1776 INDEPENDENCE DAY
1789 FRENCH REVOLUTION
1865 SLAVERY ABOLISHED
1867 REFORM BILL
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1989 BERLIN WALL OPENED
1990 NELSON MANDELA RELEASED

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NELSON MANDELA

A message to you from Nelson Mandela,
Deputy President, African National Congress of South Africa (ANC)

MY RELEASE FROM PRISON WAS THE DIRECT RESULT OF THE PEOPLE INSIDE AND OUTSIDE SOUTH AFRICA. IT WAS AS A RESULT OF THE IMMENSE PRESSURE EXERTED AGAINST THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY.

THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA AND FREEDOM-LOVING PEOPLE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD HAVE WON ONE IMPORTANT GAIN AGAINST Apartheid, BUT WE MUST REMEMBER THAT THE STRUGGLE AGAINST Apartheid MUST CONTINUE UNTIL Apartheid IS FINALLY Dismantled.

WHILE I AM PLEASED TO BE OUT OF PRISON, MY JOY IS NOT COMPLETE WHILE SOME OF MY COMRADES LANGUISH IN PRISON. I DO KNOW AND TRUST THAT THE SAME EFFORTS WILL NOW GO TO SECURING THE RELEASE OF ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS, PARTICULARLY THOSE ON DEATH ROW.

NELSON MANDELA, 19 FEBRUARY 1990.

(PHOTO: REX FEATURES)
TRIBUTE PRODUCTIONS LTD

THE PRODUCERS WISH TO THANK
THE NELSON MANDELA INTERNATIONAL
RECEPTION COMMITTEE
FOR ASKING THEM TO PRODUCE THIS EVENT
Today's "International Tribute - For a Free South Africa" is the culmination of the celebrations which the Nelson Mandela International Reception Committee has promoted worldwide to mark the release of the Deputy President of the ANC, Nelson Mandela, after 27 years in prison. An estimated audience of over one billion people in more than 60 countries will be joining with the artists and performers on stage at Wembley to pay tribute to Nelson Mandela and the cause of freedom in South Africa.

The response to Nelson Mandela's release has been truly magnificent. Inside South Africa the celebrations continue as huge crowds still flock to rallies across the country to hear his calls for the need to intensify the struggle. Internationally, cities, towns and villages throughout Africa, Australasia, Latin America, North America and Europe saw hundreds of thousands of people join in activities to celebrate Mandela's release and pledge their continued support for the cause of liberation.

Today's "International Tribute" is not only an occasion to celebrate - a time for joy and happiness - but something much more.

Above all it is a unique opportunity for Nelson Mandela to address the world on the new demands of the struggle. His message and that of the African National Congress will instruct us as events in South Africa enter the final decisive stage. We must ensure that we transform his message into action which will contribute to and strengthen the battle for freedom in South Africa.

Nelson Mandela has dedicated his entire life to the ending of apartheid and the creation of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa. In the two months since his release from prison, he has not relaxed for one moment in his efforts to promote his people's struggle. Nor must we relax our efforts. We must step up our campaigns to secure the release of all remaining political prisoners and the ending of all forms of apartheid repression. We must intensify the campaign for sanctions and oppose any moves to relax them. We must sustain our anti-apartheid campaigns until apartheid is destroyed and a united, non-racial and democratic society is created in South Africa.
The Nelson Mandela International Reception Committee (IRC) was launched on 8th January 1990 by its convenor the Archbishop Trevor Huddleston CH, the veteran anti-apartheid campaigner, who was a close colleague of Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo when he was a parish priest in South Africa in the 1940s and 50s.

It was established in view of the impending release of Nelson Mandela and as a result of consultations with the African National Congress, fully supported by its President, Oliver Tambo.

To coincide with its launch, the IRC released an international appeal in which it called upon the international community to:

- intensify the campaign for the release of Nelson Mandela.
- prepare to celebrate Nelson Mandela's impending release with activities throughout the world, especially in towns, cities, universities and other places which have honoured him.
- step up the ongoing struggle to secure the release of all South African prisoners and detainees.
- intensify the struggle to end apartheid.

The IRC consists of 31 prominent international public figures, including its convenor, who are its patrons, and are serviced by a secretariat based in London. In order to facilitate its above stated aims it established close contacts with the National Reception Committee within South Africa and encouraged the establishment of such committees in different parts of the world. It is these committees that have in the past few months shown that this great victory of the anti-apartheid forces was marked by celebration and rededication to the struggle for a free, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic society. Below is a list of countries where National Reception Committees were established.

Austria
Austria
Belgium
Botswana
Brazil
Britain
Canada
Denmark
Federal Republic of Germany
Finland
France
German Democratic Republic
Greece
India
Ireland
Italy
Japan
Lesotho
Madagascar
New Zealand
Nigeria
Portugal
Scotland
Soviet Union
Spain
Swaziland
Sweden
Switzerland
United States of America
Wales
Zimbabwe
The "International Tribute – For a Free South Africa" is an historic and unique event. Artists from across the world are gathering in Wembley Stadium to greet Nelson Mandela and to celebrate his release.

But it will also be an occasion for the African National Congress to pay its tribute to the millions of people who have made it possible for Nelson Mandela to visit Wembley Stadium in person. The campaign to release Nelson Mandela was above all a people's campaign.

Our people within South Africa bore the brunt of that struggle, with their refusal to acquiesce in their own oppression. Their fearless defiance of apartheid and their determination to resist—whatever the price—made possible the conditions which compelled the regime to release Nelson Mandela and his compatriots. But the worldwide campaign for the release of Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners made a decisive contribution.

One event in particular symbolised that campaign – the "Nelson Mandela 70th Birthday Tribute" in June '88. For those at Wembley Stadium on that great day it was an event one could never forget. And it was also an opportunity for our message to reach over a billion people across five continents—such is the power of modern technology in today's world. The ANC owes an enormous debt of gratitude to the artists and performers and all those who made that event possible—as well as to the millions of people who joined in the campaign to celebrate Nelson Mandela's 70th birthday.

Today we are witnessing the fruits of years of persistent struggle by our movement within South Africa and by the international campaign against apartheid. Nelson Mandela and other imprisoned leaders of the ANC have been released. The ANC and other political organisations have been unbanned. Elements of the State of Emergency have been lifted.

The prospects for a political settlement resulting in the ending of apartheid and the creation of united, non-racial and democratic South Africa could soon become a reality. However, a climate conducive to negotiations does not yet exist—and cannot, so long as thousands of political prisoners, including those on Death Row, remain incarcerated. Whilst the State of Emergency is in force, restrictions continue to be imposed on organisations and individuals, the troops continue to occupy the townships, political trials continue, and a battery of repressive legislation remains on the statute book.

Even if a process of negotiations does start, this does not mean that our struggle is over—not that international pressure should be relaxed.

That is why, as we unite together to celebrate the release of Nelson Mandela, we must re-dedicate ourselves to the campaign for the unconditional release of all South African political prisoners; and to the on-going struggle to end apartheid.

Freedom is coming! With your support and solidarity we can make a reality of the slogan: "South Africa – Freedom Now!"
"A riot is at bottom the language of the unheard"

MARTIN LUTHER KING [1967]
we’ve got to live together
if we’re gonna be free
we’ve got to find the answer,
right now

lisa stansfield
ian devaney
andy morris
APARtheid

"THE LIVING CLOSE THE EYES OF THE DEAD.
THE DEAD OPEN THE EYES OF THE LIVING.
TOO MANY PEOPLE HAVE DIED IN SOUTH AFRICA."

Apartheid’s toll of suffering has spread beyond South Africa’s borders, bringing war and famine to its neighbouring countries.

But the spirit of resistance in South Africa has never been crushed and now at last there are signs that change is on the way. The people’s leaders have been released from prison after 27 years, and their organisations unbanned. Hope is in the air - but as yet there are no grounds for complacency. All of apartheid’s main structures are still in place, and the majority of the people still do not even have the right to vote.

South Africa, the beloved country, still cries for its freedom.

Three years later, thousands more have been killed. Apartheid has separated husbands from wives, parents from children. Hundreds of thousands have been killed, none of them without even the pretence of a trial. Women have been reduced to crushing poverty and are among the most elementary civil rights.

Out of about 160000 blacks alive Africans were shot dead by the police during a peaceful demonstration against South Africa’s laws. The Sharpeville massacre shocked the world to the horror of apartheid, spurring the formation of anti-apartheid movements in many countries, and moves towards isolation and sanctions against the regime.
It is, said Alan Paton, author of Cry The Beloved Country, a beautiful land. Most of its people are warm and friendly; its climate is gentle; its natural resources are prolific. It could—and will—be a major influence in Africa and the world.

South Africa has 36 million people who despite their differences are fiercely loyal to the country of their birth. It is the kind of land which inspires love, a love that has sustained generations of its countrymen, and generations of exiles.

The grandeur of Table Mountain in the Cape with its tablecloth of cloud is a powerful image of South Africa. The tropical heat of Natal and the stretches of sand give it some of the finest beaches in the world. The stark emptiness of the semi-desert Karoo contrasts with the lush grasslands of the eastern Free State and the red earth of the Eastern Cape. The winelands of the Western Cape are as much a resource as the gold dumps of the Transvaal. Few remain untouched by this country.

Its people are as diverse as those of any nation can be—and there lies its strength. Its history and culture are uniquely South African and reflect the different traditions that the people have brought with them over the centuries. The influences of the Netherlands, of Britain and Ireland, of France and Germany, of the East Indies and the Indian sub-continent have all made their contribution, and soon will come together to produce a national culture bigger than the sum of its parts.

But it is Africa which is the largest influence on the people—Africa which has brought its own rhythms of life, its openness, its care for the family, its occasional harshness, and its generosity.

The country's natural resources—water, land,
When South Africa becomes free, it will take its place as one of the great nations of the world. A country of striking natural beauty, it is also a country of great cities and powerful industries, with a people of abundant determination and cultural vitality. Only apartheid holds South Africa back from fulfilling its destiny.

**THE BELOVED COUNTRY**

and minerals – have provided food and wealth for a few, and can provide for many more. Minerals like gold, diamonds, platinum, chrome, manganese, uranium, coal and copper are wanted the world over. It has crops like maize, wheat, sugar, fruit and grain that its own people want and need, too. Sometimes both crops and minerals have been ruthlessly exploited, but with care they will continue to nurture the country itself and people outside its borders.

In industry and commerce, too, are a powerful source of strength and can be a force for good, both for South Africans and for others on the continent. For the minerals, one day, will be exhausted and there must be other ways to generate the wealth needed by all the people.

It is a country that has produced people who have had influence far beyond its borders. It has world-famous scientists and doctors, actors and writers, soldiers and statesmen, martyrs and thinkers. More will come. There is skill in so many areas, and there is labour. There is also the knowledge that the creation of wealth and empire does not imply strength or wisdom. The people know that what skills they have must not be allowed to go to waste or to go elsewhere. For its people are the resource that can be used most wisely for the benefit of all. And, when apartheid is ended, all South Africans will be able to share in deciding how their skills, their talents and their abilities can more profitably be used.

The people recognise now that they must work together. They must know each other better, know each other's skills and minds, strengths and weaknesses.

This is what has been missing for so long. The country and its people have been warped by apartheid's laws – keeping people apart, by force if necessary. Force was used and it failed.

Now apartheid is coming to an end. The release of Nelson Mandela is just the beginning – and this concert another step on the way.
STILL NOT FREE

MANDELA IS OUT OF JAIL BUT, LIKE ALL BLACK SOUTH AFRICANS, HE IS STILL NOT FREE.

HE CAN PICK UP THE PHONE AND TALK WITH PRESIDENTS AND PRIME MINISTERS, BUT HE DOES NOT HAVE THE RIGHT TO VOTE.
IN SOUTH AFRICA EVERY TINY DETAIL OF LIFE IS DECIDED BY THE COLOUR OF ONE’S SKIN. FOR BLACK PEOPLE THIS MEANS CONSIGNMENT TO A LIFE OF GRINDING POVERTY, INJUSTICE, ILL-HEALTH AND DESPAIR.

Many people will be up at the crack of dawn to get to the concert at Wembley, and some will no doubt be cutting the traffic on the M25 as the celebrations begin. But imagine the problems you would face if you were living in South Africa and wanted to go to such a concert there. Could you afford it? Would you even be allowed to buy a ticket? Everything would depend on the colour of your skin.

From the moment South Africans are born they are classified as either white, Coloured, Indian or African. Racial classification controls every tiny detail of life in South Africa — your education, your job, where you live and where you are buried.

For black people it means living in a segregated township, or in one of the poverty stricken bantustans — the quaintly named “homelands” — in the back end of beyond. For most of them the opportunity to escape poverty by moving to another part of the country and pursuing a career barely exists.

And in one of the richest countries in the world, housing for Africans largely consists of overcrowded hovels, or maybe even shacks periodically demolished by army bulldozers in one of South Africa’s many squatter camps.

Government spending on education for Africans is about one-sixth of that for whites. In many areas pupils have to suffer the humiliation of being taught in Afrikaans, the language of their oppressor.

Often their teachers are white South African soldiers, or unqualified Africans unable to get proper training. Complaints can lead to whippings, protests are met by armoured trucks spraying tear gas. In 1976 a group of Soweto school students demonstrating against the introduction of Afrikaans as the main teaching language were shot dead.

Career opportunities for black people in South Africa are strictly limited. If you are male, the only job available might be in a gold, diamond, coal or uranium mine on the other side of the country, slaving for a pittance, living in a labour camp and never seeing your family for months on end.

If you are female you might get a job as a cleaner, but if you live in one of the bantustans the chances are you will be left behind to look after the children, the sick and weak.

