

Raymond Mhlaba

Deputy President Zuma to launch Oom Ray's memoirs [10 April 2001](#)

Deputy President, Jacob Zuma is scheduled to be the guest of honour at the launching of Raymond Mhlaba's memoirs at 8 a.m. on 12 April 2001 at the Sheraton Hotel. South Africa is privileged to receive such a remarkable and informative record of his life, and Raymond Mhlaba's Memoirs will indeed contribute to the current programme of rewriting South Africa's history.

Published by the Human Sciences Research Council, and the Robben Island Museum, this important book is a product of both research, and narration by Raymond Mhlaba to Thembeke Mafumadi, a researcher of the HSRC, who was also seconded to the Nelson Mandela Foundation. Raymond Mhlaba tells his remarkable life story with frankness. Now serving as Ambassador to Rwanda and Burundi, Raymond Mhlaba was the first premier of the Eastern Cape Province. Prior to that he, as a Rivonia treason trialist, had spent over 20 years in prison with Mandela.

Raymond Mhlaba's Memoirs have already received wide reviews. In his foreword Nelson Mandela says:

"Raymond Mhlaba is one of the most committed comrades I had the honour to know and work with in the many years of the liberation struggle. What marks him above all in my memory is the absolute honesty and integrity of the man. It is right and fitting that such a hero and veteran of our struggle should leave posterity with a record in his own words of his life and experiences. This story is told with the same honesty, simplicity and lack of self-aggrandisement that have always characterised Raymond Mhlaba. I commend this book very strongly for the voice it gives to one of the great heroes of our struggle".

Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela, former President of South Africa

At the start-up for [RADIOTOPIA](#), Kunstradio will bring an interview of Johannesburg based artist, writer and curator [Thomas Mulcaire](#) with the South-African artist [Ashwell Adriaan](#) as well as a live radio version of Adriaan's project "Cell Stories", an archive which he produced with Thembinkosi Sithole, Grant Shezi and Muntu Nxumalo for the Robben Island Museum in the former Section A of the Robben Island maximum security prison.

"Cell Stories" takes the form of songs and spoken narratives by 120 political prisoners who were imprisoned on Robben Island maximum security prison between 1963 and 1991. The archive represents an attempt to map out the divergent and increasingly radicalised ideological positions within what is often taken to be a homogenous narrative of resistance. The dominant history of the island is thus expounded in often mythologised variations on the theme of a unified resistance to apartheid amongst the political prisoners on the island, often centred around leaders of the armed wing of the ANC, uMkhonto we Sizwe, who were imprisoned after the Rivonia treason trial in 1964 ([Walter Sisulu](#), [Govan Mbeki](#), [Ahmed Kathrada](#), [Nelson Mandela](#), [Dennis Goldberg](#), [Andrew Mlangeni](#), [Elias Motswaledi](#) and [Raymond Mhlaba](#)).

This has had the effect of suppressing other, often more militant, revolutionary positions amongst younger activists who were arrested and imprisoned on the island during the 70s and 80s, particularly after the rise of the Black Consciousness Movement in the early 70s and the intensification of the armed struggle following the brutal suppression of the 1976 student uprising in Soweto and the rest of the country.

The archive is installed on Robben Island in an area of the prison known as A-section. The prison cells have been conceived of as a multi-media memory space, which connects personal objects on loan to the museum, with prisoner's oral histories.

"Cell Stories" is also joined to a working oral history archive, based in the former library, enabling visitors to engage in the exhibition at different levels of complexity. The objective of the project was to extend the prison museum experience by giving voice to ex-island prisoners. It was during the recording of the narratives that the idea to incorporate prisoners was developed. Some songs stretched over a period of 30 years, sung in the 60s and in the 80s, often by different generations of prisoners. Similarly, the objects on display were created or used by prisoners or groups of prisoners over the 30 year history of the prison.

