

# NELSON MANDELA

AT



# THE CELEBRATION



Parliament's Presiding Officers share their unique insights of this home-grown global legend, political stalwart and father of the nation.



MS BALEKA MBETE, SPEAKER OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY



MR MNINWA MAHLANGU, CHAIRPERSON OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF PROVINCES

### MS BALEKA MBETE, SPEAKER OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

"At a Joint Sitting debate in celebration of the 90th birthday of the formidable statesman and father of the nation, Mr Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela, the former President of the Republic of South Africa was described as "an iconic beacon of hope in the world and a tireless leader who had transcended divisions". The most important step taken by Parliament, in keeping with Mr Mandela's call for the establishment of a people-centered society, is the adoption of Parliament's vision to build an effective people's Parliament that is responsive to the needs of the people and driven by the ideal of realising a better life for all the people of South Africa. This vision puts people at the centre and speaks to Parliament's intent to change the lives of people for the better. We in Parliament are privileged to celebrate the life of such an outstanding leader of our people who was the first to be elected by the first democratic Parliament in 1994."

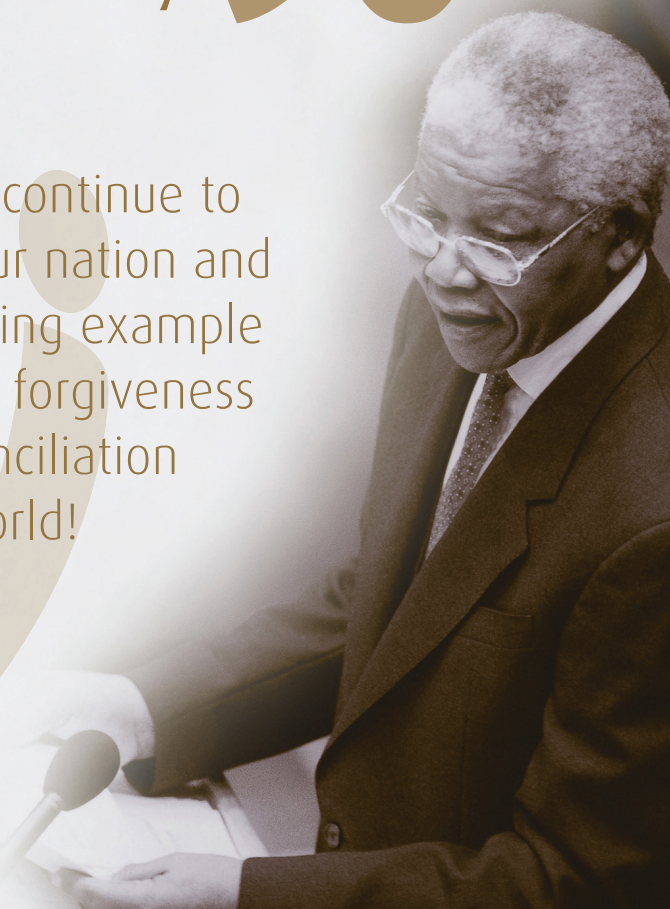
### MR MNINWA MAHLANGU, CHAIRPERSON OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF PROVINCES

"Compassion, respect for human rights and justice and a great sense of patriotism sum up Madiba. He is the embodiment of the values of our democratic society. Dr Mandela has always viewed Parliament as an institution for the championing of the interests of the people. To him the work of public representatives arises out of the need to serve the people."

PARLIAMENT OF THE  
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA  
wishes Madiba a

Happy  
birthday 90<sup>th</sup>

May you continue to  
inspire our nation and  
be a shining example  
of peace, forgiveness  
and reconciliation  
in the World!





NELSON MANDELA  
FOUNDATION

*Living the Legacy*

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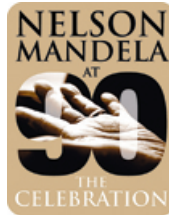
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# *In Conversation With ...*

The Nelson Mandela Foundation was established in 1999 as an office for President Nelson Mandela while he was preparing to step down as head of state.

Housed at Mandela House in Houghton, Johannesburg, the Nelson Mandela Foundation has grown to include the Nelson Mandela Centre of Memory and Dialogue which contributes to the making of a just society by promoting Mandela's vision and work and convening dialogue around critical social issues.

While Mandela still uses the office, the work of his foundation continues in the same building and includes the beginnings of a world-class archive on his life, work and legacy. The Dialogue Programme – which is inspired by Mandela's example of Dialogue for Justice – is committed to providing a platform for discourse on critical social issues.

The programme is run by Mothomang Diaho and draws on South Africa's rich traditions of transformative dialogue, problem-solving and social renewal. It aims to facilitate a greater understanding and awareness of problems and to explore solutions to them.

The centrepiece of the programme is the Nelson Mandela Annual Lecture which was held at the Walter Sisulu Square

of Dedication in Kliptown, Soweto, earlier this month. It was here, in 1955, that the Congress of the People adopted the Freedom Charter. The lecture was delivered on July 12 by Liberia's President Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf (see Page 28).

Pages 6 to 24 are on the In Conversation With series and are dialogues in keeping with the foundation's vision of promoting a just society through Mandela's vision and work.

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# Nelson Mandela

# 90

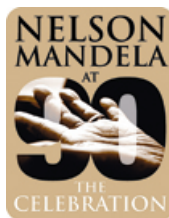
Our best wishes accompany him who  
touched and changed our lives with his grace.



**Media24**

KEEPING YOU IN TOUCH. WITH WORDS.





# Foreword

When the three organisations that Nelson Mandela tasked with continuing his work decided on a “Celebration of Ideas” as their theme for his 90th birthday, we took the risk of being accused of reducing this auspicious milestone to no more than a “debate”. After all, the “hot air” of rhetoric is as much a symbol of superficial celebration as party balloons are.

But since he “finally” retired in 2004, we have seen a growing tendency towards another form of reductionism.

Mandela, the iconic man of decisive action, being portrayed by an adoring world in often aloof imagery, wrapped in an impenetrable mystique that discourages debate on his ideas and the values they helped define.

Perhaps this is out of a fear that somehow the unblemished hero – in an age so desperately in need of unerring principled and ethical leaders – would be found to be all too human and flawed.

Needless to say, we know Nelson Mandela does not share this fear, nor do the organisations charged with perpetuating – in very practical and measurable ways – the aspects of his legacy.

After all, using memory as a resource to address critical social issues, to help change the way nations respond to children and promoting skilled and caring leadership across Africa – these very structured and pragmatic interventions can be said to represent a part of Mandela the “action man”. It is our belief that our work will benefit from thorough discourse, that by using the life and times of Nelson Mandela as a

framework on the political and social issues of the day, so can our nation.

The “In Conversation With” series, initiated in partnership with City Press, is a vital part of that broader celebration – and contestation – of ideas.

The “conversations” with six prominent and outspoken people eloquently touch on contemporary issues, from the conflict in the Middle East, to a US slowly struggling to emerge from its post-9/11 siege mentality, to the leadership crisis – real and perceived – in our country, across Africa and the world, to why we should retain our abiding optimism in the future.

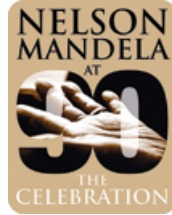
We intend ensuring that these “conversations” become part of an ongoing dialogue, not only with and among esteemed opinion-makers, but in communities across our nation and in Africa. Already, some of the thoughts the interviewees have articulated are being used to stimulate discussion in the Nelson Mandela Foundation’s “Youth Community Dialogue” programme.

Nelson Mandela turned 90 on July 18 2008 and people around the world celebrated in many and varied ways.

We join them in rejoicing in the fact that someone as remarkable – and humble – as Nelson Mandela has been with us for so long. We hold up this glass of “bubbling” ideas as a toast to Madiba.

Our thanks to City Press for being such a creative partner throughout this project.



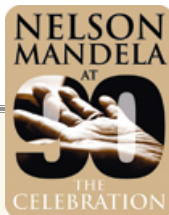


## **Njabulo Simakahle Ndebele**

Professor Njabulo Simakahle Ndebele is the vice-chancellor and principal of the University of Cape Town and chairs the Southern African Regional Universities' Association. He also serves on the boards of the Nelson Mandela Foundation and the Mandela Rhodes Foundation. Professor Ndebele is a poet, novelist and essayist whose works include *Fools and Other Stories*, *The Cry of Winnie Mandela*, *Bonolo and the Peach Tree*, and *South African Literature and Culture: Rediscovery of the Ordinary*. His latest book is *Fine Lines From the Box: Further Thoughts About our Country*.

# GOING BOLDLY INTO THE UNKNOWN





Tara Turkington (TT): The Nelson Mandela Foundation would like to use this year as an opportunity to reflect on how far we have come as a democracy and to think about where we still need to go. You are so many things at once – novelist, academic, political commentator. Do we need to encourage our citizens of the future to think and act in a variety of ways?

Njabulo Ndebele (NN): The South African of the future will most likely be a multidimensional person who cannot be easily pigeon-holed. This was the problem with our past – there was a concerted attempt to define individuals and groups.

The South African of the future will live comfortably with uncertainty because it promises opportunity, but you have to be robust and thoughtful about it, you have to contemplate it to get the full richness of it.

I think this is the challenge of being South African – to run away from uni-dimensional and definitive characterisations of ourselves.

TT: I loved the essay for the Steve Biko Memorial Lecture in your new book, *Fine Lines from the Box*, where you wrote a few words without knowing where it was going and how the words that came randomly helped you to form a metaphor for South Africa of going boldly into an unknown future.