Medical facilities for black people trail far behind those for whites. South Africa has a sophisticated health system which pioneered heart transplants and spends millions on the latest hi-tech equipment. But in the bantustans the sort of money used to keep one elderly white heart patient alive for a week has to be shared between thousands.

Tuberculosis and malaria are 50 times more common amongst Africans than whites. Africans who become ill and unable to work are transported back to the bantustans, where at least a third of the population is unemployed and poverty-stricken.

EDUCATION UNDER Apartheid:

CAESERINA KONA MAKOER, NOW 30, WAS A HIGH-SCHOOL STUDENT IN THE 1970s BEFORE SHE WAS IMPRISONED FOR SIX YEARS FOR SUPPORTING THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

"Two thirds of the teaching staff at my school," she remembers, "were white soldiers from the South African Defence Force. They brought the most virulent racism into our school.

"There was one white teacher who used to call us "apes". This would infuriate us and we told the principal — who just granted and dismissed our complaint.

"The introduction of Afrikaans was like rubbing salt on a wound. We said no to that."

RACIAL CLASSIFICATION:

DON MATTERA IS A SOUTH AFRICAN POET AND PLAYWRIGHT. HE REMEMBERS BEING OFFICIALLY CLASSIFIED AS 'COLOURED' IN 1955.

"We stood in a long queue in a state courtyard waiting to be classified or re-classified either as pure coloureds or "natives"," he says. We were 'branded and pedigreed with a hot iron of humiliation and scorn.

"My number was 331-591697C; the C stood for Coloured. With the stroke of a pen my Africanness and the aquired Italian tradition of my paternal grandfather was obliterated. Apartheid decided my race and my destiny."
HEALTH CARE UNDER APARTHEID

EMMA MASHININI IS A TRADE UNION ORGANISER AND CHURCH WORKER. SHE REMEMBERS LOSING THREE CHILDREN, EACH WITHIN DAYS OF THEIR BIRTH, IN THE 1950s.

'I didn't know at the time what had caused the deaths, but I can see now that it must have been yellow jaundice,' she says.

'Then, in my ignorance, I didn't see that anything was wrong with them. At that time black people wanted their skin to be lighter. Those children seemed to me beautiful, with their lovely light yellow complexion. And the jaundice was never diagnosed.

'It might surprise some people that I could lose three babies, each time soon after birth, and not know the cause. But it is typical of white doctors working in our black hospitals to treat patients and cram them with pills and mixtures without ever telling them the cause of their illness. Even when you are brave enough to ask, the doctor gets irritated and asks you not to waste his time. I don't know whether it's because our hospitals are overcrowded and therefore the doctors cannot cope with the workload; or whether they think they are doing us a favour because black doctors are few, and so we should be grateful and shut up.'

South Africa claims to be a modern democratic state. It is so democratic that it has not just one parliament, but three - one for the whites, one for the Coloureds and one for Indians. The catch is that the white parliament can veto the decisions of the other two.

People classified as Africans - about three-quarters of the total population - do not have a parliament at all. Instead they can vote in elections for the parliament in the bantustans to which they have been assigned more or less on the whim of Pretoria.

The bantustan policy is a pillar of apartheid and it has been denounced time and again by the world community as a blatant political swindle.

The regime has set up a string of supposedly independent 'homeland' states which occupy 13 per cent of the country's territory. They consist almost entirely of barren land with few natural resources.

The aim was to transform the remaining 87 per cent of South Africa into an all-white country. But if you were black South African you may have been given citizenship of a bantustan in a part of the country you had never even visited.

And since you would now be officially a foreigner in your own country, you could lose what few rights you had as a South African and join the three and a half million who have already been deported from 'white' South Africa.

Not all Africans are sent to the bantustans, as the need for workers in and around South Africa's cities is too great. Instead they may end up in an urban township like Soweto, home of Mandela. The problems here are desperate poverty and overcrowding - on average 13 people share each two-bedroomed house in a town like Soweto. Few houses have electricity, running water.

For some the situation is worse - those who have to build their homes out of cardboard boxes in one of the sprawling squatter camps which circle the gleaming skyscrapers and luxury suburbs of South Africa's cities.

And while an estimated five million blacks South Africans are homeless, tens of thousands of homes stand empty in areas designated 'white only'.

All this is what apartheid does to people's health. It disgusts not only black people, but increasingly many of South Africa's whites who have joined the struggle for a non-racial South Africa.

For the vast majority of South Africans, apartheid means grinding poverty, violence, health, ignorance and backwardness. For the dream of a better life has been kept alive in their political, church and trade union organisations and the inspiring example of Mandela himself.

Mandela is out of jail but, like all black South Africans, he is still not free.

He can pick up the phone and talk to presidents and prime ministers, but he does not have the right to vote.

The celebration at Wembley will be a great inspiration to all those in South Africa - black and white - and around the world who have worked and prayed for Mandela's release. But it is only the start. The pressure needs to be kept up until apartheid is abolished for good.

We all hope that Nelson Mandela will bring a party for all 35 million South Africans one day. What a party that will be!

BELOW: ANTI-CONSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN MEETING OF SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENTS. PHOTO: IDAF

LEFT: SQUATTER CAMP AT ALEXANDRA. PHOTO: REX FEATURES

WE WON'T FIGHT IN THE SADF
RIGHT: TROOPS BULLDOZE TOWNSHIP HOME IN BELLVILLE, WESTERN CAPE.
PHOTO: REX FEATURES

PHOTO: G. MENDEL, MAGNUM

BELOW: WORKING THE GOLD MINES,
CARLTONVILLE.
PHOTO: ABNAS, MAGNUM

BOTTOM: TOWNSHIP YOUTH DEMAND
WITHDRAWAL OF TROOPS.
PHOTO: IDAF

APARTHEID: THE FACTS*
[*source: South African Institute of Race Relations]

POPULATION OF SOUTH AFRICA

AFRICAN
26.3 MILLION
75.0% OF TOTAL

ASIAN
0.9 MILLION
2.5% OF TOTAL

'COLOURED'
3.0 MILLION
8.5% OF TOTAL

WHITE
4.9 MILLION
14.0% OF TOTAL

TOTAL 'NON-WHITE'
30.2 MILLION
86.0% OF TOTAL

INEQUALITY:

EDUCATION SPENDING (PER PERSON)

WHITES
SA RANDS 2,508 (£597)
AFRICANS
SA RANDS 477 (£114)

AVERAGE MONTHLY EARNINGS (SA RANDS)

WHITES
1,732
AFRICANS
500
LIVING ON THE FRONTLINE

Ending apartheid is vital not only for South Africa: it is the key to peace and prosperity in the whole southern part of the African continent.

After World War Two, dozens of new independent states emerged as countries like Britain and France gave up their colonies.

Isolated at the foot of Africa, the white government of South Africa watched this process with growing fear. With Portugal clinging grimly to its African colonies, Pretoria tried to surround itself with white-ruled countries: to the west, Namibia and Angola; to the east, Mozambique; to the north, Rhodesia — now Zimbabwe.

But black national liberation movements waged persistent guerrilla wars and took power in Angola and Mozambique in 1975. They set out to build non-racial societies, and promised full support to freedom movements in South Africa and Namibia.

Their success sent shock waves through the apartheid regime, and inspired the youth of South Africa. Pretoria’s answer was brute force, invading Angola and shooting down demonstrating students in Soweto in June 1976.

Not content with air raids against Angola and invasions that continued until 1988, South Africa backed anti-government rebels there. It hoped not just to topple Angola’s government but also to cripple the fight for independence in neighbouring Namibia.

Against Mozambique, which was heavily economically dependent on South Africa, the apartheid regime used sanctions to destabilise the country. Transport links were broken and thousands of migrant workers sent back home hungry and unemployed.

This military and economic war against Africa’s neighbouring states has devastated areas and cost over a million lives since 1980. That year Zimbabwe won its independence, it too was immediately attacked. Aircraft munitions centres were sabotaged and oil depots destroyed.

The frontline states stood firm, helping each other and the South African freedom movements in exile. Zambia provided headquarters, refugee settlements. Tanzania gave school land for farms. Angola supplied the bases military training. And all these countries, together with Mozambique, Botswana and Zimbabwe, gave steady diplomatic support to anti-apartheid causes, risking and often suffering reprisals from Pretoria.
It was Mozambique and Angola that bore the brunt of the war. Nearly half the population of both countries was displaced. Hundreds of thousands died of starvation or were killed or injured in attacks by South African-supported anti-government rebels. Rebel activity in Mozambique was described in a 1988 US State Department report as “one of the most brutal holocausts since World War Two.”

Now at last, defeated in southern Angola in 1988, the South African army has withdrawn and Namibia has become independent. But the undeclared war drags on in Mozambique, with rebels still striking across the border from the safety of their bases inside South Africa.

But Nelson Mandela’s release and the unbanning of organisations in South Africa has opened a new chapter. Governments throughout the world agree that the sooner apartheid is ended, the sooner peace will return to southern Africa. Working together, at last free from their tragic past, the states of the region will be able to tap their vast natural and human resources and build a new life for all.
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THE MAN AND HIS COUNTRY

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SOUTH AFRICA
FOR ALL

THE STRUGGLE IN SOUTH AFRICA IS NOT AGAINST PEOPLE, BUT AGAINST INJUSTICE, POVERTY AND APARTHEID. AS THE ANC DECLARED MORE THAN 30 YEARS AGO: “SOUTH AFRICA BELONGS TO ALL WHO LIVE IN IT, BLACK AND WHITE.”
On 2 February 1990 South African President F W de Klerk announced the unbanning of the African National Congress and other political organisations. Nine days later, Nelson Mandela walked out of prison.

For the ANC, born in 1912 and banned in 1960, these were the first fruits of a long hard struggle, waged from underground and exile in the past 30 years. For Nelson Mandela, released unconditionally, it was a dramatic return to the light after 27 years of imprisonment. The ANC promptly elected him as its deputy president.

These events suddenly opened up, for the first time in South Africa's history, the prospect that a government elected by and for the white minority might - at long last - sit down and negotiate the country's future with representatives of millions of black people; the victims of apartheid.

As Mandela himself said, within hours of his release: "Today the majority of South Africans, black and white, recognise that apartheid has no future."

Apartheid may have no future, but it is still alive at present. When the negotiations start they will be about what to put in its place.

"WE CALL ON OUR WHITE COMPATRIOTS TO JOIN US IN THE SHAPING OF OUR NEW SOUTH AFRICA. THE FREEDOM MOVEMENT IS A POLITICAL HOME FOR YOU TOO."

NELSON MANDELA, FEBRUARY 1990.

Those negotiations haven't started yet. And that's because there are some real obstacles in the way, as both the ANC and President de Klerk know. For the moment, it's talks about talks - the constitution-making will come later.

What are the obstacles? And what are the prospects for peace?

True, Mandela is out, with his immense authority and unifying influence. But as he readily points out: "No individual leader is able to take on these enormous tasks on his own."

One of the obstacles to further progress is that Mandela left behind him in jail more than 2,000 political prisoners and detainees, including at least 60 people sentenced to death. They fought for the same cause as Mandela - why should they not be released too?

Another problem is that de Klerk's police can, and still do, break up rallies and meetings, detain protesters without trial, and use all the other powers they enjoy under the State of Emergency and other laws. De Klerk's troops still roam the black townships. His censors still control most media activity.

Then there are the political exiles - thousands of them, refugees from apartheid, spread around Africa and the world. All of them are wondering: Is it safe to return? Will I be arrested and prosecuted? Or murdered by the death squads?

For de Klerk, the political prisoners are criminals, many of whom took up arms, or sticks and stones, against authority. But Mandela used to be regarded in the same way, and he is out. And he maintains that the armed struggle must continue, "as a purely defensive action against the violence of apartheid."

Make it possible for us to settle the country's future peacefully, through talks, argues the ANC, and we will negotiate a ceasefire and put aside our arms.

Meanwhile the ANC is keen to move into the
space de Klerk has created. Walter Sisulu, lifetime friend and fellow-prisoner of Mandela's, who was released last October, has been asked to head a team that will set up the ANC's headquarters in Johannesburg and start building branches and regional committees all round the country.

A special conference will be held in December 1990 — the first such gathering of the ANC on South African soil in over 30 years. But as its leaders return, their "choices" of where they live, which schools their children go to, which hospitals will treat their sick, is as limited as ever. For as Mandela has said: "We are still suffering under the policies of the Nationalist government."

Still in power after 42 years, the National Party is not going to give up easily the privileges and powers it has so jealously guarded. It fought the last elections, in September 1989, on a platform of "group rights" and demands protection for minorities. The question is: does this mean apartheid in a new form?

The rest of the world agrees that apartheid cannot be reformed. It must be abolished. The United Nations, in a rare moment of unanimity, declared last December that South Africa's future lies in a democratic, non-racial state, based on one-person-one-vote, on a common voters' roll — none of the "separate but equal" approach which divides people and makes their differences more important than their common humanity.

The ANC takes a similar view: "South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white," declared the Freedom Charter as long ago as 1955.

Overcoming white fears and prejudices is something the ANC takes seriously. Namibia's example of a negotiated passage from apartheid to independence has set an encouraging precedent.

Anti-apartheid forces are keen to take another leaf from Namibia's book. They would like to see the constitution of a free South Africa drawn up by a freely-elected Constituent Assembly.

Meanwhile the ANC has been talking with growing frequency to business people, both black and white, to students, religious leaders, trade unions — all who will play a role in shaping the future. Also to other political organisations which differ from the ANC over strategy and tactics, but share the same goal of getting rid of apartheid.

By itself, talking will change nothing. Action against apartheid remains critical. As Mandela said in his first speech for 27 years: "Now is the time to intensify the struggle on all fronts...It is only through disciplined mass action that our victory can be assured."

