‘Free Mandela! Free Mandela!’ Hamish Henderson, Nelson Mandela, and the Fight Against Apartheid in South Africa

Eberhard Bort

They have sentenced the men of Rivonia
Rumbala rumbala rumba la
The comrades of Nelson Mandela
Rumbala rumbala rumba la
He is buried alive on an island
Free Mandela Free Mandela
He is buried alive on an island
Free Mandela Free Mandela[1]

It was an honour and a pleasure to be invited to speak about Hamish Henderson and Nelson Mandela at the 2013 People’s Festival in Edinburgh – the festival once founded by Hamish and now organised in his memory.

Nelson Mandela in George Square, Glasgow, 9 October 1993 (photograph: David Pratt)

[1] Hamish Henderson, ‘Rivonia’, in *Collected Poems and Songs*, edited by Raymond Ross, Edinburgh: Curly Snake, 2000, pp.150-51.

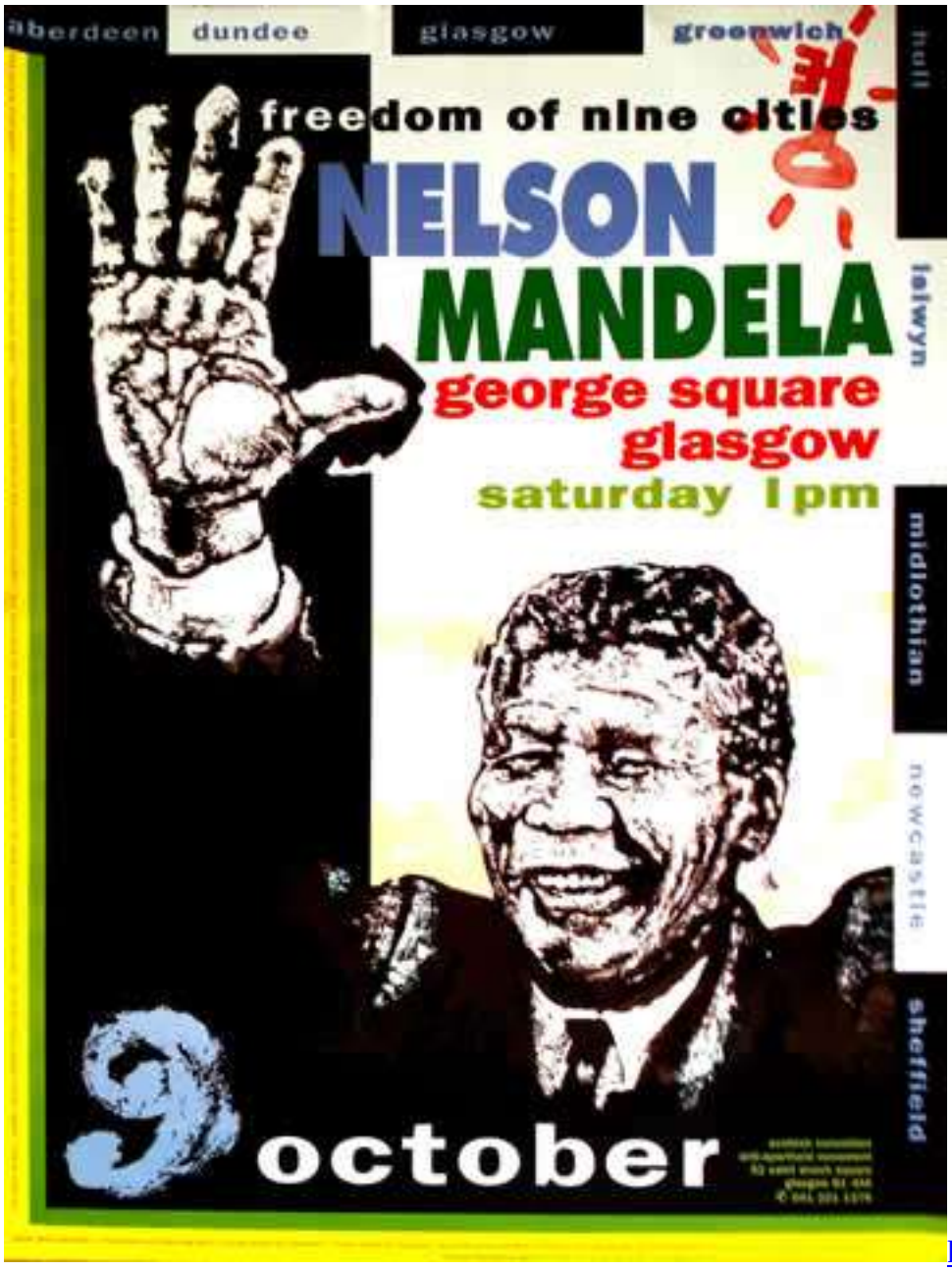
2013
EUL Acquisition of Hamish Henderson Archive

Just a few hours before the lecture I had attended a do at the Edinburgh University Library where it was publicly announced that the Library had purchased the Hamish Henderson Archive which is now curated by the University Library and made available for *bona fide* researchers.[2] That was great news. Not only does that collection contain over 10,000 letters, there are also notebooks, diaries, newspaper cuttings, and other materials which will be a fantastic resource for people who are studying the life and work of Hamish Henderson (1919-2002), his poetry, his work in the School of Scottish Studies and in the field as a collector of songs, ballads and stories, as well as his political campaigns. It offers a tremendous opportunity for all who are interested in the contemporary history of Scotland.

Steve Byrne, the convener of the Hamish Henderson Archive Trust, is to be commended for facilitating the negotiations between the Library and the Henderson family – it resulted in a splendid outcome, which was also visualised in an exhibition at Edinburgh University Library – and all who made it possible must be congratulated on their achievement!

When Nelson Mandela died last December, it was astonishing that in all the acres of print which commemorated the life, work and legacy of this most extraordinary of statesmen, no one seemed to make the connection, at the UK or at the Scottish level, between Mandela and Hamish Henderson. This year is the 50th anniversary of the Rivionia trial, which prompted Hamish to write 'The Men of Rivonia'. It was, as far as I could make out, not mentioned in any of the accounts and appreciations.[3]

[2] This is the edited version of the Edinburgh People's Festival Hamish Henderson Memorial Lecture, given at Word Power Books on Wednesday, 7 August 2013, the day Edinburgh University Library announced its acquisition of the Hamish Henderson Archive.
[3] Only David Calder in the online *Caledonian Mercury* (6 Dec 2013) used Hamish's 'The Freedom Come-All-Ye' in his short celebration 'RIP Nelson Mandela – Freeman of Glasgow' <http://caledonianmercury.com/2013/12/06/nelson-mandela-freeman-of-glasgow/0043502>.



http://www.scottishcommunists.org.uk/news/blog

1993
'Mandela Danced in the Square'

Three years after his release from prison in 1990, Mandela came to Glasgow to collect his Freedom of the City – which Glasgow had bestowed on him in 1981, the first city in the world to do so, against a lot of opposition. On 9 October 1993, Mandela was in Glasgow to thank the people of the city for the honour and their role in supporting the fight against apartheid. During the visit, the man who would become South Africa's first black president a year later, Nelson Mandela received not just the Freedom of the City of Glasgow, but also of a further eight municipalities of the UK – Aberdeen, Dundee, Midlothian, Hull, Sheffield,

Greenwich, Islwyn and Newcastle. And he spoke to a crowd of around 10,000 people in George Square. He told them:

> The people of Glasgow were the first in the world to confer on me the Freedom of the City at a time when I and my comrades in the ANC were imprisoned on Robben Island serving life sentences which, in apartheid South Africa, then meant imprisonment until death.[4]

In his acceptance speech in the splendour of the Banqueting Hall of the City Chambers, Mandela said:

> Whilst we were physically denied our freedom in the country or our birth, a city 6000 miles away, and as renowned as Glasgow, refused to accept the legitimacy of the apartheid system and declared us to be free.'[5]

On that day, Hamish Henderson was in Glasgow, invited by the ANC. From a stage erected in George Square, Hamish sang 'Rivonia', written 29 years earlier, one of the first of about 200 songs worldwide about Nelson Mandela.[6]

In the City Chambers, after the ceremony attended by 400 guests, there was a reception, where the chief anti-apartheid campaigner Brian Filling – now Honorary Consul of South Africa – introduced Hamish Henderson to Nelson Mandela. They embraced fondly. That was the only ever meeting between these two remarkable personalities.

