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Robert Sobukwe — his life in pictures on Page 4.
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Sobukwe children back for funeral

Political Staff

DR CHRIS BARNARD is to pay R4 000 to bring Mr Robert Sobukwe's three children from the United States to South Africa to attend his funeral in Graaff-Reinet on Saturday.

Three of Mr Sobukwe's four children last saw their father in December before leaving to continue their studies in the United States where they have been under the care of Mr Andrew Young, US Ambassador to the United Nations, for the past two years.

Mr Sobukwe, a banned former founder-leader of the Pan-Africanist Congress, died of lung cancer soon after midnight yesterday. His wife Veronica was at his bedside in the Kimberley Hospital when he died.

On hearing of his death, Dr Barnard, the Cape Town heart surgeon who came a personal friend of Sobukwe while he was being treated in his 32-year-old political leader, who has been in jail or under restriction orders since the Sharpeville disturbances of 1960.

Mr Barnard last night refused to comment on his offer, but people close to him explained he had even appealed to the Minister of

Justice, Mr J T Kruger, to lift banning orders imposed on the black leader since his release from Robben Island prison in 1969.

The heart surgeon gave a medical report to Mr Kruger to support his representations, but had not received a reply from the Minister before Mr Sobukwe's death.

Mr Kruger was not available for comment last night.

Mr Sobukwe's three children in the United States, Mliswa, 23, Dinisizwe, 21, and Dalinyebo, 19, will join their mother in Kimberley and leave for the Sobukwe birthplace in Graaff-Reinet on Thursday.

Tributes poured in yesterday for the 32-year-old political leader, who has been in jail or under restriction orders since the Sharpeville disturbances of 1960.

Ms Sally Motlana, vice-president of the SA Council of Churches and wife

of Soweto's detained Committee of 10 leader, Dr Nthato Motlana, said: "We are all the poorer for having lost him at this time of our struggle."

The KwaZulu leader, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, described Mr Sobukwe as a "political giant whose leadership and sacrifice will stand out when the history of the liberation struggle in South Africa is related to future generations."

Dr Manas Buthelezi, a leading black churchman, said the death of Mr Sobukwe came as an even greater shock because he had died while under a banning order which prevented him making a meaningful contribution to the country.

The Prime Minister's office said Mr Vorster was not available for comment, but the leader of the Parliamentary Opposition, Mr Colin Eglin, said South Africa would be the poorer

for Mr Sobukwe's death.

"Robert Sobukwe was undoubtedly a man of considerable leadership qualities," Mr Eglin said.

Professor Hudson Ntsamwisi, Chief Minister of Gazankulu, said: "His fight for the upliftment of all will be cherished by both black and white throughout the world. During his life he endeavoured to build a country where people of all races could live in peace and harmony."

Mrs Helen Surzman, the PFP MP for Houghton, who made frequent appeals for Mr Sobukwe's freedom and visited him while he was a prisoner on Robben Island, said: "He was remarkably unembittered and even after his release, when banned and restricted, he maintained a moderate approach to our racial problems."

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Mundi tribute planned

Staff Reporter
 THE Soweto Action Committee will hold a prayer tribute at the Regina Mundi Church tonight, to the late Mr Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe. The service starts at 7 pm.

The secretary of the SAC, Ishmael Mkhabela said yesterday the service would also be held "in honour of the Sobukwe

family and the nation, at the loss of a leader of Mr Sobukwe's calibre".

Mr Mkhabela said the nation had been hard hit within a very short space of time, firstly with the death in detention of Mr Steve Biko and now the untimely death of such an experienced leader as Sobukwe.

"The nation itself has been deprived of a leader with his talents, but it has been taught the significance of sacrifice, dedication and discipline for the realisation of national liberation," said Mr Mkhabela.

He said the services would be held every night until Friday.



Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe in Kimberley on his release from Robben Island.

PAC trial told of witness fears

By PAM KLEINOT

BETHAL. — A security policeman yesterday told the Bethal Circuit Court of a "reformed terrorist" who was killed last year after he had given evidence in a number of political trials.

Colonel H D Stadler, Officer Commanding Security Police in Port Natal, was giving evidence before Mr Justice D J Curlew in the trial of 18 alleged members of the Pan-Africanist Congress who have all pleaded not guilty to charges of participating in terrorist activities, alternatively of furthering the aims and objects of the outlawed organisation.

Mr Justice Curlew will rule today on a State application to have the evidence heard in camera.

The request is that the public gallery be cleared and only Press members, who have Press cards issued by the Commissioner of Police, may be present.