And to make it clear that the victory he seeks is over injustice, poverty and apartheid, not over people, and that it will require effort worldwide, not just in South Africa, he went on immediately to add: "We call on our white compatriots to join us in the shaping of a new South Africa. The freedom movement is a political home for you too. We call on the international community to isolate the apartheid regime. To lift sanctions now would be to run the risk of aborting the process towards the complete eradication of apartheid."

Few politicians have chosen to ignore Mandela's call to maintain sanctions and keep up the pressure. Millions of people who have boycotted South African goods for years will doubtless continue to do so. And campaigns against political trials and executions can be expected to continue as long as old-style apartheid repression keeps reappearing.

De Klerk cannot count on a long transition. When hopes are high, delays will cause frustration, impatience will burst out, and the prospects of peace will be consumed in the flames of anger. Nobody could want that to happen.

The contrasts between the enormous prestige enjoyed by Nelson Mandela internationally, and his inferior status in his own country — second-class citizen without a vote — will spur the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa and the wider world to keep up the pressure to isolate apartheid, and to give support to Mandela and his organisation.

What better way to pay tribute to Nelson Mandela, his courage, compassion and dignity than to work, play, sing, write, pray, speak and — why not? — shout:

FOR A FREE SOUTH AFRICA!
in the years to come you can tell your grandchildren about a repressive system that used to exist in South Africa called apartheid...
or you can show them

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We look at the story from every side.
THE POWER OF MUSIC

There are those who think that if a protest is musical, they need not take it seriously. "A few people were singing and dancing, that was it," said Mike Gatting, the cricket mercenary, of the demo...
...onstrators who opposed his abortive tour of South Africa. But there has been a lot more singing and dancing since then, from Soweto to Trafalgar Square. Music is one of the greatest gifts a crowd can have. It takes the reasons for the gathering, and creates beauty from them. It connects abrupt, raw slogans with the deeper currents of life and history. Above all, it unites.

Its power isn't restricted to the street or the stadium. Every time an African choir's singing ends a documentary about apartheid, or a chorus from a rally finds its way onto TV news, a trace of that beauty reaches someone who will never go within a thousand miles of the country it comes from. There is no more moving sound than the hymn which has become the anthem of the South African people: Nkosi Sikelele Afrika (Lord Bless Africa).

But music doesn't have to be sacred or profound to be moving.

Millions of people, in every country of the world, are united by their love of pop music. A lot of people think that pop should just be for fun. Many, on the other hand, have a deep-rooted feeling that it can be about more than that; and in particular, that it is bound up with the idea of justice and harmony between black and white. That feeling stems from being aware that the roots of pop music are in black music—which means, ultimately, in Africa.

JERRY DAMMERS EXTENDED THE HORIZONS OF THE ANTI-RACIST IMPULSE THAT HAD GIVEN RISE TO THE TWO-TONE SKA MOVEMENT

Ever since popular music with black roots started to spread around the world, racists have been deeply disturbed by singing and dancing. For decades, the sharpest objections to jazz were on the grounds that it induced black and white people of opposite sexes to touch each other.

Rock'n'roll was damned as: "jungle music. Young people treated that with the scorn it deserved, and, more seriously, many of them came to be revolted at the racist ideas that had underpinned the objections to popular music.

Sometimes these new ideals appeared in a militant form, such as the Rock Against Racism movement of the late '70s, with its Doc Martens and day-glo punk fury. Nowadays Lisa Stansfield's 'Live Together' is more typical of the tone, but the idea is still at work.

For the last few years, it has been at the heart of a very fruitful collaboration between musicians and the Anti-Apartheid Movement. In 1983, the Africa Sounds Festival was held at Alexandra Palace, to celebrate Nelson Mandela's 65th birthday. Featuring mainly African musicians, it attracted 1,000 people, and gave AAM an inkling of music's potential.

The following year, Jerry Dammers extended the horizons of the anti-racist impulse that had given rise to the Two-Tone ska movement. He made 'Free Nelson Mandela', a record which introduced Mandela's name to the Top Of The
Pops audience. Peter Gabriel did something similar with 'Biko'. In due course, Dammers received an honour worth infinitely more than a Grammy or a Brit. The chorus was sung by South Africans themselves during their protests.

"Free Nelson Mandela" was a call aimed at the apartheid regime. The American song 'Sun City' was a condemnation of apartheid as well, but it was specifically addressed to the international community of musicians. The man behind it was Little Steven, who used to play with Springsteen, and has now dedicated himself to making rock 'n' roll work for politics. He assembled some 40 odd musicians, ranging from Miles Davis to Joey Ramone, under the banner of Artists United Against Apartheid. The momentum this team generated turned what was originally planned as a single into a whole album. It had the rare combination of energy, conviction and musical interest. The call to boycott South Africa's entertainment complex in the "homeland" of Bophuthatswana has been respected by almost all foreign artists; the few exceptions being mostly performers whose careers had reached a fairly pernicious sellout anyway.

The success of 'Sun City' encouraged Jerry Dammers and Dali Tambo to form a British organisation called Artists Against Apartheid. In 1986, AAA organised the huge concert at Clapham Common. A quarter of a million people turned up.

Clapham - the march which preceded it - demonstrated the potency of linking music and politics. It relied on proven techniques: a protest march, an open-air sound stage. Its successor, the Nelson Mandela 70th Birthday Tribute, broke new ground. The use of global telecommunications to link pop audiences around the world had been pioneered by Live Aid, but that was a charity project. This was aimed more at raising awareness than money.

Some people thought the hope was a vain one. The audience would just gawp at the bands and go home. The South African government would treat it about as seriously as a Kylie Minogue record. As it turned out, it was the South African government which provided the first reassurances that the project was going to work; by protesting about the broadcasting of the concert.

The apartheid regime had previously shown how seriously it takes pop music. After Stevie Wonder won an Oscar and dedicated it to Nelson Mandela, the government called for the banning of all his songs from the State-run South African Broadcasting Corporation. In 1983, two South African reggae musicians were each sentenced to four years 'jail after a concert. Their crime had been to call for Mandela's release.

After the 1988 Wembley concert, which was televised in 63 countries, more positive indicators of its success emerged. The Anti-Apartheid Movement trebled its membership. A million pounds were raised; £600,000 of this went to projects for children in Southern Africa, and the rest to the AAM. It's not so easy to measure awareness, but one indication of the results came...
This month commemorates the seventy-fifth anniversary of the tragic battle for Gallipoli. In the two World Wars 80 million people were killed. If we can collect just £5 for each of the lives lost, we will have a permanent fund of £400 million to relieve future disasters. A fund so substantial that the interest alone will offer significant help to the victims of these disasters. How better to remember those who gave their lives for us, than by helping to save the lives of others. Please send whatever you can afford, to The Memorial Fund for Disaster Relief, P.O. Box 39, No. 3 Throgmorton Ave, London EC2N 2WW. Or simply make a donation at your local Building Society. For every life lost, a life saved.
WE KNOW
where we’re from
WE KNOW
where we’re going

BOB MARLEY
In 1982, Mandela was abruptly transferred from Robben Island to the slightly more comfortable Pollsmoor prison on the mainland. He was 64 years old. In 1984 Winnie was allowed to make her first ever "contact" visit in Pollsmoor. For the first time in 20 years the couple were able to embrace. Like Nelson, Winnie Mandela refused to be ground down, and never lost heart as she struggled to bring up her two daughters in appalling conditions.

Outside the prison walls South Africa was again convulsed by mass political protests. A powerful broad anti-apartheid movement, ranging from the churches to the trade unions, had been formed and in 1984 the townships rose in revolt.

As South Africa's then President PW Botha struggled to re-impose his authority he offered to release Mandela from Pollsmoor if he "re-nounced violence". On the face of it, this was a tempting deal. Mandela had "no love of violence" as he had told the court back in 1964. And he yearned to be reunited with his beloved Winnie and his daughters.

Mandela's reply to Botha was scathing. "Let him renounce violence," he said. "Let him say that he will dismantle apartheid. I cannot and will not give any undertaking at a time when I and the people are not free."

Mandela's stand inspired not only his own people but the international community. By the time of the June 1988 Mandela birthday tribute at Wembley - watched on TV by a billion people worldwide - international pressure had become a crucial factor in making the apartheid regime seriously consider fundamental change.

It was this combination of international pressure, especially economic sanctions, and process inside South Africa, which enabled Mandela to walk out of prison - released unconditionally - in February this year. Since then he has dominated the political stage in South Africa. Apartheid is still in place, but as Mandela said on the day of his release: "Today the majority of South Africans, black and white, recognize that apartheid has no future."

In the days after his release Mandela addressed huge, jubilant rallies in each of South Africa's four provinces. Each time he spoke confidently and without the faintest suggestion of vengeance or hatred. At the same time he believes the pressure for change must be maintained and stepped up.

On the day of his release Mandela told a huge crowd in Cape Town that his release and the unbanning of anti-apartheid organisations inside South Africa was a great step forward, but the fight was far from over. "To relax our efforts now," he said, "would be a mistake which generations to come will not be able to forgive."

Two days later he used a rally near his home in Soweto to address some of the immediate problems of life under apartheid: the crisis in education; the crime wave in the townships; the chronic housing problems and the poverty endured by most South Africans.

"Let each one of you and all of our people," he said, "give the enemies of peace and liberation space to take us back into the dark hell of apartheid. It is only disciplined mass action that assures us of the victory we seek."

In Durban, the Natal province heartland of the Zulu people of South Africa, Mandela that particularly tricky task of bringing an end to the so-called "black on black" violence. Speaking alternately in English and Zulu, he told people to throw their weapons into the sea and unite to find peaceful political ways of solving the differences.

Mandela had a similar message for his people in Bloemfontein, the heartland of Afrikaans. He stressed the non-racial history of the national liberation movement in South Africa and urged Afrikanders to join the movement.

Immediately after, Mandela went to Lusaka, the capital of Zambia, for a joyous reunion with his exiled colleagues. He was duly elected deputy president of the ANC. But he had to wait until a trip to Stockholm in March to meet Olof Palme, the ANC president and former partner in Mandela's law firm.

He has commented humorously on the青山 of those who have organised his itinerary.
his release, accepting with good grace the guidance of those who were still children when he was jailed 27 years ago. Their political skills, and the massive breadth of the movement they have helped to build during his imprisonment, have evoked his admiration.

The anti-apartheid struggle within South Africa today is a much more considerable force than it was at the time of Mandela’s jailing—an amazing feat considering the regime’s relentless efforts to crush it. And Nelson Mandela and the ANC at last stand within reach of the ideal he has devoted his remarkable life to—a free South Africa.

“... WHEN MY SENTENCE HAS BEEN COMPLETED, I WILL STILL BE MOVED, AS PEOPLE ARE ALWAYS MOVED, BY THEIR CONSCIOUSNESSES; I WILL STILL BE MOVED ... TO TAKE UP AGAIN, AS BEST I CAN, THE STRUGGLE FOR THE REMOVAL OF INJUSTICES UNTIL THEY ARE FINALLY ABOLISHED ONCE AND FOR ALL”

OPPOSITE PAGE: MANDELA GREET AN OLD COLLEAGUE IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST APARTHEID AT A MEETING WITH SEVEN AFRICAN HEADS OF STATE IN LUSAKA, FEBRUARY 1990. PHOTO: M. PETERS, REX FEATURES

ABOVE: TREASON TRIALISTS, DECEMBER 1956. PHOTO: IDAF

BELOW LEFT: NELSON MANDELA WAS A KEEN BOXER. PHOTO: IDAF

BELOW: NELSON AND WINNIE UPON HIS RELEASE, FEBRUARY 1990. PHOTO: G. MENDELL, MAGNUM
WHEN WEMBLEY ROCKED THE WORLD

SATURDAY 11TH JUNE 1988
WELCOME NEL

WEMBLEY STADIUM • MONDAY 16TH APRIL 1990 • GATES OPEN 3.00PM

The International Tribute for a Free South Africa is not just a concert. It is a historic event.

Less than two years ago, in June 1988, over thirty of the world's top musicians and singers took part in a concert that paid tribute to a man who then had been in prison for 26 years for his stand against injustice and oppression.

Today, Nelson Mandela is no longer in jail. Instead, he will be joining the artists on stage in a second great concert at Wembley stadium.

The Wembley '88 concert was watched live by 72,000 people in the stadium, and watched on television by over a billion people around the world. By focussing attention on the crime of Nelson Mandela's imprisonment, it played a significant part in building up the pressure that secured his release.

Today's concert will be watched live by 76,000 people, and will once again be watched on television by a worldwide audience. But the purpose of today's event is a very different one.

It is above all a celebration of a great victory for justice and humanity. It expresses the desire of the Nelson Mandela International Reception Committee - and through them, millions of people throughout the world - to welcome Nelson Mandela and his comrades to freedom.

RADIO 1 FM COVERAGE

BBC Radio and Television will again join forces to broadcast the Nelson Mandela celebration concert live to millions of viewers and listeners across the UK.

BBC Radio 1 kicks off at 5.15pm on Easter Monday, with a special edition of News 90, looking at the background to this historic event, and the political implications of Mandela's release. Then, at 6.00pm, Radio 1 and BBC 2 television join the concert live, right through until 10.00pm. Stereo sound can be heard on Radio 1 throughout most of the UK, on 97 and 99 on the FM dial.

Dr Richard Skinner is radio's link-man for the four-hour marathon. Richard fronted the concert for BBC television last time around, when he had an 11-hour stint in the tiny TV gallery at Wembley. "It was an incredibly emotional day," he remembers. "If anyone had said that less than two years later, the man himself would be right there on stage for a second concert, we wouldn't have dared believe them. It should be an amazing day."

RADIO 1 TICKET GIVEAWAY

Radio 1 has 5 pairs of tickets to give away. Simply tune to the Gary Davis show between 11.00am and 1.00pm on April 10th, 11th, or 12th to find out how to win.

