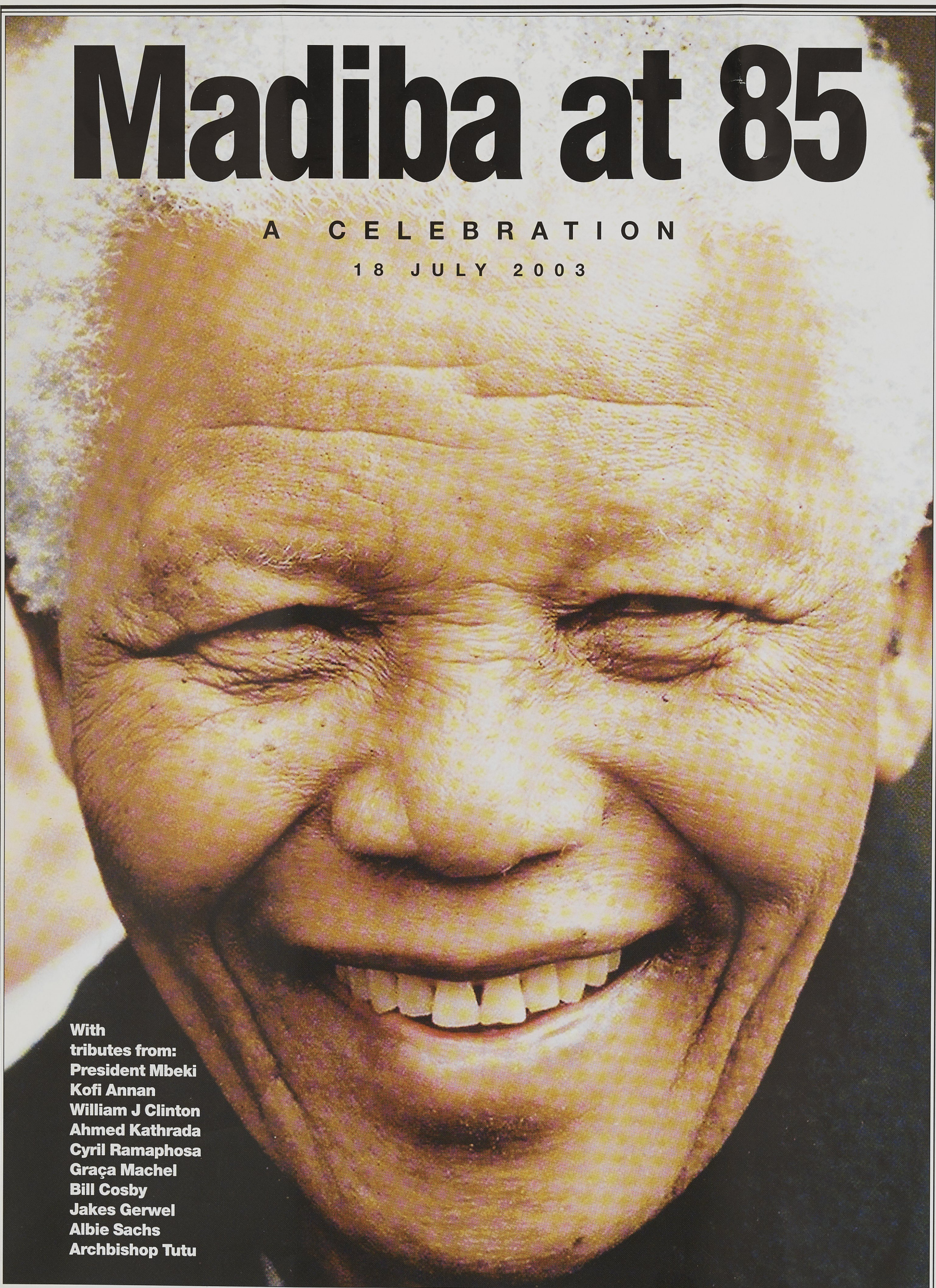


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Madiba at 85

A C E L E B R A T I O N

1 8 J U L Y 2 0 0 3



With tributes from:
President Mbeki
Kofi Annan
William J Clinton
Ahmed Kathrada
Cyril Ramaphosa
Graça Machel
Bill Cosby
Jakes Gerwel
Albie Sachs
Archbishop Tutu

Rob Judges, with permission from the Rhodes Trust and the Mandela Rhodes Foundation

VMA11983/pg1

Happy Birthday Madiba

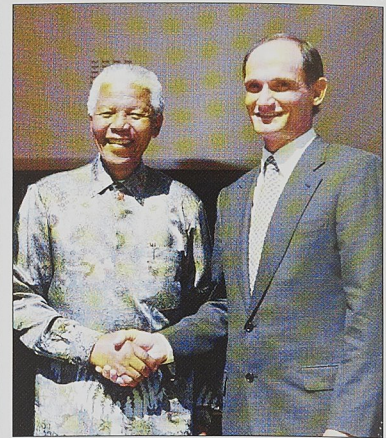
South Africa's leading cellular network.





OBED ZILWA / AP

GRANT LAVERSHA



Mandela with Vodacom CEO Alan Knott-Craig

In Parliament, Mandela leans over to Thabo Mbeki, who was then the Deputy President, to make a point

He's God's gift to the world

By
PRESIDENT
MBEKI

Nelson Rolihlahla Madiba Mandela is God's gift to our country, South Africa, our continent, Africa, and the world at large.

Madiba remains the salt of the earth – and life, our lives, would be incomplete without his being. His sheer existence is a monument to the triumph of the human

spirit. The selflessness, love of his country and its entire people, and his inexorable pursuit of that classically elusive virtue – the truth – are the values which have hewed a place for all time for this enchanting octogenarian.

No words can aptly describe what this man means to our nation and the world.

He will remain an icon for all time whenever and wherever people have discourse about human yearnings for freedom and justice.

He risked his life when others protected theirs; and he did this

in the direct service of his people. He suffered prison, deprivation, solitude, and official terror – for many, many years.

All the time, he was working behind bars for victory, and it came about.

He was to stride strongly into the light on a sunny Cape day in 1990 and, in concert with other greats like his friend Oliver Tambo, set in process the final march to democracy in his land.

Anthony Sampson relates in *Mandela* that in 1988 the imprisoned Mandela asked a local

lawyer to find his family's kraal in Mvezo. It was no longer there.

No matter. The place that Nelson Mandela has carved in the hearts of all the people of South Africa is his true and abiding home. It will remain there forever.

Today, as we celebrate with him on his birthday, we can say but little.

We simply salute him.

We pause and stand still for a moment and ponder the compassionate and brave life of a truly great man of history.

Many happy returns Madiba!

Dear Madiba

Every day every one of us celebrates the gift that you are to South Africa. Every day the whole world celebrates the miracle that you are.

Every day every person on this earth thanks God for the inspiration and epitome of love that you are.

Your 85th birthday is another blessed day in all our lives. And it is therefore fitting that we celebrate your birthday, as we celebrate every single thing about you.

You are a blessed person, and we are blessed to have you with us. We wish you all the happiness and peace in the world.

May we all be able to touch your happiness for many years to come.

Peace be with you.