The Ahmed Kathrada Collection

Michigan State University

Ahmed M. Kathrada is a veteran of the South African liberation struggle, one of the famous Rivonia trialists and a long-serving political prisoner on Robben Island and at Pollsmoor Maximum Prison. Kathrada was born of Indian immigrant parents on August 21, 1929, in Schweizer-Reneke in the then Western Transvaal. He became a political activist while still a teenager when he got involved in the activities of the Communist Party and the Transvaal Indian (Youth) Congress. In the 1950s, he participated in many campaigns of the Congress Alliance alongside ANC-leaders like Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu. He was one of the accused in the Treason Trial (1956 - 1961) against 156 leaders and activists of the liberation movement. After the banning of the ANC and other organizations in 1960, he continued his political activities in spite of detentions and increasingly more severe house arrest measures against him. He went underground in early 1963. In July of that year, he was arrested at the internal headquarters of Umkhonto we Sizwe at Rivonia. Although not a member of the military wing of the ANC himself, In October 1963 he became one of the accused in the Rivonia Trial, charged with sabotage and attempting to overthrow the state by violent means. At the end of the trial in June 1964, Kathrada together with Mandela, Sisulu, Mbeki, Mlangeni, Motsoaledi, Mhlaba and Goldberg, was sentenced to life imprisonment. He spent the next 18 year with his colleagues in the isolation section of the Maximum Security prison at Robben Island. In October 1982 he was moved to Pollsmoor Maximum Prison in Cape Town to join Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Raymond Mhlaba, and Andrew Mlangeni who had been moved there a few months before. **With the exception of Mandela, the Rivonia Trialists were finally released in October 1989.** While in jail at Robben Island and in Pollsmoor, Kathrada completed BA degree in Arts and Bibliography, as well as an Honors degree in History and African Politics. Following the unbannings of February 1990, Kathrada served in the ANC National Interim Leadership Committee and the Interim Leadership Group of the SACP. He gave up the latter position when he was elected onto the ANC National Executive Committee at its conference in July 1991. In 1994 Kathrada was elected as a National Assembly member for the ANC and in September 1994 he was appointed political advisor to President Mandela in the newly created post of Parliamentary Counselor.

The Ahmed M. Kathrada Collection consists of microform copies of his prison correspondence, personal notebooks and documents from his prison years, and the Pollsmoor Prison Library list. There is also a printed catalog available for the collection to assist the researcher. It is perhaps the most extensive personal collection of prison papers available for the apartheid years.

The largest part of the collection is Kathrada's prison correspondence, which dates from 1964 - 1989. In his 25 years in prison, Kathrada wrote some 950 letters and sent a large number of cards to family members and friends. He received some 850 letters and several hundred postcards. Most of these letters date from the 1970s and 1980s since in the early years at Robben Island the number of letters he was allowed to send or receive was extremely limited (only two a year in 1964 - 65 and four in 1966 - 67!). The collection contains more than 90% of his prison letters for the period of 1964 - 1974. A fairly large number of Kathrada's outgoing letters (i.e. the carbon copies he made) are missing as they were confiscated by the prison authorities at Robben Island and never returned to him.

Interference with prisoners' correspondence by the prison censors was a frequent and highly irritating feature of prison life, especially during the 1960s and 1970s at Robben Island. The prison letters of Kathrada show many examples of this censorship: incoming letters mutilated by scratching or even cutting out passages which were deemed "undesirable" or outgoing letters which had to be rewritten (sometimes more than once) for similar reasons. The letters that survived mostly deal with family and personal matters, general issues of a non-political nature, his studies, life in prison (although restricted), recollections from the years before 1964, etc. Kathrada and other political prisoners were not allowed to write to known political activists and censorship focused explicitly on political issues and information about the living conditions in jail, including the situation of his fellow prisoners. Yet the letters provide fascinating information on all these subjects; they especially give a rich and detailed picture of the person Ahmed Kathrada -- as a leading political prisoner of South Africa's main liberation movement, but above all as a thoughtful, caring, and compassionate human being, deeply committed to the universal struggle against racism and injustice.

The Ahmed M. Kathrada Collection is a gift from Mr. Kathrada. The original materials are held by the Mayibuye Centre for History and Culture at the University of Western Cape, which provided the microform copies, the printed catalog, and the preceding text.

