

Ben Turok, formerly general secretary of the Congress of Democrats, has edited a collection of Tambo's speeches. I have been in touch with him on this and sent him material from the archives in New Orleans of the American Committee on Africa. The manuscript is already at the printer and will be published in London in October on the occasion of Tambo's 70th birthday. I should think that Turok would be very cooperative. His address is Lane House, Barnet Road, Arkley Herts EN5 3JT, and his phone number is 01-449-5170. Tambo did not make many speeches before 1960, but there might be some Tambo documents for the period since then that would be worth including.

Regarding the two Washington Times visitors -- they visited him very briefly. Their first report is probably worth printing, but a later article is so ideologically nasty and divorced from what they observed that I'd hate to see it dignified by inclusion.

Do I recommend publication? I have supported the project from the beginning and am happy about the expansion to include Tambo. The questions posed also promise a wide scope. The value of the publication would be substantially increased, I think, if the balance could be revised as suggested above. In Mandela's reply to Botha (the Feb. 1985 statement in section V), Mandela spoke of Tambo as "my greatest friend and comrade for nearly fifty years" and remarked: there is no difference between his views and mine." Tambo is, in short, a surrogate for Mandela.

Sincerely,



Thomas G. Karis
Senior Research Fellow
& Professor Emeritus

TGK:aj

I realize that I am raising a major question, whether or not to shift primary attention from Mandela to Mandela and the ANC. The latter emphasis might make the book educationally more valuable.

Many of the ANC documents are short. The long Youth League Manifesto rather than the Basic Policy might be used. The Program of Action, a key document, is less than two pages long. And Luthuli's dramatic statements after Mandela was sentenced to life imprisonment is less than two pages long. There are also other, later ANC documents that could be considered, for example, "Strategy and Tactics" (in abridgment) of 1969, and Tambo's "ungovernability" speech. After all, Mandela does say in February 1985 (page 195 of the ID & AF book), "There is no difference between his [Tambo's] views and mine."

One of the off-putting features of the ID & AF book is its denseness. Documents with their subheads run into each other. Leafing through it leads one to go to the table of contents and then to the "index" -- that is, the detailed contents -- in Appendix 2 to come to grips with what is in the book. How to make the collections more attractively readable?

I imagine that Johns and Hunt, when they get together, will consider some elimination or abridgement. Even the two great speeches from the dock, 1962 and 1964, overlap. Unlike From Protest to Challenge, this book should place no premium on completeness.

One reason why I have been wondering about cutting down on the length is the possible value of enlarging the extract from the fascinating and conversational examination and cross-examination of Mandela at the Treason Trial. Probably the most currently relevant part of Mandela's original material is the discussion there about transition, negotiation, and post-apartheid South Africa. I see that the extracts from the Treason Trial testimony in the ID & AF book is only about seven pages long, that is less than four pages taken from From Protest to Challenge and a little over three pages taken from the Ruth First book. As I remember -- I am writing at the office -- Ruth First says there are about 400 pages of the Mandela testimony in the Treason Trial records. These are double-spaced typed pages with large margins, but there is surely more in them that could be considered than what appears in From Protest to Challenge and Ruth First. I assume that I selected the most interesting passages when I prepared volume 3, but there is much more.

Assuming that other material could be cut down or eliminated so that room was available for lengthier trial extracts -- they really are, I think, sharper and more interesting than Mandela's articles -- one could get a positive microfilm from the Hoover Institution, and it would not take long to go through with it. My 1965 (?) guide to the Treason Trial, published by the Hoover Institution, would give the volume and page number of Mandela's testimony. I have possessed the mimeographed, bound volumes of the trial record, but just recently I donated them to the Columbia University law library, where they probably are not processed.

This problem struck me only as I looked carefully at the proposed table of contents. The proposed materials would include only three post-1964 documents: 1969, 1976, and 1985. Obviously the post-1964 period is one in which much is said about Mandela rather than much said by him. The introduction will deal with the period. Perhaps the editors should consider the possibility of including a carefully edited extract from Mary Benson's biography. Over a third of it deals with post-1964.

But what about original materials that illustrate interest in Mandela, perceptions and controversy about him? One could go through files of the press for periods of time when one knows there was special interest. For example, some years ago Percy Qoboza, through his paper, ran a release-Mandela-petition campaign. Perhaps a copy of that petition?

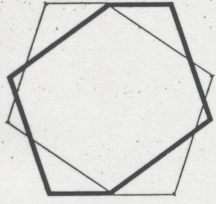
More recently, the "Release Mandela Campaign" has been active. Undoubtedly Johns and Davis have the Weekly Mail, but for convenience I enclose a copy of a half-page ad in the issue of January 9-15, 1987.

Other examples are statements by Botha and the government about Mandela. Or extracts from the report of the Eminent Persons Group. Or the disgusting Washington Times story, which I have somewhere, by John Lofton and another writer who had a short visit with Mandela. In short, might these and other kinds of original materials be used in the absence of statements by Mandela?