Yours sincerely

Alan Knott-Craig
CEO Vodacom Group

Acknowledgements

The original idea for this special celebratory tribute, which we all hope will give Madiba pleasure and be treasured by South Africans, came from the Nelson Mandela Foundation. John Samuel, Zelda la Grange and the birthday committee can therefore feel proud at its publication today, and Independent Newspapers is honoured that the Foundation approached our company to develop and manage the project as our contribution to this great day.

Vodacom stepped in when asked, as so often, to help turn the good cause into reality by funding what is possibly the largest single print run in South African newspaper history.

The wonderful words come primarily from an important new book edited by Minister Kader Asmal, Dr Wilmot James and Professor David Chidester. Titled *Nelson Mandela From Freedom to the Future: Tributes and Speeches*, it is published by Jonathan Ball, who kindly made the material available without fee. The pictures come from a range of excellent sources, which are acknowledged. Some are from archives, others have never been published before.

A publishing initiative of this magnitude involves an enormous amount of work from many people. The project director was John Lloyd, Commercial Director of Independent Newspapers Cape, ably assisted by many senior Independent colleagues. The design and editing work, which we

have tried to match to the dignity of the occasion, was done by a talented team, given back-up assistance by the editor of the Cape Times, and by Craig Dodds.

In Ireland, Sir Anthony O'Reilly and Lady O'Reilly generously provided a wonderful base and facilities for me to complete this project. Michael Brophy of the Sunday World helped hugely with editing.

An unusual aspect, in fitting recognition of South Africa's greatest son, is that this supplement is being carried in most of our country's newspapers today. All the publishing houses, normally fierce rivals, agreed that our professional competitiveness should be set aside for a day in pursuit of a shared goal: to get this tribute into the hands of as many South Africans as possible.

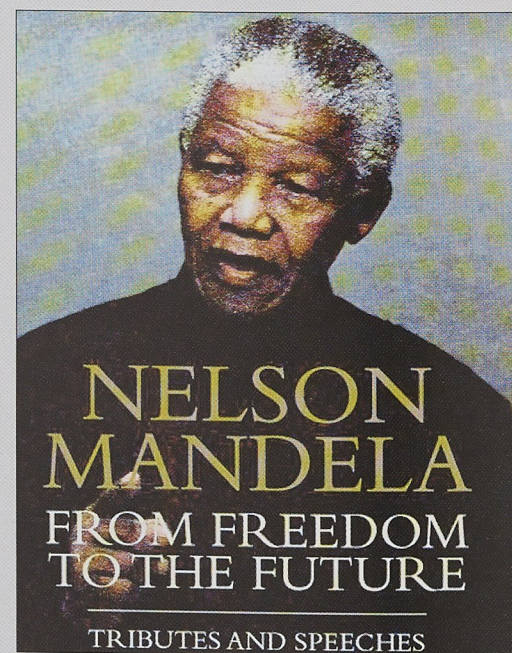
Thank you everybody for all the work, and happy birthday Tata from all of us!

Shaun Johnson, Johannesburg
Friday, 18 July 2003



NELSON MANDELA
FOUNDATION

Living the Legacy



This supplement contains some edited extracts from *Nelson Mandela From Freedom to the Future: Tributes and Speeches*, published by Jonathan Ball Publishers, Johannesburg and Cape Town, and available nationwide from today.

A beacon for humanity

By
KOFI
ANNAN

People often ask me what difference one person can make in the face of injustice, conflict, human rights violations, mass poverty and disease.

I answer by citing the courage, tenacity, dignity and magnanimity of Nelson Mandela.

I cite his lifelong struggle against apartheid, and his steadfast refusal to compromise his beliefs during long years of incarceration.

I cite his inspired leadership, upon his release, in the peaceful transition to a multiracial, multi-party democracy firmly founded on a Constitution protecting fundamental human rights.

I cite his efforts, as President of the Republic of South Africa, to create the political, economic and social conditions needed to bring Africa the peace and prosperity it needs and deserves.

Above all, I cite his ready willingness to embrace and reconcile with those who persecuted him the most, and the grace with which he stuck to his promise to serve only one presidential term of office.

His contribution did not end there. To this day, Madiba remains probably the single most



Mandela with UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan at the United Nations

admired, most respected international figure in the entire world. He continues to inspire millions of people and several generations throughout the globe, by continuing to fight for reconciliation before recrimination, healing before bitterness, peace before conflict; by fighting for

health, for education, for the right of every child to have a better start in life; by spelling out the right and duty of not only South Africa, but of all Africa, to take charge of its own future and fate. As he said in one of his speeches, "Africa has long traversed past a mindset that seeks

to heap all blame on the past and on others."

The only adequate way in which we can truly express our gratitude for his lifetime's contribution is for every one of us to seek to follow his example.

If just one small part of what he has sought to achieve for his

'To this day, Madiba remains probably the single most admired, most respected international figure in the entire world. He continues to inspire millions of people and several generations throughout the globe'

fellow human beings is translated into reality, if we live up to just one fraction of the standards he has set for himself, then Africa, and the world, will be a far, far better place.

● *Kofi Annan is Secretary-General of the United Nations*

To be a free man, even behind bars

By
WILLIAM J
CLINTON

President Mandela has taught us so much about so many things. Perhaps the greatest lesson, especially for young people, is that, while bad things do happen to good people, we still have the freedom and the responsibility to decide how to respond to injustice, cruelty and violence and how they will affect our spirits, hearts and minds.

In his 27 years of imprisonment, Mandela endured physical and emotional abuse, isolation and degradation. Somehow, his trials purified his spirit and clar-

ified his vision, giving him the strength to be a free man even behind bars, and to remain free of anger and hatred when he was at last released.

That freedom is reflected in the way he governed as President, bringing those who had oppressed him into his administration and doing everything he could to bring people together.

The best gift we can give him on this special occasion is to persist in our own struggle to forgive those who have trespassed against us and to work, every day, to tear down the barriers that divide us.

At 85, President Mandela is still building bridges, especially those that unite us in the battle against HIV/Aids, which he calls an "even heavier and greater fight" than the struggle against

apartheid. Through times darker than most people ever will endure in their own lives, President Mandela saw a better and brighter future for himself and for his country.

Now, he gives us hope that our work to eradicate HIV/Aids from the world is not in vain, and that one day, this awful scourge will exist alongside apartheid only in the history books.

Mandela's enduring legacy is that, under a crushing burden of oppression he saw through differences, discrimination and destruction to embrace our common humanity. Thanks to his life and work, the rest of us are closer to embracing it too.

● *William J Clinton is the 42nd President of the United States*



Mandela with former US President William J Clinton

Even the Old Man is mortal

By
**AHMED
KATHRADA**

I have known Nelson Mandela for more than 50 years, the half-century over which this remarkable man has emerged all the more clearly as a heroic statesman not only in South African but also in world affairs.

And it is a heroism that was and remains the expression in large measure of a generous, self-effacing view of the collective efforts of others, a keenness to recognise greatness and achievement elsewhere and apportion credit accordingly, to play his part as one among many and to consider the interests of the many in playing his singular part.

Of course, he is mortal, and his humanity is as complex and even at times as contradictory as any other man's. The Mandela mythology has often not done justice to the real Madiba.

Yet it is his virtues more than any kind of imperiousness that has made it difficult for people to see him as anything less than a flawless hero.