Arnold Rattenbury, when reviewing Hamish's *Collected Poems and Songs* for the *London Review of Books*, said that "around such a figure myth and legend quite naturally swirled and, sometimes with his own help, stuck."[7] So, Timothy Neat and I have written about Hamish and Mandela appearing together on the balcony of the City Chambers, when, as Brian Filling tells me, Hamish never actually was on that balcony. Memory can play tricks, particularly when larger than life characters like Hamish Henderson are invoked.

"Mr Mandela's freedom of the city was a hard won battle," as the journalist and prominent Scottish anti-apartheid activist David Pratt recalls

> that had its heroes and villains both close to home and far overseas. It was when Glasgow Lord Provost, David Hodge, hosted a controversial lunch for the South African ambassador Matthys Botha in September 1978 that the level of activism across Scotland really began to hot up.

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[4] 'Nelson Mandela's memorable 1993 visit to Scotland', *STV News*, 18 July, 2008, <http://news.stv.tv/scotland/30271-nelson-mandelas-memorable-1993-visit-to-scotland/>.

[5] David Pratt, 'Inside Track: Scotland and Mandela … a real cause for pride', *The* Herald, 10 July 2013.

[6] Ian Walker remembers that Eurydice, the Glasgow Women's Socialist Choir, sang his anti-apartheid song 'Hawks and Eagles' while sharing a stage with Mandela on that memorable Glasgow occasion – in conversation with the author, 21 August 2013.

[7] Arnold Rattenbury, 'Flytings', *London Review of Books*, Vol. 25 No. 2, 23 January 2003, pp. 26-28.

> In the years that followed Glasgow's Conservative group remained among the most vociferous opponents of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, consistently trying to block the city's association with Mr Mandela and the African National Congress (ANC).
>
> Undeterred, Scotland on the mainstream level of boycotts, pickets, rallies, concerts and calls for sanctions threw itself behind the anti-apartheid cause. Much less widely known, however, was the role played by Scottish activists within a covert movement.
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> Ordinary Scots acted as couriers, procured documents, established safe houses in Glasgow for those ANC activists in exile; some were even involved with arms smuggling to the ANC in South Africa.[8]

Denis Goldberg, a fellow Rivonia trialist of Mandela who served more than 22 years in an apartheid prison before later coming to Scotland after his release in 1985, added:

> These were Scots, quite heroic young people who went in and out of South Africa delivering documentation, delivering money... they played a role which showed the essential humanism of human beings who are going to help others.[9]

Mandela's visit to Glasgow has been amply commemorated. Ian Davison was inspired to write his African Calypso song 'Mandela Danced in the Square':

> We'd sung about him for years,
> And there were speeches everywhere.
> But I'll never forget the cheers,
> When Mandela danced in the square.[10]

And Blair Douglas composed the mighty tune 'Nelson Mandela's Welcome to the City of Glasgow' in honour of the occasion – it can be found on his album 'A Summer in Skye'. Simple Minds' rather syrupy 'Mandela Day' was preferred by STV for their commemorative collage to Hamish's 'Rivonia'.

1947 The Royal Tour

So, Hamish and Nelson Mandela met in 1993 – the year Mandela received the Peace Nobel Prize. But Hamish's involvement in the struggle against apartheid goes back much further. The plight of the Black people in South Africa under Apartheid was a life-long concern of Hamish Henderson. In 1947 he protested

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[8] David Pratt, 'Inside Track: Scotland and Mandela … a real cause for pride', *The Herald*, 10 July 2013.
[9] *Ibid.*
[10] <https://myspace.com/iandavisonsongs/music/song/mandela-danced-2618291>.

against the Royal Tour of South Africa, when the King extolled South Africa 'as giving an example to the world in harmonious living together of diverse peoples'. Hamish countered in a speech for the Highland Independence Party published in *Voice of Scotland*: "The fact of the matter is that there is no place on earth where the back people are worse treated." He also lamented the fact that only one Scottish MP – William Gallagher, Communist MP for West Fife) had protested against the tour of the King, Queen and Princesses.[11]

Hamish's opposition to apartheid was rooted in his World War II experience. During the Alamein campaign he had been attached to the 1st South African Division. Hailing their bravery, he said (in a letter to the *Scotsman*):

> There was no question of apartheid on the battlefield. The South Africans were glad enough to have the support of the 4th Indian Division on their left flank on the night of 23 October 1942! And I never heard any objections, either from Springbok or Pommie, to the presence on our side of the New Zealanders' Maori battalion under its half-Maori CO, Fred Baker.[12]

That was written in 1969, and Hamish notes that the then Prime Minister of South Africa was at the time of Alamein interned as a Nazi sympathiser. Along with 'a prize assortment of malignant racialist crackpots, the ideologues and political strategists of the Broederbund, the secret society that now effectively runs South Africa.'[13]

In 1960, Hamish wrote 'The Freedom Come-All-Ye', with the lines

> Black an white ane-til-ither mairriet
> Mak the vile barracks o thair maisters bare

And

> An yon black boy frae yont Nyanga
> Dings the fell gallows o the burghers doun.[14]

That was not a reference to Mandela, as Hamish confirmed, but to the township of Nyanga, one of the oldest and poorest black townships in the Cape Town area, and in the media at that time as one of the hot spots of anti-apartheid protests.[15]

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[11] Quoted in Timothy Neat, (HH1 pp195-96)
[12] Hamish Henderson, *The Armstrong nose: The Letters of Hamish Henderson*, edited by Alec Finlay, Edinburgh: Polygon, , p.183.
[13] *Ibid*.
[14] Hamish Henderson, *Collected Poems and Songs*, edited by Raymond Ross, Edinburgh: Curly snake, 2000, p.143.
[15] I think that Hamish knew that Nyanga means moon in Xhosa, and that 'the black boy frae yont Nyanga' could be read as the man from beyond the moon.

In 1960, there was also the Sharpeville Massacre. On 21 March 1960, at the police station in the South African township of Sharpeville in the Transvaal, South African police opened fire on a crowd of about 5,000 to 7,000 black protesters, killing 69 unarmed people. The government declared a state of emergency – and outlawed the ANC.