The Ahmed Kathrada Collection

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Dennis Goldberg

Esme's House

Esme and Dennis Goldberg lived in Cape Town in South Africa. In 1963, Dennis was arrested in 1963 along with Nelson Mandela for his support of the African National Congress, and given 3 life sentences. After 22 years, Dennis was finally released...

After the arrest of her husband, and in response to police raids and constant harrassment, Esme Goldberg left Africa with her two young children David and Hilary. They settled in Britain, in London, where Esme began taking in house guests. Over the years, the reputation of her hospitality grew and young travellers, particularly those from South Africa sought her out when looking for somewhere to stay in London. By the time her husband was released from prison, hundreds of people had stayed at the house in East Finchley....

LIVING HISTORY

The last meeting at Liliesleaf Farm

Lucille Davie

2 April 2002



It was to be the last meeting at the secret headquarters of the banned African National Congress. The leadership had been worried for some time that police had learned of their hideout on a smallholding in Rivonia, 20 kilometres north of Johannesburg.

In the afternoon of 11 July, 1963, a dry-cleaning van drove up to the door. No-one had ordered dry cleaning. Armed policemen burst out . . . and from that moment, the word 'Rivonia' became synonymous around the world with the silencing of black resistance in South Africa.

The headquarters were on a smallholding called Liliesleaf Farm. The key leaders of the armed wing of the banned ANC, including Nelson Mandela himself, had operated from its outhouses for two years. In those days, Rivonia consisted of a rural patchwork of smallholdings, riding schools and farms, with few tarred roads. Today, it has been engulfed by the northern expansion of Johannesburg, to become one of the city's most luxurious suburbs, with property prices in the million rand region.

The Liliesleaf building still stands today, just one more bungalow-style house in a quiet side street, but the grounds have been sub-divided and sold off. Now there are plans to set up a Liliesleaf Trust, restore the area, and perhaps even turn it into a conference retreat for international negotiations, on the lines of the US retreat Camp David.

The outbuildings that belonged to the farm are now part of adjacent properties but these will be purchased in the coming months so as to restore the farm as it looked when the ANC bought it in 1961 for use as an underground base for the newly-formed Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), the armed wing of the ANC.

Nelson Mandela moved into the house in October 1961, while evading security police. He masqueraded as the gardener and cook, under the alias of David Motsamayi.

In December 1961, artist and designer Arthur Goldreich and his family moved in as the "legitimate" white owners of the house and as a cover for the covert MK operations. Goldreich was unknown to the security police, but he was one of the first members of MK. While Goldreich lived in the main house, the other ANC members lived in the outbuildings, to allay suspicions concerning blacks living in the "white" house.

The ANC operated from Liliesleaf Farm for two years before the security police found out about the location from police agent Gerard Ludi, who had infiltrated ANC structures.

Nelson Mandela describes the swoop on Liliesleaf in his autobiography *Long Walk to Freedom*: "On the afternoon of 11 July [1963], a dry cleaner's van entered the long driveway of the farm. No one at Liliesleaf had ordered a delivery. The vehicle was stopped by a young African guard, but he was overwhelmed when dozens of armed policemen and several police dogs sprang from the vehicle. In the [the thatched cottage] they found a dozen men around a table discussing a document."

That document turned out to be the plan and outline of Operation Mayibuye, the MK plan for guerrilla warfare in South Africa. The men in the room included Goldreich, Raymond Mhlaba, Lionel Bernstein, Walter Sisulu, Bob Hepple, Andrew Mlangeni, Ahmed Kathrada and Dennis Goldberg. **Mandela himself was absent - he was serving a five-year sentence on Robben Island for inciting workers to strike, and for leaving the country without a passport.**

Mandela says in his book: "In one fell swoop, the police had captured the entire High Command of Umkhonto we Sizwe."

It is significant that for a "terrorist" group planning sabotage, not one weapon or bomb was found on the property.

Mandela was brought up to Pretoria from the Island, having served nine months of his five-year sentence, and together with the other top MK members, was charged with sabotage, a crime carrying the death sentence. Says Mandela: "From that moment on we lived in the shadow of the gallows."