NN: When I look back at how some problems have been resolved, one thing emerges – when there is a crisis, no-one knows how it is going to end. At the precise moment that you admit you don't know which way it will end, you open up your mind, ears, eyes and yourself to imagined solutions.

There will almost always be a continuing problem where you do not wait for that moment and impose a solution before it comes. There is an act of faith involved.

But you have to be open to experience, to different interpretations, then formulate at the precise moment exactly what needs to be done. I think this is a leadership skill that is learnt over time.

It's a disposition that is counter-intuitive. When there's a problem, we want to solve it. But you have to be open to the messages that the problem will send you.

Nelson Mandela came to such an understanding as a sum total of his experience. In a sense, he paid his dues to arrive at an understanding of conflict resolution that includes the ability to identify a common purpose embedded in a situation of conflict. Common purpose can emerge under the most unlikely circumstances.

TT: How do we get from the personal, learned skill of leadership you're talking about to the understanding as a nation that we don't have to go head-to-head every time there is a problem?

NN: I think it's learnt in the schooling system, in the family environment. I don't believe we have invested enough time, energy and resources in fundamentally changing our schooling system so it becomes a means by which the values of our new society are transmitted to new generations.

TT: In your book, you talk about corrupting situations and systems. It's not only about individuals, it's about transforming cultural systems.

NN: I've watched people who I knew were not corrupt or immoral but get into this company and say: "I can get a car, I can get a bonus of five million. It's all happened overnight and I have needs, it's the first time I'm going to have a house."

Trade union officials have forgotten they are part of the labour aristocracy. They are emulating the bosses of old in the focus on getting more.

We didn't spend enough time talking about incentives, about how to motivate in a situation of scarcity where we are not going to provide houses for everyone in the next 10 years. We've promised these things and the only way we can make them available is to work with the incentive schemes we have inherited that have caused the problem in the first place.

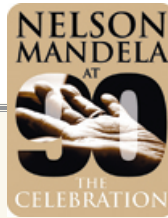
The capacity of the country to imagine the future depends on nurturing imaginative thinking from the beginning of a child's life right up to the end of its life. We have somehow given that up along the way.

TT: Are we South Africans too hard on ourselves sometimes?

We have come a long way. >>8

*"One benefits a great deal by meeting people from different walks of life and that conversations with people from such differing environments tends to widen one's general knowledge"*

**Nelson Mandela**



<< 7 NN: We have to continue to be hard on ourselves to ensure our survival. We should constantly be saying we are not actualising our Constitution enough. What should we do? We have enormous disparities of wealth. How can we do it better? We must constantly set ourselves high standards.

My instinct tells me the current battle for leadership is not about higher standards, it's not about the demands we are making on ourselves, I think it has become a contest over limited objectives.

TT: Personal objectives, would you say?

NN: Yes.

TT: If all citizens adopted the academic principles of striving constantly for new knowledge, for excellence, wouldn't it be a better country?

NN: We have the potential to do that if we take advantage of the technological developments in the world today.

I think South Africa should be driven by the objective that public services must be cutting edge. I think that's what we fought for, that citizen A, B and C can go to any public institution, like a hospital, and feel "I've got the best care".

TT: Arguably, some of our most creative work came from a time when this country was the most oppressed. What is your view of creativity and liberation?

NN: I think it is true to say oppression led to many novels and dramas and that, after 1994, we became confused. Now there's fresh writing coming up, I think, in response to two things.

One is the possibility that democracy has opened up: the growth in the individual, the expressive possibilities.

But then possibilities create their own constraints which bring about frustrations which artists have to respond to.

One of the biggest frustrations is the sudden realisation that our democracy is now facing its biggest threat. We have been seduced by the incentive schemes and reward systems of the capitalist.

I have just finished reading Niq Mhlonko's novel, *After Tears*. It's a story of a

young law student who goes home and has a new nickname, Advo, short for advocate. He goes home and they say, "Advo is back, he's got a degree."

But he says: "I can't get my degree because I owe so much money and they won't allow me to graduate." Which is a lie, the truth is that he failed.

He lives with this lie and his mother sells the house to pay for him. He lets her do it, he doesn't say anything until, right at the end, they've lost everything and they discover he has been lying.

The opportunities for lying in this world of money, of making it, living the life, are enormous. I think that novel is an act of bravery.

I see a lot of posturing in some of our public debates as if people hold the truth totally.

You put aside the fear you don't know by projecting an all-knowing intelligence. I think writers, artists and dramatists are increasingly focusing on these things and that's good for us all. That's the second thing I think is happening.

TT: What about public debate? We don't know what any of the leaders really think about certain issues. Can we get people to engage with our politicians and hold them to account?

NN: We need to develop the ability to embrace uncertainty from a position of intelligence and imagination. The more of us who admit to our vulnerabilities, the more trusting the public space.

I'd like a leader who will say: "On that issue, I really don't know and I'd like to find out more."

The world is so big and complex you can't know everything.

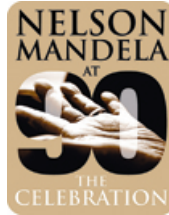
But I'd also like a leader who is not afraid to be asked questions. Frankly, I know more about what President Thabo Mbeki wants on several things. I don't know what Jacob Zuma wants about anything.

The fact that he is riding on a popular wave is not entirely his fault. It's the people who are pushing him. Why? What do they want? They are not saying.

*"A leadership commits a crime against its own people if it hesitates to sharpen its political weapons where they have become less effective"*

**Nelson Mandela**

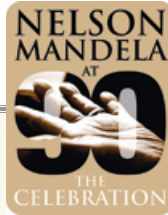




## **Ali Alamin Mazrui**

Professor Ali Mazrui is one of the world's most distinguished scholars of Africa. He has written more than 20 books and hundreds of essays and is known for his sometimes controversial views and forthright expression on many issues. He earned his doctorate from Oxford University and has lived in the US for more than 25 years. He has been a visiting scholar at many of the world's most prestigious universities and has a long list of awards and honours

# **SPEAKING WORDS OF WISDOM**



Tara Turkington (TT): You were vilified for your views on Israel and Palestine a few years ago. What is your take on where we are with political and religious tolerance in the world at the moment?

Ali Mazrui (AM): I think we still have a substantial distance to cover before we achieve a truly open world regarding points of view.

Israel is a striking example of a particular subject that is risky to handle critically. I spend part of the year in the US and I can criticise Uncle Sam with impunity, yet it's risky for people in Israel to criticise the country. I have known people whose tenures at universities have been compromised because they expressed views sympathetic to the Palestinians.

Israel is virtually the only country that enjoys impunity at the UN because any time a resolution is proposed that is critical of Israel, the US ensures it is not passed.

It is sad that although Jews have been victims of intolerance across the ages, now that they have a state of their own, they are occupying a people and treating them harshly instead of being a paragon of tolerance and compassion.

This is my broad interpretation of what has happened: we have gained on issues connected with colour, prejudice and race defined in terms of physical differences, but we are losing in matters of tolerance regarding issues of cultural and religious differences.

South Africa is a much better place now than it used to be before the 1990s and the US is a more tolerant society than it was when I arrived there more than a quarter of a century ago, from the point of view of issues of colour. But the US is now definitely a less tolerant society about religious differences.

TT: Why is that? How much of this has to do with issues of leadership and the way the US has been led for the past decade or two?

AM: Part of it is US foreign policy and the consequences of its relationship with the Muslim world.

Part of it is the reaction of more radicalised Islam towards feeling under siege as a

result of US foreign policy.

The administration of George W Bush is one of the least enlightened regimes in the Western world since the end of the Second World War.

These factors have created a climate which is far less accepting of differences in values than before.

In fairness to the US, it was making progress on issues of religious tolerance before September 11 2001.

Under President (Bill) Clinton, we started recognising the country was not just Judeo-Christian. September 11 was a major blow to that trend. It was unfortunate that we had an unenlightened regime in its response to such aggression. This unleashed an unnecessary war on Iraq that was not connected with September 11.

We hope the upcoming US elections will result in a new leadership which may begin the process of mending American foreign policy and healing some of the wounds between civilisations.

TT: Coming to Nelson Mandela in his 90th year, you hold a visiting professorship in Albert Luthuli's name from a Nigerian university. These are men from South Africa who stood up in the face of adversity and led people at extreme personal danger, yet are also known for their peacefulness.

Do you think the world can learn anything from people like these at this time?

AM: Absolutely. Nelson Mandela is one of the most extraordinary individuals in my lifetime and fortunately, widely recognised by the world as extraordinary.

So that is a very important element in our situation. We have not had many such people in history. South Africa has a major burden in how to handle itself.

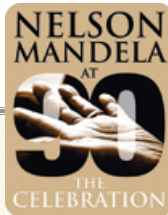
TT: Having suffered so much under apartheid, is there a way in which South Africa can become a major moral leader in the world?

AM: You have not done too badly. You have your own problems and your crusade of justice is not yet complete. While it is true that political apartheid has been dismantled, there are major problems regarding economic apartheid. >>12

***“Leaders will have to give clear and decisive leadership to a world of tolerance and respect for difference and an uncompromising commitment to peaceful solutions of conflicts and disputes”***

**Nelson Mandela**





<< 11 There are ways you are dealing with change that are impressive. Then there is South Africa's effort to find ways of dealing with gay people so they can have acceptance in society.

These are major moral steps taken by South Africa in the first decade-and-a-half of the post-political apartheid era.

But your standards are fragile and we have to watch that you succeed in retaining the standing you have in world affairs.