I have written before about the challenge of seeing the man more clearly as he is, a man who has more charisma and charm and more of a commanding presence than one's next-door neighbour, yet whose saint-like qualities of forbearance and generosity and tolerance do not make him a saint. He has his weaknesses and failings.

On the occasion of his 80th birthday, I penned a biographical essay in which I tried to express the sum of the human Mandela by describing what I believe to be an uncommon amalgam of the peasant and the aristocrat; the quintessential democrat who nonetheless possesses something of the autocrat; the traditionalist who is also an innovator; a man who is at once proud but also simple; soft and tenacious; determinedly obstinate and flexible; vain and shy; cool and impatient.

My sense of these things, of the true character of this 20th-

century hero, derives from an always respectful, sometimes difficult and frustrating, but enduringly rewarding relationship that spans my life.

In 1958 – Madiba was a practising attorney by then – he was the defence lawyer in a case, and I had occasion one day to visit the court to discuss something with him. Though I wasn't there for long, I would, in the next few days, remember something rather important from this brief visit.

The very next Saturday – and it was typical for Saturdays – we had a bit of a party in the flat. At the end of the evening, I had gone downstairs with some friends – I was going to drive them home – when I noticed a man sitting on the opposite pavement.

I asked him what he was waiting for, and it turned out he was waiting for a bus. It was far too late and there were no buses running at that hour, and just as I was telling him this, it suddenly struck me I had seen him before: he was the prosecutor in the trial in which Madiba was acting.

It is terrible to say so now, but we thought to ourselves, this man is probably a Nat, let's destroy him. So I offered him a lift, and he accepted.

We asked if he wanted another drink, and he said he did. But then he added: "What I'd really like is a black woman."

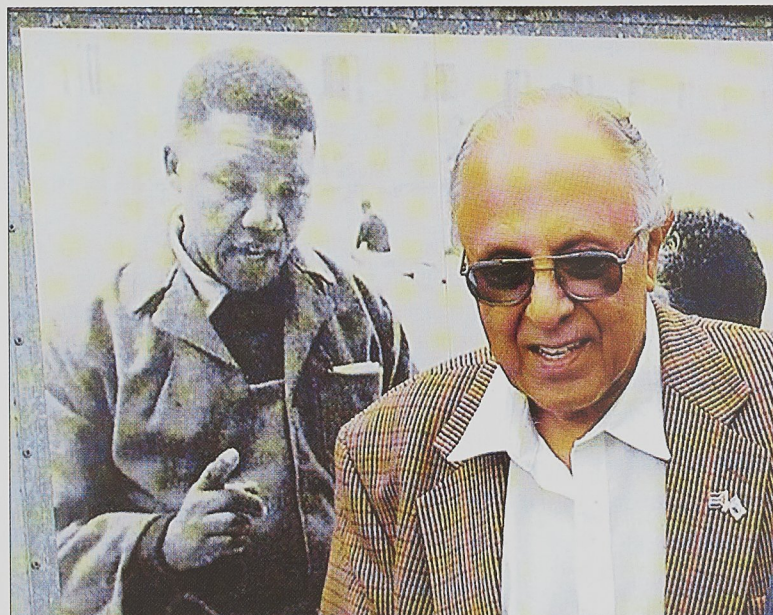
Well, we saw our opportunity. We said we'd arrange it, but what we had in mind was arranging a photographer, too.

We persuaded a woman to play along, assuring her we would not allow anything to happen, and raced over to the Sunday Express, where the night editor was very excited about the

'It was the masterstroke of a visionary, and it changed everything. It was, you might say, a truly heroic impulse.'



Mandela offers a chivalrous greeting to Captain Yolanda Roberts during a visit to South African peacekeeping troops in Bujumbura, Burundi



Ahmed Kathrada passes the famous photograph of the jailed Mandela at the Robben Island Museum

story. The prosecutor was very drunk by now, but we got our picture, and then took him home. First thing the next morning, I went out to Orlando to tell Mandela about our coup.

I didn't expect what he had to say.

"Agreed, he is a prosecutor," Madiba said, "and he may even be a Nat. But he's a good chap, as a prosecutor."

It turned out that this man had shown some understanding for the accused in the trial, and that had made an impression on Madiba.

Joe Slovo and Harold Wolpe, both lawyers, agreed with him. So, with Slovo, I went back to the Sunday Express and asked them to destroy the pictures, which they did.

I was, of course, disappointed that we were not able to destroy this man. But, in retrospect, and thanks to the maturity of Mandela, Slovo and Wolpe, we did

not. Their advice was correct.

This kind of response to individuals comes up over and over again in the records of Mandela's dealings with people: his magnanimity, and his willingness to see each individual in his or her own right.

In political matters he was unhesitatingly selfless. I witnessed this as a fellow accused in the three big trials of the 1950s and 1960s, the Defiance Campaign trial, the marathon Treason Trial and, finally, the Rivonia Trial.

There followed the long years of imprisonment, years in which those of us who were with him witnessed time and again his courage, foresight and wisdom.

Then, in 1986, Mandela was taken away and kept alone, away from us. Instinctively, we wanted to protest, but he told us – not in these words – cool it, chaps.

As new developments came to light, it became clear that Madiba had made up his mind it was

time to take the initiative in talking to the enemy. Of course, he expected opposition from us, and did not want it. He wanted to present us with a *fait accompli*.

And when he was eventually allowed to see us, one by one, two of the four agreed with him. Walter [Sisulu] hesitated, and I was entirely against.

Madiba, of course, was right. When the news spread that Madiba had been isolated from the four of us, first at Pollsmoor (from 1986 until 1988) and then at Victor Verster prison near Franschhoek from 1988 to 1990, it gave rise to rumours, both in the country and abroad.

Some within South Africa went as far as suggesting that he was selling out, and cautioned against visiting him.

But in response to an enquiry from the ANC leadership in exile, Madiba explained that all he was trying to do was to persuade the enemy to start talking to the leadership in exile.

Through this, and other smuggled messages to the leadership abroad, and the underground leadership in South Africa, the air was cleared, and Madiba was given the go-ahead.

The fact is that he had foreseen the moment, the possibilities, and must have known others had not. And so, understanding what it meant – not for him, or not him alone, but the people – he acted alone.

It was the masterstroke of a visionary, and it changed everything. It was, you might say, a truly heroic impulse.

● Ahmed Kathrada, who was imprisoned with Mandela, is chairman of the board of the Robben Island Museum

Happy birthday, Tata!

ZELDA LA GRANGE

By
CYRIL
RAMAPHOSA

Long before I met Nelson Mandela, I felt I knew him. From his speeches, from his writings and, yes, from his legend, I had long known and identified Mandela as one of the towering leaders of our struggle against apartheid and the foremost exponent of the aspirations of the oppressed majority people of South Africa.

This, I have found, is not uncommon. Millions of people in South Africa – and indeed across the world – have long identified closely and personally with the vision of humanity for which Madiba has fought, which he has articulated and which he has represented.

For a person who spent almost three decades in prison, it is not surprising that Madiba is a person preceded by his reputation. It is a reputation built on his famous statement from the dock in the Rivonia Trial; from his courage and unrelenting commitment to the struggle; and from articles he wrote and speeches he made in the 1950s and early 1960s.

It was built on the stories told about him in the townships and villages of this country. Most of them were true. Others, I am sure, had been embellished.