On 12 June 1964 sentence was handed down by Judge de Wet: "I have decided not to impose the supreme penalty which in a case like this would usually be the proper penalty for the crime, but consistent with my duty that is the only leniency which I can show. The sentence in the case of all the accused will be one of life imprisonment."

Seven men were taken to Robben Island - Sisulu, Mhlaba, Govan Mbeki, Kathrada, Elias Motsoaledi, Mlangeni and Mandela. Bernstein, although he helped draft the MK constitution, was found not guilty and discharged. **Goldberg was the only white sentenced to life imprisonment, for which he was sent to Pretoria Central Prison. Most of the men served between 22 and 27 years in prison, Mandela being the last one released in February 1990.**

The farm today

Rivonia is very different these days, thanks to Johannesburg's residential march northwards. So much so that when Mandela tried to find Liliesleaf Farm eighteen months after his release from prison in February 1990, accompanied by journalist Allister Sparks, he spent some time searching the suburb before finding the farmhouse - and surprised the present owners, Veda and Helmut Schneider. When the Schneiders bought the house in 1989, they were unaware of its historic value. But several weeks after they moved in, the Sunday Times published a picture of the house, with a caption reading: "Mystery buyer snaps up plotters' hide-out".

"This was the first time we got to know about what we had bought," says Veda Schneider. Over the next several years overseas visitors knocked on their door and asked to look around the house. Then more local people came to look, as did the Sandton Historical Society, conducting an informal tour of the house, says Schneider.

"By 2000 we had started to talk seriously about turning the house into a guest house, and when the house next door became available for rent, we thought the time was right," says Schneider. The couple moved next door and started renovating the farm house.

A year later, in February 2001, Liliesleaf opened as a three-suite luxury guest house and conference centre. It has become a most attractive place: gleaming parquet floors in the entrance foyer welcome the visitor. Carefully selected furniture, pictures and mirrors, with converted gas fireplaces, make up the public rooms.

It has just recently received its five-star rating, and with a staff of 10, hosts up to three conferences a week.

In December 2001, a reunion of the Rivonia trialists was held, to celebrate the 40th anniversary of the formation of MK. Some 150 guests were invited, along with President Thabo Mbeki. Mhlaba, Goldberg, Mlangeni, Bernstein and Goldreich were present; Mandela and Kathrada couldn't attend; Sisulu was in hospital; **Govan Mbeki and Motsoaledi had died.**

At this function it was announced that the Liliesleaf Trust had been formed. The object of the Trust is to return the house and the outbuildings where the trialists lived, to their original state, and create a museum to record this history.

Three surrounding properties will be purchased, and a hotel and conference centre will be erected, overlooking the original house. "It will be a case of deconstruct and reconstruct," says Nicholas Wolpe, administrator and co-ordinator of the Liliesleaf Trust. The plotters' confiscated printing press and radio transmitter will be returned to the house.

But it won't simply be a matter of restoring the physical items to their original place, it has a deeper significance, says Wolpe. "We want to capture the symbolic importance of the leadership that gathered at Liliesleaf. It was the best group of leaders this country has ever seen. We want to create an awareness and understanding of what the struggle was about."

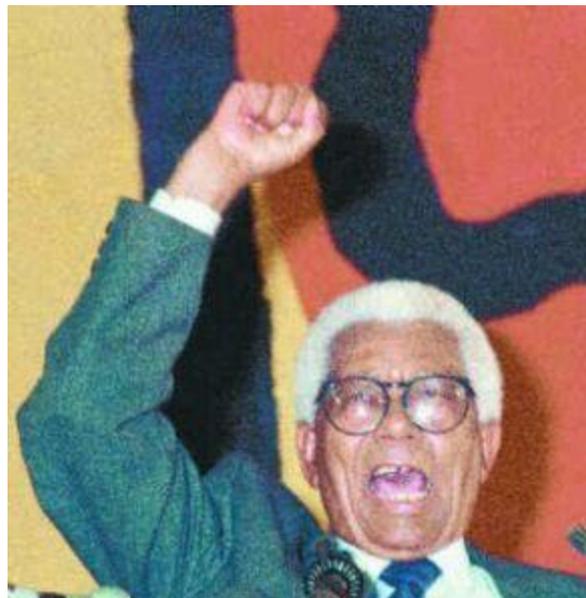
Wolpe says it will take around R50-million to achieve the vision. Consultants have already been commissioned to assist in getting a roadshow together, to start fundraising for this project. It is expected that the restored Liliesleaf Farm will only be operational in two years' time.

