, but the hearing was remanded to the Pretoria Regional Court where it began on October 15 with Mandela charged with incitement and leaving the country illegally.

He was alleged to have incited people to strike on May 29, 30 and 31, 1961 in protest against the Republic of South Africa constitution. The second charge was that he had left the country without the necessary documents to visit Abyssinia, Basutoland, Bechuanaland, Swaziland and other countries.

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Minister of Justice B J Vorster gave Johannesburg advocate Joe Slovo, who had been banned under the Suppression of Communism Act, permission to defend Mandela.

But on October 23 Mandela told the court — sitting in the Old Synagogue, the scene of other historic legal hearings, including the Steve Biko inquest years later — he would undertake his own defence and merely consult with Slovo who was called out of the court and ordered to return to Johannesburg where he was confined under his banning orders.

He pleaded not guilty. Before doing so he made an hour-long address in an application for the refusal of the magistrate, Mr W A van Hedsingen, who dismissed it.

Of his decision to defend himself, he said: "At some time I hope to indicate that this trial is a reflection of the aspirations of the African people. That is the reason why I am conducting my own defence."

During the trial Mr J F Barnard, private secretary to the Prime Minister, Dr H F Verwoerd, handed in two letters addressed to the Prime Minister and posted in Johannesburg on April 22, 1961.

Mandela read the letters into the record. They were signed by him as secretary of the All-in Africa Action Congress which had demanded a People's Convention before May 31, 1961, the day South Africa became a republic.

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Mandela: Do you agree it was most improper of the Prime Minister not to reply to a communication raising vital issues affecting the majority of citizens in this country?

Barnard: Not in this case. The Prime Minister referred it to the responsible minister, the Department of Justice.

Two days later, when the court reconvened at 2pm, prosecutor P J Bosch announced: "Your worship, I close my case."

Mandela then rose and said: "Your worship, I close my case."

The magistrate adjourned the hearing to November 7, a day before the General Assembly of the United Nations voted for the first time in favour of sanctions against South Africa.

Mandela was sentenced to five years: Three for incitement, two for leaving the country illegally.

The magistrate found Mandela was the "mouthpiece and the mastermind of the scheme to call a strike in protest against the estab-

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Mandela — the Road to Freedom

The gathering of the clan

THERE was nervous excitement in the air at a Cape Town hotel as the Mandela clan stood around waiting for Winnie Mandela.

Some were making small talk, others were silently wondering what they would say when she entered the foyer on July 18 last year, the day Nelson Mandela turned 71.

Talking to me was Makaziwe (Maki) Mandela, youngest daughter of Nelson Mandela and his first wife, Evelyn.

A striking and articulate person, the occasion was not lost on her. She knew, as did other members of the family, that it would be the first time the two branches of the Mandela family would be visiting Nelson Mandela together.

She had no intention of rocking the boat, but that did not mean she wasn't going to open up for the first time and talk about things.

She was happy, she told me, that the media had at long last realised that Nelson Mandela had been married before and that he had children from that marriage.

"We have been living in the shadow of his second marriage and it has hurt us," she confessed.

Maki, who now lives in America, moved to Transkei with her mother in the mid-70s and was schooled there.

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"Life wasn't easy. I had to rely on bursaries from the Institute of Race Relations to get through university."

She recounted how, when she had first arrived in the United States, people asked her: 'Which daughter are you, Zindzi or Zenani?'

"I tried to explain as best as I could that I was born out of his first marriage. People were so unaware that my father had been married before that they automatically said 'Oh, you are a product of his tribal marriage.'

"It took some patience and utmost self control to explain that Nelson Mandela had married my mother in a legal ceremony."

WHEN Winnie Mandela walked in she walked straight to Maki Mandela and embraced her. The significance of that gesture was not lost on those in the know; Winnie Mandela was reaching out to Maki.

Then she hugged each member



The Mandela family gather in Cape Town on July 18, 1989 — Nelson Mandela's 71st birthday. Mrs Winnie Mandela is at centre-left.

of the Mandela family before they left for Victor Verster prison for their historic visit. And united was the theme when they walked out afterwards to face the media.