Col Stadler, who has been investigating organisations like the African National Congress and Communist Party since the early 1960s, and who said he had considerable experience in political trials, told the court the State had to rely to a large extent on the evidence of accomplices.

He said State witnesses feared reprisals if their names were made public.

Among the examples he gave was the case of Sergeant Leonard Nkosi who was shot dead at his Kwa Mashu home near Durban last September by an unknown person with a Russian firearm.

Serg Nkosi was detained in 1968 and joined the Security Police on his release in 1969. He gave evidence in a number of trials.

Col Stadler also told the court of Mr S Mtshali who had also given evidence in a number of trials. One night early this year he

was shot three times with a Russian firearm and was lucky to be alive, he said.

Other reasons Col Stadler gave for the hearing to be in camera were that since the early 1960s State witnesses have been intimidated;

In certain cases threatening signs are made by the accused or public which upset the witness;

Some witnesses who were accomplices were worried about their names being made public; and

There were thousands of ANC pamphlets which suggested traitors should be killed.

Another State witness yesterday, Sergeant W E Cox, a Johannesburg Security policeman, said he was responsible for tracing witnesses in the Pretoria ANC trial, which had to be held over again because the judge had died.

He served notices on State witnesses in terms of the Criminal Procedures Act and said they were reluctant to give evidence again because of intimidation.

He said one of the State witnesses had a hand grenade attack on his Alexandra house where his wife was injured, and in another separate incident a State witness had had two doors blown out of his house.

Cross-examined by Mr Andrew Wilson, SC, for the defence, both security policemen conceded the evidence they gave related to persons who had given evidence in ANC trials.

In argument, Mr Wilson said all the evidence related to ANC trials and there was no link between the ANC and PAC. He added that there was no evidence of any intimidation of PAC witnesses at any time.

Mr P G Haasbroek, Deputy Attorney-General for the Transvaal who is leading the State case, said the court should not wait until witnesses had been killed before ruling that the trial be held in camera.

Visitors stream to pay homage

By PATRICK LAURENCE
 Deputy Political Editor

KIMBERLEY. — A stoical Mrs Veronica Sobukwe, widow of the former leader of the banned Pan-Africanist Congress leader, Mr Robert Sobukwe, yesterday offered comfort and strength to the steady stream of visitors to her home.

But she refused to comment on her husband's death, beyond a firm statement that his life was its own justification.

"I have no comment. You know how I feel. Just write his life from beginning to end, if you don't know it, just ask someone who does," she said.

Mrs Sobukwe, a nursing sister, was at home in Ga-

leshewe, the township just outside Kimberley, with one of her twin sons and a sister from Pretoria.

As the people of Galeshewe heard that "Prof", as Mr Sobukwe was affectionately known, was dead, they came to pay homage in a quiet African way.

A black traffic policeman in uniform, came in

gently, gravely introducing himself to all in the lounge.

"He was a brave man," he said of Mr Sobukwe. "He was always smiling, right to the end."

The telephone rang all day, bringing messages of sympathy from all over South Africa, and further afield, particularly from Britain and the United States.

Mr Keneth Mahlangu of Zone 2 Meadowlands was found dead in the yard by police with stab wounds in Orlando West on Sunday morning.

Mr Johannes Mabuya of Dube Village was stabbed to death in a shebeen.

Mr Muntu Sithole of Dobsonville was stabbed four times in the neck and body in Dobsonville.

And two unknown men.

Gold mine injured named

Staff Reporter

THE names of the 24 black mineworkers who were injured in a pressure burst at the Doornfontein gold mine on Friday were released yesterday.

The miners were admitted to the Leslie Williams Memorial Hospital.

Names of those miners were killed in the accident

will be released when their next of kin have been informed.

The miners admitted to hospital are: Sibongwana Gaza, 24, Atsoga Mogotsi, 22, Masapule Nogaya, 37, Afonso Nchancheque, 25, Samuel Dlamini, 25, Mzonzima Zayo, 19, Nomran Pikirai, 24, Madiza Somadobo, 36, Kolisile Ngwevu, 24,

Evance Mianzie, 46, Mzinyati Semam, 38, Abino Zavala, 25, Motshwareng Cromletso, 21, Moises Nchacotoe, 21, Eugenio Sive, 24, Chalk Rasekange, 45, Hondana Ndwendwe, 33, Thomas Valsha, 25, Vusa Ndazi, 23, Lebron Nhiwatiya, 21, Modlula Gobidolo, 38, Ramasoane Mosole, 26, Mlandeli David, 43.

Arson probe in SACC fire

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — The offices of the South African Council of Churches in Port Elizabeth were damaged by fire early yesterday morning. Police are investigating possible arson.

Damage is estimated at about R1 000.