When asked how she felt about leaving the house and all that has been built up, Schneider says: "The idea was always to have a trust - it's the right way for it to go. There will be sadness at giving up the guest house, but I am glad we had a part to play. I am delighted the Trust has been established."

The Trust has a broad vision for the Farm. Says Wolpe: "America has Camp David. England has Checkers. Now South Africa will have a similar retreat, where government, institutions and the private sector can gather in historic surroundings."

Walter Max Ulyate Sisulu, 1912-2003.

RAYMOND PRESTON/AP



Walter Sisulu gives a 'black power salute' at a meeting in Johannesburg on December 8, 1989.

THE death of Walter Sisulu, the steely revolutionary leader who was affectionately called Tata (grandfather) by all who knew him in his later years, brings to an end yet another heroic life of uncompromising resistance to colonialism, racism and apartheid in South Africa. He died at his home in Johannesburg, on April 5. He leaves his wife Albertina, his comrade and companion in his personal and political life for almost 60 years (they were married in July 1944), three sons, two daughters and several grandchildren and great grandchildren.

In his reaction to Sisulu's death, former South African President Nelson Mandela said that he felt as if a part of him had died. In his speech at a function organised by the African National Congress (ANC) to celebrate Walter Sisulu's 90th birthday in 2002, Mandela had this to say about his closest living comrade and friend, a giant and cornerstone of the movement: "Walter Sisulu has lived through and witnessed the major events of the last century that shaped South Africa. What is more important is that he was a major participant in decisively shaping and making that history."

WALTER MAX ULYATE SISULU was born in the village of Qutubeni in the Ngcobo area of the Transkei, Cape Province, on May 12, 1912, the same year in which the ANC was founded. His mother, Alice Sisulu, was a black domestic worker and his father, Albert Victor Dickinson, was a white government employee working in the area. According to a recent biographical study of Sisulu and his wife (*Walter & Albertina Sisulu: In Our Lifetime*, David Philip, Cape Town, 2002) by Elinor Sisulu, their daughter-in-law and a scholar in her own right, the relationship between Alice and Victor, not common but also not unusual in their milieu, was acknowledged on both sides; and the couple had another child, a daughter called Rosalind, four years later. Their mother and an uncle brought up both the children.

Like so many other young men of his background, Walter left school and his village for Johannesburg at the age of 15 and worked at various jobs, including in the goldmines. He was entirely self-educated and educated in the university of life. Active in the trade union movement of the black workers, he joined the ANC in 1940 and occupied leading positions in the organisation until he was arrested and sentenced to life imprisonment in 1964. He was elected as the first full time secretary general of the ANC in 1949 and held that position until 1954; consequent upon his being 'banned', he had to resign that year. He took a leading role in the Defiance Campaign - a movement of civil disobedience against the pass laws, Group Areas Act, Suppression of Communism Act and several other similar anti-democratic laws - launched on June 26, 1952 by the ANC, the Transvaal Indian Congress and the Natal Indian Congress. One of his close colleagues in this campaign was Nana Sita, the well-known leader of the Transvaal Indian Congress.

As secretary general of the ANC, Walter Sisulu visited China, the Soviet Union and Europe in 1953. On his return, he was arrested and later 'banned' under the Suppression of Communism Act, an ordeal he had undergone earlier. The 'banning' of persons was a uniquely vicious and constricting provision of the apartheid regime; a 'banned' person became for all practical purposes an 'unperson' who was forbidden, and with whom was forbidden, all contacts and who often could not even hold a job. During the state of emergency in 1960, soon after the banning of the ANC in April 1960, he was detained without trial - the first of the several times he was so detained.