1964 Rivonia

On 11 June 1963, on the Liliesleaf farmstead of Rivonia, near Johannesburg, a police raid yielded eight suspected leaders of Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), the 'militant wing' of the ANC, founded in 1961 as a departure from the non-violent history of the ANC: Denis Goldberg, Rusty Bernstein, Raymond Mhlaba, Bob Hepple, Govan Mbeki, Arthur Goldreich, Ahmed Kathrada, and the man the police considered their prize catch of the day, ANC leader Walter Sisulu. Mandela himself was at that time already in a Pretoria jail, serving a five-year prison term for leaving the country without a passport and inciting a strike. They were arrested and charged with treason, potentially facing the death penalty. In the 'Rivonia Trial' (1963-64), eleven leaders of the ANC (sometimes called the 'Rivonia 11'), including Mandela, were tried for conspiracy and 235 acts of sabotage.[16]

On 20 April 1964 – standing in the dock at the Palace of Justice in Pretoria, Nelson Mandela delivered his famous 'speech from the dock'. In a quiet voice, he laid out his arguments for four hours. He began by telling the story of his life and the reasons why he joined the struggle for racial equality, the history of the ANC, how he gradually arrived at the conclusion that non-violent protest must give way to more violent approaches if the goals of a multi-racial democracy in South Africa were ever to be achieved:

> we believed that as a result of Government policy, violence by the African people had become inevitable, and that unless responsible leadership was given to canalise and control the feelings of our people, there would be outbreaks of terrorism which would produce an intensity of bitterness and hostility between the various races of this country which is not produced even by war. Secondly, we felt that without violence there would be no way open to the African people to succeed in their struggle against the principle of white supremacy. All lawful modes of expressing opposition to this principle had been closed by legislation, and we were placed in a position in which we had either to accept a permanent state of inferiority, or to defy the Government. We chose to defy the law. We first broke the law in a way which avoided any recourse to violence; when this form was legislated against, and then the Government resorted to a show of force to crush opposition to its policies, only then did we decide to answer violence with violence.

[16] Douglas O. Linder, 'The Nelson Mandela (Rivonia) Trial', 2010, <http://law2.umkc.edu/faculty/projects/ftrials/mandela/mandelaaccount.html>.

> But the violence which we chose to adopt was not terrorism. We who formed Umkhonto were all members of the African National Congress, and had behind us the ANC tradition of non-violence and negotiation as a means of solving political disputes. We believe that South Africa belongs to all the people who live in it, and not to one group, be it black or white. We did not want an interracial war, and tried to avoid it to the last minute.[17]

He points out that, even in the face of widespread violence against the black population, the ANC stuck with its policy of non-violence. Only in 1949 did it endorse unlawful demonstrations, until then it had been strictly constitutional. But it remained committed to non-violence. The turning-point came in 1960:

> In 1960 there was the shooting at Sharpeville, which resulted in the proclamation of a state of emergency and the declaration of the ANC as an unlawful organisation. My colleagues and I, after careful consideration, decided that we would not obey this decree. The African people were not part of the Government and did not make the laws by which they were governed. We believed in the words of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, that "the will of the people shall be the basis of authority of the Government", and for us to accept the banning was equivalent to accepting the silencing of the Africans for all time. The ANC refused to dissolve, but instead went underground. We believed it was our duty to preserve this organisation which had been built up with almost fifty years of unremitting toil. I have no doubt that no self-respecting White political organisation would disband itself if declared illegal by a government in which it had no say.
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> In 1960 the Government held a referendum which led to the establishment of the Republic. Africans, who constituted approximately 70 per cent of the population of South Africa, were not entitled to vote, and were not even consulted about the proposed constitutional change.[18]

Umkhonto we Sizwe was formed in November 1961. Mandela was imprisoned in 1962 but, as he states in his speech, the dominant idea at the time of the Rivonia raid remained "that loss of life should be avoided". When Umkhonto was formed,

> the ANC heritage of non-violence and racial harmony was very much with us. We felt that the country was drifting towards a civil war in which Blacks and Whites would fight each other. We viewed the situation with alarm. Civil war could mean the destruction of what the ANC stood for; with civil war, racial peace would be more difficult than ever to achieve.[19]

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[17] Nelson Mandela, 'Statement from the dock at the opening of the defence case in the Rivonia Trial', 20 April 1964, <www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=3430>.
[18] *Ibid.*
[19] *Ibid.*

He then sets out the thinking behind Umkhonto:

> Four forms of violence were possible. There is sabotage, there is guerrilla warfare, there is terrorism, and there is open revolution. We chose to adopt the first method and to exhaust it before taking any other decision.
>
> In the light of our political background the choice was a logical one. Sabotage did not involve loss of life, and it offered the best hope for future race relations. Bitterness would be kept to a minimum and, if the policy bore fruit, democratic government could become a reality.[20]

The decision and "initial plan", he continues, were

> based on a careful analysis of the political and economic situation of our country. We believed that South Africa depended to a large extent on foreign capital and foreign trade. We felt that planned destruction of power plants, and interference with rail and telephone communications, would tend to scare away capital from the country, make it more difficult for goods from the industrial areas to reach the seaports on schedule, and would in the long run be a heavy drain on the economic life of the country, thus compelling the voters of the country to reconsider their position.
>
> Attacks on the economic life lines of the country were to be linked with sabotage on Government buildings and other symbols of apartheid. These attacks would serve as a source of inspiration to our people. In addition, they would provide an outlet for those people who were urging the adoption of violent methods and would enable us to give concrete proof to our followers that we had adopted a stronger line and were fighting back against Government violence.
>
> In addition, if mass action were successfully organised, and mass reprisals taken, we felt that sympathy for our cause would be roused in other countries, and that greater pressure would be brought to bear on the South African Government.
>
> This then was the plan. Umkhonto was to perform sabotage, and strict instructions were given to its members right from the start, that on no account were they to injure or kill people in planning or carrying out operations.[21]

Then, Mandela gives a detailed history of the activities of Umkhonto, and his involvement in them, followed by a rebuttal of accusations that the ideology of the ANC was dominated by the Communist Party, explaining that co-operation with the Communists was down to "a common goal – in this case the removal of

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[20] *Ibid.*
[21] *Ibid.*

white supremacy – and … not proof of a complete community of interests."[22] He then defines his own position as an "African patriot":

> I am attracted by the idea of a classless society, an attraction which springs in part from Marxist reading and, in part, from my admiration of the structure and organization of early African societies in this country. The land, then the main means of production, belonged to the tribe. There were no rich or poor and there was no exploitation.
>
> It is true, as I have already stated, that I have been influenced by Marxist thought. But this is also true of many of the leaders of the new independent States. Such widely different persons as Gandhi, Nehru, Nkrumah, and Nasser all acknowledge this fact. We all accept the need for some form of socialism to enable our people to catch up with the advanced countries of this world and to overcome their legacy of extreme poverty.[23]

And he expresses his admiration for Western democracy:

> From my reading of Marxist literature and from conversations with Marxists, I have gained the impression that communists regard the parliamentary system of the West as undemocratic and reactionary. But, on the contrary, I am an admirer of such a system.
>
> The Magna Carta, the Petition of Rights, and the Bill of Rights are documents which are held in veneration by democrats throughout the world.
>
> I have great respect for British political institutions, and for the country`s system of justice. I regard the British Parliament as the most democratic institution in the world, and the independence and impartiality of its judiciary never fail to arouse my admiration.[24]

Finishing his speech, Mandela gets to the core of what the struggle was all about: equality in South Africa:

> Africans want to be paid a living wage. Africans want to perform work which they are capable of doing, and not work which the Government declares them to be capable of. Africans want to be allowed to live where they obtain work, and not be endorsed out of an area because they were not born there. Africans want to be allowed to own land in places where they work, and not to be obliged to live in rented houses which they can never call their own. Africans want to be part of the general population, and not confined to living in their own ghettoes. African men want to have their wives and children to live with them where they work, and not be forced