TT: What is your take on Kenya, a country that seemed to have so much going for it and which surprised the world when it erupted in violence?

AM: None of us expected that scale of reaction. When the parliamentary results were announced because . . . it appeared as if transparency had prevailed.

The pinnacle of the election became the presidency and what we thought was an angry electorate throwing out the regime suddenly seemed to spare the head of state.

And that is what was incredible. How could the ruling coalition have lost so badly in parliamentary elections yet had prevailed at the presidential level?

The collapse that subsequently took place is the worst event that has hit Kenya since independence.

It may have been caused by several factors that were awaiting resolution including land grievances, poverty and the eternal problem of ethnic rivalry and tribalism.

TT: In South Africa there is a lot of criticism, fairly or unfairly, of our government for not taking a stronger line with Zimbabwe. We see newspaper cartoons showing Thabo Mbeki's quiet diplomacy and Robert Mugabe laughing behind his hand because he knows he will never carry through on promises he has made. So Mbeki is often criticised about this. What is your take on what is happening there?

AM: Mugabe should retire. He spoils what was a remarkable record of heroism, fighting for freedom, by clinging to power. It is very sad. I think he thinks history will vindicate him. I do not think so.

I am more ambivalent about what South Africa should do. It is true that African countries should take the issue of peer review seriously and try to influence one another when things go wrong economically or politically. It is not a good idea to wait until things collapse,

then move in to deal with a failed state. So that prompts me to say to Mbeki: "Come on, do something."

I am hesitant to recommend how far South Africa should go, even for a good cause, to use its power to bully Mugabe.

I think Mbeki could try harder with the carrot rather than the stick and could find ways of influencing Mugabe . . . I don't know how it should be done, but we should struggle with ideas, sparing people's dignity even if they don't deserve it.

I don't think Mugabe deserves it, but we need to do it for the sake of Zimbabweans and their future.

TT: As an "inside outsider", how do you see what is happening in South Africa? The ANC successfully changed its leadership in December but there are South Africans who are uncomfortable with the prospect of Jacob Zuma being president.

AM: You passed the test of succession in the party but the electorate still has a choice. I can understand people are worried that the reputation of the strongest candidate for the head of state has been sullied by several scandals, but we just have to see how the electorate will behave.

It is true that the electorate does not always vote for the most virtuous to take over but that is the nature of democracy.

And those who are against Zuma should make it clear what is wrong with him and see if that sticks. If it doesn't stick, let us see how he performs. If the worst comes to worst and he's performing badly but the country is free enough to impeach, then you can impeach him while he is in office.

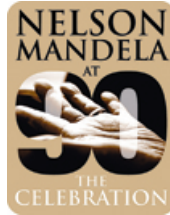
TT: What's going to happen in the US? What's the likely long-term outcome of the election? Is it possible that we could have another Republican president?

AM: Unfortunately, it is conceivable for John McCain to win, partly because the Democrats are fighting dirty with one another and partly because society may not be ready for a black president although they are much nearer to it than they have ever been.

I'd like to see Barack Obama as president because I believe he will be a different type of American leader, not because of his race, but his ideas, style and ambition to try and bring the country together.

*"People are human beings, produced by the society in which they live"*

**Nelson Mandela**

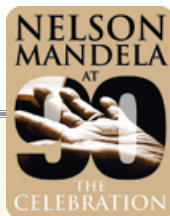


## **Makaziwe Mandela**

Dr Makaziwe Mandela is the only surviving child of four from Nelson Mandela's marriage to Evelyn Mase. She chairs Nozala Investments. The company directs the proceeds of investment towards the economic upliftment of women in South Africa

# WE CAN ALL BE LEADERS





Tara Turkington (TT): I think you embody the ideal South African . . . many people in one. You have taken on many roles and performed them exceptionally well – social worker, anthropologist, mother, educationist and businesswoman. You exemplify the proactive type of person we need in South Africa. Above all, you're a strong woman.

Makaziwe Mandela (MM): I think there are many strong women. There are more families headed by women than by men. I think women need to be courageous enough to bring their instincts of nurturing and caring to the corporate world.

TT: You started your career as a social worker and became an anthropologist so you have a caring and a constructive background.

MM: I've always had a desire to make a difference in whatever field I'm in. I also want to make a difference in the way I relate to my children. I have four of my own but I always say I have 10 since my late brother's children look up to me as an aunt, mother, father . . .

TT: Do they all live with you?

MM: They don't, but they come for Sunday lunch, so there's a strong sense of family. I love creating a nurturing and caring environment. I believe institutions that care for their employees help people to live longer and prosper.

An autocratic workplace creates animosity. People should be encouraged to think for themselves.

TT: What about South Africa? Have we lost our sense of ubuntu as some of the older people say? Or is it just natural for older people to criticise younger people?

MM: Every generation believes its era was the best . . . there's a tendency to over-glorify the past.

I remember the first time I went to Cape Town to visit my dad . . . I got on the train and my mum handed me over to an elder person and said to the woman, "Take care of my child", and she took care of me like I was her own.

I was only 16 then because I could only go to visit my father, who was in

prison, once I had an ID book.

I think African people have lost some elements of ubuntu. Allied to this is the capitalist system which is selfish, individualistic and materialistic.

You don't get satisfaction from materialism – you get satisfaction from helping somebody else, from making a difference.

Building a person's self-esteem is something that will last forever and the person will pass it onto somebody else.

TT: So is that how we change society? If you look at the problems that face us, like poverty and the oppression of women, how do we relate these massive problems to individuals each doing their own little bit?

MM: If we don't change from inside as individuals, change won't last. That's not to say I discount group effort, but it always starts with the individual.

TT: I think it's also about leadership, to come to your father's legacy.

MM: We make the mistake of saying that only special people are endowed with leadership abilities. It's inherent in all of us. I believe there are many Nelson Mandelas, Chief Albert Luthulis, Robert Sobukwes and Oliver Tambos.

Something we have to start doing in South Africa is to train young leaders. You can teach children leadership and responsibility from a young age and I think this is what we lack in our education system.

TT: Is there a way we can use your father's legacy better than we already do to inspire a younger generation?

MM: I know that schools teach the history of South Africa and the ANC talks a lot about Nelson Mandela. It is fine to teach, but I think we also have to give children the opportunity to gain experience.

It's more than just a history lesson: there should be some practical lesson attached.

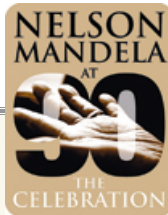
If we truly want to create a culture that's different, there has to be more experiential learning.

Children have to feel it. >>15

***"Our children are our greatest treasure. They are our future. Those who abuse them tear at the fabric of our society and weaken our nation"***

**Nelson Mandela**

[www.nelsonmandela.org](http://www.nelsonmandela.org)



Some black children have never been to Soweto or Alexandra, they only know the suburbs and the malls. Parents have to start exposing children to real-life issues.

Even the people who claim to know Mandela, don't. Mandela is not this larger-than-life character. He was once a rural boy who walked to school with no shoes. When we portray him as a saint, people can't emulate him because they are only human.

TT: I'd like to ask your thoughts on business. It has often been criticised for being the most conservative sector of society and slow to change.

MM: Disposable money is still found mainly among whites. Because business reflects the society we live in, it has been very slow to change. Society has to change and business will follow.

One thing we need to address is the lack of courage and confidence to make uncomfortable decisions.

Leadership is about making those who are comfortable, uncomfortable. This is where I think leadership has failed or is failing in South Africa.

TT: It's easy to sit back and forget when you're enjoying a better lifestyle.

MM: I'm including myself. It's easy to forget, but if we are going to be true to ourselves and the struggle of our forefathers and grandmothers, we must be prepared to see reality as it is.

I think what prevails in Africa is the system of patriarchy because government tends to be the major source of income.

Because many businesses depend on government, we lack the courage to criticise. Criticising doesn't mean you are destroying something, there is also positive criticism.

We need to create real dialogue and debate because that's where we find common ground. We can only grow by sharing and discussing.

Nobody knows it all, not even Nelson Mandela.

One of the things he learnt from leaders who went before him in Transkei is: "I can only become a leader if those around me can voice their different opinions."

He believes that even if you have already made up your mind, you should allow people to discuss and debate issues because there could be something you might have overlooked.

TT: I'd like to ask about your mother, Evelyn

Mase. Having read a little about her and spoken to a few people who met her, she was clearly a very strong woman who was quiet, in the background, but remarkable.

MM: A mum is the best thing in every child's life. My mum was a very strong woman. She was a cousin of Walter Sisulu. When she came from Transkei, she lived with the Sisulus and trained at Coronation Hospital in the late 1940s.

She was an orphan, her parents had died when she was three. She grew up with the Titus family and that's how she met my father. She actually paid for my father's education so he could become a lawyer.

My mum was quiet but strong. She didn't just bring us up, she took care of her brothers, sisters and grandchildren. She was a religious person and I think that's what sustained her over the years.

She was a loving mother and grandmother... She was a good cook and taught us how to cook. She was a nurse and ran her brother's butchery for a while.

She worked all her life until Transkei became independent and Kaizer Matanzima encouraged her to go back and buy a shop. She bought a general dealership in Cofimvaba and worked there as a businesswoman.

TT: It sounds like she was way ahead of her time.

MM: There were a couple of women who ran businesses but it was rare.

My mum loved gardening, she grew her own vegetables and had cattle and chickens. She was a busy and extremely independent woman.