It was a reputation fuelled by the underground pamphlets, the "bush telegraph" and the publications which circulated among activists, workers and intellectuals. And, as we have learned since his release from prison, it was a reputation well earned.

The Mandela that we came to know, admire and love – even before we had seen him – was a person whose entire being was dedicated to the plight of humanity. This dedication was most directly evident in his struggle for the liberation of South Africa's black population: the African people, coloureds and Indians.

He spoke about the oppressed; he spoke for the oppressed, the poor, and the downtrodden of South Africa. But he was never parochial. As discrimination, oppression and exploitation defy national boundaries, so too did Mandela's message echo across the globe.

In the years that we have come to know Mandela, his unbending dedication to the



Madiba in retirement: surrounded by family, he spends a day lazing next to a river at Shambala Lodge in Limpopo. From left, his son Makgatho Mandela and his daughters Dr Makaziwe Mandela and Princess Zenani Mandela-Dlamini

'The Mandela that we came to know, admire and love — even before we had seen him — was a person whose entire being was dedicated to the plight of humanity'



ADIL BRADLOW / AP

Watched by Cyril Ramaphosa, Mandela signs the Constitution into law at a ceremony held in Sharpeville on 10 December 1996

real-life parable of the triumph of good over evil, of humility over arrogance, of nonracialism over exclusion.

It is at once a celebration of human goodness and a powerful reason for hope. But there is more.

Perhaps what appeals so much about Nelson Mandela is that he is able to express in words and actions so precisely what much of humanity feels and thinks. He is able to give voice to the sentiments that we all feel, but have neither the means nor the language to say ourselves.

If ever there was a suitable tribute for Nelson Mandela, it is to hear, loudly and unhindered, the myriad voices of the people that his work has helped empower. It is to see how development has given rise to democracy, vibrant in its activity and brilliant in its diversity.

Happy birthday, Tata.

● *Cyril Ramaphosa, former secretary-general of the ANC, chief negotiator and chairperson of the Constitutional Assembly, is chairperson of Millennium Consolidated Investments*

plight of the poorest and most vulnerable has both impressed and inspired.

He is fond of saying that poverty is the greatest assault on human dignity.

It is a revolutionary position. For it recognises that human dignity cannot be achieved simply by its inclusion in a Bill of Rights. It cannot be achieved merely through the promulga-

tion of laws or by changing the relationship of the state to its people, important though these are. It has to be achieved through the eradication of all that undermines human dignity.

It requires a thoroughgoing transformation of society; a fundamental change in economic and social power relations; and earnest attention to the basic material needs of all people. In

short, it requires development.

On this, the occasion of his 85th birthday, it is not unreasonable to ask why it is that so many people identify so closely and passionately with Nelson Mandela.

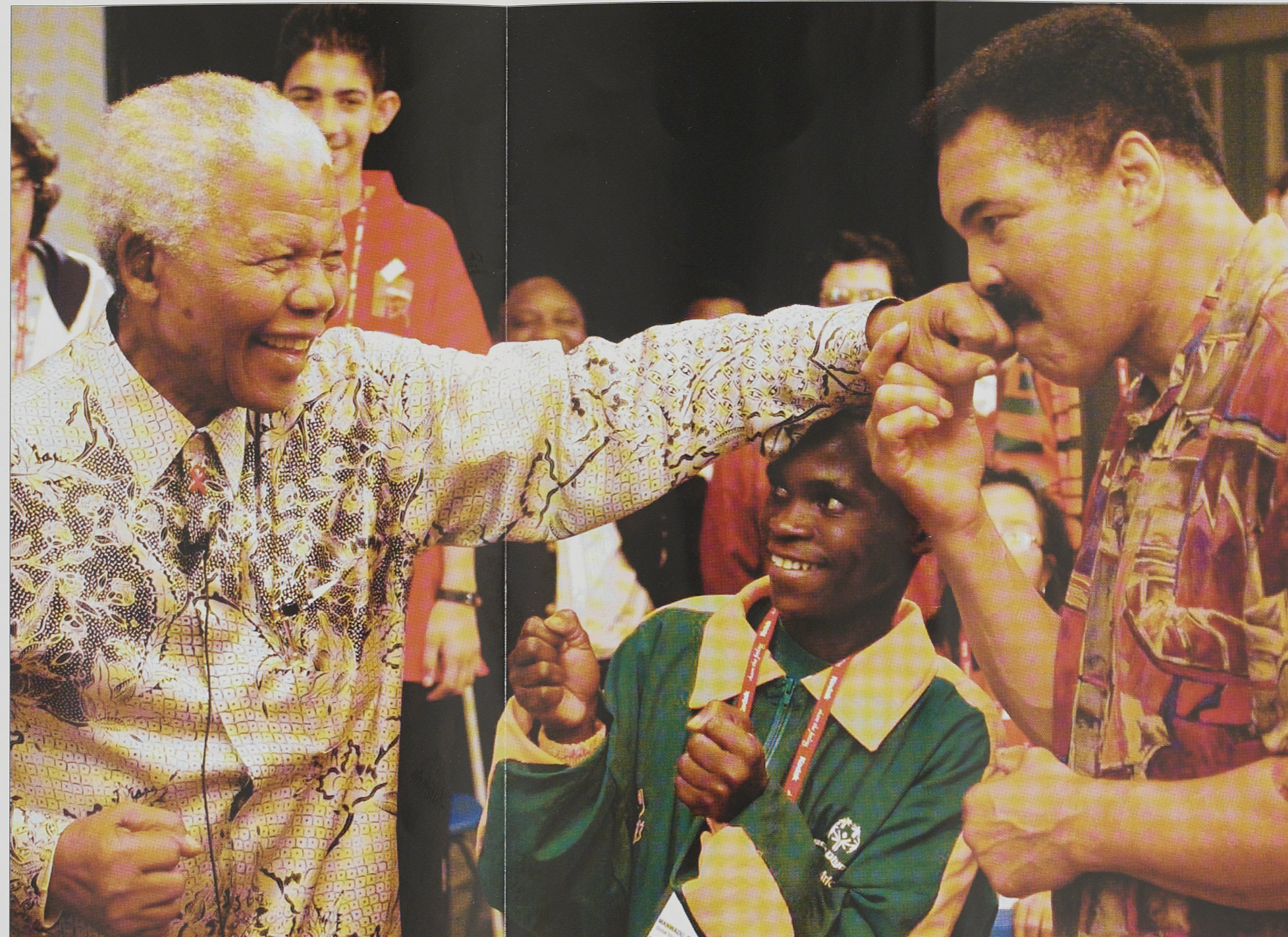
It is in great part due to the story of his life, a remarkable journey of hardship, struggle and liberation which mirrors the journey of an entire people. It is a



Double-take: Mandela meets himself immortalised in wax at Madame Tussaud's

**Human beings suffer.
 They torture one another.
 They get hurt and get hard.
 No poem or play or song
 Can fully right a wrong
 Inflicted and endured.
 History says, Don't hope
 On this side of the grave,
 But then, once in a lifetime
 The longed-for tidal wave
 Of justice can rise up
 And hope and history rhyme.
 So hope for a great sea-change
 On the far side of revenge.
 Believe that a farther shore
 Is reachable from here.
 Believe in miracles
 And cures and healing wells.
 If there's fire on the mountain
 And lightning and storm
 And a god speaks from the sky
 That means someone is hearing
 The outcry and the birth-cry
 Of new life at its term.
 It means once in a lifetime
 That justice can rise up
 And hope and history rhyme.**