Winnie and Makgatho Mandela, one of two sons from Nelson Mandela's first marriage, walking hand in hand, led the group with Maki close behind.

IN an interview with the *Washington Post* in January, Maki (who is doing a doctorate in anthropology at the University of Massachusetts) recounted how she was still coming to terms with a father she had hardly known.

"As a daughter, I'm excited that my father is going to get out and I'm finally going to have a father there, hopefully."

"I realise he'll be a father to so many other people. But at the same time, I realise it's going to be a difficult period for my father."

Maki Mandela lives with her second husband next to the campus of the university where for the last four years she has been studying for her doctorate and writing

a dissertation on women of the Transkei.

She told the *Washington Post* of two great events that shaped her life occurred in childhood, well beyond her control or even her understanding at the time — her parents' divorce and her father's arrest in 1962.

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Nelson and Evelyn were divorced when she was about four and she would spend weekends with her father in Orlando West, while living during the week with her mother in Orlando East.

Once her father was on the run from the police, her stepmother Winnie would sometimes take her to see her father in hiding.

Maki Mandela said she never really reached a stage where she developed a father-daughter relationship with him.

"I really know my father very little as a father, and it has been through letter-writing and the 45-minute visits in prison. It should be only now that we start establishing that relationship as a father and daughter ..."

Maki Mandela said that after her father was imprisoned, when she was eight, she became really bitter for not having him and very angry — at him — for not being there. Why, she wondered, did her father not take his family into exile like other ANC leaders.

He knew he was being hunted, yet he returned after a visit from London.

She believes he acted from a mixture of motives. Part of it, she said, was the self-aggrandisement that afflicted many people engaged in liberation struggles.

Another part was simple ambition. And then there was a feeling of duty to the ANC's followers who, without leaders, would always be at the mercy of the hostile white minority.

"Whether he wanted to become a hero, I doubt. That's my father ... I think my father felt that even if some of the leaders of the movement leave the country, then some of the leaders have to stay inside and be the galvanising force for the people. Because, how could they lead the struggle if they were all outside the country?"

"So I feel he made a sacrifice, he was prepared to make that sacrifice and go to jail and even die. And he's still prepared to do that. At a bitter cost to his family, but it was something he was willing to do."

SHE told the newspaper that when she was a teenager she became so angry with her father that she stopped visiting him altogether. After years of dealing with him through her stepmother, Winnie, she and her brother felt their father really didn't care for them.

But Maki, prodded by her mother, slowly started a reconciliation with her father in the late 1970s. "My mom kept on encouraging us to go," she said.

But she resented having to deal with her father via Winnie, which she said created problems. Whenever she or her brother needed something, Mr Mandela would say 'Go to Mama-Winnie'.

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"Things didn't happen, you see, the way my father thought they happened. And it caused friction. For me, I felt strongly that, look, my mother is there."

"My father should have made it known to his friends that he had other children, from his first wife, that he needs to make arrangements for his children through his ex-wife, whether he loved this wife or he didn't love this wife," Maki Mandela said.

She said her grandfather had had four wives. Her father knew full well what happened when a man had that many wives. One could not delegate everything for the other children through one wife. That was creating problems.

IN a letter to her father after their visit to Victor Verster prison she told him it was an experience for her she would never forget, because for the first time he opened to her as a father.

"We talked about deep feelings, sorts of things that, under most circumstances, we don't. Our inhibitions were thrown out there. We hugged and kissed. It was good. I think it meant more for him."

"During his birthday, the whole family went there, and the grandchildren. It was just so wonderful ... I could see he misses that kind of life. He misses to be a family man," she said.

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The early years

Continued from page 4

lishment of the Republic," that he had leaflets printed calling for a strike and these had reached a large number of people.

"If this is not incitement, what is?"

There was evidence that there were tens of thousands of people for whom it was illegal to stay away from work who could have been incited, the magistrate found.

"There can be no doubt Mandela was the instigator and leader of the campaign to get people to stay at home in protest."

The leaflets were distributed with two letters which were sent to the Prime Minister which threatened a nationwide demonstration and a demand for a national convention.

Mr Hedsingen said a letter sent to an African newspaper, *The World*, was damning. It contained the phrase: "No power in the world can stop the people getting their will."