On a different point, the inclusion of ANC documents. Your early suggestion that major documents be reprinted for reference in an appendix seemed to me to be a good idea. Johns and Davis, on the other hand, propose to present a selection as a separate section in the body of the book. I wonder, now, if these and also some later documents should not appear in their chronological place.

This occurred to me when I noticed that the June 25, 1985 statement to the ANC conference, signed by Mandela, was not included. The obvious reasoning for exclusion, as the ID & AF book says on page 237, is that it is a document "not composed solely by Mandela." Mandela's great Rivonia speech and the statement read by his daughter on February 10, 1985, and probably other statements were drafted at least in part by others. So the distinction between documents composed solely by Mandela and those not, may be pedantic.

There is another reason to reconsider the placement of ANC documents. As the proposed list now stands, the first document by Mandela is dated over a year after the beginning of the 1952 Defiance Campaign. Thus, the period of the Youth League after 1943 is not represented by any original material. The 1944 Manifesto and the 1948 Basic Policy, to which Mandela subscribed, are each about eight pages long but are far more interesting and historically significant than the nine-page 1959 article on "Verwoerd's Tribalism."



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March 9, 1987

Ms. Valerie Aubry
Oxford University Press
200 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10016

*review of proposal for an anthology
of Nelson Mandela's writings.*

Dear Valerie:

I am happy to be able to comment on the proposed anthology to be edited by Sheridan Johns and Hunt Davis.

Reader A

In answer to your questions, (1) I think this can be a work that will be important and stimulating both to the college student and the general reader. It can serve as a sharply focussed introduction to the history of black politics in South Africa, about which not enough is written, and to some of the difficult questions that one must deal with in attempting to analyze future trends and possibilities.

(2) The co-editors have established reputations as scholars in the field, and there is no doubt about the soundness of their scholarship.

(3) How will the work be different from other books with which it may be compared? Except for the ID & AF book, Nelson Mandela: The Struggle is My Life, I know of no handy book of original materials that focusses upon a major black leader in the wide context of the black liberation struggle in South Africa. The proposed book can appeal to the American reader, in particular, by explaining the historical and current context more fully than does the ID & AF book. It can also be a less weighty documentary collection.

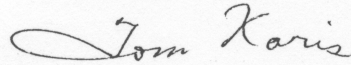
(4 and 5) The primary audience is, I think, the undergraduate student who is asked to buy the book for supplementary reading. Studnets with specialized interests would find it essential. The general reader may also be attracted to it because of interest in Mandela as a leader and the intrinsic interest of the original materials.

(6 and 7) I do have some suggestions. Whatever may be the reactions of the editors to these suggestions, I am confident that the final product will be worth publishing. I think this book is one that should be published as soon as possible, and I am anxious that my suggestions do not serve to delay its completion.

Since Mandela is symbolically the pre-eminent personality in the black liberation struggle in South Africa, interest in the history of that struggle can be attracted by a focus on him. But interest would be greater, I think, if the book gave more attention to the post-1964 period than the ID & AF book does.

The main point, though, is that the book, edited by scholars like Dan Johns and Hunt Davis is bound to be excellent.

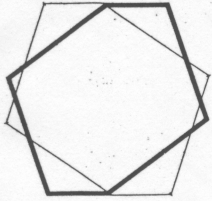
Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Tom Karis".

Thomas G. Karis
Senior Research Fellow

TGK.ap
Encs.

OT 19 013/0105/7



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August 19, 1987

*Thanked
by phone
him 8/28/87*

Ms. Valerie Aubrey
Oxford University Press
200 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10016

Reader A

Dear Valerie,

I have just read the revised proposal. The addition of a focus on Tambo and his inclusion in the title seems to me to be inspired. From the days of the law partnership in Johannesburg, Mandela and Tambo have been virtually synonymous.

The description and questions are well written and written with sophistication. I hope all the questions can be fully answered.

My main problem is one of balance. The last section, the past decade, still seems overbalanced by all that precedes it. Without knowing, offhand, exactly the number of pages of the documents, I wonder how important the very dated statements of grievances are in II. B. In contrast, section I, with an introduction that will be "brief," seems much more important.

In Section II.A., I wonder how much duplication or repetition there is in documents 1 through 6. The Treason Trial testimony could be much more interesting.

The title of section III, "Enforced Clandestiness," sounds awkward.

In section III.A., documents 1 through 5 are all from 1961, but they are probably relatively short.

Since the overall organization is chronological, it is odd that the 12-year period of 1964-1976 should be represented only by one Mandela letter and four memoirs of Mandela. I suppose that the very important 1969 document, "Strategy and Tactics," does not appear in the 1964-1976 section because that section focuses on Mandela himself. Yet it is strange to place that document in the 1976-1987 section.

I know the difficulties of expanding the post-1976 treatment. That is the first section in which Tambo directly figures. There are many Tambo speeches and statements, his interview in the Cape Times by its editor in late 1985 or early 1986, and in January and February of this year his speech at Riverside Church, at Georgetown University, in Atlanta, and elsewhere.