She was also a disciplinarian. As a girl, you couldn't be seen lazing about in her house. We worked hard, we cleaned and did chores like taking turns to cook – even the grandchildren learnt that.

Though my dad wasn't around most of the time, there were many people who supported us. I grew up surrounded by aunts and uncles and my father's younger brother. He is still alive and living in Cape Town.

At the time, he was working in Johannesburg as a labourer but was always there for us. When we wanted dresses for Christmas, he would buy them for us. I still have very fond memories of Bhuti Tsheketshe.

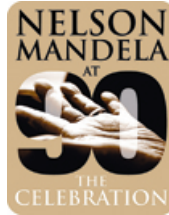
We received help from people who didn't have much to give.

*"I can only become a leader if those around me can voice their different opinions"*

**Nelson Mandela**

[www.nelsonmandela.org](http://www.nelsonmandela.org)



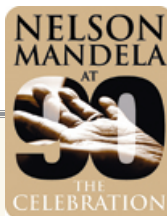


## **Arthur Chaskalson**

Arthur Chaskalson was appointed the first president of the Constitutional Court in 1994. He became chief justice of South Africa in 2001 and retired in 2005.

He has been honoured for his contributions to promoting human rights, constitutionalism and democracy and chairs the Eminent Jurists Panel which considers the nature of human-rights threats like counter-terrorism measures. He was admitted to the Johannesburg Bar in 1956 and appeared for the defence in political trials like the Rivonia Trial in which ANC leaders including Nelson Mandela were convicted

# THE BRAVE HELP MOVE US FORWARD



Tara Turkington (TT): What is justice? What do you think justice should be?

Arthur Chaskalson (AC): If we are going to reduce it to a very simple, basic level, justice is to respect the inherent dignity of other people, to treat them with the dignity they deserve and to understand the effects of your actions on others.

But justice is more complex than that. When you talk about justice, you often talk about law and justice.

There is often a divide in the sense that the law prescribes certain actions and the outcome of that is not always just in the view of the individual caught up in the case.

So the great challenge is to try and bring law and justice closer together.

TT: Talking about the xenophobia that went on in the country is inevitable.

AC: I think a lot of the trouble arises out of the circumstances of people's lives. There's little dignity where people are living in great poverty.

That needs to be addressed... it's a huge task.

But if you talk about respect for human rights and possibly the conduct of people, it's true that there is much happening in our society which is inconsistent with the values of our Constitution. The challenge is to create a society where these values are realised.

TT: How much lies in leadership and what is the role of the judicial system in that process?

AC: You reach the judicial system at the end of the road – when something has gone wrong. So somebody goes to court because they are charged with unlawful acts which negate the dignity of other people.

And the courts have important work to do in holding all people who exercise public power to the requirements of the Bill of Rights.

But courts aren't really major agents for change. The major agents must be civil society, ordinary people. One great leader, a person like Nelson Mandela, had a profound effect on our society – but it requires many other actors to create a caring society.

TT: How do you think we're doing?

AC: People sometimes forget what it was

like 15, 20 years ago, what the daily lives of people were like under apartheid. I have no doubt that the country is a much better place than it used to be. But with events like the attacks on foreigners, you can see the underlying tensions in society. I think this is an expression of anger, envy or frustration – so it's a warning signal.

TT: You touched on the contribution that Mr Mandela made. If there hadn't been a Mandela, would there have been someone else?

AC: That's a somewhat artificial question because he was there.

TT: I guess I was asking about what you said regarding leadership and that it comprised the contribution of many people.

AC: I believe there are many people. Mr Mandela has been at pains to say many people were in the struggle for freedom and sacrificed a great deal and that it isn't simply the result of one person.

I think he is right, but you can't underestimate the importance of the leadership qualities that he brought to bear and were shared by people around him.

It's leaders who set the tone. If we look at countries in decline, you often find that the leaders have set values and behave in a fashion where the country moves in undemocratic, oppressive ways.

But decisions taken by leaders are insufficient without the support of others.

TT: Can you talk about our leadership in South Africa and what the challenges are for them?

AC: There is a leadership change taking place in the country and that creates uncertainty and instability. People like to know what the policies are and what's going to happen.

TT: But there's also a certain aspect of positivity in that – people become more critical, self-critical and reflective about where we are. There is an opportunity to grow.

AC: Yes, I think the question is to what extent we will have a greater open debate about policies.

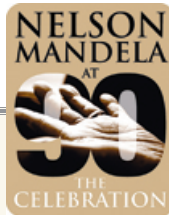
We've had a fairly open society, newspapers have been free to print many things in the past few years and we haven't been living in a country where dissent is stifled. >>>18

*“We are the product of a collective leadership. Almost everything we have achieved together”*

**Nelson Mandela**

[www.nelsonmandela.org](http://www.nelsonmandela.org)





<< 17 I think there have been people who have been reluctant to criticise policies put in place by leaders. I think it would be good for society to have more openness and for people to articulate their views – it's good for political leaders to hear them. If people don't articulate their views, you may get the wrong impression about what's happening in your country.

One of the issues will be the relationship between the executive, Parliament and the judiciary on whether each retains the independence it is entitled to and how they relate to one another. I think the judiciary has been independent in the past few years.

Parliament has tended to follow the executive so we do not see the debates that may go on in private.

It's up to the political leadership to try and create structures under which people can express different views in public so the debate becomes richer.

TT: I want to ask about the state of human rights in the world. Do you think we are moving towards a culture of human rights and living out those human rights? Do you think things are getting better or worse?

AC: I think things have been getting worse in recent times.

If you go back to the end of the Second World War, accompanying the shock at the terrible things that were done was a revulsion against extreme conduct of that nature and a sense that one could no longer avoid it on the basis of not wanting to interfere with the internal affairs of a country.

From the 1950s right up to the second half of the century, there was a much greater concern for human rights internationally – there were treaties, countries were called upon to report and to account for their actions and there was great pressure through the world community and the UN structures to comply with fundamental human rights.

I think with the US taking the lead

since 9/11, there has been a reversal of that pressure.

The measures put in place in the US for arbitrary detention, rendition, harsh punishments – many say for torture – have set a pattern because if the leading proponent of human rights is acting contrary to fundamental principles in the name of the security of the state, unjust regimes say “we can too”.

It's clear to me that the policies adopted by the US, particularly since September 2001, have affected international human rights structures.

And there is a risk that after 50 years of building towards a world that respects the dignity of people, they could unravel.

TT: As you said, it takes many actors, people and institutions to build an international culture of human rights.

What about China – where do we start?

AC: There was international pressure on China to become more open, engage with other countries, open up and accept certain basic principles. It's difficult to exert that pressure when you're engaged in conduct which is difficult to justify.

I think there has been a change of atmosphere in the US. The sense I have is that civil society has been quite outspoken, that many organisations are addressing issues. I think the media is more critical.

As long as there is an exposure of what is happening, a debate, a pointing out to people about the implications of policies, you find that historically, it's left for later generations to correct what went wrong before – and I think it will happen again. But it means that people have to do something.

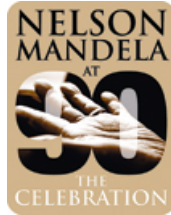
TT: That means being brave.

AC: You've got to be very brave in some places, particularly when you are in a society where political leaders are urging you to behave in a particular fashion.

It's because of brave people that the world moves forward.

*“We accord a person dignity by assuming that they are good, that they share the human qualities we ascribe to ourselves”*

**Nelson Mandela**



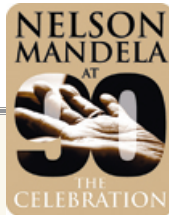
## **Frene Ginwala**

She helped shape the history of the ANC and of South Africa. Ginwala went into exile in 1960 and worked for the ANC and as a journalist.

After returning from exile, she was elected Speaker of the National Assembly of the Parliament of South Africa, a position she held for 10 years. She was instrumental in aiding the process of transformation in Parliament.

Ginwala was elected vice-chancellor of the University of KwaZulu-Natal in April 2005. She is a recipient of many degrees and accolades, including the Order of Luthuli in 2005, and recently the Order of the Rising Sun from Japan

**‘TATA ALWAYS  
INSISTS ON  
RESPECT’**



Tara Turkington (TT): From 1994, you and Nelson Mandela were symbols of stability and innovation, of people who were going to be our leaders for a new country. I want to ask you to reflect on your personal relationship with Madiba and what it was like to work with him.

Frene Ginwala (FG): I first knew him as a youngster in the 1950s when he was one of the leaders of the ANC and we sort of hero-worshipped him. My subsequent contact with him was after 1960 when he went underground and I went into exile with Oliver Tambo.

I was in Dar es Salaam when I got a call from the Tanzania/Zambia border saying that ANC leaders had arrived. They put Joe Matthews on the phone. He didn't tell me who was with him. To my amazement, when they arrived, there was Nelson Mandela. My instructions from Oliver Tambo had been that I was to hide him when he arrived.

He's often joked that when I opened the door I looked at him and said, "Oh my God, I have to hide you!" because there was this enormous man with a Basotho hat, in a sort of safari suit with mosquito boots . . . you couldn't have stood out more in Dar es Salaam.

After two days, he addressed the Pan-African Freedom Movement of East, Central and Southern Africa conference in Ethiopia, then went to Algeria and London.

Much later I asked him: "All of us in exile were waiting for you. Why did it take you so long after you left South Africa?" He said: "When I got to Botswana, I had to see Seretse Khama, there were problems there with the British government."

This is so typical of him, his sense of responsibility and that if there was a problem, he had to address it.