[22] *Ibid.*
[23] *Ibid.*
[24] *Ibid.*

> into an unnatural existence in men`s hostels. African women want to be with their menfolk and not be left permanently widowed in the Reserves. Africans want to be allowed out after eleven o`clock at night and not to be confined to their rooms like little children. Africans want to be allowed to travel in their own country and to seek work where they want to and not where the Labour Bureau tells them to. Africans want a just share in the whole of South Africa; they want security and a stake in society.
>
> Above all, we want equal political rights, because without them our disabilities will be permanent. I know this sounds revolutionary to the whites in this country, because the majority of voters will be Africans. This makes the white man fear democracy.
>
> But this fear cannot be allowed to stand in the way of the only solution which will guarantee racial harmony and freedom for all. It is not true that the enfranchisement of all will result in racial domination. Political division, based on colour, is entirely artificial and, when it disappears, so will the domination of one colour group by another. The ANC has spent half a century fighting against racialism. When it triumphs it will not change that policy.[25]

He sums it up in his final few sentences:

> This then is what the ANC is fighting. Their struggle is a truly national one. It is a struggle of the African people, inspired by their own suffering and their own experience. It is a struggle for the right to live.
>
> During my lifetime I have dedicated myself to this struggle of the African people. I have fought against white domination, and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die.[26]

In *The Long Walk to Freedom*, Mandela cast his mind back to the moment he sat in that Pretoria courtroom: "The silence seemed to stretch for many minutes. But in fact it lasted probably no more than thirty seconds, and then from the gallery I heard what sounded like a great sigh, a deep, collective 'ummmm,' followed by the cries of women."[27] On 4 June 1964, 'the men of Rivonia' were sentenced to life imprisonment. Nelson Mandela would spend the next eighteen years in a

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[25] *Ibid*

[26] *Ibid.* Lord Provost Michael Kelly quoted this last paragraph in his Freedom of the City award ceremony of 4 August 1981, adding "It is for this idealism that Mandela is awarded the Freedom of Glasgow." Quoted in Brian Filling, 'Nelson Mandela and the Freedom of Scotland's Cities', in Brian Filling and Susan Stuart (eds), *The End of a Regime? An Anthology of Scottish-South African Writing Against Apartheid*, Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1991, p.295.

[27] Nelson Mandela, *The Long Walk to Freedom*,

prison on Robben Island, just off Cape Town.

Hamish was hugely impressed by Mandela's speech. And his song 'The Men of Rivonia' came together very quickly. He used the tune of the Spanish republican Civil War song 'Viva la Quince Brigada' with its refrain 'Rumbala, rumbala, rumba-la' – which reminded him of African drums.[28] He sang it first in Athens at a conference, then in the pubs and clubs closer to home; Dolina McLennan sang it in Edinburgh's Waverley Bar – and by September 1964 Pete Seeger had taken it up across in America.

Hamish sent the song to the ANC office in London. And Raymond Kunene acknowledged it – 'greatly appreciated' on 13 October[29] – It was published in America, in Italy, in the British folk magazine *Sing.* He had Roy Williamson and Ronnie Brown of the Corries record it, and sent several copies of the recording to Kunene.[30] On 22 January, Hamish received a much more enthusiastic letter from Raymond Kunene, after the song had been forwarded to the ANC headquarters in Dar es Salaam – reporting there were 'ecstatic comments from all the friends there'.[31] It spent five months in the Tanzanian hit parade. And it reached as far as Robben Island where Nelson Mandela heard it. As well as the Corries, the South African group Atté recorded it. And it is sung to the very day, by the likes of Arthur Johnstone and Geordie McIntyre.

Brian Filling tells me that Hamish was rather surprised when he introduced him to Denis Goldberg – who is name checked in the song:

> Verwoerd feared the mind of Mandela
> Rumbala rumbala rumba la
> He was stifling the voice of Mandela
> Rumbala rumbal rumba la
> Free Mbeki Goldberg Sisulu
> Free Mandela Free Mandela
> Free Mbeki Goldberg Sisulu
> Free Mandela Free Mandela[32]

Hamish had apparently thought that 'The Men of Rivonia' were all black freedom fighters. But Goldberg was white – and imprisoned in a separate prison from the others until his release in 1985.[33] Apart from Goldberg, Lionel Bernstein, Bob

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[28] HH2 188)
[29] *Armstrong Nose*, p.
[30] Hamish Henderson, 'Rivonia', in Brian Filling and Susan Stuart (eds), *The End of a Regime?*, p.281.
[31] *Ibid.*, p.
[32] Hamish Henderson, *Collected Poems and Songs*, pp.150-51.
[33] Was that why Goldberg, in his 2011 Mandela-Tambo lecture in Glasgow – in which he praised Hamish as the "Workers' Poet Laureate" and gave a full translation of 'The Freedom Come-All-Ye" (including a mild rebuke for Hamish's use of the colonial 'black boy') – did not even mention 'Rivonia'? Maybe he felt, somehow, that it was not written for him, despite the reference to his name? Or maybe he was just too modest and did not want to draw attention to the fact that Hamish had written a song that mentions his name?

Hepple, Harold Wolpe, James Kantor and the owner of the farm, Arthur Goldreich, also were white Jews.

> The crime of the men of Rivonia
> Rumbala rumbala rumba la
> Was to organize farmer and miner
> Rumbala rumbala rumba la
> Against baaskap and sjambok and keerie
> Free Mandela Free Mandela
> Against baaskap and sjambok and keerie
> Free Mandela Free Mandela[34]

Nelson Mandela was kept prisoner on Robben Island, where he worked in a lime quarry and was allowed one letter and one visitor every six months, until 1982, when the authorities transferred him and four other Rivonia trialists (Sisulu, Mlangeni, Mhlaba, and Kathrada) to Pollsmoor Prison in suburban Cape Town. Douglas O. Linder sums up the rest of the Rivonia story – the trial that changed South Africa:

> The winds of change began to sweep South Africa in 1985. Denis Goldberg became the first of the Rivonia defendants to be released from prison. President P. W. Botha offered Mandela a deal: renounce violence and be freed. Mandela refused the offer: "Only free men can negotiate--a prisoner cannot enter into contracts." In November of 1985, the National Party government entered into secret negotiations with Mandela for what, it was hoped, might be an eventual transition to a multi-racial government.
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> By the beginning of 1990, only Mandela among the Rivonia defendants remained imprisoned, now at a bungalow in Victor Verster prison where he continued his secret negotiations. In February 1990, President F. W. de Klerk announced the release of Nelson Mandela. The next year, Mandela was elected president of the ANC.
>
> In April 1994, South Africans of all races went to the polls. The ANC won 62% of the vote and on May 10, Nelson Mandela took the oath of office as the first black President of South Africa.[35]
>
> Set free the men of Rivonia
> Rumbala rumbala rumba la
> Break down the walls of their prison
> Rumbala rumbala rumba la
> Freedom and justice Uhuru
> Free Mandela Free Mandela
> Freedom and justice Uhuru

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[34] *Collected Poems and Songs*, p.150-51.
[35] Linder, art.cit.