As a man of standing among his

people Mandela must have realised his actions would be taken seriously.

Mandela was also found guilty of leaving the country without a valid passport. Newspapers with accounts of a meeting in Addis Ababa at which a person called Nelson Mandela took part, did in fact refer to Mandela.

Mandela had acted in a way calculated to lead to tyranny and destruction, the magistrate said.

Mandela would suffer greatly by the sentence "but there is no saying how far things will go if they are not put down with a heavy hand".

"I do not think a lenient sentence will deter him. Even today he has indicated that whatever the sentence, he would continue the cause. His main objective was to overthrow the government by unlawful and undemocratic means."

Mandela had shown no remorse. Wrongdoers should be made to abide by the laws of the country, even if, as Mandela had said, they did not recognise those laws.

"If they do not abide by them anarchy will break out. His ac-

tions were calculated to inspire alarm among people. This is the surest way to anarchy and destruction."

BEFORE sentence was passed Mandela traced his youth and outlined his hopes:

"Many years ago, when I was a boy brought up in my village in the Transkei, I listened to the elders of the tribe telling stories about the good old days, before the arrival of the white man.

"Then our people lived peacefully, under the democratic rule of their kings and their *amapakati* (insiders), and moved freely and confidently up and down the country without let or hindrance. Then the country was ours, in our name and right. We occupied the land, the forests, the river; we extracted the mineral wealth beneath the soil and the riches of this beautiful country. We set up and operated our own government, we controlled our own armies and we organised our own trade and commerce. The elders would tell tales of the wars fought by our ancestors in defence of the fatherland,

as well as the acts of valour performed by generals and soldiers during those epic days ...

"I hoped, vowed then that among the treasures that life might offer me would be the opportunity to serve my people and make my own humble contribution to their freedom struggles."

He spoke of the difficulties he and Oliver Tambo encountered in their profession, how they defied an order that they move their law office from Johannesburg to an African township.

He described the "frustrations" and "insults" from officials "whose positions they owed only to their white skins".

"It has not been easy for me during the past period to separate myself from my wife and children, to say goodbye to the good old days when, at the end of a strenuous day at an office, I could look forward to joining my family at the dinner table, and instead to take up the life of a man hunted continuously by the police, living separated from those who are closest to me, in my own country facing continually the hazards of

detection and of arrest.

"This has been a life infinitely more difficult than serving a prison sentence. No man in his right senses would voluntarily choose such a life in preference to the one of normal family social life which exists in every civilised community."

"But there comes a time, as it came in my life, when a man is denied the right to live a normal life, when he can only live the life of an outlaw because the government has so decreed to use the law to impose a state of outlawry on him."

AS he left the court there were shouts of *amandla ngawethu* (power to the people) and outside Winnie Mandela was among those who joined in singing *Nkosi Sikelele i'Afrika*.

Nelson Mandela, 44, started serving his sentence in Pretoria Central prison before being transferred, briefly, to Robben Island in Table Bay in June 1963. He was held in solitary confinement.

But he was soon to be back in Pretoria Central ... fighting for his life.



Mandela — the Road to Freedom

Evelyn . . . the first Mrs Mandela

WALTER SISULU was so wrapped up in politics and his work that he was blind to the blossoming love between his cousin, Evelyn, and his friend Nelson Mandela, who was living with him in Soweto.

"At one time Nelson stayed with me . . . can't say how long, but it was less than a year. It could be during this period, with my cousin coming to visit us, that they met. I was surprised when I got to know they were in love and contemplating marriage. Nelson was best man at my marriage."

According to Fatima Meer's book, *Higher than Hope*, Evelyn, who studied nursing in Johannesburg, declares: "I think I loved him the first time I saw him . . . within days of our first meeting, we were going steady and within months he proposed."

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They married in 1944 and the newlyweds initially shared a house with Mrs Mandela's sister before being allocated a two-bedroomed home in Orlando West in 1946.

Their first child was born in 1945, a son Thembi, who later died in a motor accident. Three years later a daughter Makaziwe was born, but died after nine months.

A second son, Makgatho, was born in 1950 and a second daughter, also named Makaziwe, became the newest addition to the Mandela family in 1954.