The Divisional CID officer, Colonel Marcus van der Merwe, said yesterday it was difficult to establish what had caused the fire. He could not confirm that a petrol bomb had been thrown into the building.

The acting regional chairman of the Council, the Rev Peter Fox, said the fire was a setback for the organisation in the Eastern Cape because they had recently moved into the premises.

Vorster challenges the West over SWAPO

MR John Vorster, the Prime Minister, has called on the West to reply to the statement by Swapo leader, Mr Sam Nujoma, that he is not interested in majority.

Mr Vorster said in an interview yesterday that Mr Nujoma, whom he has in the past called an "adventurer", confirmed South Africa's suspicions and its accusations against Swapo.

He was reacting to a television statement at the weekend by the Swapo president, who was a central figure in the recent New York "proximity" talks on the future independence of the territory.

Mr Nujoma's statement is likely to embarrass the Western powers who have insisted that there can be no internationally acceptable independence agreement without Swapo participation in elections.

Mr Vorster's reaction to questions on the statement yesterday was short and sharp.

"He has let the cat out of the bag and he has now confirmed what we have always suspected and what we have accused Swapo of," said Mr Vorster.

No bench for Yutar

By PAUL BELL

THE Johannesburg Bar Council has accepted an assurance from Dr Percy Yutar that his application for membership of the Johannesburg Society of Advocates was not intended as a path to an appointment as a judge.

The chairman of the Johannesburg Bar Council,

Mr J F Coaker, said in a statement yesterday the council wished to make it clear that "Dr Yutar gave the Bar Council the assurance that his application for membership was a bona fide one to enable him to practise as an advocate and that it was not his object to obtain an appointment to the Bench."

The Bar Council had

accepted this assurance. No conditions were attached to the admission of Dr Yutar to the Society of Advocates, he said.

Mr Coaker announced at the weekend that Dr Yutar, former Attorney-General of the Free State and Transvaal, had been admitted to the society despite objections raised by Mr Sydney Kentridge, SC.

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Sobukwe — the silent years



Sobukwe in prison garb in 1963 while serving a three year sentence for incitement. Shortly afterwards he was to be sent to Robben Island for six years under a special Act of Parliament.



Brothers Sobukwe — Bishop Ernest Sobukwe, Anglican Bishop of Umtata greeting his banned, house-arrested brother during a reunion in Kimberley in 1971.



Happiness on the face of Sister Veronica Sobukwe on hearing the news that her husband had been released from Robben Island. She was mobbed by fellow nurses at the Soweto clinic where she was working.



1969 — days before leaving Robben Island. Robert Sobukwe stands here besides his bed and cupboard in the two-roomed bungalow on the Island which was his home for six years. His small radio can be seen on the top of the cupboard.



The young Sobukwe. . . pipe in hand and wearing slippers outside his Soweto home in Mofolo Central. The picture was taken in the early 1960's before his arrest and imprisonment.



Members of Parliament and journalists meet Robert Sobukwe on Robben Island in 1968 during one of the rare occasions that anyone was able to see him during his six-year detention.

These pictures tell something of the dark and silent years in the life of Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe. . . easily contrasted with the sunny young face of the man before his imprisonment.

The joy of freedom...the sadness of parting



● Mrs Veronica Sobukwe, a nursing sister, is mobbed by joyous colleagues at a Soweto clinic on hearing her husband had been released from Robben Island in May 1969, after six years. Mr Sobukwe, former president of the banned Pan-Africanist Congress, died in Kimberley early yest erday morning.



● Mr Sobukwe leans over the fence of the house to which he was restricted in Galeshewe Township, Kimberley, immediately after his release from Robben Island. He was placed under 12-hour house arrest and restricted to the municipal area of Kimberley.



● The Sobukwes at the Kimberley airport shortly before their two eldest children flew back to the United States to continue their studies. They live with the US Ambassador to the United Nations Mr Andrew Young. The farewell marked the last time Mr Sobukwe saw the two children, who spent last Christmas with the family.

Sobukwe — man of vision

MARTIN SCHNEIDER and HELEN ZILLE

THE Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, as Minister of Justice in 1963, described Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe as a man with a "strong magnetic personality" and a sense of divine mission.

Many of Mr Sobukwe's closest friends and followers mourning his death in Kimberley yesterday would agree with that description.

For 18 years the Government did everything in its power to prevent the articulate and astute former university lecturer from fulfilling his vision.

His followers sought and found ways of keeping it alive.

What was Robert Sobukwe's vision?

He was the first man to lead a movement based on the philosophy of black consciousness — the Pan Africanist Congress.