– Seamus Heaney



Playing the fool with The Greatest, Muhammad Ali, during Mandela's visit to Ireland last month. Mandela was a keen amateur fighter in his youth

GIACOMO PIOZZI / PICTURENET AFRICA



With Graça Machel, enjoying a children's party after the launch of the African Cultural Centre

JULIAN COLE



OBED ZILWA / AP

Toasting the new millennium with Thabo Mbeki on Robben Island

TIM OCKENDEN / AP



All smiles with Graça Machel on the way to meet Queen Elizabeth

GRANT LAVERSHA

**'It has been wonderful
 to see such an outstanding
 embodiment of impeccable
 integrity and truthfulness in
 public life'** — Desmond Tutu



Madiba greets a fellow guest at the opening of a school and clinic built by Vodacom in Bizana, Eastern Cape

Letsatsi la matswalo le monate Madiba

South Africa's leading cellular network.



Veels geluk met jou verjaarsdag Madiba

Suid-Afrika se Voerste Sellulêre Netwerk.



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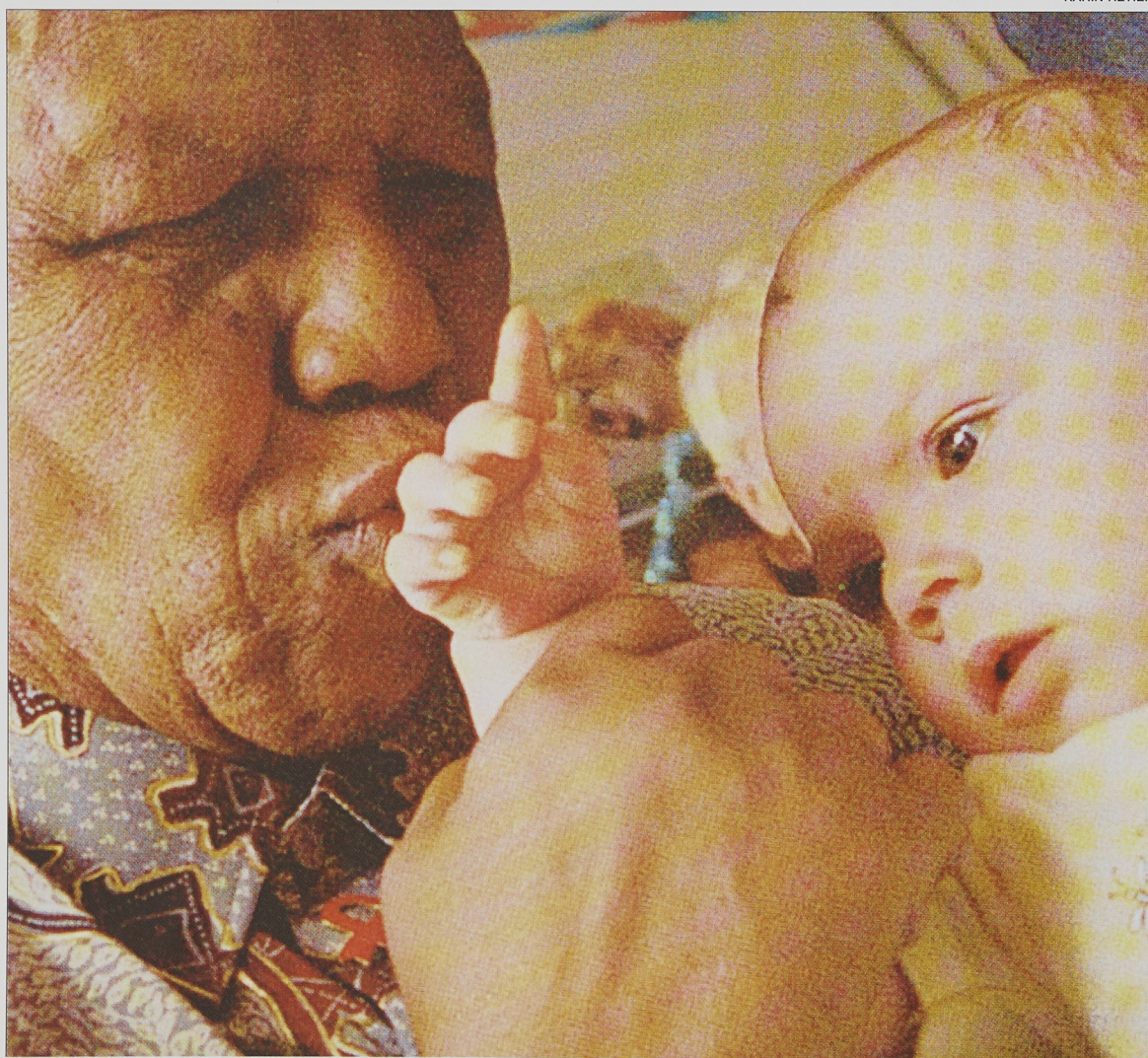
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'Politicians kiss babies to garner votes. Madiba kisses babies and children because he truly cares'

– Mamphela Ramphela, World Bank managing director



Mandela and his wife Graça, a fellow fighter for children's welfare, join kids for a jive at an event held by his Children's Fund



His face wreathed in love, Mandela meets a baby on a visit to a creche

The children in his heart

By
**GRAÇA
MACHEL**

I come from a culture in which, traditionally, children are seen as both our present and our future, so I have always believed it is our responsibility as adults to give children futures worth having.

I have often been shocked and angered to see how shamefully we have failed in this responsibility.

Children are precious gifts, which adults everywhere have a duty to protect. Political leaders make promises about the protection of children, but the important thing is that they should ful-

fil those promises ...

Nelson Mandela, without any doubt, always means what he says. As President of South Africa, he certainly meant it when he said that the wellbeing of children was a national priority.

Nelson Mandela [was committed] to caring for children, not merely by making promises, but by establishing programmes that weave children into the social fabric of a caring, responsible nation.

Subsequently, in the work of the Nelson Mandela Children's Fund, as well as in other initiatives, we have been able to see the results of this tangible care.

● *Graça Machel is Mandela's wife and head of the Global Peace Initiative, which is part of the Global Movement for Children*



'What is certain to me upon reading his speeches on culture is that here is a man who stands as a watchman, towering over his nation, a man whose gift of wisdom and human understanding is uncommon in our time'

Mandela with Bono of U2, the pop star who has used his fame to become a social activist for the developing world

Star of the stars

By
BILL
COSBY

His hopes for his own personal freedom and that of his people were deeply grounded in his religious faith and in the solidarity of international cultural communities from around the globe.

Indeed, the arts strengthened his own creative will to survive imprisonment. It is for this reason that we look upon Nelson Mandela as an icon of culture in the nascent years of the rebuilding of cultural bridges between all of the races and peoples of South Africa.

No one seems better qualified to lead the South African movement to cultural diversity and soulful regeneration than Mandela.

He has boldly noted that the creative, performing and visual arts are the most notable vehicles through which constructive cultural engagement can take place.