But the Mandela marriage was in trouble towards the end of the '50s and Evelyn moved in with her brother in Orlando West, taking their children, Thembi, 8, Makgatho, 5, and Makaziwe, 2, with her.

They divorced in 1957, with Mrs Mandela getting custody of the children.

THEIR parting didn't come as a surprise to Makgatho.

"I knew something was wrong," he says now. "I had witnessed a quarrel between them. I didn't ask her (mother) and she didn't tell us. But I could see there was no longer a good relationship between them."

Now married and helping his mother run her grocery store in Quna, Transkei, he vaguely remembers his father.

"I have a very fleeting memory because he and my mother were divorced when I was seven.

"He was quite a warmhearted man, kind and very considerate. He was quite good at taking us out to film shows and buying toys.

"He was an amateur boxer and used to take us to tournaments now and then. No, I didn't see him fight. He only boxed in the gym."



Makgatho Mandela



Maki . . . daughter of Nelson and Evelyn

Makgatho believes religion helped his mother through the divorce.

"My mother is a strong and deeply religious character. She's a Jehova's Witness . . . I think that's what kept her together all these years . . . to live with this thing."

In all the years Nelson Mandela was in prison his first wife has never visited him.

"They were divorced. My father married Winnie. Contact between them, even prior to the divorce, was broken," Makgatho explains.

Makgatho was 12 and at St Christopher's, a public school in Swaziland, when his father was charged with incitement and leaving the country illegally.

He saw his dad at Rivonia at the end of 1961.

"I went visiting there. That's when he told me I was going to

school in Swaziland. He talked about the reasons he was at Rivonia and not at home."

So the young boy understood what his father was doing.

Still, "I was shocked when I heard (from his brother Thembi) that he'd been sentenced to five years imprisonment . . .

"The next thing was Rivonia. I was still at school in Swaziland where 90 percent of the staff were South Africans and the students too. So there was quite an interest at what was happening.

"We were thinking he'd get 10 years. We were shocked when he got life.

There was quite a discussion about that. It was said among students that life is life for political prisoners."

His father tried to encourage him with his education, but it was difficult.

When they went to prison he

was restricted to a visit, and two letters, every six months.

MAKGATHO was 17 and in Standard 9 at Orlando High when he first visited his father on Robben Island in 1967.

"I last saw him in December '61 and hadn't seen him for about six years. I was quite apprehensive. It was my first visit — even to Cape Town.

"The ferry trip was a new experience for me altogether 'cause I'd never been on a boat before. I had that seasickness.

"When we got to the island we were taken to the visitors' room. I was with a group of five. We were called and each taken to a cubicle. Those were the days when we were separated by wire mesh.

"He was quite pleased and I could see he was darker and had lost some weight. But he was still his old self. All we could

talk about was family matters. So he inquired about members of the family and how they were doing."

Magatho recalled his father was "shocked" at Thembi's death in a road accident.

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"And when my grandmother died they refused him permission to attend the funeral."

His grandmother had "accepted that her only son was in jail. She wasn't bitter. She understood her son was a politician and accepted that he had been sentenced to life imprisonment. She visited him once or twice."

Magatho Mandela duly went out to work after matric but moved to Transkei in 1974 after his mother was involved in a car accident and asked him help run the shop.

Gathering of the clan

Continued from page 5

Maki Mandela reckoned only she and Zindzi, her stepsister, could stand up to their father and say they could not do something.

"The other people, I think, look at the man in awe. But I feel he is a human being," she said.

She described her father as a nice man, even when he was angry at her. She could talk to him about anything when she was younger. But even if he scolded

her in a letter, he would always end it with the words "I love you". That made all the difference in the world, she said.

Maki Mandela said her father's image was one of being more than a hero, a fairy godfather with a magic wand, and, when he came out, everything was going to turn and be rosy.

"It is unfair to expect that out of one man. No single man can achieve that. It's really unfair. And I'm sure he knows that too."

NELSON MANDELA'S mother, Mrs Fanny Mandela, collapsed in her home in Quna, Transkei, and died in hospital in Umtata in September 1968, while he was in jail. She was 79.

Permission for him to attend the funeral was refused.