Free Mandela Free Mandela[36]

1969 Battle of Murrayfield

The anti-apartheid movement in South Africa's strategy of internal sabotage was matched by efforts of boycott externally. In response to an appeal by Albert Luthuli, the 'Boycott Movement' was founded in London on 26 June 1959 at a meeting of South African exiles and their supporters – under the leadership of Archbishop Trevor Huddleston.[37] Its purpose was explained by Julius Nyere:

> We are not asking you, the British people, for anything special. We are just asking you to withdraw your support from apartheid by not buying South African goods.[38]

The movement attracted widespread support from students, trade unions and the Labour, Liberal and Communist parties. On 28 February 1960, it launched a 'March Month, Boycott Action' at a rally in Trafalgar Square. After Sharpeville, the organisation changed its name to the 'Anti-Apartheid Movement'. At that time, the UK was South Africa's largest foreign investor, and South Africa was the UK's third biggest export market. [39]

South Africa was forced to leave the Commonwealth in 1961. A year later the United Nations General Assembly passed a resolution calling on all member states to impose a trade boycott against South Africa. In 1964, South Africa was suspended from the Tokyo Olympic Games.

The anti-apartheid campaign became an issue in the 1964 UK General Election. But the disappointment was palpable when the newly elected Labour government under Harold Wilson rejected trade sanctions.[40]

In Scotland, there were branches supporting the anti-apartheid movement throughout the 1960s and '70s in Glasgow and Edinburgh.

> The Committee was formally established in 1976 as the Scottish Committee of the Anti Apartheid Movement and the minutes begin from 8 May 1976. It had a certain degree of autonomy within the UK structure. Brian Filling

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[36] *Collected Poems and Songs*, pp.150-51.
[37] Brian Filling, 'Nelson Mandela and the freedom of Scotland's Cities', in Brian Filling and Susan Stuart (eds), *The End of a Regime?*, p.294.
[38] Abdul Minty, 'The Anti-Apartheid Movement – what kind of history?', *South African History Online*, <www.sahistory.org.za/archive/anti-apartheid-movement-what-kind-history>.
[39] Christabel Gurney, '"A Great Cause": The Origins of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, June 1959-March 1960', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol.26, No.1 (March 2000), pp.123-144.
[40] Roger Fieldhouse, *Anti-Apartheid: a history of the movement in Britain*, Pontypool: The Merlin Press, 2004.

> remained in the Chair and John Nelson remained Secretary of this Scottish Committee for its complete existence and went on to hold the same positions in Action for Southern Africa, ACTSA, Scotland. After the elections on 27 April 1994 and the victory of the ANC and Nelson Mandela, apartheid came to an end. The last Annual General Meeting of the Scottish Committee took place on 3 December 1994 when it was dissolved and its assets transferred to the Scottish Committee of Action for South Africa (ACTSA).[41]

The British and Scottish campaign came to a boil anent the Springbok Rugby Union Tour of late 1969. The protests were organised UK-wide under the leadership of Peter Hain and his fellow anti-apartheid campaigners. They generated a lot of publicity, and Hain became known as 'Hain the Pain', as his ploys, including pitch invasions, lobbing orange smoke bombs and even gluing the locks of the players' hotel rooms, began to bite. In Edinburgh, Gordon Brown signed responsible as the campaign's local organiser. [42] These militant demonstrations of 1969-70 against the Springbok tour "sounded the death-knell for major sporting links between Britain and South Africa."[43] Hamish Henderson was involved – to a degree – in what would become known as 'the battle of Murrayfield'.

Here is his own vivid description of the event, as given to his biographer Timothy Neat: After a few hours in Sandy Bell's

> We set off late. And with the crowds we got delayed! So, I arrived at the gates of Murrayfield at one minute to three. Everybody else was in the ground – so the stewards, seeing this tall, rugby-looking gent shambling towards them, waved me on straight through the gate and I just kept going. Suddenly there I was – with the whole arena before me – and the first bars of 'God Save the Queen' were sounding. That was our signal for the pitch invasion! Barricades of sleepers had been erected all round the pitch, with sandbag platforms on the inside – so that the defending police could hammer-down anyone attempting to leap or climb over. My God, forget the Queen, I thought, I'm at the barricades, and on I went! Being tall, I gave the police an advantage – they only had to aim a loose kick and get me in the head! So first in first out, I was pole-axed and slumped at the base of the barricade. This was just as all the other protesters surged forward. Naturally they climbed over us early casualties and soon enough there I was at the bottom of the pile. With the weight of the bodies I felt I was losing consciousness and this single thought came into my head: 'This is it! I'm going to die – for this great human cause!' A feeling of exhilaration swept through me. I hoped to shout 'Victory for the ANC!' before I died, but I was

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[41] Carole McCallum, 'Anti-Apartheid Movement in Scotland Archive', Glasgow Caledonian University Archives, 2009, <www.gcu.ac.uk/archives/aams/>.
[42] See Peter Hain, *Outside In*, London: Biteback Publishing, 2012.
[43] Mike Terry, 'The British Anti-Apartheid Movement: 30 Years of Boycotting', *South African History* Online, 1989, <www.sahistory.org.za/archive/british-anti-apartheid-movement-30-years-boycotting>.

content – I felt my life hadn't been lived in vain.[44]

Before he knows what's happening, he finds himself outside the stadium, clearly miffed at not being arrested.

Great story. But is it true? Raymond Ross remembers having met Hamish first in late November 1969 in the Meadow Bar: "We're in the 'Mildew' to help organise, in our own wee way, the Anti-Apartheid Demo that December at Murrayfield…" But he then goes on:

> I don't think Hamish actually makes the Murrayfield rammy or the 'illegal' march back along Princes Street to demo outside the High Street Polis Station do demand the released of those arrested.[45]

Ray Ross said he had written this from memory, but confirmed he had not spotted Hamish at Murrayfield.[46] On the other hand, there were quite a few protesters, and even a prominent figure like Hamish might have slipped Ray's observant eye.

Where we have corroborated evidence is what followed. Later in the evening, no doubt after a few refreshments in Bell's, Hamish and Stewart McLennan, Robert Waugh and A H Caldwell protested at the High Street police office. They were told to move, but refused, and were, eventually, bundled into a cell. They were released the next morning, pending trial. In January, they were all fined £30 each for "causing an obstruction outside Edinburgh City Police Station after the Scotland South African rugby international."[47] The poet Helen B Cruickshank, fearing that the fine would eat into Kätzel's housekeeping money, sent a – no doubt welcome – sub, to be "spent on the family."[48]

Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan, fierce in their belief in Free Trade, were adamantly opposed to sanctions. And they saw South Africa as a bulwark against communism.[49] In 1987, Margaret Thatcher called the ANC "a typical terrorist organisation", and her spokesman Bernard Ingham said, whoever believed that the ANC would overthrow the South African government lived in "cloud-cuckoo land."[50] But both Thatcher and Reagan kept communicative channels open, and

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[44] Timothy Neat, *Hamish Henderson: A Biography*, Vol.2, p.192.
[45] Raymond Ross, 'Hamish: the Tombstone and the Halo', in Steve Byrne (ed.), *The Hamish Henderson Papers: A Commemorative Collection of Essays*, Edinburgh: The Hamish Henderson Archive Trust, 2013, pp.53-61; p.58.
[46] Raymond Ross, in conversation with the author, 7 August 2013.
[47] *Edinburgh Evening News*, 29 January 1970, quoted in Timothy Neat, *Hamish Henderson: A Biography*, Vol.2, p. 194.
[48] Quoted in Timothy Neat, *Hamish Henderson: A Biography*, Vol.2, p.194.
[49] Josh Brooman and Martin Roberts, *South Africa 1948-1994: the Rise and Fall of Apartheid: The Rise and Fall of Apartheid*, London: Longman, (3rd ed.) 2001, p.102
[50] 'Thatcher, the ANC and the "cloud cuckoo land" misquote', *Politicsweb*, 9 April 2013, <www.politicsweb.co.za/politicsweb/view/politicsweb/en/page71619?oid=368489&sn=Marketingweb+detail>.