The rich tradition of artistry in South Africa, dating from the days of beautiful prehistoric rock paintings in the Kalahari Desert, is testimony to the longevity of the arts and the role they have played in the lives of the peoples in this part of the world over the ages.

Mandela has reminded his people that it was the arts that

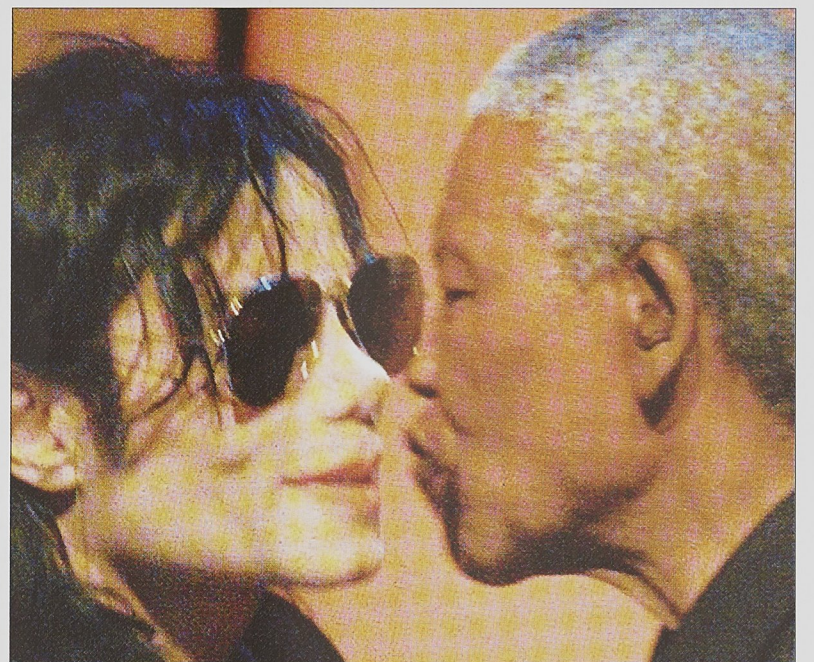
helped articulate the sufferings of his people that were heard around the globe. Wellwishers from many nations responded to the laments of the oppressed peoples of South Africa and offered their help.

Today, Nelson Mandela rightfully praises the many artists and patrons of the arts who worked tirelessly year after year to keep hope alive, often against the odds, that freedom for all of the peoples of South Africa was imminent. Mandela kept the faith and was victorious.

What is certain to me upon reading his speeches on culture is that here is a man who stands as a watchman, towering over his nation, a man whose gift of wisdom and human understanding is uncommon in our time.

My visit to South Africa in 1997 allowed me the chance to meet President Nelson Mandela, the man whose passionate spirit for freedom and justice in the world overshadowed all of the expectations I had for any one human being. I am richer for having stood in his presence.

● *Bill Cosby is a US comedian, actor, author and patron of a host of charitable, social service and civil rights initiatives*



With Michael Jackson at the Kora music awards



With US entertainer Bill Cosby in Cape Town in 1997

Siku ra ku velekiwa lerinene Madiba

South Africa's leading cellular network.



The leader who held it all together

By
**JAKES
GERWEL**

If I were pushed to offer a single word that would capture most fully the character of Nelson Mandela, it would be integrity.

His is a life in which things cohere, are dynamically integrated to wholeness and wholeness. This is not to suggest an absence of contradiction, an unchanging uniformity or unilinear progression.

The achievement of integrity resides exactly in the manner in which a diversity of experiences, modes and means are rendered morally coherent in a life that inspires through the sense of purposeful wholeness it exudes.

Some of us who worked in Nelson Mandela's personal office during his presidency, with responsibility for his public appearances, at first felt the rhetorician's reservations about his habit of repeating the same stories, anecdotes and themes from one occasion to another.

We soon came to realise that this habit in fact represented a narrative manifestation of that integrity of a life of consistent moral purpose. For him not the studied rhetorical trick of a different story for each occasion; rather, the truthful reliability of the same story.

Nelson Mandela will of course be remembered for his monumental role in holding a racially divided society together through his personal efforts at political reconciliation across racial and ethnic divides, his constant advocacy of inclusive unity, his living of a life of forgiveness and a total absence of bitterness.

The world was expecting the South African conflict to escalate into a bloody racial war; that it was averted came to be widely described as a miracle. South Africa symbolises to many people across the world the almost miraculous achievement of racial reconciliation, and Nelson Mandela is the icon representing that national achievement.

Mandela frequently points out also that the achievements for

which he receives credit would not have been possible without a broader framework of people, organisations and groups with whom he worked and by whom he was shaped and assisted.

This is characteristic humility, but also the wisdom that recognises collective leadership and action as well as the compassion that places human solidarity at the centre of his guiding set of values.

In a moving speech at the last opening of Parliament during his presidency, he located himself within these broader social networks: as belonging to that generation of leaders for whom the achievement of democracy was the defining challenge; a product of the people of South Africa, the rural masses, the workers, South Africa's intelligentsia of every colour, South Africa's business entrepreneurs; a product of the people of the world, of Africa; and in a final invocation, a product of the African National Congress, "the movement for justice, dignity and freedom that produced countless giants in whose shadow we find our glory".

These expanding circles of identification are characteristic of Mandela's world view.

While he has that unwavering and unapologetic allegiance to the ANC, he was also always very attentive to not confusing national or non-party political occasions with party events.

He more than once took severe public issue with members of the ANC for displaying symbols of the organisation at public events he organised for a wider community audience, believing that national unity did not demand uniformity of political allegiance.

My own experience with him was similar; as his Director-General and Secretary of the Cabinet of the Government of National Unity, he required of me to abstain from overt ANC activities and to remain equally accessible for the leaders of the other two parties in the government.

He saw the strength of multi-party democracy as crucial for national unity. As he continued to emphasise the importance of a vigilant and critical press, he always extolled the democratic virtues of good, strong political opposition. At times one had



Britain's Prime Minister Tony Blair and former US president Bill Clinton join hands with Mandela at the centenary of the Rhodes Trust and the establishment of the Mandela Rhodes Foundation

'The poignancy of his reconciliatory attitude towards Afrikaners could not fail to draw special attention. In a concrete sense, the Afrikaner people were his jailers'

cause to smile at the delightful clash between the deep commitment of a multi-party democrat and the instincts of the eternal party organiser – one who proclaims publicly that his first act after arrival in the next world would be to look for the nearest ANC branch office.

Mandela's approach to matters like multi-party democracy is informed by his deep-seated appreciation of difference and diversity as the constituent parts of national unity.

At one point after the attainment of democracy a discourse surfaced arguing that the concept of nation-building contained a denial of diversity and was therefore democratically flawed.

No more unequivocal refutation of those arguments can be found than in the published

thoughts and lived deeds of Nelson Mandela.

I had personal and amusing experience of the Mandela notion of diversity accommodation.

In his very polite manner, typically starting with a reaffirmation of his belief in what a good person I generally am, he more than once expressed to me his difference of opinion about the pace at which the University of the Western Cape under my leadership changed from an institution predominantly attended by coloured students to one with at least an equal number of African students.