Minister of Justice M P Pelsler said it was policy not to grant permission to any prisoner to attend a funeral.

"We have had heartbreaking cases, but once you have formulated a policy you have to stick to it. The point is; where would you stop if you started granting permission for prisoners to be allowed out?"

Mrs Winnie Mandela, who was restricted to the magisterial district of Johannesburg at the time, was allowed by the chief magistrate to attend the funeral service and burial.

NELSON Mandela's son, Thembi, 24, died in a car accident at Touws River in July 1969, a few days before his father's birthday.

Thembi's sister-in-law, Mrs Irene Simelane, also died in the accident.

Colonel J J van Aarde, in charge of Robben Island, was reported as saying he would break the news to Nelson Mandela personally.

Family tragedies



Mandela — the Road to Freedom

Love and marriage

DIVORCED and wrapped up in a political struggle, Nelson Mandela was to find love and happiness in the arms of Winnie Mandela who has given him two daughters and stood by him since 1958.

They met in March 1956.

"I had just graduated as a social worker in November 1955 and was employed by Baragwanath Hospital as the first black medical social worker. He used to drive past where I lived, near Park Station in those days.

"He would drive past with a relative. It was a daily pattern . . . I used to see this towering man behind a steering wheel of a car talking animatedly to a very beautiful lady."

One day she had a call from his office.

"I had just started working at Bara and he made an appointment with me. He wanted to discuss the question of raising funds for the then treason trial."

She knew about him, of course. Among other things, he was a patron of her school of social work, the Anne Hofmeyr School of Social Work.

"Noooo, it was not love at first sight. It was something which grew gradually. I hardly imagined when he made that appointment that our relationship would develop to what it subsequently became and I was never really proposed to. It just grew and grew.

"We worked very closely together and then I learnt to love him and it was the same thing with him."



Nelson and Winnie Mandela on their wedding day in May 1958

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Mandela was separated from Evelyn at the time.

"They were not living together and the divorce took place that very year. At least it was finalised then.

"Getting married was a natural development. There were no set dates. There was never anything romantic about it. It was just part of the pattern of conventionality. He had to regularise his life because he's very strict and every thing has to be done very methodically.

"He's a perfectionist. He's the type of person who didn't like the clumsiness of just a loose relationship that was of no particular meaning and I think our marriage was in the process. It was not because he was ever ready for that sort of thing. Nor was I really.

"It was just a nuisance having to go and see me at the Helping Hand Club where I was staying as a young social worker and he would have to drive all the way to town (from Soweto) instead of driving to meetings."

She laughed when asked if Mandela had ever sent her flowers.

"Goodness me, no. He was not the type of boyfriend who'd send flowers. I doubt if he knows the meaning of a rose or a daffodil. He's never (ordered) them in his life.

"It was always a father-daughter type of relationship and things were normalised in a situation which was just a nuisance in his life.

"He is not the type of person who sees physical things in a person. He looks for the deeper meaning, the inner things in life. Material things are of no consequence whatsoever."

Winnie realised that for them life would never be normal.

"He was charged in the 1956 treason trial and I knew he could be jailed. As I grew to love him I understood his kind of life — that it wasn't a normal kind of life and marrying him was not really mar-

rying the man . . . I was marrying the struggle.

"I was ready for it. But I'm not saying I was ready for the life of a life imprisonment, life without him for the rest of our lives and life without him at that tender age of my children, I wasn't ready for that aspect."

AS the struggle consumed his life, his bride grew used to him being away from home at nights.

"He rarely spent a night at home. Those few occasions when he was at home he spent the rest of the night bailing out friends and colleagues. He would then go off to Walter Sisulu. There was never a part or pattern of his life that was exclusively for the family.

"We were there as his operational base and we accepted that because we knew who he was and we knew that the nation came first."

The 1956 treason trial ended on March 29, 1961. It was also the day Nelson Mandela left home for the last time to become a fugitive.

"That was the last time he ever saw the walls of his own house, that was the last time we saw him as a father and a husband. From then on it was a life of hardships

"WHEN he was first sent to Robben Island I got a letter from the security branch saying that for his term of imprisonment I would not be permitted to see him.