THE 2 KEY WORDS YOU NEED ARE:

GREAT MUSIC

Gary will be giving clues to the missing words and telling you how to enter - so tune in!
expresses the world’s joy that Nelson Mandela can take his rightful place amongst the leaders of his people. But the concert also has a second purpose of equal importance. Nelson Mandela is in one sense free. But hundreds of others like him are still held in jail. And, like the rest of his people, he is still not fully free, because the system of apartheid still holds his country in its grip. So today’s concert is once again a call to the world.

The pressure must be kept up until South Africa is free! Today’s event at Wembley broke all the stadium’s box office records when it was announced, and sold out in two days. In part, this was because of the knowledge that today’s concert will be a great one. It is without a doubt the music event of the year. But the event has also attracted such unprecedented interest for a different reason. Today, Nelson Mandela will address the world...

As he speaks, the world will be saying:

WELCOME,
NELSON MANDELA.
WE SALUTE YOU,
AND SUPPORT YOU
IN YOUR
JUST CAUSE.
DENZEL WASHINGTON

O' of all the actors in all the world it is appropriate that Denzel Washington should be lending his support to the concert for Mandela.

Washington established himself as one of the finest actors of his generation in an industry not previously remarkable for films that attempt to deal with racist attitudes or black identity.

In Richard Attenborough's much praised story of Steve Biko, Cry Freedom, Washington turned in a finely tuned performance as Biko which won him an Oscar nomination. Other roles have included a part in Norman Jewison's study of army racism, The Soldier's Story, and the leading role for the critically acclaimed For Queen and Country. This year he received an Oscar for Best Supporting Actor for his powerful performance as a renegade soldier in Glory, the tale of the first black regiment of the American Civil War.

Washington first made his mark in the hit TV series St Elsewhere, where his role as Dr Chandler echoed his own medical studies in New York. A brief stint on the stage persuaded him his true vocation lay in acting and after a year's intensive study in San Francisco, he began winning rave notices for his theatre work, notably his portrayal of Malcolm X in When The Chickens Come Home To Roost. His latest work includes Heart Condition, a comedy in which he co-stars with Bob Hoskins, and the much awaited new Spike Lee film, Variations On The Mo Better Blues, in which he plays a jazz musician caught between love, music and poverty.

Along with talents such as Spike Lee and Morgan Freeman, Washington finds himself in the vanguard of an American renaissance that will stamp its authority on the new decade.

PHOTO: EDWARDS, REX FEATURES

DAVE STEWART

If ever there were a pop musician's musician, it is Dave Stewart. The Jagger and the Dylan beat a path to his Crouch End door; he seems to be a permanent fixture in the Brit Awards. While he likes to keep a pair of trademark dark glasses between himself and the world, he can't help but attract the attentions of the international rock elite.

It all started in a vegetarian restaurant in Hampstead, where Dave made one of the crucial decisions of his life. He introduced himself to the waitress, Annie Lennox, launching a collaboration that has resulted in some of the most individual and successful pop records of recent years.

They first made the charts as The Tourists, reaching Number One with a cover of Dusty Springfield's 'I Only Want To Be With You'. The Tourists broke up in 1980, and the pair re-emerged a couple of years later as Eurythmics. The Tourists had been a gawky pop group; Eurythmics were a sophisticated unit whose shrewdly-judged approach to their music won them both a mass audience and the critics' respect.

The pair have maintained their standards over a series of hit singles and albums. Stewart's musical foundation serving not only Lennox's voice, but also the images and visual personas that have extended the impact of their songs. The group played '88's Mandela concert and have given high profile support to Greenpeace.

Eurythmics are currently taking a two-year break, leaving Dave free for even more studio projects. His recent output has included the first major Soviet-Western joint venture in recording the production of the album 'Radio Silence' for his friend Boris Grebenshchikov, of Leningrad's top group Aquarium. He has recently enjoyed a singles chart success with 'Lily Was Here', his collaboration with saxophonist Candy Dulfer.

PHOTO: HUGGE, REX FEATURES
With messages of pride, optimism and unity, Soul II Soul have captured audiences worldwide with their unique and much-imitated sound. Emerging from the North London club scene, they started life as a sound system and have always involved a wide array of talent, first with their club at London’s Africa Centre and then with their two London shops. With a strong and fiercely independent identity, Jazze B and his clan soon gained a loyal following. In ‘88 Jazze teamed up with Nellee Hooper of Bristol hip hop crew The Wild Bunch, and together they put their pop, musical knowledge into practice, using soul, hip hop and reggae and enlisting various female vocalists, amongst them Carola Wheeler. A string of hits followed, from the anthemic ‘Keep on Moving’, ‘Back to Life’, and ‘Get A Life’ to the recent single ‘Dream’s A Dream’. Their ‘Club Classics’ LP injected life into the charts and paved the way for many black British artists now enjoying chart success. The new album, ‘Club Classics Vol. Two’, pays tribute to the roots of the dance music boom, and is fuelled by African and reggae influences.

Soul II Soul’s phenomenal popularity in the States has led to extensive production work for Jazze and Nellee, and plans are in progress for a label, a long-held ambition. “I want to put in what I think is missing in this industry,” says Jazze. “I want to do something more constructive for people who’ve come through my social barriers.”

Cutting across divides of race and class, Soul II Soul have, like Jazze B’s hero Bob Marley, broken down barriers like never before. As Jazze puts it, “We now live in a multi-racial society. Black and white grew up together, we’re compatible. These things are evident, right in front of our faces. It’s the dawning of the new era.”
STANLEY CLARKE

For almost two decades, the towering Philadelphia-born bassist Stanley Clarke has been a leading innovator in his chosen instrument. First coming to prominence in the early '70s as a member of Chick Corea's Return To Forever, his unmistakable blend of post-bop harmonic resources, funky slap-and-pop flash, springy tone and dazzling execution rendered his work as profoundly influential as that of any electric bassist of the decade, rivaled only by his great contemporary, the late Jaco Pastorius.

Leaving Corea to record and perform as a leader in his own right, he established compositions like 'School Days', 'Hot Fun' and 'Lopsided Love' as fusion standards, enticed musicians like John McLaughlin and Jeff Beck to guest on his records, and has continued to operate parallel careers in jazz, rock and funk. Teamming up with keyboard star George Duke for The Clarke-Duke Project, he has also appeared alongside Ron Wood and Keith Richards in The New Barbarians, and reasserted his roots as an acoustic bassist alongside former colleagues Chick Corea and Lenny White in the highly-praised Griffith Park/Echoes Of An Era jazz quintet. He has cut a rap version of Bruce Springsteen's 'Born In The USA', and joined singer/songwriter Deborah Holland and former Police drummer Stewart Copeland in the techno-pop band Animal Logic.

Appropriately enough, his most recent solo album is entitled 'If This Bass Could Only Talk', and its distinguished guest-list includes Wayne Shorter (sax), Allan Holdsworth (guitar), and Freddie Hubbard (trumpet), not to mention a couple of bass-guitar-with-tap-dancing duets featuring Gregory Hines.

No respecter of arbitrary and divisive musical categorisation, Stanley Clarke remains pre-eminent among contemporary electric bassists. Stan is still The Man — and very few people would argue with him even if he wasn't seven feet tall.

NEIL YOUNG

Neil Young's career has been many things — restless, prolific, diverse, quixotic — but, thankfully, never dull. Born in Toronto, Canada in 1945, he was a sickly child who suffered polo, diabetes and epilepsy, but in his teens he found strength through music, playing in a variety of groups including one, The Mynah Birds, which also featured subsequent Motown Star Rick James. Relocating to Los Angeles in 1965, he joined Buffalo Springfield, writing several of their more famous songs, and on their dissolution began a successful double life as both a solo artist and the most dynamic part of the supergroup Crosby, Stills, Nash & Young.

His 22 solo albums have ranged across the various genres of American music, with an unparalleled scope and diversity, his original folk-rock style — heard at his best, perhaps, on the breakthrough 'After The Goldrush LP' giving way to country, R & B, folk, swing, and even synthesizer outings in a way which infuriated both fans and critics.

With bittersweet equanimity he would, for instance, follow an R & B record like 'Re-ac-tor' with the futuristic synthesiser style and vocodered vocals of 'Everybody's Rockin''. Not surprisingly, many of his original fans failed to stay the course as Neil rang his changes throughout the '80s.

A similar restlessness and inconsistency has also applied to his political pronouncements, which have veered from the anti-racist 'Southern Man' and protest of CSNY's 'Ohio' in the early '70s to the more reactionary sentiments of 'Union Man' a decade later. More recently, there has been little doubt where Young stands politically, with his support for the Farm Aid benefit, his anti-sponsorship song, 'This Note's For You', and especially 1989's 'Freedom' album, a remarkable reversion to form featuring the rousing 'Rocking in the World', which became something of an anthem for the momentous events of the last 12 months.
THAT WAS THEN...
ROLLING STONES: 25 X 5: THE CONTINUING ADVENTURES.

NELSON MANDELA:
AN INTERNATIONAL TRIBUTE FOR A FREE SOUTH AFRICA.
Wembley Stadium on June 11, 1988 was the venue for a unique gathering of musicians and performers from all over the world who under the banner of Artists Against Apartheid paid tribute in front of half a billion people in 63 countries to Nelson Mandela for his 70th birthday.
Over two hours of music featuring: Harry Belafonte, Sting, George Michael, Eurythmics, Tracy Chapman, Peter Gabriel, Simple Minds, Aswad, Sly & Robbie, UB40, Chas & Dave, Hugh Masakela, Little Steven, Whitney Houston, Stevie Wonder, Dire Straits.
Eric Clapton.

ROLLING STONES:
The Continuing Adventures of the Rolling Stones
This is the definitive history of the Stones. And the first time they have gone 60 years to tell their own story. With over two hours of brilliantly frank interviews by each member of the band. Featuring 61 tracks of the incredible Stones from 1963 through to their latest album "Sticky Fingers." Under-scored by rare interviews and previously unreleased footage.

... THIS IS NOW
NELSON MANDELA: AN INTERNATIONAL TRIBUTE FOR A FREE SOUTH AFRICA. APRIL 16th 1990.
The "Empress of African Song" is how Miriam Makeba has been known since she left South Africa in 1959. In that time, she has built an international reputation as a singer and songwriter, and as spokesperson for the people she left behind, through her work with the UN and Organisation of African Unity Conference platforms and concerts venues around the world. She has filled her life equally in the years since she first sang doowop and jazz covers and local Xhosa and Zulu songs back home in Johannesburg. Her records have been banned in South Africa ever since she left.

Makeba's best known songs are her '60s hits: the novelty 'Chick Song' and 'Pata Pata', which brought her huge record sales though not all Makeba material is so light.

In the '60s, she became involved with Civil Rights politics and singing took a back seat. Her 1964 debut speech at the UN on behalf of South African Women established her in African politics. "I don't sing politics, I sing the truth," she protests. "I sing about life, if it becomes political, that's because it's real life."

In 1981, Makeba and Hugh Masakela played a historic festival in Lesotho which drew thousands of South Africans over the border to this tiny, beleaguered country. Again, in 1982, Makeba and Masakela were reunited in front of thousands of South Africans who had come to Botswana and the whole world caught her glorious performances on the Graceland tour in 1988.

Her 1988 album, 'Sangoma', saw a return to her roots, to coincide with her moving autobiography, 'Makeba: A Story', and introduced her to a new generation around Europe and the UK.

A live Makeba performance is a precious event. Whether singing in stilettos or bare feet, in dresses or trousers, her songs are applauded by her shy charm and tremendous charisma.
While 70,000 enjoy the performance here...

...millions more will be enjoying the music live at home.

The BBC are broadcasting the concert live throughout the UK on Radio 1 FM and on BBC-2.
Back in 1981, Keith Richards called them ‘the greatest band in the world’. But it wasn’t until last year’s startling ‘Yellow Moon’ LP that The Neville Brothers finally impinged on the mass pop consciousness with a collection that pulled together the disparate strands of a career that has spanned three and a half decades.

Saxophonist Charles Neville began touring in 1952, while the same decade saw brother Art in the R&B charts both as a solo artist and with his first band, The Hawkettes. In the ’60s, it was Aaron’s turn to reach the charts with the million-selling ‘Tell It Like It Is’, while Art converged with the youngest brother, Cyril, to form the seminal soul-funk outfit The Meters. In 1977, The Neville Brothers finally came together and began creating their particular brand of simmering New Orleans’ gumbo, a melting pot of blues, funk and Bayou rhythms which underpinned gritty songs of love and protest.

They recorded four unreleased LPs for four different labels, only 1981’s ‘Flyo on the Bayou’ coming close to the funk-blues that made them one of the world’s hottest live acts. The years of dues-paying finally bore fruit on the Daniel Lanois-produced ‘Yellow Moon’ that merged their patented New Orleans music with an enduring spirituality and a political undertow born of personal struggle. A brace of Dylan covers showed off Aaron’s tremendous falsetto, while ‘One Blood’ and the stirring civil rights ode ‘Sister Rosa’ spoke of a still-burgeoning political consciousness.

‘Racism is legalised in South Africa, institutionalised in America,’ proclaims Cyril ‘M Buku’ Neville, the Rastafarian and brother most intent on exploring African culture and spirituality. On behalf of the band he expresses their admiration for Nelson Mandela who has ‘withstood the indignities, injustices and abuses of apartheid in the name of freedom and our lust for justice and humanity in general.’
Thirteen years ago, a Glasgow punk band with the dubious name of Johnny and the Self-Abusers split up the day it released its first single. The following year its lead singer, Jim Kerr, and its guitarist, Charlie Burchill, formed Simple Minds and went on to become one of the rock phenomena of the Eighties.