repeatedly demanded the release of Nelson Mandela.[51]

While Glasgow bestowed the Freedom of the City on Nelson Mandela in 1981, the Labour group in Edinburgh never got the two-thirds council majority for a similar proposal until well after Mandela was released. In 1986, Glasgow council renamed St George's Place as Nelson Mandela Place – a stroke of genius, as that was the location of the South African Consulate. 'Suddenly,' as Pete Sansom put it, "the consulate's authority was undermined by its own address."[52] Michael Kelly, who drove the campaign together with Brian Filling, said:

> We were one of the first to do that in the world. Beyond Africa, Mandela wasn't particularly well known then. It was controversial at the time and took a lot of bravery from the council. There was a lot of debate over why we were doing things like renaming places after an unknown African. That is why it was important because we helped to raise his profile and caused people to look at the man behind the stories.[53]

In Edinburgh, having failed in the Freedom of the City stakes, instead, there was a campaign to name the new square at Lothian Road Nelson Mandela Square – it lost to Festival Square in 1986 (in anticipation of the 40th anniversary of the Festival in 1987) – ah well, had they at least named it the People's Festival Square! But it was graced by Ann Davidson's statue 'Black Mother and Child' (the first publicly funded statue of a black woman in Britain) – as a memento for the victims of apartheid and oppression.

> Ann Davidson won the competition run by the Council, and her statue 'Woman and Child' was made to represent and to honour all those killed or imprisoned for their stand against apartheid. The woman and her child stand in front of a sketch in bronze of a shanty. The statue was unveiled on 22nd July 1986 by Suganya Chetty, a member of the African National Congress then living in exile in Edinburgh.[54]

1988 Nelson Mandela Freedom March

Hamish, though not at the forefront of these campaigns, was involved in the Edinburgh anti-apartheid committee (1980-1992). He can clearly be spotted on the STV Mandela Montage, marching in Glasgow on 12 June 1988, striding through the picture chanting 'Free Mandela' through a megaphone.[55] That march followed the Wembley Stadium concert on 11 June (a week before Mandela's 70th birthday)

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[51] Max du Preez, *The Rough Guide to Nelson Mandela*, p.175.
[52] Peter Sansom, 'Nelson Mandela's Place', <www.qmunicate.com>.
[53] Annie Brown, 'Glasgow led the word in awarding Nelson Mandela Freedom of the City', *Daily Record,* 13 February 2010.
[54] 'Mandela Square that never was', *Looking at Edinburgh*, 30 October 2008, <http://edinburghlook.wordpress.com/2008/10/30/mandela-square-that-never-was/>.
[55] Nelson Mandela's memorable 1993 visit to Scotland', *STV News*, 18 July, 2008, <http://news.stv.tv/scotland/30271-nelson-mandelas-memorable-1993-visit-to-scotland/>.

which changed his image from 'terrorist outlaw' to revered icon.[56] 600 million watched the birthday bash, which featured, among others, Stevie Wonder, Simple Minds, Dire Straits, Sting, George Michael, The Eurythmics, Eric Clapton and Whitney Houston, as well as Miriam Makeba and Hugh Masekela from South Africa. The march that had started on Glasgow Green reached London a week later, on Nelson Mandela's 70th birthday.[57] Twenty months later Mandela was free.

> On the day, in 1990, when Nelson Mandela's forthcoming release was announced, a round-robin of phone calls produced an impromptu demonstration of joy by scores of people in Festival Square, Edinburgh. I think everyone knew what would happen when Hamish Henderson stood up on a convenient plinth – he would lead us in his anthem 'Rivonia'…[58]
>
> Power to the heirs of Luthuli
> Rumbala rumbala rumba la
> The comrades of Nelson Mandela
> Rumbala rumbala rumba la
> Spear of the Nation unbroken
> Free Mandela Free Mandela
> *Amandla Umkhonto we Sizwe*
> Free Mandela Free Mandela[59]

Mandela and Megrahi

Subsequently, Nelson Mandela could pick up his nine freedoms of the city in Glasgow in 1993. In 1997, when he attended the Heads of Commonwealth Conference in Edinburgh, he also received, at long last, the capital's Freedom of the City. But there was, this time, no meeting between Hamish and Mandela. He had, though, a brief encounter with Conservative councillor Daphne Sleigh – and asked after the well-being of Margaret Thatcher. "I have always had a great deal of admiration for Mrs Thatcher. I was touched by her concern for me." He explained to the leader of the Conservative group how kind Mrs Thatcher had been to him when he met her. In the ensuing few moments of conversation Mandela told her how Mrs Thatcher had urged him to conserve his energy "because your country needs you."[60] We may not like it, but Nelson Mandela

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[56] See Simon Hooper, 'The rock concert that helped spring Mandela', *Al Jazeera*, 10 June 2013, <www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2013/06/20136101243646806.html>.

[57] The Canadian filmmaker Jason Bourque's documentary film *Music for Mandela* (2011) charts the role of music in Mandela's life and in the struggle against apartheid. Bourque was inspired by the 70th birthday concert at Wembley. See Tim Masters, 'Mandela documentary examines power of music', *BBC News online*, 20 August 2013, <www.bbc.co.uk/news/entertainment-a rts-23285366>. U2 wrote a new Mandela song – 'No Ordinary Life' – for the biopic *Long Walk to Freedom*, released in the autumn of 2013. See Laura Butler, 'No ordinary life – U2 write new song for Mandela story', *Irish Independent*, 23 October 2013.

[58] Angus Calder, 'Obituary: Hamish Henderson', *The Independent*, 12 March 2002.

[59] *Collected Poems and songs*, pp.150-51.

[60] Cameron Rose, '1997: Nelson Mandela in Edinburgh', *The Edinburgh Reporter*, 27 June 2013,

seemed quite smitten with the Iron Lady – after meeting her in 1990. As Elleke Boehmer wrote, he "expressed admiration" for her, hastening to add: "her political determination as a woman prime minister, not her politics."[61] Mandela himself noted that, while he could make "*no impression whatsoever* on the question of sanctions," he found her "charming"

> She was very warm, you know; she was just the opposite of what I was told… I was … tremendously impressed by her … *strength* of character – really an iron lady… [62]

He also got on well with John Major, and even better with Tony Blair – after all, there had always been more support for the anti-apartheid cause from the Labour Party. But that did not stop him "from blasting Blair for his decision to join the US in the invasion in Iraq."[63] As Jim Murphy remarked, "he never saw any contradiction in being both an anglophile and an anti-imperialist."[64]

Nelson Mandela also took great interest in the fate of Abdel Basset al-Megrahi, the suspected Lockerbie bomber. As early as 1992, he informally approached President George Bush, proposing a trial in a third country. Bush, President Mitterrand and King Juan Carlos of Spain responded favourably. In November 1994, six months after his election as president, Mandela formally proposed that South Africa should be the venue for the Pan Am Flight 103 bombing trial. At the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in October 1997, Mandela warned: "No one nation should be complainant, prosecutor and judge." A compromise solution was then agreed for a trial to be held at Camp Zeist in the Netherlands, governed by Scottish law.[65]

Megrahi was, eventually, convicted and sentenced to 27 years of imprisonment in Scotland. He appealed against the verdict, but his initial appeal was turned down in March 2002. Mandela, by then ex-President, paid him a visit in Barlinnie prison on 10 June of that year.