"I took that letter to the lawyers. They made applications for me to see him. I got permission to visit him once every six months. He was a prisoner in the D section and at least it qualified him for a visit once every six months.

"The first visit was one of those traumatic and most painful experiences. I had not recovered yet from the shock of his imprisonment. I had learnt to have such faith in the organisation that I did

not suspect that anything could go wrong with his safety.

"It took me a very long time to adjust. It was one area of my life I nearly didn't cope with — the hardships of his imprisonment.

"So when I visited him I was almost broken. But I tried to put up a brave front and when I saw him I saw a real prisoner. He was in prison clothes. He'd already lost weight, but he was still extremely strong.

"From that very first visit I got a great deal of inspiration as he lectured me on what to expect from life and that I had to prepare myself for the eventuality that we might never be able to live together again . . . In any case, we hadn't lived together as man and wife at all.

"He was behind the wire (mesh). It was a very shabby structure.

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"Just the very appearance of the island itself gave you a feeling of eternity. Somehow Robben Island gave some kind of step to eternity. I knew life would never be the same.

"We were not able to reach out and touch each other. For as long as he was on Robben Island we were not allowed a contact visit. It was in terms of the prison regulations we were told, and they (prisoners) would only have contact visits when they were under Group A. It took years and years for them to reach this category."

Imprisonment on the island totally cut off the political prisoners from their loved ones.

"The fact that one could not touch them was part of the harassment and it was part of further punishment. We understood it to be that and we accepted it, but it had a very alienating effect. You became so bitter against the political system and those who had imprisoned them."

Life on the island was tough and little of what was happening

could be conveyed to relatives of prisoners through official channels.

"If you remember South Africa has a law that prevents any information being given to the public about prison conditions . . ."

On pain of jeopardising visits, visitors were warned: "By the way, you can only talk about yourself, your children and the immediate family . . ."

"There were many occasions where there were altercations between Comrade Mandela and the prison officials when they tried to interrupt conversations if they did not understand what we were talking about."

Thus it was difficult to talk about prison conditions.

"THEY were doing hard labour, and Robben Island hard labour was crushing stones. It was so brutal to subject men who were not only academics but the cream of our country to that kind of brutality that was calculated to demoralise them.

"To do hard labour of that sort which was so meaningless . . ."

"The dust from crushing stones with hammers got into their eyes. We as the wives, all of us, got requests from our husbands to speedily arrange for money for spectacles.

"All of them invariably suffered from eye trouble and we knew there was something wrong."

Complaints about prison conditions emerged and Winnie Mandela praises the International Red Cross for succeeding in improving matters.

"I doubt if the entire leadership would have survived had it not been for the Red Cross," she says. "It was only after their intervention that they had proper food and crushing of stones came to an end."

Permission to study was also won through the intervention of the Red Cross.

"How they were expected to

while away their time heaven alone knows. They were not even allowed games. It was very very hard at the beginning. And the improvements generally were effected by the Red Cross."

WINNIE Mandela also had the attention of the government.

She was banned at the time of the Rivonia treason trial and needed special permission to attend proceedings.

She was under house arrest at the end of September 1970, days after having been freed from 491 days' detention.

In May 1977, she was banished to the Free State town of Brandfort. She brought an urgent application in the Rand Supreme Court in January 1986 challenging the validity of an order barring her from Johannesburg and Roodepoort magisterial districts.

She complained that the house in Brandfort did not have a bathroom, electricity or running water. It had been set alight in August the previous year while she was in Johannesburg for medical treatment.

"The attack . . . left me in no doubt that my life was endangered by unknown assailants."

For her own safety she had decided to remain in her Soweto home, she said. This she had done openly and with the knowledge of the Minister of Law and Order. Her application was dismissed.

Charges for contravening her banning order were withdrawn in February, 1986.

In April of that year lawyer Ismail Ayob announced that Mrs Mandela's banning order was to be lifted. Immediately after the announcement, she packed her bags and checked out of the Sandton hotel where she had been living and returned to her house in Soweto.

In July 1986, at about the same time as her husband began talks with the government, all restrictions on her were lifted.



Mandela — the Road to Freedom



Thousands call for the release of Nelson Mandela in a march through the streets of Cape Town.