For some years Simple Minds were regarded as obscure, experimental, avant-garde; a review of their 1980 LP ‘Real to Real Cacophony’ described it as “probably the most uncommercial album ever released by Arista.” Not until 1982 did they have their first top forty single, the now legendary ‘Promised You A Miracle.’

Their unusual, double-pack release of two single LPs at the same time, ‘Sons and Fascination’ and ‘Sister Feelings Call’, earned substantial plaudits for the band by the time ‘New Gold Dream (81, 82, 83, 84)’ reached the top five the following year, they had finally arrived as a major force in British pop.

After several hit singles and a No. 1 LP (‘Synchronicity in the Rain’), Jim Kerr married the Pretenders’ Chrissie Hynde and the band settled briefly in America, where they went to fame by performing the theme song ‘Don’t You Forget About Me’ in John Hughes’ film ‘The Breakfast Club’. Their arrival was consolidated by their appearance at the Live Aid concert in Philadelphia that year.

Later in the year they toured on behalf of Amnesty International and performed the following summer at the Artists Against Apartheid festival on Clapham Common. More recently, they were one of the major acts at Nelson Mandela’s 70th Birthday Concert at Wembley in 1998. Last year’s album ‘Street Fighting Years’ shot to the top of the charts and contained the track ‘Mandela’s Day’ which had been aired for the first time at the 70th Birthday concert.

PHOTO: BUGGE, REX FEATURES
Before 11 June 1988, few people had heard of Tracy Chapman. Two slots at the 1988 Mandela birthday show changed all that. Among the large-scale acts that filled the stadium, Chapman stood out for her simplicity, melodic drive and direct acoustic delivery. When she sang 'Talkin' Bout A Revolution', everyone listened. Within a year, her debut album had sold over six million copies worldwide, and her follow-up, 'Crossroads', has been similarly successful.

Born in Ohio in 1963, during some of the worst US civil upheavals over desegregation, Chapman benefited from Kennedy’s ABC educational program, winning a scholarship to a private Connecticut boarding school. It was there — moving from a disadvantaged black neighbourhood to a liberal white school — that her outlook changed considerably. It was also the first place I heard contemporary folk music. Before that I thought only John Denver did it!

It was only five years ago that Chapman first played in public. ‘I didn’t have any money or anything to do, so I went out with my guitar and busked.’ A student in Boston, she made money playing all summer until she was spotted and signed to Elektra. With her current massive acclaim, Chapman has become bolder, taking a proud and open stand against racism. Her video interview dealing with black history, along with her Spike Lee-directed ‘Born to Fight’ video, is being distributed free to schools participating in a national US scholarship contest. A reclusive, almost reluctant star, Chapman still sees the pop medium as important for her message. ‘I do believe that if enough people think something can happen, that eventually turns into action,’ she says. ‘People don’t realise that they do have the power to change things.’
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Natalie Cole

Natalie Cole made her stage debut at the age of twelve, performing with black America's first superstar - her father, Nat King Cole. Her father’s career also introduced Natalie to less happy experiences, when success permitted them to move to an affluent white district. The neighbors reacted to the arrival of a black family with hostility and threats.

Natalie didn’t originally intend to follow in her father’s footsteps. She planned to become a child psychologist, but her part-time band came to overshadow her studies.

Her debut album 'Inseparable', released in 1975 achieved gold status, and included the hit single 'This Will Be' and won her Grammies for Best New Artist and Best R'n'B Female Vocal Performance. The rest of the Seventies saw her notch up a string of successful albums, but her career took a downturn in the first half of the Eighties. Then, in 1987, the 'Everlasting' album decisively restored her fortunes.

The biggest hit from that record, a cover of Bruce Springsteen’s 'Pink Cadillac', was a highlight of the 70th Birthday Concert. Natalie performed twice that day; on her own, and in a supergroup along with Joe Jackson, Jonathan Butler and Al Green. With its sunny R & B groove, her show brought a touch of straightforward joy and freshness to an occasion. She returns with another set, 'Good To Be Back', under her belt. There's all the more reason for celebration this time.

STETSONICS

Rap music has proved to be one of the past decade's most innovative forms of music, joining Public Enemy, De La Soul, Queen Latifah, KRS One, and Red Hot Chili Peppers in the public eye this year. Rock-based rap outfits Stetsonics are renowned for their live performances, which put the emphasis more on live instrumentation than on standard tapes or drum machines, they are politically as well as musically aware and have caused a stir with their Solidarity with the Poor States rap with Jesse Jackson.

Formed by leader 'Diddy', Stetsonics signed to the prestigious Boy label with whom they

Two LPs: If the first album, 'Go Stetsonics', was an uneven display of their talents, the second, 'In Full Gear' LP the group proved their versatility and came firmly into their own.

A couple of tracks such as 'Freedom or Death' is followed on the LP by their version of The Fleshtones old chestnut, 'Float On', while with their most celebrated track, 'Talke All That Jazz', they wildly answered the question of sampling and at the same time revealed why of the year's better albums. Stetsonics were also one of the few outfits making jazz with an edge, a trend which is now starting to gather pace.

Outside of the group, the DMC's DJing skills have been used by the likes of Latifah and Third World. At the hands of Prince Paul, in producing the innovative group by De La Soul, has helped to popularize a whole new phase of rap music, pulling away from brutal beats, replacing it with unusual samples and intelligent wordplay; many groups have since taken up the lead. Stetsonics are part of the new move and on past forms may we be hearing its most subversive.
BONNIE RAFFIT

Bonnie Raitt has been singing the blues since she was nine years old. Sometimes joyfully, sometimes sorrowfully, and not uncommonly in anger at the world's injustices. The feeling and power of her vocals, though, has never wavered.

Born in Los Angeles into a musical family headed by singer John Raitt, star of Carousel and The Pajama Game, Bonnie picked up the guitar at nine, and even then was fascinated by the folk and blues on the radio. She gravitated eastwards for college and became a noted feature on the Boston folk scene in the late '60s, singing to WEA records in 1971.

From her first album, 'Bonnie Raitt', her material was a wide-ranging mix of blues, country, contemporary song and her own compositions. Chicago blues legend Junior Wells guested on that album, and Bonnie has worked with a host of famous names on subsequent LPs like 'Taking My Time', 'Sweet Forgiveness', 'Green Light' and 'Nine Lives.'

Photo: David Redfern

Among the names are Chicago bluesmen Lowell George, Van Dyke Parks, J.D. Souther, Paul Rothchild and Ivan Neville. Her tough and tender voice has been raised for several campaigns. In 1979, she helped organise live MUSE (Musicians United for Safe Energy) concerts in New York, which spawned the LP and film 'No Nukes'. Along with her participation in the 'Sun City' project, and the Farm Aid and Amnesty International concerts, in 1987 Bonnie organised an LA benefit to 'Snap Canners Aid', featuring Herb Alpert and Don Henley.

For her most recent album, 1989's 'Nick Of Time', she returned to the more bluesy style of her earlier records with producer Don Was, rewarded this year with a staggering four Grammy awards, including Album Of The Year. Her contribution to this concert is a fitting addition to a career of musical and political commitment.

Little Steven

American musicians who get involved in politics are prone to take part in social and political issues of the day. Raitt has spoken for herself with a call for real change. She has performed at the benefit gigs she played when she was Mimi Smith Van Zandt, of Bruce Springsteen's E Street Band. After going solo in the mid-'80s, she started to explore political issues in her records, and now on the ground too. He visited Nicaragua and South Africa during the course of research for his third solo album 'Freedom - His Compromise' and it was one of the latter experiences that the Sun City project developed.

Using the one-two-punch chorus format that originated with Van Zandt, Raitt wrote the track 'Soul Power' in response to examples of violence and racism. It showed itself to be a single, not just an album, a book and a movie. While it was specifically a response to attempts

Photo: Muzi Rev Pictures
Although no South African jazz artist has worked on his own or been able to dissociate himself from the fight against apartheid, no one has been more closely linked with the ANC and its struggle than pianist Abdullah Ibrahim.

Born Adolpheus Johannes Brand in Cape Town in 1934, he rose to prominence as Dollar Brand with the jazz group the Esquire in the 1950s, after their alto player Kipper Moeketsi discovered him. The Esquire, who recorded the first jazz LP in South Africa, had a remarkable line-up that included Hugh Masekela and Jonas Gweshe.

Ibrahim played in Zanzibar in 1959, where he met the director of Duke Ellington's band. He returned to South Africa in 1960 with a group that included a convert to Islam. Reunited with Moeketsi, he made many of his finest records before he left in 1976, just before the Soweto uprising. His career was marked by the combination of jazz and township pop. 'Mannenberg' is a combination of raw jazz and township pop.

The heart of his music has always been its simplicity. What matters isn't technical finesse, but a mesmerising emotional density that combines the resources South African jazz has to draw on, from mission hall blues to Islamic chant to African folk. Moeketsi, who died in 1983, was the first to hear jazz with a genuinely South African voice. Ibrahim presents the clearest world broadcast of this voice.
The Anti-Apartheid Movement salutes Nelson Mandela and the African National Congress. It takes pride in the contribution it has made to securing the release of Nelson Mandela and other leaders of the ANC, and invites all who are inspired by the example of Nelson Mandela to join the AAM and help us to achieve our goal of ending apartheid.

"Act now to impose such sanctions that will bring about the necessary change and avert what can become the greatest African tragedy of our times."

The Anti-Apartheid Movement is the national organisation in Britain which exists solely for the purpose of helping end apartheid. It was founded in 1959 in response to an appeal by ANC President Chief Albert Luthuli for a boycott of South African goods.

The AAM is Britain's answer to that historic call - the conscience of Britain on the issue of apartheid. The backbone of the AAM is its thousands of national and local members, organised in over 170 local groups. With its more than 1,000 affiliated organisations, and specialist committees mobilising amongst women, black and ethnic minorities, the trade unions, and amongst people of diverse faiths, the AAM offers a place for everyone who wants to join the fight against apartheid.

The AAM campaigns for the total isolation of apartheid South Africa in all fields: diplomatic, political, economic, military, cultural and sporting. The AAM stands for a united democratic non-racial South Africa, and calls for sanctions to be maintained until that goal has been reached.

Join us now to help achieve the release of all political prisoners and detainees, including all those under sentence of death, like the Uprising 14; also an end to the State of Emergency and the repeal of repressive laws, the withdrawal of troops from the townsships and an end to political trials.

Nelson Mandela has spoken warmly of the 'solid support we have received from the Anti-Apartheid Movement throughout the years'. Help us to keep up that support now, for the final push against apartheid!
The Anti-Apartheid Movement wishes to acknowledge its thanks to the above organisations, institutions and commercial bodies which have taken this opportunity to make a further financial contribution to its work.
Hugh Masakela

Though he has lived outside his country longer than he has lived in it, trumpeter Hugh Masakela has been one of the most internationally successful ambassadors for South African music. 'You can live away from home,' he says, 'but it doesn’t change who you are.'

Born in Johannesburg in 1939, his childhood mentor was the Reverend Trevor Huddleston, who got him his first trumpet from the hand of his idol, Louis Armstrong. During his teen years he played in swing, boog and township bands.

He moved to New York in 1960 and with Stuart Levine created a list of brilliant records, including the US hit, ‘Grazing In The Grass’. On the west coast he worked among the greatest jazz and fusion artists of the ‘70s, but got bored and headed for Africa. First stop was London where Masakela recorded ‘Home Is Where The Music Is’ with Dudu Pukwana. He moved to Africa for six years, where he teamed up with Nigeria’s King of Afro-Beat, Fela Kuti.

In 1977, he returned to the US, released albums with Herbie Hancock and wrote the infectious ‘African Convention’. In 1984 he took a mobile recording studio into the Botswana bush, a few miles over the border from South Africa, and recorded two albums, ‘Techno-Bush’ and ‘Waiting For The Rain’. The songs included his moving jive-blues tribute to SA mineworkers, ‘Coal Train/Stimela’. These albums introduced him to a new audience and Masakela’s international status has been guaranteed since.

‘Bring Him Home’ was Masakela’s 1987 tribute to Nelson Mandela, and he was a centre stage guest at London’s celebrations for Mandela’s 70th birthday in 1988.

Masakela’s interest in the rich variety of music of urban Africa. comes into exhilarating focus on 1989’s ‘Uptownship’, which drew on wider sources than ever. The overwhelming feel, though, is township sounds echoing back to Masakela’s deepest roots.

Caiphus Semenya

The extended family of exiled South African musicians includes several who have incorporated American styles into their music as a result of many years of living in the US.

Among these exiles are singer Letta Mbulu and her husband, composer and arranger Caiphus Semenya. Their careers have been entwined with that of Masekela and Makeba ever since they met in the 1969 production of the Johannesburg jazz-opera King Kong. In 1971, Hugh Masekela founded the short-lived Union of South Africa with Semenya and another exile, trombonist Jonas Gwangwa.

Gwangwa, musical director of Amadala, cultural section of the ANC, received with George Fenton, nominations for several Oscars, a Grammy, and other awards for the score of Cry Freedom which featured a unique blend of classical and traditional South African music. He was one of the people who made the ‘88 Wembley Tribute possible, and his work for the anti-apartheid movement is sometimes better known than his music.

Semenya’s contribution to the score of Roots, produced by Quincy Jones, brought him an Emmy award, while his work on the score of The Color Purple earned him an Academy Award in 1986.

Letta’s distinctive singing style reflects the great traditions of both black American and South African vocalists. In recent years she has returned to the stage in off-Broadway musicals.

Semenya, too, has re-involved himself with the theatre, having written the musical, Bwana, charting the history of modern South African music, which toured Africa with great success throughout, 1987-88.

He contributed to the arrangements of Quincy Jones’ startling album, ‘Back on the Block’.