> "Megrahi is all alone", Mandela told a packed press conference in the prison's visitors room. "He has nobody he can talk to. It is psychological persecution that a man must stay for the length of his long sentence all alone. It would be fair if he were transferred to a Muslim country, and there are Muslim countries which are trusted by the West. It will make it easier for his family to visit him if he is in a place like the kingdom of Morocco, Tunisia

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<www.theedinburghreporter.co.uk/2013/06/1997-nelson-mandela-in-edinburgh/>.

[61] Elleke Boehmer, *Nelson Mandela: A Very Short introduction*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008, p.141.

[62] 'From a Conversation with Richard Stengel about Contracting Pneumonia', in Nelson Mandela, *Conversations With Myself*, Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2010.

[63] du Preez, p.245.

[64] Jim Murphy, 'The myth of Mandela worked marvels, because every bit of it was true', *The Scotsman*, 6 December 2013.

[65] 'South Arica: Nelson Mandela – a Living Legend', *The Daily Observer*, 28 July 2008, <http://allafrica.com/stories/200807250785.html>.

or Egypt."[66]

Mandela did not officially endorse the Scottish government's release of Megrahi in August 2009, when the Scottish government sought international backing for Kenny MacAskill's decision to release Megrahi. The response was "that Mr Mandela does not want to be involved in public issues any more but that he 'sincerely appreciates' the move."[67]

Dr Henderson of Lovedale

To say that Hamish Henderson and Nelson Mandela were "lifelong friends" or bosom buddies, as Colin Fox's invitation to this lecture seemed to imply, might be called a wee exaggeration. There are no letters in the Hamish Henderson archive from Nelson Mandela. There was no meeting between the two nigh-contemporaneous figures – Mandela born in 1918, Hamish in 1919 – when Mandela came to Edinburgh in 1997. And there is no mention of Hamish in any of the books by or on Nelson Mandela that I have consulted.

Mandela does, incidentally, refer to a Henderson: "Dr Henderson of Lovedale".[68] He was a Scot – James Henderson (1867-1930), educated at Edinburgh University and New College.[69] He emigrated in 1895 to Malawi to join the Livingstonia Mission; then, in 1906, he became principal of the Lovedale Institution in the Cape Colony, "the most important centre of African education in the southern hemisphere.

> Almost as soon as he arrived, he was involved in the foundation of Fort Hare University College. He continued to keep Lovedale at the forefront of African education and a center of ecumenical cooperation. He edited the *South African Outlook*, in which Africans could express their opinions on any subject to do with Christianity or society in South Africa. At the time of his death he was still actively seeking to give South Africa an educated Christian African leadership whether the state wanted it or not.[70]

Lovedale, on the Tyhume River in Alice, Eastern Cape, had been founded by John Bennie of the Glasgow Missionary Society of Scotland, named after one of its leading members, Dr John Love. Its first principal was Rev. William Govan, born in

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[66] *Ibid.*

[67] Brian Swanson, 'Mandela's Lockerbie snub to Nats', *The Scottish Express,* 8 December 2012, <www.express.co.uk/news/uk/363278/Mandela-s-Lockerbie-snub-to-Nats>.

[68] 'Address of Nelson Mandela, President of the African National Congress on Receiving an Honorary LLD Degree at the University of Fort Hare', 9 May 1992, <www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=4128>.

[69] Paul B Rich, 'The Appeals of Tuskegee: James Henderson, Lovedale, and the Fortunes of South African Liberalism, 1906-1930', *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol.20, No.2 (1987), pp,271-292.

[70] Andrew C Ross, 'Henderson, James', in Gerald H. Anderson, *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions*, Grand Rapids, Michigan: W. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1998, p.288.

Paisley and ordained in Glasgow. Govan Mbeki, the former president of the African National Congress, was named after him. He paid tribute to William Govan:

> He firmly believed that Africans had the same right to a full and proper education as whites. He and his successors such as Neil McVicar, Dr Stewart, Alexander Kerr and the Reverend Shepherd never accepted the prevailing racist's attitudes that Africans were not suited to receiving an education equal to that of whites. Govan and his immediate successor, Dr Neil McVicar, turned Lovedale into a powerful and immensely influential educational institution. It was the pride and joy of African people in many parts of Southern Africa.[71]

In an age when higher level study was the near exclusive preserve of whites, over the decades, Lovedale and Fort Hare trained the great majority of educated blacks in South African. Amongst them were Albert Luthuli, Govan Mbeki, Steve Biko (who died at he age of 30 from police brutality in custody on 12 September 1977[72]), Thabo Mbeki, Joshua Nkomo. Desmond Tutu and Robert Sobukwe. Seretse Khama, the first President of Botswana, Julius Nyerere, President of Tanzania, Robert Mugabe, President of Zimbabwe, and Kenneth Kaunda, the first President of Zambia attended Fort Hare. Oliver Tambo, Nelson Mandela and Chris Hani, the leader of the South African Communist Party who was assassinated in 1993, all were enrolled, but expelled for their political activities before they could obtain their degrees. Mandela studied at Fort Hare when Dr Alexander Kerr, a graduate of Edinburgh University, was Principal, continuing the great Scottish educational tradition of Lovedale and Fort Hare, from John Philip of Kirkcaldy who arrived at the Cape of Good hope in 1819 through John Campbell, James Fairbairn (the editor of he progressive *The Cape Commercial Avertiser*), Thomas Pringle (a poet and acquaintance of Sir Walter Scott) and Robert Moffat, the farther-in-law of David Livingstone, who himself plaid a radical part ove the ten years he stayed in South Africa.[73] Mandela recalled:

> Fort Hare … was a beacon for African scholars from all over Southern, Central and Eastern Africa. For young South Africans like myself, it was Oxford and Cambridge, Harvard and Yale, all rolled into one.[74]

Despite its predominantly black intake, Lovedale resisted all attempts by the apartheid regime to segregate it. In 1991, with momentous changes underway in South Africa, Commonwealth Secretary General Emeka Anyaoku said, "When all

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[71] Govan Mbeki, 'Culture in the Struggle for a New South Africa' (Address to the Sechaba Conference, Glasgow, 23 September 1990, in Brian Filling and Susan Stuart (eds), *The End of a Regime? An Anthology of Scottish-South African Writing Against Apartheid*, Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1991, pp.216-23; p.216. Mbeki ended his address by quoting the last verse of Robert Burns's 'A Man's a Man', p.223.

[72] See Xolela Mangcu, *Biko: A Life*, London: I.B. Tauris, 2013

[73] See Andrew C Ross, 'Scotland and South Africa: Blessed Be the Tie That Binds?', in Brian Filling and Susan Stuart (eds), *The End of a Regime?*, pp.3-13.

[74] Nelson Mandela, *Long Walk to Freedom*, p.51.

the passions of this moment have subsided, Lovedale will stand forth as Scotland's lasting contribution to the regeneration of South Africa and indeed Africa as a whole."[75]

Thus, as Andrew Ross wrote;

> Scots played a significant part in the creation of a non-racial tradition in South Africa, indeed they played a vital role in its being institutionalised in the constitution of the Cape Colony, which tragically did not survive the creation of the Union of South Africa by a British Liberal administration.[76]

But he also mentions the dark side. Referring to Robert Knox (the recipient of Burke and Hare's victims) and Thomas Carlyle, he contends: 'Scots and the Scottish academic tradition also played a key role in the formulation of scientific racism with its appalling impact not only on South Africa but the world.'[77]

At Hame Wi' Freedom

Although Mandela references only the 'other' Henderson, the names of Hamish Henderson and Nelson Mandela have, certainly since 'Rivonia', and at least here in Scotland, been inextricably linked. And justifyably so. As Kätzel Henderson affirmed, Mandela was one of the 'underdogs' Hamish championed, in a long list including Paul Robeson and Julius and Ethel Rosenberg.[78] And in paying tribute to the phenomenal achievement of Nelson Mandela, it is entirely appropriate to spend some time praising Hamish for his life-long efforts in support of the anti-apartheid cause.