In about 1968 we decided in exile to launch a world campaign for the release of South African political prisoners. Madiba's Rivonia Trial speech and mobilisation around it had already made him an icon. We wanted to use him as the symbol of that campaign, but the ANC has a tradition of collective leadership.

The matter had to be referred to Robben Island and back came the word with great reluctance that we could use him. I think it's important because you've heard Madiba time and again saying "I am part of a collective" – that goes right back.

In 1969, after the death of Chief Albert Luthuli, Tambo said he was not going to become the president because Mandela ought to be. There was a big discussion on the island. These are things which I think South Africans are unaware of – the continuity of leadership and that this wasn't a group of exiles acting without discussion.

Another thing that was of tremendous importance: when Transkei became independent and even before that, they had been offering Madiba his freedom if he would

go and live there. He refused and said: "Only free men negotiate, prisoners cannot negotiate."

None of those senior leaders bought their freedom.

I asked Mandela what he felt like the night before PW Botha was to see him and he said: "I was determined that he would not treat me like he had treated some African leaders, as a 'boy'. I was determined that he was going to have to respect me and so I was prepared to insist on that." What totally threw him was that when he walked in, PW Botha got up, went and shook his hand and then poured tea for him.

TT: Once the first government had been set up, what was your working relationship like?

FG: I think before that, in the negotiations . . . FW de Klerk had asked if he could speak at the end of Codesa and Mandela agreed. De Klerk launched a stinging attack on the ANC and people were asking "How can we answer?". None of us reckoned with Mandela.

He launched a very honest response. I don't think any head of state anywhere in the world has, on national television, live, been exposed to criticism of that kind. Until then, in black South Africa, there had been a lot of concern about negotiations. That evening, there were people on the way home who had their radios on and they were listening, hooting, flashing lights, telling one another and in the streets that they were celebrating.

It had a very big impact. What was very important was his courage in saying: "I have the right to speak, the ANC must speak, they must treat us with respect and dignity."

TT: I would like to hear your thoughts on the new government.

FG: I had not wanted to be Speaker, but it was very much his decision and he had to persuade the leadership about it.

Madiba had a tremendous respect for Parliament and he said to me: "You must run Parliament in a way that carries on what we have done in negotiations. We have tried to bring all parties on board so that we take the whole of South Africa into this new arrangement." That's why we put the minority parties in the front benches.

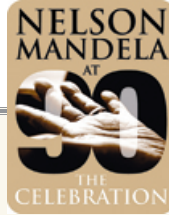
Madiba would come and sit in Parliament and if he wanted to speak, he would send me a note. I told him many times: "You don't have to ask for permission, that is your seat as the president of the country and you can come at any time."

He showed a lot of respect for the institution in many other ways. In the early days, I used to go and see him regularly. He would also ask to see me, to know how things were going, which was very good because one would bounce ideas off him. Being Speaker was a job which nobody was familiar with, not even I. >>21

*"History and circumstances privileged me to be part of an inspiring and highly supportive collective of leaders" – Nelson Mandela*

[www.nelsonmandela.org](http://www.nelsonmandela.org)





I felt very strongly that the frontline states had suffered immensely for our liberation. Mozambique had been virtually destroyed. I felt South Africa ought to acknowledge in a public way what had happened in the frontline states. So when the president of Mozambique, Joaquim Chissano, addressed Parliament, I took it upon myself to apologise to him for the damage our country had done to him and his people. It led to a walkout of the National Party and demands for my resignation. I went to Madiba the next morning and said I had to do it. He said: "You did right." This was typical of him. He was very generous with his support and his time.

TT: I wanted to ask you a bit about his legacy as a leader and what you think that is.

FG: It's linked to the word "dialogue". Most of us think of dialogue as "you and I talking". His approach – when you pin it down and when he explains it – has been that often, when you are talking, you are talking about different things and don't realise that. So the first thing is to understand how the other person sees the problem. Only when you have succeeded in that can you begin to resolve it.

What that brings is a respect for the other person. You are trying to go behind labels and see why that person is doing or seeing something in a particular manner.

TT: I would be a poor journalist if I didn't ask about the commission you are chairing – inquiring into the suspension of the National Director of Public Prosecutions, Vusi Pikoli.

FG: Firstly, it's not a commission, it's an inquiry. The president appoints the director of the National Prosecuting Authority and may (and the legislation says on what grounds) suspend

the director pending an inquiry. That's what I'm doing . . . There has not been an inquiry like this and that is why I was asked to make the rules.

Two things I want to say about it. When I received many of the submissions, they were marked "top secret" . . . and I said you cannot classify an entire document. You have to classify each part and inform me why you are classifying it and at what level. And when those who had done the classification were forced to explain it, they removed all the classifications except one.

The second thing is about something you put in your e-mailed questions as to how I could be independent. Why should that be questioned?

There's an assumption that any leader of the ANC is never going to act in the national interest – and on what basis is that allegation made? Who does it? The opposition and white South Africa.

TT: But governments around the world are fallible.

FG: Fallible is different. But if somebody is appointed to do a job, you don't automatically say, on the basis of their political party, that they've lost their integrity.

The implication is that anybody who is a senior ANC leader has no role in public life outside politics.

TT: Your point is fair but in defence of the media, our job is to be suspicious.

FG: Being a watchdog is not the prime role of the media in a developing country, it's to help build the nation. When did we get an article on why it's important to have integrity? On the constitutional principles? We don't get that sort of stuff. They have been brainwashed.

# HAPPY 90<sup>TH</sup> BIRTHDAY, DLOMO

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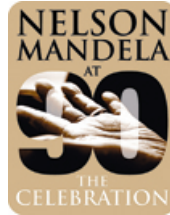
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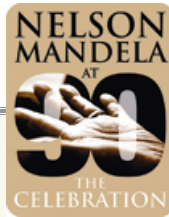


# DEDICATED TO FIGHTING OPPRESSION

## Fatima Meer

A true champion of the people in every sense of the word, Fatima Meer has made it her life's work to fight against injustice and oppression in all its guises. Born and raised in Durban, in a large and liberal Islamic family where all religions were respected, Meer went on to receive an MA in sociology from the University of Natal. In the 1940s, she was an active anti-apartheid campaigner who helped to establish the Women's League for Durban Districts to rebuild alliances between Africans and Indians after the race riots of 1949. The National Party came to power in 1948 and with it came apartheid. Speaking out publicly in condemnation of the injustices of apartheid resulted in a banning order against Meer, a move later repeated in the 1970s when the Black Consciousness Movement became more prominent and she planned a rally with Steve Biko. During a lifelong campaign for the rights of the underclass, Meer has published more than 40 books on the subject closest to her heart and has been acknowledged locally and internationally with a slew of awards in recognition of her anti-apartheid work.





Tara Turkington (TT): I would like to ask you about your personal memories of Nelson Mandela.

Fatima Meer (FM): I knew him through my husband, Ismail Meer.

He stayed with us in this house in Durban while he was the “Black Pimpernel” in the 1960s. He was very warm, gentle, loyal, totally charming. A person you could love forever. A person to whom you could commit your life and a person for whom I would do anything. I loved him dearly and still do.

When I met him, I was just engaged to my husband-to-be and he brought him to meet me.

I think my husband was very proud of me so he brought him to my house in Pinetown and we sat in the garden and there was this bronze giant and all he was doing was teasing me.

You can imagine how flattered I must have been as a 21-year-old with all the attention I was getting.

Anyway, Nelson had lunch with us that day. He had come down and they were planning some campaign or other.

The next time I saw him was during the Treason Trial. I went up to Johannesburg to spend some time with Ismail and Nelson invited us to his house in Orlando for dinner.

It was in the evening and his mother was the hostess. He was not married and was living with his mother. She had prepared a simple supper which she served us.

He had a part of the house set up as a living room. You know, they lived in workers’ cottages that the government built in the townships. The room was dominated by a huge painting – it must have been a copy of a painting of Lenin addressing a huge crowd.

The relationship between Ismail and Nelson was very close, so close that when he met Winnie Madikizela and decided to marry her – this is what Winnie tells me – he sent her to us for

us to vet her and give our opinion.

He phoned Ismail and asked him to pick up Miss Madikizela at the station in Durban.

I went along with him and we picked up this very beautiful woman who emerged from the compartment.

TT: Can you talk a bit about the challenges for South Africa and our leadership in fighting poverty?

FM: We haven’t got a leadership that will fight poverty; we have a very corrupt leadership – that is our tragedy.

And the leadership doesn’t have the courage to recognise its weaknesses; it always pushes things away from itself and puts blame elsewhere.

Take this fiasco about xenophobia. They had no policy about the border and about any insurgents who would come across it. No policy, no effective management and when all this happened, which was inevitable, they abandoned the so-called refugees.

When they came, they were left to the people in the township to deal with. And here were the people who didn’t have resources to survive, let alone spare – and they were expected to deal with the refugees. Obviously, the anger could have been expected.

The government at the local level is the worst of all. At the local level it’s a tyrannical government and what is exposed is the tyranny of the ANC government.

So now when this violence occurred, what did the government do? It did not admit its failure; it blamed it on the people. It said they were xenophobic.

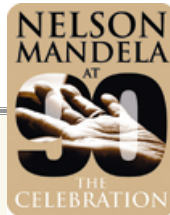
And it got worse; it became disgraceful, on Youth Day, when Thabo Mbeki said it was the youth that had led criminals to kill the insurgents.

TT: You don’t think things have improved at all in this country since democracy?