What started as a small 300-man congress in 1959 and was outlawed in 1961, laid the basis of the movement that was to achieve international recognition and nurture leaders like Steven Biko.

Their enemies called them black racists and but they described themselves as non-racists who believed whites could join their society as equals without special privileges after they had attained their freedom.

The ailing man, dying of lung cancer in his home in Kimberley, survived October 19 last year to witness the banning of every organisation that might have nurtured his dream.

Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe was born at Graaff Reinet in the Cape Province in 1924, the youngest of the five sons and a daughter of a woodcutter's labourer.

He completed his schooling at a local mission with the aid of a white person who made a deep impression on him, helping him to shape his non-racial views in later life.

Robert Sobukwe then attended the University of Fort Hare where he completed his BA degree, studying "Native Administration", and met the young student nurse who was to become Mrs Veronica Sobukwe.

Entering student politics, he became President of the Students' Representative Council.

After a period as a school teacher in a Standerton school, he was appointed to the staff of the University of the Witwatersrand in 1951 as a language assistant in Zulu.

At that stage, the strongest black political organisation was the African National Congress.

Though a member, Sobukwe was bitterly opposed to its orientation.

He believed whites played too great a role behind the scenes in influencing policy and he was especially opposed to what he believed was a radical leftist bias which he condemned as inimical to black progress.

His basic philosophy that blacks had to prove and liberate themselves became formalised when, with others in the Africanist group, he broke away from the ANC in 1958, founding the Pan Africanist Congress and becoming its first president.

A year later he faced a major personal crisis — he was offered a post as a lecturer in African languages at Rhodes University with pay and status equal to whites. It meant economic security and a position few blacks could hope to attain.

But it was made clear to him that acceptance of the position also meant non-participation in politics.

Rejecting the position, Robert Sobukwe launched a campaign against the pass laws.

The starting date was



Flashback to January this year . . . an ailing Mr Robert Sobukwe embraces his daughter, Miliswa, at Kimberley air port before she left for the United States.

Picture: PETER MAGUBANE

Monday, March 21, 1960, and blacks throughout the country were urged to leave their passes at home and offer themselves for arrest at the nearest police station.

Early that morning, Robert Sobukwe led a group of his followers to the Orlando police station and offered himself for arrest.

On that same day police opened fire on crowds at Sharpeville police station.

Sixty-seven people died. A commission of inquiry later found police had judged their lives to be in danger, although there was no organised attempt by the crowd to attack the police.

Charged with incitement, Robert Sobukwe was sentenced to three years imprisonment. His PAC and the ANC were banned. A PAC faction went underground and formed the revolutionary POQO terror group.

Before Robert Sobukwe's prison sentence was due to end in May, 1963, a special law was rushed through Parliament empowering the Government to continue the detention of any person who had served a sentence for incitement.

Like a ritual until 1968, the Government re-enacted the law which has become known as the "Sobukwe clause".

Transferred from prison in Pretoria to Robben Island, Robert Sobukwe became a privileged prisoner.

His two-roomed bungalow was isolated from the rest of the prisoners by a barbed wire enclosure under a 24-hour guard by "five warders and two warders with dogs" as a former Minister of Justice, Mr Peet Pelsler, put it.

It cost R75 000 to keep him on Robben Island from 1963 to 1969.

Visits were restricted to members of his immediate family. He was also seen by MPs on various occasions

and International Red Cross as well as leading dignitaries from overseas were allowed to spend brief periods with him.

He was allowed newspapers and an unlimited supply of books.

Much of his time was taken up in study. A year before his release he obtained a BSC degree in economics from the University of London. He also wrote a novel in English and a selection of Xhosa poems.

On April 25, 1969, the Minister of Justice, Mr Pelsler, announced that Robert Sobukwe was to be released "subject to such restrictions as are deemed necessary for the safety of the State".

That meant banning to Kimberley where he was taken on June 30.

Five months later, he was refused permission to attend the consecration of his brother as an Anglican Bishop in Johannesburg.

By April, 1970, he had received permission to enrol as an articled clerk with a firm of attorneys in Kimberley, but a few months later Mr Pelsler refused him permission to leave the country on an exit permit to take up a lectureship at the American University of Wisconsin.

By September, 1970, Mr Pelsler was standing firm in his refusal to lift Robert Sobukwe's banning orders. Launching a concerted attempt to get the Minister to change his mind, Mrs Helen Suzman, PFP Houghton, told Parliament: "You can't surely punish him in perpetuity. That was not the sentence imposed on him by the courts."

Mr Pelsler's reply was that Robert Sobukwe had not changed his views and he spoke of the banned leader's refusal to accept jobs the Government had offered him for R60 a month, R100 a month and R1 200 a year.