For Mandela, the fight against apartheid has been his life, and he received support from many in many parts of the world; for Hamish, resistance to the apartheid regime was an important part of his political activism, encompassing many causes, from the anti-nuclear campaigns to the anti-poll tax protests, from his ant-sectarianism to his promotion of gay rights, his support for the Clyde shipbuilders, his solidarity with Chile after the overthrow of Salvador Allende, for Ian Hamilton Finlay's 'Little Sparta', his fight for Home Rule and for his home, the School of Scottish Studies (he even wrote to Winnie Mandela in the 1980s to solicit a story in support of the School,[79] which was then threatened by Thatcherite cuts).

Nelson Mandela's birthday on 18 July, and the call goes out every year for people everywhere to celebrate his birthday by acting on the idea that each person has the power to change the world. The idea of Mandela Day was inspired by Nelson Mandela at his 90th birthday celebrations in London's Hyde Park in 2008 when he

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[75] www.gcu.ac.uk/archives/gcuia/WGovan.html
[76] Ross, 'Scotland and South Africa', p.9.
[77] *Ibid.*
[78] Kätzel Henderson, in conversation with the author, 7 August 2013.
[79] Timothy Neat, *Hamish Henderson: A Biography*, Vol.2, p.346.

said: "It is time for new hands to lift the burdens. It is in your hands now."[80] Mandela's last public appearance was at the closing ceremony of the World Cup Finals in 2010, after the tournament had been successfully hosted by South Africa.

Hamish Henderson died in 2002 – Nelson Mandela's 95th birthday celebrations on 18 July 2013 were overshadowed by his critical health condition. He had been in hospital for seven weeks with a severe lung infection, held alive by machines. By August, as we were gathering in Edinburgh to celebrate him and Hamish, his condition seemed a bit more stable.[81] But on 5 December 2013 Nelson Mandela died at home in Johannesburg, surrounded by his family. "Our nation has lost its greatest son," South Africa's president Jacob Zuma announced on national TV: "What made Nelson Mandela great was precisely what made him human. We saw in him what we seek in ourselves."[82] The world mourned one of the great leaders of our time – a man of peace, freedom and reconciliation.

The Scottish Parliament paid its respects to Nelson Mandela on 10 December 2013. And Rob Gibson MSP lodged the following motion:

> That the Parliament seeks to celebrate the people of all lands who joined the struggle to fight apartheid in deeds, words and music over the decades that it took for the release of Nelson Mandela and for South Africa to emerge as the rainbow nation; especially recalls the role of songs and music in spreading the anti-apartheid message and, in particular from Scotland, it praises the part played by Hamish Henderson, the folklorist, poet, soldier and anti-racist activist whose life view echoed Mandela's message at the Rivonia trial in 1964 that "Freedom is never, but never, a gift from above; it invariably has to be won anew by its own exercise"; further recalls that Hamish Henderson wrote his song, Rivonia, using the republican Spanish civil war tune, Viva la Quince Brigada, to carry his anthem of solidarity with Nelson Mandela and the leaders of the ANC who were starting several decades of prison sentences after their trial, and reminds today's celebrants of Mandela's life that this song was recorded privately in 1964, sung by the Corrie Folk Trio, and was sent to South African freedom fighters, sung in the fields and ultimately sung before Nelson Mandela himself.[83]

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[80] 'Mandela joins stars at London gig', *BBC News Online*, 28 June 2008, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/7475717.stm>.

[81] David Dolan, 'Nelson Mandela condition improving says daughter', *Scotland on Sunday*, 11 August 2013.

[82] 'South Africa's Nelson Mandela dies in Johannesburg', *BBC News online*, 5 December 2013 <www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-25249520>.

[83] S4M-08584: Scotland and South Africa, Rivonia Remembered, <http://www.scottish.parliament.uk/parliamentarybusiness/28877.aspx?SearchType=Advance&MSPId=2675&SearchFor=AllMotions&DateChoice=3&SortBy=DateSubmitted>.

Famous quotations by Nelson Mandela are legion. This one comes by way of Confucius and Ralph Waldo Emerson: "The greatest glory in living lies not in never falling, but in rising every time we fall." He also said: "Do not judge me by my successes, judge me by how many times I fell down and got back up again."[84] I doubt whether Mandela knew a song Hamish loved: 'Sae Will We Yet' by Walter Watson (1854), sung by the Corries, Jock Duncan and by Tony Cuffe, and just recorded in a fine version by Mick West – with the memorable line which, I am sure, Hamish would have been delighted to sing it to him with a glint in his eye (after all, the getting up here refers to a tumble after a drink or two):

> When we fell we aye got up again,
> and sae will we yet.[85]

Nelson Mandela and Hamish Henderson are both "at hame wi' freedom." Freedom, for Mandela, is the highest good. "The sun never set on so glorious a human achievement," he said: "Let freedom reign."[86] Freedom, he maintained, "is indivisible; the chains on any one of my people were the chains on all of them, the chains on all of my people were the chains on me."[87] He further elaborates: "For to be free is not merely to cast off one's chains, but to live in a way that respects and enhances the freedom of others."[88] And: "There is no such thing as part freedom."[89]

"Freedom and whisky gang thegither," Hamish would perhaps have quoted the Bard.[90] And, from the fourteenth century, John Barbour's famous lines from *The Brus*,

> *A! Fredome is a noble thing!*
> *Fredome mays man to haiff liking.*
> *Fredome all solace to man giffis,*
> *He levys at es that frely levys!*[91]

To which he would probably have added, in the way Rob Gibson alluded to it, and with a view of the lessons we can learn from Nelson Mandela's life: "Freedom is never, but never, a gift from above: it invariably has to be won anew by its own

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[84] Nelson Mandela, *Conversations With Myself*, Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2010.
[85] John Ord, *Ord's Bothy Songs and Ballads of Aberdeen, Banff and Moray*, Edinburgh: John Donald, 2nd ed., 1995, p.371.
[86] Nelson Mandela, *Long Walk to Freedom*, p.747.
[87] *Ibid.*, p.751.
[88] *Ibid.*
[89] Jennifer Crwys-Williams (ed.), *In the Words of Nelson Mandela*, London: Profile Books, 2010, p.41.
[90] Robert Burns, 'The Author's Earnest Cry and Prayer', *The Canongate Burns: The Complete Poems and Songs of Robert Burns*, edited by Andrew Noble and Patrick Scott Hogg, Edinburgh: Canongate Classics, 2001, p.25.
[91] "Freedom is a noble thing! / Great happiness does freedom bring. / All solace to a man it gives; / He lives at ease that freely lives." John Barbour, *The Brus*, edited and translated by Archibald A H Douglas, Glasgow: William MacLellan, 1964, p.53.

exercises."[92] Ah, would the two had met for a wee "impromptu colloquium"[93] in Sandy Bell's – and would we could have been there to eavesdrop…

[92] *The Armstrong Nose*, p.186.
[93] Angus Calder, 'Introduction to the First Edition' (1992), in Hamish Henderson, *Alias MacAlias: Writings on Songs, Folk and Literature*, edited by Alec Finlay, Edinburgh: Polygon, 2nd ed., 2004, p.xiii.