In the sleeve notes of the Roots soundtrack, Jones described Caiphus as ‘our griot whose invaluable assistance kept us in touch with the motherland as well as his spirituality and brotherhood which brought love to this album.’

Jonas Gwangwa
One of the finest vocalists alive, Anita Baker's story has been as much about triumph over adversity as about her vocal talent.

Like so many of her contemporaries, Anita was raised singing gospel, quickly making her mark in her home town Detroit. Linking up with musician Michael Powell, she was invited to join his group, Chapter 8, a respected R & B outfit with whom she cut her first LP in the early '80s.

A deal with independent label Beverly Glen led to her debut solo LP, aptly named The Songstress', produced by Patrick Moten and an acclaimed work which is still a collector's item. With its sophisticated arrangements and exquisitely tailored vocals, the album has endured. Baker was given the perfect platform for her expressive voice. Yet within a year, she was back at her old waitressing job, a handful of rave reviews in one pocket and a pen and pad to take orders for coffee and doughnuts in the other.

Thankfully, The Songstress', along with the support of Michael Powell, among others, led to a major deal with Elektra Records, thus saving her from a life of tips and orders. The two LPs she has made since, 'Rapture' and 'Giving the Best', have catapulted her to the forefront of contemporary vocalists. Her sublime power has aligned with her unerring instinct for the right songs to endear her to millions, but the warmth, even playful character that emanates from the stage has also played its part.

Baker's artistic temperament has often recalled that of the jazz musicians she admires. She is as much at home playing the Montreux Jazz Festival as she will be at Wembley, celebrating a man who, like herself, knows all about the art...
GEORGE DUKE

Super sideman, veteran bandleader, award-winning songwriter, producer and arranger. George Duke is all of these and more.

Born in California, George’s life was changed at four years old when his mother took him to see Duke Ellington perform. “I don’t remember it that well but apparently I went crazy,” he says. “I was running round shouting ‘Get me a piano!’” It was to be four years before George began his musical studies in church, going on to form his own jazz group as a teenager before going on to San Francisco’s Conservatory of Music, from which he graduated in 1967.

He worked at Frisco’s Half Note club, where he played with the likes of Dexter Gordon, Sonny Rollins, and Letta Mbulu. In 1969 he hooked up with violinist extraordinair Jean Luc Ponty and was later drafted into Frank Zappa’s Mothers of Invention, breaking hisstay there to play

PHOTO: DAVID REDFERN

with sax giant Cannonball Adderley. In 1978 his funk single ‘Reach For It’ became a number one US hit, and George hit the top spot again two years later with ‘Sukiyaki’. Since then his services as hitmaker have been in constant demand: Jeffrey Osborne, Deniece Williams, Miles Davis, Melissa Manchester and even Barry Manilow have benefited from his production mastery. He has appeared on scores of albums - his own most recent record is ‘Night After Night’ - and has struck up a partnership with bass player Stanley Clarke that will be renewed at 1990’s concert for Mandela. Says George of the event: “I would hope that tearing down barriers, piece by piece, could continue until the hearts of men change. As we approach the 21st century it will become increasingly clear that separatism is a waste of time. That includes this immoral, impractical and evil system. We are the majority; we can win.”

DANIEL LANOIS

Three of last year’s most highly acclaimed albums owed much of their appeal to the magic touch of producer-cum-artist Daniel Lanois. Only one, ‘Acadia’, was his own work, the others were Bob Dylan’s much publicised return to form ‘Oh Mercy’, and the Neville Brothers’ ‘Yellow Moon’.

Lanois has been producing records for over 20 years, over since he and his brother set up their own studio in their family home in Ontario, Canada. Most of his early clients were local bands, and the first really prestigious customer was experimentalist Brian Eno, then a member of Roxy Music.

Ten years on, the pair of them got together again to produce U2’s ‘The Unforgettable Fire’. In the interim, Lanois had enhanced his reputation steadily, and later went on to produce Peter Gabriel’s ‘Birdy’ soundtrack and best-selling ‘So’, Robbie Robertson’s solo LP and the next U2 work, ‘The Joshua Tree’. Such a glittering list of credits soon earned him the accolade of Most Wanted Man in Pop.

As a performer, Lanois has done little since playing guitar in sleazy nightclubs early in his career. Last year, though, he surprised everyone by releasing ‘Acadia’, a record that showed him to be as adept at carrying out his own musical ideas as imposing them upon others. The folk influences, the Cajun flavour, and the bilingual lyrics (switching between English and French) pay testimony to his homeland. The title refers to the Acadians, Canada’s original French settlers who were defeated by the British in the eighteenth century, moved down to Louisiana and became the Cajuns.

British audiences had their first chance to savour Lanois live on a brief visit to Britain in February. Today’s show will find him lining up next to musicians who are more used seeing him behind the controls of a studio.
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Since its formation in 1912, the ANC has always stood for a South Africa without racism where human dignity and equality will prevail for all. That aim is now in sight.

The ANC is preparing to enter into a political settlement to bring freedom to all South Africans.

Do not forget: the terrible injustice of Apartheid still exists. The majority of South Africans are still told where they can and cannot live, where they can and cannot go. They are still detained without trial... and they still have no vote to change anything, because of policies based solely on the colour of their skin.

We must succeed. But we cannot do it alone.

We are asking you to play a vital role as we advance towards freedom and a non-racial, democratic future for our country.

On this momentous day, we invite you to lend your support to the ANC. Doing so will give you a way of helping our country of this historic time.

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A modest North London mews is mission control for the production of an event at which history will be made before the eyes of a billion people. After agreement on the date of 16 April for the Mandela concert, Tony Hollingsworth and his colleagues at the Tribute Office have had just seven weeks to organise an event to celebrate one man's remarkable lifetime.
It is a concert but it's also an event of major political importance,” says Hollingsworth between trans-Atlantic phone calls. “The project is designed to provide Nelson Mandela with an international TV platform for an appeal to the world. It will be the first time a major international leader has addressed an audience of this size at one time – and may well never be repeated.”

Hollingsworth's involvement began five years ago when Jerry Damms asked him to help organise an event for Artists Against Apartheid and the Anti-Apartheid Movement. He agreed that he would at a future date, but stressed that at least one major rock act would need to be committed before hand.

Two years later Damms phoned again saying that Jim Kerr and Simple Minds were interested in doing something to help benefit the cause.

"I said, 'Ok, they are a big enough act. I'll look into it and see what I can do'. We then began to put together the idea of a 70th birthday tribute to Nelson Mandela... and started to organise what was to become an 11 hour 20 minute broadcast to a billion people."

Last Christmas Hollingsworth was sounded out again, this time about a suitable way to mark what was believed to be Nelson Mandela’s imminent release from prison.

At a meeting early in the New Year, the jailed leader's lawyer, Ismail Ayob predicted that Mandela’s release could take place soon after the state opening of the South African parliament on 2 February.

Meanwhile, the Nelson Mandela International Reception Committee was formally launched on 8 January, with Archbishop Trevor Huddleston as co-convener and a London-based secretariat. It was Trevor Huddleston, who – as president of the Anti-Apartheid Movement – had played such a key role in initiating the 1988 Mandela Concert, and he gave his full support to the project. The International Reception Committee sought the agreement of the ANC and the Reception Committee within South Africa, who were preparing for Nelson Mandela’s release. They responded positively, but insisted that any decision on the event must await Nelson Mandela's release from prison and his personal agreement. That great day came on 11 February, but it took ten days before Nelson Mandela was able to talk on the phone directly to Trevor Huddleston and give his go-ahead – which was confirmed by the ANC on the same day. This left only 54 days to organise the event.
The challenges of staging an event of such magnitude were enormous—a seemingly impossible deadline loomed, the task of lining up major artists, plus technical and production crews and not the least, booking Wembley Stadium for a date outside its normal rock concert season.

There was also the intricate problem of involving BBC, and international television and satellite networks—all of which normally confirm their programming schedules up to six months in advance—and this for an event which was that point just nine weeks away and which be made from a lowered apron in front of the main stage was discarded on the advice of the television director. He felt it would visually diminish the speaker rather than reflect his stature.

Instead, designer Alex Quero of the creative partnership 41, working with Dave Daniels, has devised a set flexible enough to meet the needs of the live and television audience. At the same time it offers a backdrop that reflects the dignity and statesmanship of its central figure.

They were anxious to maintain a continuity with the visuals from the 70th birthday tribute, "Free South Africa" in many languages.

41's Mark Neron has created a strong visual identity and guaranteed continuity by carrying the basic themes behind stage design through all related mediums, from press ads and concert tickets to merchandising and with the help of EMP, television graphics.

Stage manager Dave Russell has assembled a team of rock's top concert personnel to ensure first-class presentation. Having experienced the 70th birthday tribute as tour manager of Eurythmics, he knows the difficulties a live broadcast can entail. This time there is only one stage and

would have a major political content and which would require internationally-known artists.

The talents of top designers and other key personnel were harnessed to oversee the planning of the event.

Jonathan Park of Fisher Park, a design company specializing in stage sets for rock events was chosen to provide a fitting visual impact. "The visuals have to work on a number of different scales," explains Park. "Even when the camera is in close-up on a band, we want the viewer to be aware of the context of the show. The polemic is not intended to be obtrusive, but it's important that it is recognisable as being part of this particular moment in history."

An early plan for Nelson Mandela's address to namely a stark black and white motif based on the woodcuts of the late Namibian artist John Muafangejo relieved only by a red zig-zag pattern. They decided to introduce colour in celebration of Nelson Mandela's release, at the same time placing strong photographic images of the apartheid regime behind the musicians to remind audiences of the need for further change.

Initially the entire stage will be enclosed by a vast black and white frieze of Muafangejo's work 'Hope And Optimism In Spite Of Present Difficulties'. The central section will pull back to reveal the stage set, which includes eight suspended panels printed with the now familiar red zig-zag, plus celebratory images of black and white hands clasped or clapping and the message a strict four-hour schedule for the concert segment. This precludes sound checks and makes set changes difficult.

"We're asking for enormous faith and cooperation from the artists," he says. "But it's not just a pop show, and the worst thing would be to make a bad job of it. At the end of the day, we all know that it's Nelson Mandela that headlines the show."

And what will Nelson Mandela himself make of his "supporting bill"?

"I don't think he views it like that," says Hollingworth with a smile. "I think he sees the enormous commitment of the broadcasters, the artists and the audience themselves, and I'm told he is tremendously pleased and grateful for it."
JOHN MUAFANGEJO

In the 1988 Mandela concert John Muafangejo was featured as a small part of the act. This time his work is more prominent. This great Namibian artist seldom portrayed the landscape, the wildlife or the indigenous people. He was concerned with the state of humanity, our inner turmoil and, like all great artists, he touches universal feelings. His “Vision of Hope and Optimism in Spite of Present Difficulties” (used in the last and present concert) and the handshake in the present one – representing the reaching out to and between peoples, nations, continents – are a fitting tribute to the ideals of Nelson Mandela.

Muafangejo was a Kwanjama (as is Sam Nujoma, President of Namibia) of the Ovambore tribe from northern Namibia. He was basically self-taught and has been described as a printmaker of world class, and as one of the best masters of the linocut. Edward Lucie-Smith states that “his most ambitious and splendid prints will easily bear comparison with the great German Expressionist masters of the woodcut, such as Heckel, Kirchner and Schmidt-Rottluff”.

Born in 1943 in Etunda lo Nghadi, he lived in Namibia all his life. He has won numerous international awards and his works hang in many public collections. A retrospective of his work tours the UK later this and early next year, and West Germany in 1987. A catalogue of his graphic works is in preparation to be published shortly.

He died in November 1987 aged 44.

‘WE ALL KNOW THAT IT’S NELSON MANDELA THAT HEADLINES THE SHOW’

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A child is born
In a world without unity
He grows into a man
Trying to do the best he can
But the law of his nation
Is to take away his dignity
To make him a slave
In a land dying to be free
So I say:

Father, give praise to the motherland
Father, give praise to the motherland
Won't you give it praise?

I believe
That one day
We shall hear the voices of the people singing
(Motherland) The motherland is free!
Motherland is from where we come
Throughout the universe we are all as one
Mother, father, sister, brother
Love yourself and one another
Cause we will all be free
From the chains that bind me
So I say:

Father, give praise to the motherland
Father, give praise to the motherland

Oh father
Won't you give us praise
Won't you give us praise.
For the children
For the children
I say freedom
I say freedom

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The cooltempo family gives its support to the hopes and dreams of Nelson Mandela
INDESTRUCTIBLE

BEATS

RESISTANCE MUSIC & CULTURE
HAS BEEN CRUCIAL IN KEEPING ALIVE
THE SPIRIT OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN
PEOPLE AND HAS BROUGHT NEW
AUDIENCES TO UNDERSTAND THE
REALITY OF APARTHEID.
Singing the wrong song in South Africa can cost you your liberty or your life. Consider the case of 17-year-old Mncini Mginwya, gunned down at a Grahamstown funeral for ‘singing in his own language’ according to the riot police officer who shot him. Or the case of two reggae musicians gaolled in 1983 for performing ‘Free Nelson Mandela’ on stage.

Apartheid’s attempts to close minds and distort truth has consistently brought it into conflict with musicians, poets, playwrights, actors, photographers and painters. Their works and performances censored and banned, they themselves have been harassed, imprisoned, and forced into exile. Those who have stayed have effectively been exiles in their own land, denied access to the media or the chance to make a living from their art.

Today the laws governing self-expression in South Africa extend from prohibiting foreign and home-produced books, records and films. There is rigid censorship of newspapers and a state monopoly of television.