Then, in March, 1971, two

remarkable decisions were made.

First, the Minister of the Interior, Mr Theo Gerdener, approved an application by Robert Sobukwe to leave South Africa permanently on a one-way exit permit.

But Mr Pelsler, as Minister of Justice, refused to lift his banning orders restricting him to Kimberley.

On December 3, 1971, the Appeal Court dismissed with costs an appeal by Robert Sobukwe and Miss Shantie Naidoo against the refusal of their applications for permission to leave the areas to which they had been restricted.

On March 30, 1972, Robert Sobukwe took part in his first public political action in 12 years — a private eight-day fast in protest against bannings, house arrests and the seizure of passports.

After the protest, little was heard about Robert Sobukwe until June, 1974, when he was given permission to make a day trip to see his wife who had taken ill while in Johannesburg.

He finally qualified as an attorney in January, 1975, and a few months later was given permission to attend court.

But the measure of freedom had its restrictions — he was not allowed to be quoted.

The Government relaxed restrictions on him again in May, 1975, when he was given permission to attend the funeral of his mother, Mrs Angeline Sobukwe, in Graaff Reinet. The old lady, who had once said she wanted to live to see her son free, died at the age of 90.

By December, 1975, another application for a relaxation of his banning order had failed — this time he was refused permission to attend the inauguration of President William Tolbert of Liberia, the West African country Mr Vorster had visited earlier that year.

Early last year, Robert Sobukwe went on the offensive, suing for libel the British publisher of a book by Mr Les de Villiers, Deputy-Secretary for Information.

The book — "South Africa — A skunk among nations" — contained a passage claiming that Robert Sobukwe had advocated the extermination or enforced emigration from South Africa of all races other than black Africans.

The High Court in London awarded him R1 500.

It was only in February, 1977, that a closely guarded secret about Robert Sobukwe leaked out.

Two years earlier, as a young congressman, Mr Andrew Young, the US Ambassador to the United Nations, visited Robert Sobukwe in Kimberley.

Young was so impressed by Robert Sobukwe that he declared: "There are people who shape history and I put Robert Sobukwe in that class."

The young congressman from Atlanta, Georgia, then arranged to educate in the United States Robert Sobukwe's two eldest children, his daughter, Miliswa, now 23, and his son, Dinilisizwe, now 21.

Earlier this year, the third of the Sobukwe's four children, Dalinyebo, 19, joined his brother and sister in the Young's home in Atlanta.

By then, Robert Sobukwe was a sick man. On September 10, 1977, the Minister of Justice, Mr James Kruger, gave him permission to have treatment by any doctor in any hospital in the country.

Robert Sobukwe entered Groote Schuur hospital in Cape Town for chest surgery on September 12. He had one lung removed.

Discharged on October 15, Robert Sobukwe was re-admitted to Groote Schuur on November 1. On January 6 this year he was back at Groote Schuur for further treatment. Discharged again on February 2, Robert Sobukwe died at his home on Sunday night of spreading lung cancer.

The tragedy of Robert Sobukwe

MR ROBERT MANGALISO SOBUKWE was an exceptional South African. His qualities are attested to by the tributes being published, in this newspaper and elsewhere, since his death early yesterday.

He is described by Mrs Sally Motlana as the "father of the nation" — a view derived from the widespread admiration which he commanded because of the courage and integrity he displayed in struggling to bring freedom to blacks. It is based too on his status as the fountainhead of modern-day black consciousness; he was the man who enunciated it in the late-1950s and from whom another, younger leader of note, Mr Steve Biko, drew his sustenance.

But it was precisely these qualities which caused the Nationalists to fear him so much and which made him the victim of such extended authoritarian action.

In any normal society, Mr Sobukwe would in the most natural way possible have been drawn into giving of his fullest, to the benefit

of all of us. In our country, however, he was silenced and restricted. That can easily be seen as the tragedy of his life — of a life unfulfilled and talents gone to waste. Yet his dignity and his dedication to his beliefs (whether or not we or others totally agree with them) shine out; it is those who hounded him who are cast into dark shadow.

Through him, the human spirit again proved itself to be invincible.

It is at another level, however, that there is real tragedy in his death. For, coming after the late Chief Albert Luthuli and more recently Mr Biko, this could prove to have been the last chance for white South Africans to deal directly, peacefully and constructively, with a black leader straddling the national scene and enjoying wide populist respect and support.

This will inevitably reduce the chances of South Africa ever being able to reach towards a nonracial, democratic society. Which would be the ultimate tragedy — for the country and for the memory of Robert Sobukwe.

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