He was among the 156 persons brought to trial on treason charges in December 1956, following the adoption of the Freedom Charter by the Congress of the People on June 26, 1955. All the accused in what came to be known as Treason Trial were discharged.

'House-arrested' in 1962, he was convicted in March 1963 of furthering the aims of the banned ANC and organising the May 1961 'Stay To Home' strike, and sentenced to six years imprisonment. Released on bail, but kept under 24-hour house arrest (another unique method of oppression devised by the apartheid regime), pending the disposal of his appeal against the sentence, he forfeited the bail of 6,000 rands and disappeared from his home on April 20, 1963. While underground, he made a defiant broadcast on ANC's Radio Freedom on the occasion of Freedom Day on June 26, 1963, vowing that the Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC's armed wing, would continue its attacks.

He was arrested, with several of his colleagues, on July 11, 1963 from the farmhouse in Rivonia, the headquarters of the Umkhonto we Sizwe and Radio Freedom. Brought to trial on sabotage charges in July 1963, he was sentenced to life imprisonment, along with seven other defendants - Mandela, Govan Mbeki, Denis Goldberg, Ahmed Kathrada, Raymond Mahlaba, Andrew Mlangeni and Elias Motsolaedi - in the famous Rivonia Trial in June 1964.

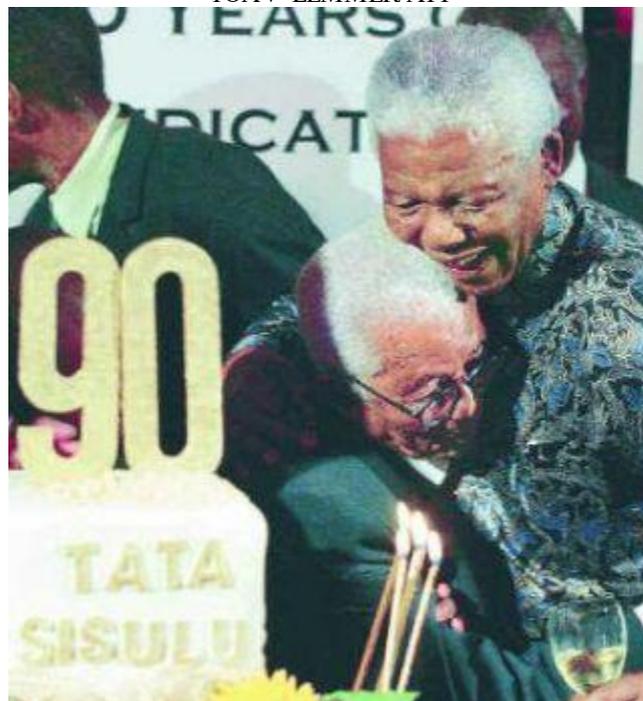
The regime thought that with these arrests, all resistance would melt away. But the resistance continued, from within the country, outside the country and even in prisons. It was this militant resistance, as much as the international sanctions, that persuaded the regime to seek a negotiated settlement. The release, in instalments, of some leading political prisoners was part of this process. **Dennis Goldberg was released in**

1988, after undertaking to leave the country; and Govan Mbeki was released in November 1987, on the grounds of ill health, only to be confined to house arrest in Port Elizabeth soon thereafter. Walter Sisulu, with four other colleagues, was released in October 1989, when the transition process was well on its way, though the apartheid regime still hoped to set the agenda and manipulate the transition process with a view to ensuring its survival. **The culmination of this process was the release of Nelson Mandela on February 10, 1990.** Hence the process of transition to democracy, despite several serious problems created by the regime and its stooges, became irreversible.