FM: Those racial laws have disappeared, but beyond that, what? >>24

*“To make peace with an enemy, one must work with that enemy,  
and that enemy becomes your partner”*

**Nelson Mandela**



<< 23 TT: Do you see the future leaders coming from the poor?

FM: No. My assessment is that our Constitution, which we boast so much about, is flawed to the extent that it gives power to the parties, not to the people. People cannot nominate their officials, they cannot nominate their leaders. The people remain powerless.

I work in Chatsworth, which is an Indian township, and I've tried very hard to get leadership to emerge from the people; we even put up candidates for the last election.

It's impossible to put up candidates outside the party. If you're upset with the party, you can't be in the party.

Today it's civil society which is bringing reform in this country and it was the same during the liberation struggle.

TT: You were a founding member of Fedsaw [the Federation of South African Women]. Tell us about your experiences.

FM: We travelled to Johannesburg for the founding meeting of Fedsaw and I was on the executive but very removed from the big shots. I founded an organisation called the Durban and District Women's League. It was basically an organisation of the Indian and African Congresses.

We had just got over the 1949 so-called race riots, in which Indians had suffered terrible attacks from Africans. The Africans were put up by the white city council to do that – the reason being that the Natal Indian Congress and the Transvaal Indian Congress were the first political organisations to mount an offensive against the racist government by organising passive resistance in 1946.

I studied that whole situation. The police conducted and gave cover to battalions of Africans from the dock area. There were "impis" marching into the Indian areas and the police actually gave them cover.

Then there were reports in the papers of Africans breaking the shop windows of Indian stores and the police saying: "Don't worry, it's only the coolies' stores."

The United Party had a slogan, "Boats – not votes – for Indians."

TT: I wanted to ask you about religious intolerance on a global scale. You've often been lauded as being an exemplary Muslim in the way that you have modelled peace and justice. Do you see

a world that is becoming more religiously intolerant?

FM: The problem we have is really with the US. It has assumed leadership of the world and our great tragedy was when Russia lost her power in the world because up to that time we had a balance, two superpowers.

Now we have just one superpower and the US is, above all, interested in acquiring the oil resources which are in the hands of Muslims. The US's enemies were the communists before, today the enemies are the Muslims.

TT: How much of it do you put down to their current leader?

FM: The policies are controlled by the capitalists.

Barack Obama will be manipulated the way that the moneyed class wants things to be.

That is our major problem and, unfortunately, our government is as incompetent as it is because it saw our economic solution not in the people in the country, but in foreign investments.

The Gear (Growth, Employment and Redistribution) policy was terrible and we are suffering as a result.

Now here I come with my criticism of Mandela – he did not leave us with a firm foundation.

When his term was completed, he felt obligated to support Thabo Mbeki and, as a result, the best man was not elected as the second president of South Africa.

TT: What should South Africa do about Zimbabwe?

FM: I think what the international community is saying now – that we should close our borders with Zimbabwe.

TT: Are you saying we should impose economic sanctions?

FM: I don't believe in economic sanctions. It will not hurt Mugabe, it will hurt the Zimbabweans.

TT: Where do you see South Africa going?

FM: For one, the Constitution will have to change. We have to give more power to the people so that they can be involved in electing their own leaders.

■ For a full version of this interview and the others, visit the Nelson Mandela Foundation website at [www.nelsonmandela.org](http://www.nelsonmandela.org).

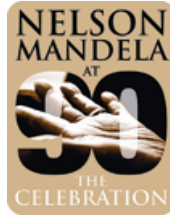
These are not necessarily the views of the Nelson Mandela Foundation

*"Our freedom and our rights will only gain their full meaning as we succeed together in overcoming the divisions and inequalities of our past and in improving the lives of especially the poor"*

**Nelson Mandela**

[www.nelsonmandela.org](http://www.nelsonmandela.org)





## Friend & ALLY

Friends and allies for more than 60 years, Ahmed “Kathy” Kathrada and Nelson Mandela share a rich and textured history together.

In a recent interview, Kathrada retraced their steps over the years – highlighting Mandela’s unshakeable belief in the power of education.

Born in 1929 to Indian immigrant parents in a small town in the then Western Transvaal, Kathrada first met Madiba through mutual friends in about 1945.

Mandela is 11 years older and Kathrada says his association with Madiba was one based on respect from the outset.

Over the years, the two men began to interact more through their political activities and were even known to lock horns at times.

At one stage, the young Kathrada was considered a “hot-headed youngster” by the more senior members of some organisations – the ANC in particular.

Smiling fondly at the memory, Kathrada says that – as a 21-year-old – he once challenged Madiba only to be faced with scores

of complaints by fellow activists who claimed he was disrespectful to their leader.

A chuckling Kathrada, who eventually became a Member of Parliament and Parliamentary Counsellor in the office of the president during Madiba’s term, says this incident is still a standing joke between the two.

“He (Mandela) will come into a room, where we are seated and say: ‘This crook is here... This youngster challenged me’,” says Kathrada.

But speaking to the man, it is clear that the lasting impression he has of the years spent on Robben Island is Mandela’s commitment to education.

Even while he was on trial, Madiba started studying, says Kathrada. And the subject was Afrikaans.

Once he was on Robben Island, Mandela formally registered to study Afrikaans through a college.

Kathrada says in so doing, he sought to establish a relationship with the guards by being able to speak their language.

However, Mandela’s move to further edu-

cate himself was not restricted to him alone and he never stopped encouraging his fellow prisoners to follow suit.

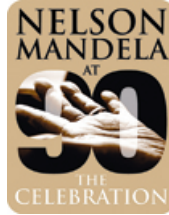
“I could see the advantages of this. He (Mandela) was serious about this and was determined that everyone should study,” says Kathrada.

Because the laws at the time restricted some prisoners from registering with a formal education facility, much tutoring was done by other inmates.

“The vast majority of people (on Robben Island) got an education informally. We can pride ourselves on the fact that no prisoner left Robben Island illiterate,” he says.

One such example was Jacob Zuma. He “was semi-literate when he got there and his family had no money (for him to study formally). But he came out of prison an educated man,” says Kathrada.

It was this Madiba wisdom that got scores of people through their tortuous years on Robben Island and the start to what became a lifelong quest to encourage the youth on the power of education. – *Kathy Whitehead*



# The Promise of Leadership

The Nelson Mandela Foundation, through its Centre of Memory and Dialogue Unit, will convene a series of leadership sessions from October 30 2008-November 2 2008 in Johannesburg.

They will bring together a network of leaders from the continent to debate and conjure up new thinking around the challenge of leadership in our times. The two-and-a-half day sessions will be a combination of keynote speakers, moderated panel discussions and working group sessions.

The aim of this gathering will be two-fold.

Firstly, it is an occasion for leaders at all levels to join in the celebration of Nelson Mandela's leadership legacy.

Secondly, it provides a forum for the critical consideration of challenging political and socio-economic issues that confront us as leaders in the 21st century.

At the recent World Economic Forum in Cape Town, participants were charged with the responsibility of identifying events that would be the "tipping point" in turning the continent around.

These were a few of the events identified.

They include, in no particular order, the outbreak of a major airborne pandemic, the eradication of poverty in Africa in 10 years, a successful transition to democracy particularly in Zimbabwe, escalation in food prices leading to food riots and instability, Africa's self-reliance in the manufacturing of goods used and consumed by Africans, the establishment of democracy throughout the continent, the assertion of people's will and the emergence of strong leadership, the emergence of a pan-African elite in the form of an educated class and the transforming effect of mobile telephony and its ability of placing demands on leaders.

Most of these themes were repeated throughout most sessions during the three-

day event.

Aliko Dangote, president and chief executive of Dangote Group, Nigeria, who is also a co-chair of the World Economic Forum on Africa, said: "The environment has totally changed because we have better political stability."

It became evident that there was an emerging voice of leaders who were prepared to ask tough questions and were increasingly demanding accountability and delivery from those who had been entrusted with creating opportunities for the poor.

President Thabo Mbeki said African countries should focus on raising the quality of leadership and education to capitalise fully on the growing opportunities available.

He said, "there is much better clarity in the political leadership on the continent about where we need to go, greater clarity on how to respond to economic challenges" and that "there is an appreciation of the need to deal with conflict, thanks to strong economic growth and the significant decrease in conflict in recent years".

Wendy Luhabe, chairperson of the Industrial Development Corporation, South Africa, and a co-chair of the World Economic Forum on Africa acknowledged that Africa had made significant progress.

But she warned "there is a crisis of leadership not just in Africa but in the world".

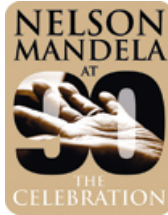
She cautioned against "the conspiracy of silence among African leaders" to address critical issues that made it difficult for the continent "to translate its challenges into what we would consider to be unprecedented opportunities".

While raising the challenges through the two-and-a-half days of dialogue, participants will more importantly, point to possibilities for solutions and define the promise of leadership that is needed to address the aforementioned challenges.

*"I would like to be remembered as part of a team and I would like my contribution to be assessed as somebody who carried out decisions taken by that collective"*

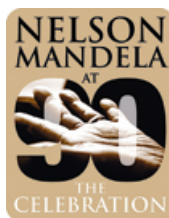
**Nelson Mandela**





# Learn from **NELSON MANDELA**

Young Africans must be taught about Nelson Mandela to understand tolerance and how conflict and tensions can be resolved without the need to resort to violence. This is the view of Liberian President Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf. She recently visited South Africa to deliver the sixth Nelson Mandela Annual Lecture



“The history of what President Mandela represents should become a subject taught in every classroom throughout Africa so that those principles are passed onto every new generation,” she said in an interview on the eve of her visit.