For the inauguration of my successor, at which the President was to speak, I helped write what I thought was a delicately crafted piece that would accommodate the sensitivities of my boss and remain suitably nuanced and politically correct.

He obediently read the text up until just before the concluding "thank you", put it down, famously removed his reading spectacles and declared: "Now I wish to add personally", and proceeded to expound on the insensitivity displayed towards minorities, the University of the Western Cape being a case in point!

This concern for what he calls "the minorities" is genuine and consistently present. Even-handed as he is in his concerns for and attention to the various "minorities", the poignancy of his reconciliatory attitude towards Afrikaners could not fail to draw

special attention. In a concrete sense, the Afrikaner people were his jailers and the architects and operators of the racial state against which he struggled and at whose hands he suffered. To be so totally forgiving to members of this group and the group as a whole came to signify the quintessential morality of the man.

He genuinely believes, and acts on the belief, that human beings are essentially good-doing beings. When they err, it is a deviation, not the norm. His experience of members of the Afrikaner group – ironically, it might be said – contributed to the validation of this attitude in his view of humankind.

I recall moments of talking about some of the preposterous claims and statements apartheid leaders made in the past, he turning his gaze inwards to those hidden depths of solitude, and then remarking with pained compassion that the Afrikaners allowed themselves to be misled to incomprehensible communal craziness.

Never the condemnation of people; always the Enlightenment man who takes pity on those in conditions of backwardness, striving to facilitate progress.

● Professor Jakes Gerwel was Director-General in the Office of the President during Mandela's administration. He is chancellor of Rhodes University, chairperson of the Human Sciences Research Council and chairperson of the Nelson Mandela Foundation

The consensus man

By
ALBIE
SACHS

There is a pride that cometh not before fall, but before rising up. If ever we start to forget what seemed unforgettable, let us recapture the pride we felt as we heard the valiant words of Nelson Mandela to the huge crowd gathered on the Grand Parade in Cape Town hours after his release.

No professional speech-writers here, no carefully launched flights of verbal imagination. Straightforward prose, direct and forceful in that voice that had been silenced since his famous speech from the dock nearly 30 years before (and that we have now come to know so well and feel so affectionately towards that even schoolboys whose voices have not broken imitate it).

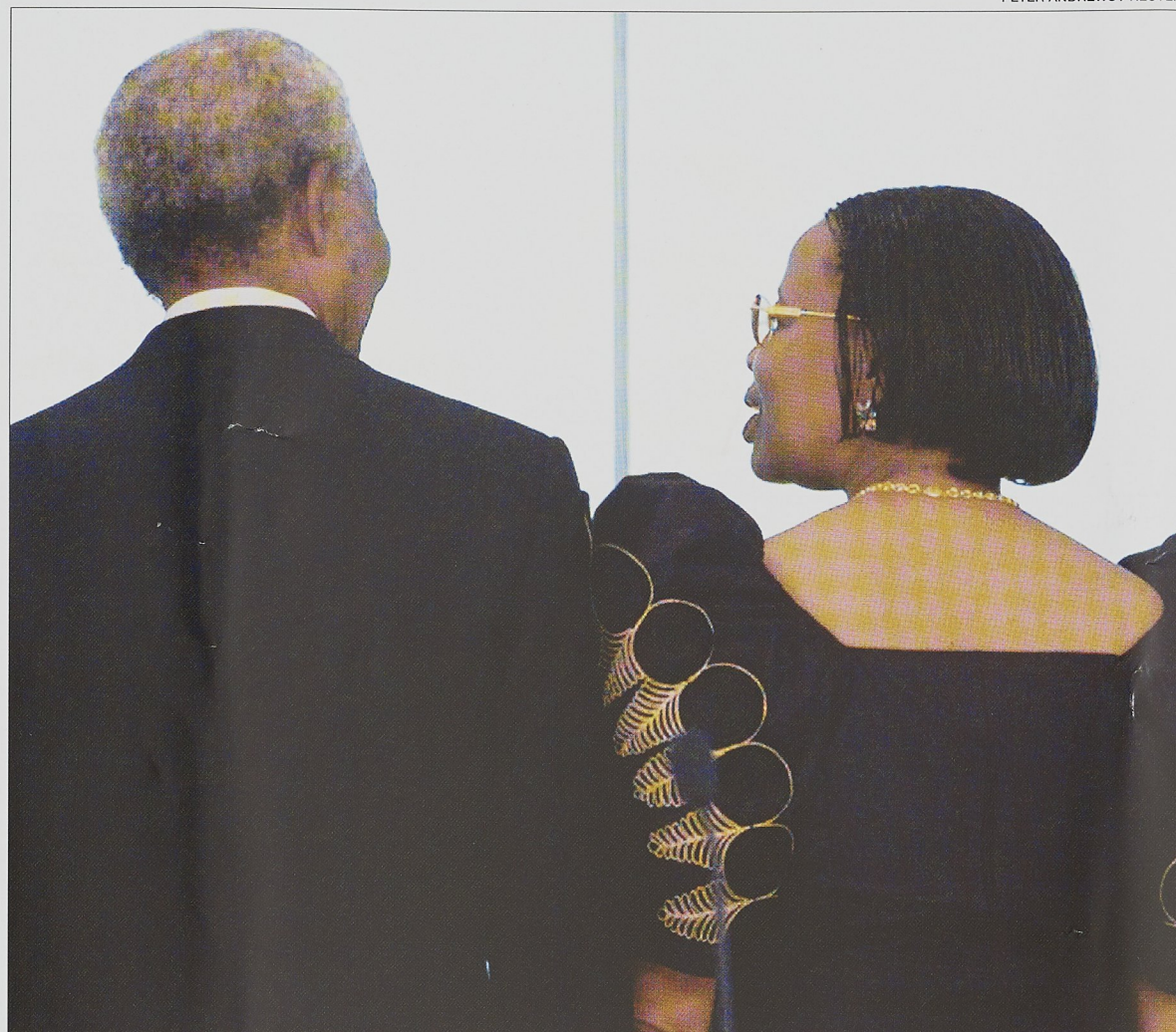
The emotion on that great occasion came not from the adjectives and the imagery of the address, but from the moment and the setting and the tears of happiness that each listener and viewer had.

History itself provided the poetry. The hard, cruel period was over. Free, free at last. The prisoners were being released, the exiles could return. Conditions for free political activity were being created.

And yet, as the run-up to the great poetic speech four years later at the inauguration of Nelson Mandela as first President of democratic South Africa showed, as soon as one long walk to freedom ended, another long walk to freedom began. We were learning that triumph in relation to the past was one thing, but triumphalism in respect of the future was another.

The apparent miracle of the negotiated revolution had not been the product of good chemistry between the leaders. On the contrary, it was the outcome of prolonged, painstaking and imaginative hard work in which consensus between different viewpoints was always sought and the innumerable details over which we fought were eventually always placed in the context of the large picture.

Madiba was strong both on the importance of free speech in arriving at a consensus and in never losing sight of the overall view. As his predecessors as president of the ANC, Chief Albert



PETER ANDREWS / REUTERS

Equality of the sexes: Mandela with Graça Machel at the inauguration of his successor, Thabo Mbeki

Luthuli and Oliver Tambo, had done, he encouraged important policy positions to emerge from open and democratic debate rather than to be imposed from above.