Each turn of the apartheid screw has been accompanied by further curtailments on creative freedom. Yet despite all the crackdowns, the townships still buzz with poets. Black South African musicians are honoured the world around, and “Nkosi Sikelelwa”, the song composed by Enoch Sontonga in 1897, and the country’s real national anthem, continues to be sung: “Lord bless Africa, May her horn be raised”.

Culture and resistance have always gone hand in glove in South Africa. As far back as 1913 songs protested about land clearance and the conditions of black workers, drafted in from the country to work the coal, diamond and gold mines. The growth of heavy industry and big cities gave black culture an urban quality that is rare elsewhere in Africa. Escape from drudgery was found in shanty-town shebeens, where a new music, marahl, was born of the clash of western and African forms.

Jazz took a grip on South Africa early on and has never let go. Musicians like Louis Armstrong and Duke Ellington were popular models for South African musicians, while homegrown singers like Dolly Rathebone became enormously popular in the ’40s and ’50s.

Soweto, the legendary suburb of Johannesburg, which was flattened by government bulldozers in the late ’50s, was the epicentre of a popular culture rich in musicians, writers, artists, and sporting heroes.

Jazz musicians like Hugh Masekela, Jonas Gwangwa and Dollar Brand (now Abdullah Ibrahim) played in big bands which helped break the virtual monopoly of white concert promotion. Johannesburg’s Donkey House was the home for both music and theatre, including the first internationally successful non-racial production King Kong (1958). After the horrors of the Sharpeville massacre and the increased clampdown of the early ’60s, many artists went into exile — Masekela and Ibrahim among them.

Dissent was never confined to black writers and artists; every African writer of note has disowned the regime, and many, like Breyten Breytenbach, have left. English-language writers like Nadine Gordimer and Alan Paton, who stayed, gave voice to the liberal conscience, often under house arrest. They, at least, were able to publish and be read around the world. Black writers like Alex la Guma and Lewis Nkosi, mostly remained unpublished and unheard in their own country.

Apartheid’s clampdown on culture was worthy of the thought police in George Orwell’s 1984. His Animal Farm remained banned, along with such classics of subversion as Black Beauty. All manner of material, theatre and literature, was and remains banned.

Theatre has managed to get away with more pungent comment than other media in plays like Siwelele is Dead (1972), Wozza Albert and Bopha, all of which have toured the world along with musicals like Sarafina.

There were calls for a cultural boycott as early as 1954 from Trevor Huddleston, the popular English priest whose parish included Soweto. Within a few years, Equity, the British actors’ union, and the Musicians’ Union, responded.

In 1965, sixty-five US artists, including names like Harry Belafonte, Sidney Poitier and Nina Simone, joined together to “Say No To Apartheid”. In 1969 the United Nations gave the cultural boycott its endorsement. This, together with the Gleneagles Agreement of 1977, which banned sporting links, has helped turn the South African government into a pariah regime.

One effect of the boycott was to clear the ground at home for the emergence of an alternative culture, grounded in the experience of the black majority.

After the seismic shift of the 1976 Soweto uprising, this oppositional culture bloomed and flourished, in spite of government attempts to extinguish it.

Poems of defiance and hope were published on underground presses. Dramatic murals kept testimony of police cruelty. Artists’ and writers’ federations were established. A massive literacy campaign was launched, operating through the thousands of township organisations known as ‘civics’ which help constitute the United Democratic Front.

The South African government has always tried to bypass the boycott, offering fat contracts to performers and ‘rebel’ sports stars and supplying a few token mixed audiences to ease consciences.

The construction of Sun City, a vast playboy paradise set within the borders of Bophuthatswana, was another attempt to lure international talent — without the embarrassment of a South African passport stamp — until the UN Register of artists who have performed in apartheid South Africa, instituted in 1983, gave the boycottbusters nowhere to run — a point emphasised by...
Artists United Against Apartheid's 'Sun City' record that year.

Around this time, interest in South African music began to grow, buoyed by the fresh sounds emerging throughout the continent and the boon in 'world' music.

In 1987 the cultural boycott was amended so that it would isolate the oppressor, and not silence the oppressed, clearing the way for a new international audience for the country's alternative culture.

The same year in Amsterdam, a conference entitled 'Culture In Another South Africa' (CASA), brought together a wide range of the country's artistic talent — both exiles and non-exiles. It was a showcase of resistance culture and an outline of future strategy. In the words of poet Mongane Wally Serote: "We are here to help South Africa towards sanity rather than just talk about her madness."

Despite the segregation enforced since the '50s, music and theatre have been instrumental in breaking down the barriers erected by apartheid.

Pop, rock, soul and reggae from the world beyond South Africa's borders have found eager ears on both sides of the racial divide, while collaborations between black and white musicians, and the mixed audiences that gather to hear them, have persistently defied government notions of "separate development."

The Blue Notes, a mixed jazz group formed in the early '60s, was one example the government tried to discourage. Then, on a trip to a Dutch jazz festival in 1964, the band decided to defect en masse.

Exiled in London, the group's talented line-up became a central part of the British jazz scene, mutating first into the Brotherhood of Breath, lead by arranger and pianist Chris McGregor. Many of the constituent musicians, including saxophonist Dudu Pukwana and drummer Louis Moholo, went on to lead their own outfits. They remain active players in the UK, and were subsequently joined by exiles like Julian Bahula and Brian Abrahams, leader of District Six, named after the Cape Town community wiped out by the Group Areas Act.

Jazz remains a central part of the South African music scene, and was just one of the ingredients that went into the creation of mbanga in the '60s. Mbanga was the music of the migrant workers in the townships and miners' hostels, music for city people with country roots. Its potent rhythmic mix borrowed from R&B and Zulu dance, its vocals included the growling call and response of Mahlathini and the precise harmonies of the Mahotella Queens, along with The Soul Brothers, two of mbanga's biggest stars.

Another strand in the diversity of South African music is kwela, the jumpy penny-whistle music of the township young which emerged between the '40s and '60s, followed by Soweto — a later tougher version. Black South Africa also has numerous pop acts like Brenda and the Big Dudes who stick to western funk and dance formulae, and an endless appetite for western stars from UB40 to Tracy Chapman.

Though mostly confining itself to everyday matters, mbanga hits sometimes managed to speak indirectly about the struggle. But outspoken lyrics risk banning orders and spell disaster for careers.

As it is, black South African music receives pitiful support and promotion. Royalties are virtually non-existent, so that a major act can still be penniless at the end of a prolific career.

It goes without saying that the media and music industry is geared to apartheid's grand plan. Government services like Bop TV and such stations as Radio Zulu and Radio Khosa pump out the correct 'ethnic' culture — hand in hand with government propaganda. The 'white' radio stations do not play 'black' music.

The involvement of the international entertainment industry in South Africa is for the most part a tawdry one.

Most of the multi-national record companies have been keen to exploit the large market for western music, and artists who have tried to prevent the release of their records there have often been ignored or outmanoeuvred.

The film industry has likewise shown few scruples about releasing its movies; in fact South Africa remains the eleventh biggest customer for Hollywood films. Profit has always come out ahead of principle. Mapantsula (1988) — a kind of Soweto Harder They Come about the life of a petty thief — and is one of the only SA produced films to deal with township life. The government, desperate for hard currency, meanwhile offers western film-makers maximum co-operation for their productions.

While the sound of the Afrikaner suburbs remains sentimental white pop — Jim Reeves is big — local white rock has provided some alternative and has remained tuned to developments beyond the confines of the lager.

Western records that smack of subversion are
routinely banned, Pink Floyd’s ‘The Wall’, and Peter Tosh’s ‘Equal Rights’ in the mid ’70s, for example, although the Sutherland Brothers’ innocuous ‘Something’s Burning’ became a hit with fresh meaning in the light of the Soweto uprising.

Seventies punk bands, like the Radio Rats, confirmed that larger-land was certainly No Fun, and in the ’80s numerous rock bands supported the End Confrontation Campaign.

The ECC’s ‘Forces Favourites’ LP was the first anti-apartheid rock compilation in the country, issued by the plucky independent Shifty Records, which also put out records by Lesotho’s Samone and the brilliant dub poet Mzwakhe Mbuli – recently released from six months’ solitary confinement in police cells.

In the ’80s, Johnny Clegg’s dynamic mix of rock with mbaqanga has won a vast international audience. A white university student with an intense interest in Zulu culture, he teamed up with migrant worker Sipho Mchunu to form the multi-racial Juluka. Savuka, his new group, has proved even more successful, and continues to feature some impressive izilami (stamping) dancing.

Western pop ears have also turned to Zulu mbaqanga for inspiration. Ignoring the boycott, Malcolm McLaren plunders its old hits for his ‘Duck Rock’ LP, and Paul Simon borrowed freely for ‘Graceland’, whose enormous international success also owes a large debt to the Zulu choir Ladysmith Black Mambazo, who sing in the church-influenced mbube a cappella style.

These days, you can even hear Ladysmith Black Mambazo on the TV advertisements promoting lemonade – such is the universal appeal of music.

The artistic riches of South Africa are yet to be rewarded commercially. But they have already advanced the day of liberation.

Today, the country’s popular culture stands poised to regain its birthright and to burst gloriously into the international arena.
PLAYLIST

The Indestructible Beat of Soweto Yola 1-3 (Earthworks)
Indispensable compilations of the township sound.

Mabintu & the Mahotella Queens: Thokozile (Earthworks)
Call and response singing from the melodic female into and growing singer.

Miriam Makeba:
Sangoma (WEA)
Moving collection of Songs from back home, recorded in '88.

Hugh Masekela:
Stir-crazy (Jive)
1984 album marking a new chapter for the distinguished trumpeter.

Abdulla Ibrahim:
Voice of Africa (Kaz)
Double LP set of two of the pianist's 1970s classics, including the celebrated 'Mannenberg'.

District 6:
Imagie Nibusamn (Song For The Children) (De)
Latest release from the fiery quintet led by drummer Brian Abraham.

Dudu Pukwana's Spear:
In The Townships (Earthworks)
The exiled saxophonist's dazzling 1971 tribute to his roots.

Lady Smith Black Mambazo:
Shaka Zulu (WEA)
First western release for the kings of male choral singing.

Johnny Clegg & Savuka:
Cruel, Crazy, Beautiful World (EMI)
The white Zula's most recent record, polished and direct.

Mzwakhe:
Change is Pain (Pramba)
Heart-touching poems from the Soweto bard, set to lively musical backing.

Radio Freedom (Rounder)
Samples of the "Voice of the ANC", broadcast from the front line states.

Let Their Voices Be Raised (Rounder)
The anthem "Sikelelwa Africa" and other choral songs.

MZWAKHE
DUB POET OF SOWETO

Change Is Pain
GONE WITH THE TWILIGHT
A Story of Sophiatown

LEFT:
GONE WITH THE TWILIGHT, (ZED 1987)
PHOTO: BOB GOSANI
BAILEY'S

BOTTOM:
KWELA PLAYERS
PHOTO: IDAF

OPPOSITE PAGE
TOP:
THE MAHOTELLA
QUEENS
PHOTO: BABAN,
ALL ACTION

OPPOSITE PAGE
BOTTOM:
CHANGE IS PAIN,
MZWAKE, DUB POET
OF SOWETO (LC 7717)
PHOTO: G. MENDEL

PRINT
Stern's Guide to
Contemporary
African Music
(Pluto Press £9.95)
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section and
discography on
South Africa
alongside
other countries.

Resistance Art in
South Africa
by Sue Williams
(CIB £9.99)
A comprehensive
guide to the
work of artists of
tall races.

South African
Township Art
(Thames & Hudson £9.99)
A look at the principal
township painters and
sculptors.

Gone with Twilight by
Don Mattera
(Zed £3.95)
Account of 1950s
Sophiatown life by
ex-gang member.

Makeba: My Story by
Miriam Makeba
(Bloomsbury £13.95)
Moving autobiography
from South Africa's first
lady of song.

Culture in
Another South Africa
(Zed £9.95)
Essays and papers from the
historic 1987 conference
in Amsterdam, with
poems and photographs,
giving a full picture of
South African
popular culture.

In Township Tonight by
David B. Caplan
(Longmans £10)
Thorough survey of black
South Africa's city music
and theatre, if a little
stiffly written.

Before Dawn by
Mzwakhe Mbuli
(Congress of
South African Writers)
First volume of work by
Soweto poet.

ALL ABOARD
THE JAZZ
TRAIN!

LEFT:
THE JAZZ PARADE,
FROM
'THE FIFTIES PEOPLE
OF SOUTH AFRICA',
THIS AND OTHER
VOLUMES, PUBLISHED
BY BAILEY'S ARCHIVES
(DISTRIBUTED BY
HEINMANN).

The life of Fifties black
South Africa can be
glimped through the
back pages of the now
defunct (but magazine,
the brilliant photo-journal
of the age. Now gathered
in book form, its
photographs include the
celebrities of the era, from
Mandela to boxing champ
Ezekiel Dlamini and
musicians like them from
The Jazz Parade pictured
here. The troupe travelled
from Johannesburg to
Durban, and included
names like singer Dolly
Rathibe and Gene
Williams and dancer
Roney Molama. Life on
the rails or road wasn't all
fun, Mntum' Makeba's
autobiography recounts
the dreary, regimented
routine imposed on
musicians.
PATIENCE STRENGTH DETERMINATION
THE HISTORY OF THE ANC

COMMITTED AT FIRST TO NON-VIOLENCE AND PEACEFUL RESISTANCE, THE ANC WAS FORCED TO TAKE UP ARMS AGAINST THE BRUTALITY OF THE APARTHEID REGIME. NOW, AFTER 78 YEARS OF STRUGGLE, THE ANC IS PREPARING FOR THE LEADING ROLE IN A DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA.

For many people, Nelson Mandela was more a legend than a human being until he walked out into the sunlight on that famous Sunday afternoon. Behind both the man and the legend stands the organisation which moulded Mandela and which today is at the centre of the whirlwind of change in South Africa - the African National Congress (ANC).