Liberia’s first woman leader said: “Recent developments in Africa, including South Africa, make a compelling case for the teaching of President Mandela’s life story in institutions throughout the continent.”

A young undergraduate student in the US when Nelson Mandela was jailed for life in 1964, she recalled how – after the 1963 assassination of American President John F Kennedy – the world was “looking for another hero”.

With the growing international support for the anti-apartheid movement, Mandela fitted the bill. As her own political career grew, Johnson-Sirleaf was sentenced to 10 years in prison in 1985 for speaking out against the regime of then President Samuel Doe.

She was held for a few months, then fled to the US where she was living when Mandela was freed in 1990. She said he most inspired her at this point with his emphasis on tolerance and compromise despite his suffering.

Just as Mandela inherited a country wracked by racial oppression and conflict in 1994, Johnson-Sirleaf was charged – after her inauguration to her country’s highest office in 2006 – with running a nation that had lost 250 000 people in decades of civil war.

Following South Africa’s example, and her own years of experience in working on the effects of conflict in Africa, she chose to set up a Truth and Reconciliation Commission which included the recourse to justice which was also “a means of healing and closure”.

Other programmes under her

presidency include the initiative to move the judiciary towards fairness and integrity, a visible and vigorous battle against corruption in the civil service and land and constitutional reform.

Some of Liberia’s successes include that, in just two years, it “tackled the country’s huge external debt” and “restored Liberia’s international reputation and creditworthiness”.

After its devastating conflict, Liberia was left with a physically and emotionally damaged population.

One of the tools to regain its lost morality was education.

The Johnson-Sirleaf presidency drove the campaign to offer “education and skills training opportunities to thousands of uneducated and unemployed vulnerable youths who are at the core of this crisis”.

Education, particularly for women and girls, is one of her passions.

She believes this is what lies at the heart of “equality and social equity for young women in Africa. All over the continent, the enrolment of girls provides hope for the growing number of women leaders on the continent.”

And her country’s greatest success so far? “The restoration of hope,” she said. Hope for a better future.

It is the same hope Johnson-Sirleaf sees being revived throughout Africa where, for decades, the enthusiasm generated by the great liberation leaders was snuffed out by a series of military dictatorships.

She said: “I believe Africa has embarked upon the path of selfless leadership, this time not so much through passionate leadership but through

pragmatic technocrats who seek sustainable development.

“It is time to go beyond the politically correct and identify leaders in Africa who are providing an alternative to the pomp and pageantry in which many indulge.

“I believe such leaders do exist in Africa today and should be made role models who can inspire African youth.”

Johnson-Sirleaf turned again to the example set by Mandela.

She said Africa’s great symbol of peace and democracy should “take pleasure in knowing that his towering image as our continent’s icon for compromise, change and national unity has made a major contribution to the progress that Africa is experiencing today.

“His beacon will remain bright in successive generations,” said Johnson-Sirleaf.

## LIBERIA’S LONG WALK TO LIBERATION

The history of Liberia is unique in Africa as it did not start out as a European colony or a state.

Liberia was born in 1821 when private societies began founding colonies for freed slaves from the US on the west coast of Africa.

In the mid-1800s, freed slaves voluntarily emigrated to Liberia with the American Colonisation Society in search of a home.

In 1841, Joseph Jenkins Roberts became the first black governor of the colony. Under him, the colony drafted a constitution based on the US Constitution and Liberia achieved the status of an independent republic in 1847.

Under William R Tolbert Jnr in the 1970s, the country strengthened ties with the Soviet Union while experiencing labour and economic troubles. In 1980, the muzzled opposition called for Tolbert’s resignation.

The army sealed the deal with a coup d’etat that put Master Sergeant Samuel Doe into power.

With Tolbert and many of his cronies executed, Doe suspended the constitution and consolidated his power. The economy subsequently collapsed.

By 1989, the opposition flared

again, this time under the leadership of Charles Taylor and his rebel group, the National Patriotic Front of Liberia. It took control of most of the countryside and Taylor’s army of 10 000 inflicted widespread violence. Other opposition groups also consolidated and took up arms.

As several small armies competed for power, the Economic Community of West African States (Ecomog), sent in its peacekeeping troops, Ecomog, to restore order.

During the 1990s, Ecomog was finally successful in bringing the competing factions to the negotiating table.

By 1997, elections were held under international scrutiny. Taylor was declared the overwhelming winner and his party, the National Patriotic Party, gained most of the seats in the legislature. At the top of Taylor’s agenda was to heal the wounds of the country’s civil war that he had helped to start eight years before.

But Liberia remained economically devastated while Taylor and his family enriched themselves by looting its resources.

In 2001, fighting erupted in north Liberia between anti-Taylor

rebels and government forces.

It intensified the next year and the rebels continued to expand the war into other regions of Liberia in 2003.

By mid-2003 the rebels controlled about two-thirds of the country and were threatening to seize the capital, Monrovia. This led to calls for Taylor to step down and for the US, as a nation with historical ties to Liberia, to send in peacekeeping forces.

In August, Taylor resigned and went into exile. Vice-President Moses Blah temporarily succeeded him. A peace pact was signed with the two rebel groups and west African peacekeepers, supported temporarily by an offshore US force, arrived.

Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, a politician and former World Bank official, won the presidential election in late 2005 by winning nearly 60% of the vote.

Most observers regarded the election as free and fair and Johnson-Sirleaf became Africa’s first elected female head of state.

At the same time, a new national legislature was also elected with no party securing a controlling position.



# Mandela goes UNDERGROUND

The machinery of the democratic movement, including our own organisation, had once again proved itself too cumbersome and slow-moving to cope with a situation requiring a sense of urgency and drive, of taking bold local initiative.

2

3

DESCRIPTIONS

PROFESSION

Place and date of birth

Domicile

Height

Colour of Eyes

Colour of Hair

Identifying details

Names of children

PHOTOGRAPH OF WIFE

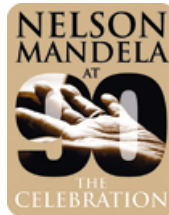
PHOTOGRAPH OF WIFE

Signature of wife

Signature of wife

At the conclusion of the four-and-a-half-year Treason Trial in 1961, the ANC decided that Nelson Mandela should go underground. He spent many months hiding out in different locations including a farm in Rivonia called Lilliesleaf where he pretended to be the caretaker. He took on the name of David Motsamayi – one of his former clients





In early 1962 he left the country, without South African travel documents, via Botswana. He was going to attend a meeting of the Pan-African Freedom Movement for East, Central and Southern Africa in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

But he also had another task – to travel to as many African countries as he could to raise political and economic support for the ANC and the newly-formed armed wing – Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK).

His travels included Ethiopia, Tanganyika (Tanzania), Egypt, Tunisia, Morocco, Ghana and Senegal.

Ethiopia made a great impression on Madiba. He wrote in his autobiography, *Long Walk to Freedom*, that “the prospect of visiting . . . attracted me more strongly than a trip to France, England and America combined. I felt I would be visiting my own genesis, unearthing the roots of what made me an African.”

To facilitate his travels, he was issued with an Ethiopian passport – in the name of David Motsamayi.

Having met Oliver Tambo (“OR”) – whom he had not seen for two years – and attending the Pan-African Freedom Movement meeting, Mandela proceeded to London on June 7 1962.

The next day he met senior ANC members in exile like Yusuf Dadoo, Ugandan Prime Minister Milton Obote and British Labour Party leader Hugh Gaitskell among others.

He wrote: “In London I resumed my old underground ways, not wanting word to leak back to South Africa that I was there. But I was not a recluse: my 10 days were divided between ANC business, seeing old friends and occasional jaunts as a conventional tourist.”

“With Mary Benson – a Pretoria-born friend who had written about our struggle – Oliver and I saw the sights of the city that had once commanded nearly two-thirds of the globe.”

At times, he combined business with pleasure – as can be seen from these photographs that were taken in the Tambo family home. The pictures show OR and Mandela in OR’s study – with Adelaide Tambo and a



*‘In London I resumed my old underground ways, not wanting word to leak back to South Africa that I was there. But I was not a recluse: my 10 days were divided between ANC business, seeing old friends and occasional jaunts as a conventional tourist’*

very young Dali Tambo.

After returning to Africa and eight weeks of military training, the ANC summoned Mandela back to South Africa. He was arrested not long after on August 5 1962 in Howick, Natal, with Cecil Williams, a white theatre director and an MK member.

On August 7, he was formally charged with leaving the country without valid travel documents and with inciting African workers to strike.

Mandela’s “plea” in mitigation of his sentence was a rousing and meticulously crafted speech which explained how he had come to realise that, as a black South African, he had no choice but to resist oppression.

As he said, “It was not a judicial appeal at all but a political testament.”

Ten minutes after completing his

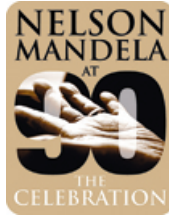
statement, he was sentenced to five years in jail and towards the end of May 1963, was transferred to Robben Island.

After he was jailed, the ANC published the full text of his mitigation statement and his earlier call in November 1962 to the magistrate to recuse himself from trying the case because Mandela considered himself “A black man in a white man’s court . . .”

In July 1963, a few weeks after being transferred from Pretoria to Robben Island, he was brought back to be tried for sabotage in what became known as the Rivonia Trial after security police raided Lilliesleaf.

