# NELSON MANDELA

## IN HIS OWN WORDS

From Freedom to the Future

Tributes and speeches

Edited by

Kader Asmal

David Chidester

Wilmot James



## **CONTENTS**

Acknow	led	gements	xi
/ ICKI IOVV	Cu	gemena	~;

Foreword, by Kofi A Annan xiii

Foreword, by William J Clinton xv

Introduction, by Kader Asmal, David Chidester and Wilmot James xvii

Nelson Mandela: A Life, by Adrian Hadland xxix

Prometheus Unbound, by Fintan O'Toole xxxix

## 1. STRUGGLE 1

A Spirit of Liberation, by Wilmot James 3

Full Democratic Rights 11
No Easy Walk to Freedom 15
Posterity Will Prove that I was Innocent 18
I am Prepared to Die 27
We Shall Crush Apartheid 43
I Will Return 46

#### 2. FREEDOM 49

Freedom in Our Lifetime, by Albie Sachs 51

Release from Prison 59
Election as President 63
Before Inauguration as President 65
Inauguration as President 68

Freedom Day 1995 71
Freedom Day 1996 75
Freedom Day 1997 80
Freedom Day 1998 84
Freedom Day 1999 88

### 3. RECONCILIATION 93

## Negotiating Reconciliation, by F Van Zyl Slabbert 95

A New Era of Hope 101
Negotiations 104
Negotiations and Armed Struggle 106
Codesa 108
ANC and the National Party 114
ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party 116
Patriotic Front 120
Transition 124
Multi-Party Negotiations 128
Commissioning the TRC 130
Receiving the Report of the TRC 133
Reconciliation Day 137

#### 4. NATION BUILDING 139

Integrity and Integration, by G J Gerwel 141

South Africans, Africans, and Citizens of the World 148
Serious Work 152
Healing and Building 155
New Patriotism 159
Building Together 163
Building the Country of Our Dreams 167
The Long Walk Continues 172

## 5. DEVELOPMENT 177

Rising Together, by Cyril Ramaphosa 179

Masakhane 186
Joining Hands 188
Turning the Tide of Poverty 192
Social Development 195
Homes for the Homeless 198
The World in Soweto 201
Rural Anti-Poverty Programme 203

A Road for Development 207
Business 209
Labour 212
Business and Labour 217
Conservation 220
Oceans 222
Planet and Humanity 225

#### 6. EDUCATION 229

## Opening the Doors of Learning, by Mamphela Ramphele 231

Education Crisis 237
Spirit of 16 June 239
Youth Day 242
Joint Education Trust 244
Presidential School Project 246
National Campaign for Learning and Teaching 248
Education Awards 251
The Rock of Our Future 253
Leaders of Tomorrow 255
Universities 257
Fort Hare 260
University Transformation 263
African and Afrikaans 266
Education for a Winning Nation 270
Custodians of Tradition, Agents of Renewal 272

#### 7. CULTURE 275

Homecoming, by Miriam Makeba 277
Arts of Understanding, by Bill Cosby 282

The Efficacy of Culture 288
Our Music, Dance, and Poetry 291
One City, Many Cultures 293
The Heritage of Robben Island 295
The 1820 Settlers Monument 299
Sporting Excellence 301
Africa's Champions 304
Free Press 306

## 8. RELIGION 311

## Religious Freedom, by Desmond Tutu 313

Religious Diversity 319
Religious Heritage 323
Methodist Christians 325
Ethiopian Christians 329
Zionist Christians 331
Muslim Peace 336
Muslim Renewal 337
Hindu Light 340
Mahatma Gandhi 344
Jewish Tradition and Justice 347
World Religions 354

#### 9. HEALTH 361

Health for All, by Olive Shisana 363

Health and Human Rights 372
Public Health 375
Community Health 376
A Clinic for Nobody 379
For the Health of All 382
Kick Polio Out of Africa 384
The Gift of Hearing 386
Aids: For Whom the Bell Tolls 388
Aids: A Task for Us All 392
Aids: Shared Rights, Shared Responsibilities 394
Aids: A New Struggle 396
Aids: Breaking the Silence 399

Aids: Breaking the Silence 399
Aids: From Rhetoric to Action 402
Aids: Confronting the Crisis 406

## 10. CHILDREN 409

Tangible Care, by Graça Machel 411

A Fabric of Care 416
International Children's Day 419
A Society's Soul 421
The Quest for a Better Future 424
A New Alliance 426
Consensus for Children 428

SOS Children's Village 431

Programme of Action for Children 433

Global Partnership for Children 436

### 11 HFROFS 441

## A Self-Effacing Hero, by Ahmed Kathrada 443

Steve Biko 451
Ruth First 455
Bram Fischer 458
Chris Hani (1) 469
Chris Hani (2) 471
Helen Joseph 473
Trevor Huddleston 477
Walter Sisulu 480
Joe Slovo 483
Oliver Tambo 489
Desmond Tutu 493

## 12. PEACE 497

Promoting Peace and Practising Diplomacy, by James A. Joseph 499

Nobel Peace Prize 507
United Nations 1993 511
United Nations 1994 517
United Nations 1995 524
United Nations 1998 526
African Unity 533
African Peace 539
Solidarity of Peace-Loving Nations 543

## CONTRIBUTORS 547

INDEX 549