The ANC was born in 1912 out of the earlier South African Native Convention. Its aim was to unite Africans in a white minority-rulled country to fight for equal rights. Only now, nearly 80 years on, is that goal finally in sight. For 50 years the ANC tried to achieve its aims by peaceful means but its representations to the Government were ignored. But this time, rights were removed from Africans, from restricting areas where they could buy land in 1913 to removing their rights to vote in 1936.

In 1948, the National Party was elected into government on a platform of apartheid, which means 'separateness' in Afrikaans. It has ruled South Africa ever since.

Faced with this, the ANC launched a major protest programme which included, for the first time, plans for mass, but non-violent, defiance of the apartheid laws.

But the peaceful protests met with a violent response from the Government. On May 1, 1950, police opened fire on demonstrators calling for the...
vote, killing 18 people. The same year South Africans were divided into racial groups and legislation introduced to enforce their segregation.

New laws extending apartheid followed thick and fast. But protest and resistance grew with each one. By 1952 the membership of the ANC had grown from 4,000 to 180,000 and it widened its support among Coloureds, Indians and Whites who supported the call for equal rights. The white Congress of Democrats was also formed in support of ANC policies.

The same year, the ANC and sister organisation the South African Indian Congress (SAIC) jointly launched the Mass Defiance Campaign Against Unjust Laws. Thousands of people faced arrest and imprisonment for breaking the law. New legislation was introduced removing trade union and education rights from Africans.

A number of organisations fighting apartheid joined together at this point to form the Congress Alliance, including the ANC, SAIC, the newly-formed South African Congress of Trade Unions, the South African Coloured People’s Congress and the Congress of Democrats.

Workers and peasants, tribal leaders and city slickers, men of the cloth and women housewives, taxi drivers, teachers, students and shopkeepers all found a home in the Alliance and all had their say in drawing up the Freedom Charter in 1955. South Africa’s version of the Magna Carta and blueprint for a society without apartheid. Its key idea is that “South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white.”

As the anti-apartheid protests grew, the Nationalist government tried harder to repress them. Leaders of the Congress Alliance were arrested and charged with high treason — later to be acquitted. Active opponents of apartheid were hounded in their homes, arrested and tortured, sometimes murdered, in prison.

Outbreaks of unrest were occurring across the country and rallies and marches continued to be broken up by police. In 1960 they opened fire on a demonstration organised by the breakaway Pan-Africanist Congress in Sharpeville — 69 people were killed and many injured.

The ANC successfully called for people to stay at home for a day in protest. The Government responded by declaring a State of Emergency, arresting over 20,000 people, banning the ANC and other organisations and introducing detention without trial.

The ANC’s choice now was to submit or fight, recognising that it was no longer possible to achieve its aims solely by non-violent means. The leaders went underground or into exile and a military wing was formed. Its intention was to destroy property but leave civilians unharmed and it succeeded in striking critical blows at key economic targets such as oil and nuclear power plants.

Support for the ANC continued after it went underground. To fill the vacuum left by the banned organisations, other organisations sprang up, many of them inspired by the ANC’s non-racial philosophy and its broad, unifying approach.

In 1963 the United Democratic Front (UDF) was formed to unite popular opposition at local and regional level to constitutional “reforms” that would bring them in by the beleaguered Bophuthatswana government. These brought in second-class parliaments for Indians and Coloureds but offered nothing to Africans at national level.

The UDF soon had over 600 affiliates — varying enormously in size and character but embracing the diversity of social forces which the ANC had attracted in the 1950s.

Two years later the Congress of South African Trades Unions (COSATU) was formed — the biggest non-racial trade union federation yet established in South Africa. The UDF, COSATU and their hundreds of affiliates constitute the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM), under whose broad umbrella a host of organisations — youth, students, women, traders, workers, religious people of all faiths and every sort of community and civic organisation — have come together to fight for freedom.

It was the MDM which led the mass defiance campaign which in 1989 forced concession after concession from the Pretoria government, culminating in the release of Mandela himself and the unbanning of the ANC and other organisations such as the South African Communist Party which are dedicated to ending apartheid.

In 1988 the ANC went a step further, introducing the “Constitutional Guidelines for a Democratic South Africa” for discussion by all those seeking a democratic solution. The document has been widely endorsed within the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) and many other organisations were involved in the Conference for a Democratic Future at the end of last year, where delegates from over 2,000 organisations — representing about 15 million people in all — called for a constituent assembly composed of representatives of all South Africans to draw up a new democratic constitution for a new South Africa. Such an assembly would fit within the framework of the ANC’s guidelines for a negotiated end to apartheid adopted in the OAU’s Harare Declaration on South Africa.
OVER THE YEARS, THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY HAS PUT MOUNTING PRESSURE ON THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT TO ABANDON APARTHEID. FORCED INTO INCREASING ISOLATION AS EVEN ITS FRIENDS AND ALLIES TURNED THEIR BACKS IN DISGUST, THE REGIME HAS FINALLY BEEN FORCED TO START OPENING THE DOORS TO NEGOTIATIONS.

Many people were surprised when Nelson Mandela praised India in his first speech on leaving prison. But it was India which started the isolation of South Africa nearly half a century ago when it refused to trade with the apartheid regime. The rest of the international community gradually followed its example.

But it took the 1960 Sharpeville massacre to bring home to the world the real horror of apartheid. At that time, South Africa was still a full member of the United Nations and the Commonwealth and maintained naval co-operation with Britain under the Simonstown Agreement. The massacre brought apartheid to the attention of the world's major forums and led to widespread condemnation of the South African government.

In 1974, South Africa was barred from the General Assembly.

Throughout this time the Assembly's calls for an arms embargo were vetoed by two members of the UN Security Council - the United States and the United Kingdom - which opposed apartheid in principle but wanted to stop short of any action which would damage their own economic interests in South Africa.

The 1976 Soweto massacre, the death of Steve Biko and the banning of 18 organisations and a daily newspaper in 1977 finally changed this. The Security Council declared that apartheid was a threat to international peace and security and imposed a mandatory ban on arms sales to South Africa.

After Zimbabwe's independence in 1980, the UN Security Council called unanimously for the release of Nelson Mandela from prison. In December 1989 the General Assembly endorsed the Harare Declaration drawn up by the OAU a few months previously: This spells out what the South African government should do to create the climate for negotiations to establish democracy in South Africa.

The UN has also played a key role in the cultural and sporting boycotts. It set up a register of entertainers and sportsmen and women who have performed in South Africa.

The register has proved to be an effective deterrent to most artists and athletes tempted by the huge sums being offered in return for breaking the boycott.

1983: Formation of the United Democratic Front in opposition to the setting up of a segregated parliament with coloured and Indian houses under white control, and excluding African participation.

October: Troops garrison the township to suppress unrest. In the next two years tens of thousands of people are detained without trial, amongst them 11,000 children, some as young as nine years old. Many are subjected to psychological and physical abuse.

July: Clash Manhannya, America's second largest bank, announces it will cease to lend to South Africa, precipitating the same action from other major creditors. The Rand plunges.

September: South Africa announces a freeze on repayments of international debt, its most serious economic crisis to date. Within days, business leaders fly to London to meet the ANC.

November: Formation of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) brings together most of the big trade unions.

1986: Nationwide State of Emergency proclaimed. Thousands of activists detained, all political gatherings banned and media censorship is made even tighter than before.

October: The US Senate overrides President Reagan's veto to impose the strongest sanctions on any of South Africa's major trading partners.

THE COMMONWEALTH

The Commonwealth, with its multi-racial mix of 50 large and small countries, was founded on the principles of cooperation and mutual trust, principles betrayed by apartheid. In 1961, South Africa left the Commonwealth before the decision to expel it was made. The Commonwealth has played a major role in the international campaign against apartheid, including adopting the Gleneagles Agreement - which banned sporting contacts with South Africa - in 1977. In 1986, its Eminent Persons Group attempted unsuccessfully to mediate a negotiated end to apartheid. The same year the Commonwealth imposed sanctions against South Africa despite opposition from the UK. Many members of the Commonwealth believe that Britain's isolation over this issue has been complete and damaging.
THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

The European Community may be the next important focus of opposition. Many of its members have trading links with South Africa, but it has the administrative structures and executive powers to make decisions binding on its members, unlike the Commonwealth or the UN General Assembly. While the Community has dragged its feet over economic sanctions—a coal embargo has been on the agenda for years—some of its member states have been generous with funding for anti-apartheid organisations and community projects within South Africa itself.

ORGANISATION OF AFRICAN UNITY (OAU)

The OAU was founded in 1963—South Africa was excluded. It has been an effective voice against apartheid, countering Pretoria's efforts to persuade governments to ignore the boycott. In 1973 member states joined with Arab countries to impose an oil embargo against South Africa. At the same time, the OAU called for a total economic boycott of South Africa, which was supported by the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference, which includes South Africa's neighbours.

In August 1989, the OAU paved the way for future negotiations to establish democracy in South Africa by adopting the Harare Declaration.

OTHER WORLD ORGANISATIONS

Other organisations which have consistently opposed apartheid in principle and in practice include the International Labour Organisation, the World Council of Churches and the International Olympic Committee, which has banned South Africa from participating since the 1964 Tokyo Olympics.

1988: 

February—As a result of pressure from the anti-apartheid forces, the European Community and the United States, trade relations with South Africa are suspended. The United Nations imposes economic sanctions against South Africa.

1988: 

March—The movement towards a peaceful negotiated solution to the conflict in Namibia begins with the signature of the Luderitz Agreement between South Africa and Namibia.

1988: 

June—"Nelson Mandela Freedom at 70" statement at Westminster is watched by over one billion people worldwide.

1989: 

November—SWAPO with a substantial victory in Namibia's first free election, leading the way to independence in March 1990.

1990: 

2nd February—De Klerk announces the imminent release of Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of the ANC and other organisations. The State of Emergency and other repressive and apartheid laws are still in force.

11th February—Nelson Mandela walks free from Victor Verster prison.
faith

HOPE AND CHARITY

“THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY HAS BEEN EXTREMELY SUPPORTIVE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN STRUGGLE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, THEY KEPT IT ALIVE.”

LEFT:
MOZAMBIQUE CHILD IN A CHRISTIAN AID REFUGEE CAMP AT MAZOE RIVER BRIDGE, 1989.
PHOTO: HOWARD BURDITT, CHRISTIAN AID

ABOVE:
SUNFLOWER CO-OPERATIVE ON THE FRONT LINE AT FOSISIBERI VILLAGE 10, NEAR BULAWAYO ZIMBABWE SPONSORED BY CHRISTIAN AID.
PHOTO: HOWARD BURDITT
SAVE THE CHILDREN

Save the Children (STC) used the funds it received from the 1988 Wembley concert to aid children in southern Africa, particularly via community health work in the townships of South Africa itself. It also helped national immunisation programmes in Swaziland and Lesotho and World Food Programme's distribution of food to 300,000 children in Lesotho.

In Mozambique, STC co-operates with the government on national child immunisation campaigns and in relocating 5,000 war orphans in Zambezita province. It is also assisting a large new agricultural project in the province to help feed the refugees. Refugees who fled to Zimbabwe are assisted by STC, which trains health workers on commercial farms there.

CHRISTIAN AID

Christian Aid is committed to raising awareness in Britain of the causes of the war in Mozambique and works in Zambezita province with the Christian Council of Mozambique. Christian Aid also helps refugees from Mozambique in Malawi and Zimbabwe, and South African families where the head of household has been imprisoned, injured or killed by the authorities. Some of its funds have gone towards resettling refugees in Namibia, and it looks forward to assisting in the resettlement of refugees in a free South Africa.

OXFAM

This month Oxfam is launching a campaign to show how apartheid has affected millions of ordinary people all over southern Africa.

In Mozambique and Angola, refugees from wars promoted by the apartheid regime are being given help with clothing, seeds, tools and food. In Mozambique, Oxfam is helping to rebuild schools, health centres and shops destroyed by anti-government rebels, who have killed and maimed thousands of civilians in their South African-backed attempt to overthrow the government.

In Namibia and Angola, destabilisation by the former regime has been coupled with a severe drought which Oxfam is helping to relieve. Long-term projects in the region are based on Oxfam's 30 years of experience in southern Africa, and include agriculture, primary health care, youth unemployment, legal aid, re-forestation and work with groups of disabled.

IDAF

The International Defence and Aid Fund (IDAF) for Southern Africa has a specific mandate to ensure the legal defence of victims of apartheid, to aid their families, and to inform the world about apartheid. It points out that despite the recent unbanning of political organisations in South Africa, apartheid is still in place. It has been estimated that over 1,000 political prisoners. IDAF and its British affiliate, BDAF, have been involved in the most famous apartheid trials, such as when Mandela himself was imprisoned, and in many smaller trials when children were jailed for opposing apartheid.

BART

The Bishop Ambrose Reeves Trust (BART) is a registered educational charity, dedicated to promoting knowledge about the effects of apartheid. It is named in memory of the late Bishop of Johannesburg, who was deported from South Africa in 1960 for speaking out against the Sharpeville massacre. BART used its funds from the 1988 Wembley concert to fund a special Children's Information Project to highlight the effects of apartheid on children in South Africa, Namibia and the Frontline States.

All these agencies are grateful for your support in building a new South Africa, where to quote Mandela: "We have no whites, we have no blacks, we have only South Africans." Donations can be sent to the following addresses:
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Artists Liaison:
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BACK COVER PHOTO: LINK
Now is the time;
To give me roses;
Not to keep them;
For my grave to come;
Give them to me;
While my heart beats;
Give them today;
While my heart yearns for jubilee;
Now is the time.
SIMPLEMINDS

the video

live and on the streets

may 18th