On June 12 1964, Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada, Dennis Goldberg, Raymond Mhlaba, Govan Mbeki, Elias Motsoaledi and Andrew Mlangeni were sentenced to life imprisonment.





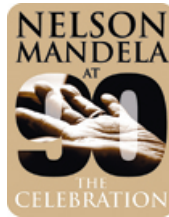
# Working with **MANDELA**

By RICK STENGEL

I came to South Africa in December 1992 to work with Nelson Mandela on Long Walk to Freedom. I had written a book about South Africa and been a correspondent for Time



magazine, but had never met the great man before. I waited for several weeks to see him and when I did, he said after a few minutes: “Well, I assume after a couple more of these sessions, you will have enough for the book.” I practically leapt out of the chair. “If you think this will be enough for a book, you’re crazy!” At that point, Barbara Masekela came into the office and ushered me out and I thought I had blown the whole thing



I begged her for another appointment and two mornings later, I was in his office apologising. "Mr Mandela," I said, "I'm sorry I was so brusque with you the other day." (To this day, I have no idea why I used the word brusque.)

He smiled paternally and said: "If you thought you were brusque with me the other day, you must be a very gentle young man indeed." And, of course, I realised that after 27 difficult years in prison, my small outburst must have barely registered at all. But from that small and amusing moment, we forged a partnership that helped produce one of the great autobiographies of the 20th century.

In the hours and days we spent together, I found his memory of the past to be extraordinary. When he talked about growing up in the Transkei or his early days in Johannesburg, it was with such vividness and detail that I felt as if he was watching a movie of those days in his head.

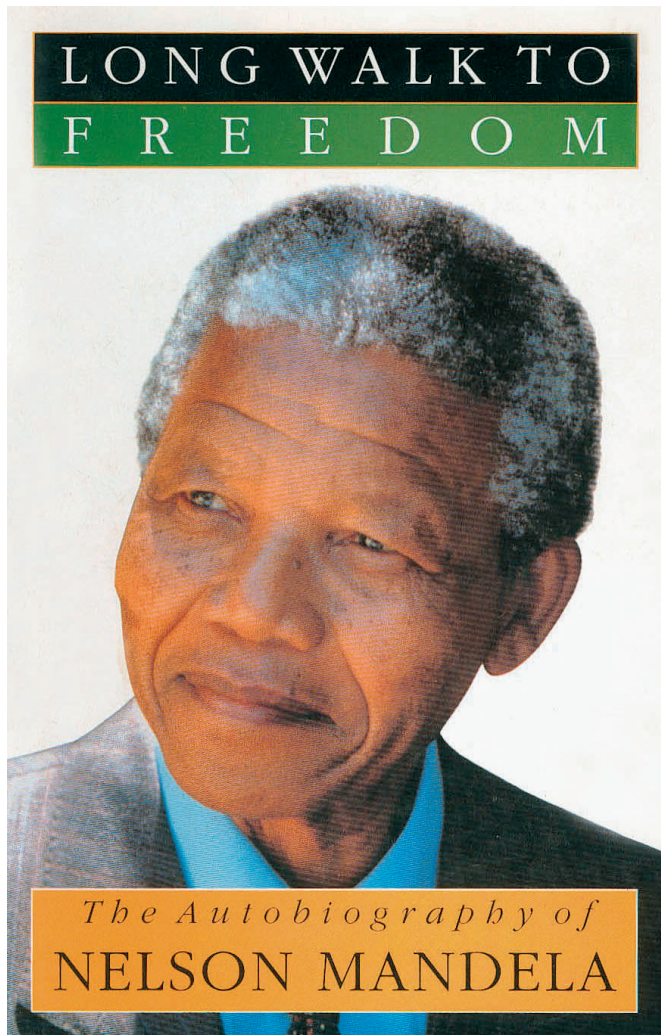
It seemed as though he could taste the meat he ate around the kraal at Qunu or feel the texture of the fabric of the poor worn trousers he wore in Joburg. For those moments when he was reminiscing, it was as though he were living those days all over again.

At the same time, as he told each of those dozens of stories, they had a morale or a lesson.

Each one was designed to show how he might have been headstrong or naïve or unfair and how he had learned from his mistakes. He was always keen to show he was not Superman, but a man of flesh and blood, a man who made errors but tried to learn from them.

In those days, he was still reckoning with his own celebrity. I recall him coming in one morning and excitedly telling me he had met Elizabeth Taylor.

He told me how, in his later years on Robben Island, they



***He was always keen to show that he was not Superman, but a man of flesh and blood, a man who made errors but tried to learn from them***

had been allowed to watch movies that were shown on bed-sheets and they had watched Cleopatra. "Can you imagine?" he said, "me, Nelson Mandela, meeting Elizabeth Taylor!"

My job was to help him with the book, but I took every opportunity to spend as much time with him as I possibly could. It is impossible to overestimate the pleasure of his company. He was a man of enormous courtesy and generosity with great concern for the dignity of those around him. After a lifetime of having been treated without dignity, he was always concerned to not treat anyone else that

way. He was also a man of infectious joy – it was impossible not to be happy when he was happy and when I had finished working with him and left to go back to the States, I felt a tremendous void and missed him terribly.

I can't say I never saw him get angry, but he was a man of great balance and self-discipline. He was not terribly introspective and I often asked him how the man who came out of prison was different from the man who went in. He hated such questions and one day, in frustration, he said: "I came out mature." It's impossible to say it better.

That maturity was in evidence when I was with him in the Transkei on the morning he heard that Chris Hani had been assassinated. In those years, at his house in Qunu, people would just appear at his doorstep to meet him. One morning, while we were having breakfast, he was informed that the East London rugby team had come by to say hello. He walked outside to shake hands with them.

In the middle of this greeting, he was summoned back inside for a phone call, which is when he learned of Hani's assassination. In moments of crisis, his face becomes a mask and it is impossible to read any emotion into his expression. He put down the phone, thought for a moment and then returned to shaking hands with the team.

They had no idea anything had happened. When he finished, he returned to the house and methodically began making phone calls to plot his strategy in the wake of Hani's death.

His calmness and focus were extraordinary at a time that he believed South Africa was potentially on the brink of a civil war.

As he was leaving, he solemnly apologised for interrupting our session to return to Johannesburg. That is the Nelson Mandela I knew.





NELSON MANDELA  
FOUNDATION

*Living the Legacy*

## Taking Mandela's vision forward

The Nelson Mandela Foundation, through the Nelson Mandela Centre of Memory and Dialogue as its core work, contributes to the making of a just society by promoting the vision, values and work of its founder and convening dialogue around critical social issues while continuing to provide support to its founder.

The foundation leads the development of a living legacy that captures the vision and values of Nelson Mandela's life and work.

As a convener of critical dialogue around Mandela's example, the foundation needs to perpetuate a non-partisan platform in the exemplary manner of its founder.

Through the creation of strategic networks and partnerships, the foundation directs resources, knowledge and practice to add value and demonstrate new possibilities.

The foundation embodies the spirit of reconciliation, ubuntu and social justice. The foundation's work is a celebration of Mandela's life.

In November 2006, the foundation's board of trustees approved a new vision for the body.

In many ways, it signalled a return to the foundation's original mandate which was to consolidate and propagate Mandela's legacy.

Four guiding principles inform the five-year strategic plan of the foundation that emerged from a year-long review:

- The core business of the foundation is the memory and dialogue work with the key institutional vehicle being the Nelson Mandela Centre of Memory and Dialogue.

- Even in his retirement, Mandela remains active, albeit on a reduced scale. Managing the founder's office to the highest professional standard remains a top priority.

- In moving from direct project implementation to intervening in critical social issues, existing commitments will be fully met and, where necessary, partners will be found to ensure ongoing implementation.

- The work of the foundation must be

aligned explicitly and unambiguously with its two sister charity organisations – the Nelson Mandela Children's Fund and the Mandela Rhodes Foundation.

The Memory Programme, led by internationally-renowned archivist, Verne Harris, is tracking the myriad pieces of archive material held throughout the world.

It also conducts research into aspects of Mandela's life including the role played in the anti-apartheid struggle by several other individuals and organisations.

It also creates exhibitions that travel around South Africa and other countries in the world.

These include *Making Peace*, an exhibition highlighting the work of Mandela and his fellow Nobel Peace laureate and ANC president, the late Chief Albert Luthuli, and *Parenting a Nation: Walter and Albertina Sisulu*.

Earlier this year, the Memory Programme arranged a reunion with Mandela and the survivors of three major political trials in which he was an accused – the Defiance Campaign Trial, the Treason Trial and the Rivonia Trial.

Two books made in association with the Memory Programme were launched to commemorate Madiba's 90th birthday. They are *Nelson Mandela: The Authorised Comic Book* and *Hunger for Freedom: The Story of Food in the Life of Nelson Mandela* by Anna Trapido.

The foundation is one of five so-called "Mandela charities" that work to promote his vision and continue his work.

Besides the children's fund and the Rhodes Foundation, the others are the Nelson Mandela Institute for Education and Rural Development and the 46664 HIV/Aids awareness campaign.

The 46664 campaign takes its name from Mandela's prison number after he was sentenced to life imprisonment in 1964. It shows that he was prisoner number 466 in 1964.

For more about the work of the foundation, go to [www.nelsonmandela.org](http://www.nelsonmandela.org)

*"The foundation has been laid – the building is in progress. With a new generation of leaders and a people that rolls up its sleeves in partnerships for change, we can and shall build the country of our dreams"*

**Nelson Mandela**

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[www.nelsonmandela.org](http://www.nelsonmandela.org)

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