Walter Sisulu was elected deputy president of the ANC in Durban in July 1991, at its first national conference within the country in 30 years. He did not contest South Africa's first democratic elections in April 1994 and ceased to hold any formal position even in the ANC after the Bloemfontein national conference of the party in December 1994. For much of the first term of the democratic government, he attended the ANC office regularly, occupying a room next to Nelson Mandela's in Shell House, the ANC headquarters in Johannesburg. He was also a regular presence at the formal opening of Parliament every year on the first Friday of February, occupying a seat in the visitor's gallery, infinitely courteous and affectionate to the numerous persons who greeted him.

Among the several honours he received were the Isitwalandwe Separankoe, the ANC's highest award, on January 8, 1992, the 80th anniversary of the founding of the ANC, and the Padma Vibhushan from the Government of India.

YOAV LEMMER/AFP



With former South African President Nelson Mandela, at his 90th birthday celebrations in Johannesburg.

THREE leaders of the South African revolution, Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Oliver Tambo, along with Govan Mbeki, slightly older than the rest, constituted a

unique leadership, with each of them being really the first among equals. One can understand Mandela's sense of loss, for he is now the only one left of this generation of the ANC leadership.

For all his avuncular appearance and manner during his later years, Walter Sisulu was truly steely and uncompromising in his revolutionary will, in his ability to argue a point and refrain from making polite compromises on questions of principle. Two of such instances will suffice to prove this point. Once, during his interrogation in the Rivonia Trial by the prosecuting counsel, the hectoring and highly educated Percy Yutar, he was able to hold his own, never allowing himself to be provoked or trapped into implicating others. Joel Joffe was the 'instructing attorney' representing Nelson Mandela and was part of the defence team. The following exchange between the two is taken from Joffe's book *The Rivonia Story* (Mayibuye Books, Cape Town, 1995).

Yutar: What for? (Yutar wants Walter Sisulu to explain what he meant when he said that Dennis Goldberg had travelled from Cape Town to Johannesburg to escape the possibility of arrest by the Cape Town police.)

Sisulu: 90 days (solitary confinement).

Yutar: What for? The police do not arrest people indiscriminately unless...

Sisulu: They arrest many people indiscriminately. For no offence, people have been arrested.

Yutar: Would you like to make a political speech?

Sisulu: I am not making a political speech. I am answering your question.

Yutar: How do you know they arrest people innocently?

Sisulu: I know. They arrested my wife; they arrested my son. That was indiscriminate.

Yutar: Without any evidence whatsoever?<18>

Sisulu: What evidence?

Yutar: I don't know. I am asking.

Sisulu: I have been persecuted by the police. If there is a man who is persecuted by the police, it is myself. In 1962, I was arrested six times. I know the position in this country.

Yutar: You do?

Sisulu: I wish you were in the position of an African. I wish you were an African and knew my position.

Secondly, as any one who has spent long years, or even a short period, in political detention would know, the unique internal world of the prison, the forced proximity

which becomes oppressive even if the other persons happen to be the closest of friends and comrades, the routine, the harsh discipline, the boredom, the arrangements for food, sleeping and toilet, for rest and recreation, the jealous guarding of one's 'space' even in an environment where one really does not have any space of one's own, the arbitrary bestowing and withdrawal of small favours in all these respects by the authorities and a thousand other things, are deliberately structured to break the prisoners, to create tensions and alienate even the closest of comrades from each other.

Robben Island was no exception, as numerous political prisoners, even the most heroic of them, have testified in their accounts. However, every such account also acknowledges the uniquely unflappable staunchness of Walter Sisulu and his enormous reserves of inner strength. A major crisis arose when Nelson Mandela initiated, on his own, an approach to the regime on what would nowadays be called 'talks about talks'. The initiative split the 'Higher Organ', that is the leadership of the ANC in the prison. Govan Mbeki's views on this matter are well known. Sisulu, despite his close personal and family links to Mandela, was also among those who initially opposed that initiative and made no compromise on his position until he was convinced of the correctness of the initiative.

It is perhaps best to end this obituary with another short passage from Nelson Mandela's address on the occasion of Walter Sisulu's 90th birthday. "He was a unifier, not a divider. Where others of us would speak a hasty word or act in anger, he was the patient one, seeking to heal and bring together."

Go well, beloved comrade and Tata, go well in peace.