It was in this spirit that we embarked on the process of defining and securing the lineaments of our burgeoning freedom. We invited broadly based groups of legal people, political scientists and grassroots representatives to hold workshops on key areas, and then threw open all major proposals to debate.

While Madiba often had his own point of view, he saw his role as leader as being that of holding the ring while hard issues were being freely debated. There was no question of declaring his own positions and then demanding adherence to them as a test of loyalty.

In fact there was one matter over which he had strong personal feelings, and where I was appointed to argue that he was plainly wrong, not once but three times. It related to the voting age. Madiba insisted that it be as low as 15 or 16, pointing to the special role that the youth had played in resisting apartheid.

The constitutional committee of which I was a member felt that we should go for 18, the age with the greatest international accep-

'Perhaps because he staffed his office with women who were strong and not the silent type, sexist expressions vanished from his speech'

tance. At the meeting where the final decision had to be taken Madiba insisted on his position, while I contended for ours.

One by one people spoke tactfully but firmly in favour of 18. A vote was not necessary. Stung and unhappy, Madiba conceded the point, declaring that the future would show that he had been right.

Yet for all that he had been unpersuaded by the argument, and despite his pride having manifestly been wounded, not once thereafter during our many encounters did I ever feel that his defeat on the question of the voting age rankled with him.

On the contrary, he made it clear with his warm body language and sly humour that our duty was always to speak the truth, to listen to others and to debate difficult issues honestly.

And on the subject of the voting age, history in fact has spoken, through the voice of Madiba himself: he said recently that he had been wrong in his position, and that presidents should not balk at changing their minds!

The swearing in of Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela as both head of government and head of state was a gloriously giddy moment for the nation and the world.

Without warfare and through the negotiated processes of democracy, Nelson Mandela was taking the oath to uphold our new and admired Constitution. Calmer and far more lyrical than the speech after his release, and giving measured expression to measureless happiness, his carefully selected and cadenced words announced the arrival of two profound commitments that were to dominate his speeches thereafter.

The first was: never again. Never again should anyone, whoever they were, and whoever their ancestors had been, be treated with disrespect for their fundamental rights and disregard for their humanity.

It was central to the vision of

those facilitating the emergence of a new society, and was constitutionally guaranteed by a strong Bill of Rights to be guarded by the Constitutional Court and the Commissions for Human Rights and Gender Equality. It was also the basis on which the remarkable Truth and Reconciliation Commission was set up.

Perhaps the most strikingly advanced feature of the Bill of Rights, as far as human dignity and freedom were concerned, was the way in which it placed non-sexism on a par with nonracialism as a foundational feature of the Constitution.

How would Madiba conduct himself in this intensely complicated area of public and private life? Some declared that he was a natural patriarch, others a natural democrat, yet others that he was both. All agreed that what had traditionally been regarded as the manly virtues, such as courage and honour, played a strong role in his world view.

Thus, in rejecting proposals during the early days of negotiations from the then government, he would say with distinctive patrician forcefulness: "No man worth his salt would accept these terms."

Yet this phase did not last long. Perhaps because he staffed his office with women who were strong and not the silent type, and who, he said with characteristic playfulness, controlled him more rigidly and effectively than the guards had ever done, sexist expressions vanished from his speech.

And the manifest sense of equal companionship between himself and the eminently independent Graça Machel today shows that the values of non-sexism have been internalised, even if a patriarchal impulse pops out from time to time.

One of Mandela's great accomplishments during the years of his Presidency was to link up the ordinary details of life with the great events of our history, and to do so with a light and intensely human touch.

He has freed us from the rancour and the corrosive and belittling sarcasm of political life. The Madiba smile and the Madiba jive have brought a sense of achievement and satisfaction to all of us, enabling us to enjoy his sense of enjoyment, and to share in his pleasure of living as a free person in a free country.

● Albie Sachs is a judge of the Constitutional Court

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KIM LUBROOK / THE STAR



Archbishop Desmond Tutu and his wife, Leah, with Mandela and Graça Machel after an evening spent together

The true spirit of tolerance

By
ARCHBISHOP
TUTU

Madiba's own passion for equality and democracy as well as the enjoyment of inalienable rights for all must to a very considerable extent have been lit by the biblical teaching of the infinite worth of everyone because of being created in the image of God.

It had nothing to do with extrinsic attributes or circumstances such as ethnicity, skin colour or social standing. It was a universal phenomenon, and this dignity, freedom and equality of all were things which he was wanting to fight and live for, but if necessary, he would be prepared to die for. His opposition to injustice, racism and oppression were thus not just political and ideological but in a very real sense deeply religious as well.

The obverse to this was a passion for freedom, nonracialism and righteousness which would come to be enshrined in our magnificent Constitution that ensures that that legacy will live forever.

He was tempered in the fire of adversity. All that he endured in the times when he was the elusive Black Pimpernel with hardly a family life to speak of, and the 27 years of incarceration, were important in the making of the man.

It gave him a new depth, helped him to be more understanding of the foibles of others, to be more generous, more tolerant, more magnanimous and it gave him an unassailable credibility and integrity and



Tutu and Mandela during prayers at an anti-Aids event

'The former terrorist could have those who used to think of him as Public Enemy No 1 eating out of his hand'

so he could be as he was when he emerged from prison, willing to extend a hand of friendship to his former adversaries and be generous when they were vanquished.

He lived out the understanding that an enemy is a friend waiting to be made, and so could have his white former jailer attend his Presidential inauguration as a VIP guest; and have Dr Percy Yutar, who was the prosecutor in the Rivonia Trial when he was sentenced to life imprisonment, the Dr Yutar who had wanted the death sentence, come to lunch with him at the Presidency; and could visit the widow

of Dr Verwoerd, the high priest and architect of apartheid, for tea when she was not able to come to the Presidency.

The former terrorist could have those who used to think of him as Public Enemy No 1 eating out of his hand.

He awed everyone as a spectacular embodiment of magnanimity and forgiveness and he saved our land from the bloodbath that most had predicted would be our lot in resolving the problem of apartheid's vicious oppression of the vast majority of our motherland's population. Suffering can embitter, but it can also

ennoble, and God blessed us richly when the latter happened in Madiba's case.

He grew in moral stature as he grew in attributes of tolerance. He could try to see the other person's point of view and thus would be so ready to make concessions and to be on the lookout for the compromise that could often help to pull the chestnuts out of the fire.

He has been scrupulous to ensure that he demonstrated a profound respect for all the faiths to be found in our country. After he was elected by Parliament as our first democratically elected President on 9 May 1994, on that Friday he went to a mosque and on the following day attended a synagogue and on the Sunday attended a large inter-denominational service at the FNB Stadium in Soweto.

At his inauguration on 10 May prayers were offered by Muslim, Jewish, Hindu and Christian ministers.

This spirit of tolerance is now enshrined in the custom that Parliament starts each day with a period of quiet to allow each person to use as is consistent with his or her faith or lack of it. It replaces the way things were done in the old, all-white Parliament when Christian prayers were the order of the day despite the fact that a few members were Jewish.

The respect for the things others hold dear is a precious part of the legacy that this great man leaves us and is a tremendous contribution to the kind of future we want to see, particularly at a time when religious fundamentalism of all kinds threatens to destroy global peace.

● Archbishop Desmond Tutu served as chairperson of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission