Nelson Mandela was one of the most revered figures of our time. He committed himself to a compelling political cause, suffered a long prison sentence, and led his violent and divided country to a peaceful democratic transition. His legacy, however, is not uncontested: his decision to embark on an armed struggle in the 1960s, his solitary talks with apartheid officials in the 1980s, and the economic policies adopted during his presidency still spark intense debate. The essays in this Companion, written by experts in history, anthropology, jurisprudence, cinema, literature, and visual studies, address these and other issues. They examine how Mandela became the icon he is today and ponder the meanings and uses of his internationally recognizable image. Their overarching concerns include Mandela’s relation to “tradition” and “modernity,” the impact of his most famous public performances, the oscillation between Africanist and non-racial positions in South Africa, and the politics of gender and national sentiment. The volume concludes with a meditation on Mandela’s legacy in the twenty-first century and a detailed guide to further reading.

Rita Barnard is Professor of English and Comparative Literature at the University of Pennsylvania and Professor Extraordinaire at Stellenbosch University, South Africa. She is the author of The Great Depression and the Culture of Abundance and Apartheid and Beyond: South African Writers and the Politics of Place. Her work has appeared in several important collections about South African literature and culture and in journals such as Novel, Contemporary Literature, Cultural Studies, Research in African Literatures, and Modern Fiction Studies.

A complete list of books in the series is at the back of this book.
THE CAMBRIDGE
COMPANION TO
NELSON MANDELA
THE CAMBRIDGE COMPANION TO
NELSON MANDELA

EDITED BY
RITA BARNARD
University of Pennsylvania

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
## CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>List of Illustrations</td>
<td>ix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes on Contributors</td>
<td>xi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgments</td>
<td>xv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Abbreviations</td>
<td>xvii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chronology</td>
<td>xix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>RITA BARNARD</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PART I THE MAN, THE MOVEMENT, AND THE NATION</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 The Antinomies of Nelson Mandela</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PHILIP BONNER</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Mandela, the Emotions, and the Lessons of Prison</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAVID SCHALKWYK</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 “Madiba Magic”: Politics as Enchantment</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEBORAH POSEL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Nelson, Winnie, and the Politics of Gender</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BRENNA MUNRO</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PART II REINTERPRETING MANDELA</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Mandela and Tradition</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZOLANI NGWANE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Mandela and the Law</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADAM SITZE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

© in this web service Cambridge University Press

www.cambridge.org
## CONTENTS

7 Mandela on War  
**JONATHAN HYSLOP**  
162

8 Mandela’s Presidential Years: An Africanist View  
**SIFISO MXOLISI NDLOVU**  
182

### PART III REPRESENTING MANDELA

9 Mandela Writing/Writing Mandela  
**DANIEL ROUX**  
205

10 Mandela in Film and Television  
**LITHEKO MODISANE**  
224

11 The Visual Mandela: A Pedagogy of Citizenship  
**LIZE VAN ROBBROECK**  
244

12 Mandela’s Mortality  
**SARAH NUTTALL AND ACHILLE MBEMBE**  
267

Afterword  
**RITA BARNARD**  
291

Further Readings  
295

Index  
301
ILLUSTRATIONS

9.1 “A Prisoner in the Garden,” 1977

11.1 Mandela as icon, *Time* magazine cover image, May 9, 1999

11.2 Portrait of Nelson Mandela by Paul Emsley, 2010


12.1 Mandela mourning for his great-granddaughter Zenani, 2010, photograph by Siphiwe Sibeko

12.2 Nelson Mandela, 2011, photograph by Tyrone Arthur

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

RITA BARNARD is Professor of English and Comparative Literature at the University of Pennsylvania and Professor Extraordinaire at the University of Stellenbosch. She is the author of *The Great Depression and the Culture of Abundance* and *Apartheid and Beyond: South African Writers and the Politics of Place*, as well as many essays on South African culture and American and global modernisms. She is co-editor of *After the Thrill Is Gone: Ten Years of Democracy in South Africa*, a special issue of *South Atlantic Quarterly*, and *Safundi: The Journal of South African and American Studies*.

PHILIP BONNER is Emeritus Professor of History at the University of the Witwatersrand and until recently held the National Research Foundation Chair in Local Histories and Present Realities. He has published widely on urban and labor history. As Chair of the Wits History Workshop, he was principal organizer of several important conferences, including the 1999 History Workshop on the Truth and Reconciliation Report, entitled “Commissioning the Past.” He has served as co-curator of the Apartheid Museum in Johannesburg and as historical consultant to and executive producer of a six-part documentary television series entitled *Soweto: A History*, which was screened on Channel 4 in Britain, SBS in Australia, and SABC TV to critical acclaim.

JONATHAN HYSLAP received his MA degrees from the University of Oxford and the University of Birmingham and his PhD from the University of the Witwatersrand. He is Professor of Sociology and Anthropology at Colgate University and holds the honorary position of Extraordinary Professor in the Sociology Department at the University of Pretoria. He worked for many years at the University of the Witwatersrand, where he was a committee member of the History Workshop and Deputy Director of the Wits Institute of Social and Economic Research. He is the author of *The Notorious Syndicalist* and has published numerous articles on South African social history in journals, such as the *Journal of Global History*, the *Journal of Historical Sociology*, the *History Workshop Journal*, and the *Journal of African History*.
ACHILLE MBEMBE is a philosopher, political scientist, and public intellectual. He obtained his PhD in history at the Sorbonne in Paris and a DEA in political science at the Institut d’Études Politiques. He is currently Research Professor in History and Politics at the University of the Witwatersrand and is affiliated with the Wits Institute of Social and Economic Research, as well as Duke University, where he teaches each fall. He is a contributing editor to Public Culture and co-convener of the Johannesburg Workshop in Theory and Criticism. Mbembe has written extensively on African history and politics, most notably for English readers, in his book On the Postcolony. His recent work includes Sortir de la grande nuit: Essai sur l’Afrique décolonisée, soon to be released in English by Columbia University Press.

LITHEKO MODISANE earned his PhD from the University of the Witwatersrand, where he teaches in the Department of African Literature. He was formerly a Postdoctoral Associate in the Archive and Public Culture Research Initiative at the University of Cape Town, as well as a Visiting Scholar at the University of Michigan. His interests range widely in the fields of literature, film, television, and theater. His book, South Africa’s Renegade Reels: The Making and Public Lives of Black-Centered Films, explores the role of films as catalysts for public reflection on social and political issues germane to anti-apartheid politics and fledgling democracies.

BRENN MUNRO holds a PhD from the University of Virginia and is Associate Professor of English at the University of Miami. She is a specialist in gender studies and queer theory, as well as African, Anglophone, and Caribbean literature. Munro is the author of South Africa and the Dream of Love to Come: Queer Sexuality and the Struggle for Freedom and many articles on gender and sexuality in post-apartheid writing. These include “Queer Futures: The Coming-Out Novel in South Africa,” in Tejumola Olaniyan and Ato Quayson’s collection, African Criticism and Theory.

SIFISO MXOLISI NDLOVU received his PhD in history from the University of the Witwatersrand. He is Executive Director of the South African Democracy Education Trust (SADET), set up in 2000 to record the history of the liberation struggle in South Africa. He has published book chapters in SADET’s Road to Democracy in South Africa series and is the author of The Soweto Uprisings: Counter-memories of 16 June 1976. His other research interests include the precolonial history of South Africa and the history of football, and he has published articles in these fields in the South African Historical Journal, History and Theory, and Soccer and Society. He is a member of UNESCO’s Scientific Committee responsible for revising the History of Africa series.
NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

ZOLANI NGWANE holds an MA in theology and a PhD in anthropology from the University of Chicago and is an Associate Professor at Haverford College. His research interests, which frequently take him back to the Eastern Cape, include social reproduction and intergenerational politics, including social institutions like chiefly courts and male initiation rites. He is working on a study of South African nation building in the 1990s and teaches courses on the new faces of tradition and modernity, black South African writing and ethnography, education, and religion. His publications include essays in the Journal of South African Studies, Journal of Religion in Africa, Interventions, and Safundi.

SARAH NUTTALL, who holds a DPhil from Oxford University, is Professor of Literary and Cultural Studies and Director of the Wits Institute for Social and Economic Research in Johannesburg. She teaches at Duke University each fall semester. She is the editor of several groundbreaking volumes on contemporary South African literature and culture, including Negotiating the Past: The Making of Memory in South Africa, Senses of Culture: South African Culture Studies, Beautiful/Ugly: African and Diaspora Aesthetics, and, with Achille Mbembe, Johannesburg: The Elusive Metropolis. Her monograph, Entanglement: Literary and Cultural Reflections on Postapartheid, appeared in 2009.

DEBORAH POSEL received her DPhil from Oxford University. She taught for many years at the University of the Witwatersrand, where she was founding director of the Wits Institute for Social and Economic Research. She is currently Professor of Sociology at the University of Cape Town and Director of the Institute for Humanities in Africa. She has written and published widely on many aspects of South African politics and society during and beyond the apartheid years, including The Making of Apartheid; Apartheid’s Genesis, with Philip Bonner and Peter Delius; and Commissioning the Past: Understanding South Africa’s Truth and Reconciliation Commission, with Graeme Simpson.

DANIEL ROUX received his PhD from the University of Cape Town and is a Senior Lecturer at the University of Stellenbosch. His research interests are South African life writing and journalism, prison writing, and postcolonial theory. He has published articles on various prison narratives, including Jonny Steinberg’s The Number and Nelson Mandela’s Long Walk to Freedom, as well as the chapter on prison writing for The Cambridge History of South African Literature.

DAVID SCHALKWYK received his DPhil from the University of York. He is Director of the Global Shakespearees Project at Queen Mary, University of London, and the University of Warwick. Formerly, he served as Director of Research at the Folger Shakespeare Library and editor of the Shakespeare Quarterly. His books include Shakespeare, Love and Service, Literature and the Touch of the Real, Speech and Performance in Shakespeare’s Sonnets and Plays, and Hamlet’s Dreams: The Robben Island Shakespeare.
ADAM SITZE holds a PhD from the University of Minnesota, where he was a MacArthur Scholar. He is currently Assistant Professor of Law, Jurisprudence, and Social Thought at Amherst College. He is the author of *The Impossible Machine: A Genealogy of South Africa’s Truth and Reconciliation Commission* and co-editor of *Biopolitics: A Reader*. His essay on Mbeki’s AIDS policy and human rights, “Denialism,” appeared in *After the Thrill Is Gone: Ten Years of Democracy in South Africa*.

LIZE VAN ROBBROECK earned her MA from the University of the Witwatersrand and her PhD from the University of Stellenbosch, where she is Associate Professor in the Department of Visual Arts. She is one of the editors and writers of *The Visual Century*, a four-volume revisionist history of South African art in the twentieth century. She has published articles on postcoloniality and nationalism in South African visual arts in journals such as *Cultural Studies* and *African Arts*. Her research interests center on postcolonial subjectivities and explore the interface between psychoanalytical and postcolonial theories. She currently serves as the editor-in-chief of *Third Text Africa*. 
Mandela’s speeches frequently deploy the rhetorical device of listing predecessors, inspirational figures, and comrades-in-arms to be honored. These acknowledgments may be also seen in that light, as a grateful recognition that nothing worth accomplishing is ever done alone – certainly not a collection of essays.

The splendid people of the Nelson Mandela Centre of Memory could not have been more helpful. A warm tribute is due to Verne Harris, for wise counsel and thoughtful comments, as well as to Lucia Raadschelders and Razia Saleh.

Many South African colleagues offered insight and support, including the historians Christopher Saunders, Albert Grundling, Saul Dubow, and Thula Simpson. Jon Hyslop, Phil Bonner, and David Attwell were especially generous, not only with expert knowledge, but with conversation and comradeship. My two trusty assistants, Ian Duncan and Trevor Margraf, were indispensable; no one could wish for more intelligent readers and can-do collaborators. Sally Gaule and Paul Landau graciously fielded urgent questions about references. Several friends commented on the manuscript at difficult moments. For this, I am eternally indebted to Jennifer Wenzel, Jennifer Glaser, Rob Nixon, Stephen Clingman, Monica Popescu, Lucy Graham, and Sam Hughes. Daniel Roux was my right-hand man at just the right time: what a privilege to think and write with him on a back porch with a view of a manicured garden!

Ray Ryan at Cambridge University Press was the sole instigator of this project. More than the usual tribute to an editor is therefore due: his patience and professionalism made the book much better than it would otherwise have been.

I gratefully acknowledge the following persons and institutions for permission to use photographs and poetry: the Nelson Mandela Centre of Memory for the photograph of Mandela in his garden and images from the Authorised Comic Book, Jeremy Cronin for his “Poem for Mandela,”
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Time-Life Inc. for the 1999 cover image of Mandela as icon, the European Press Photo Agency for the moving photograph of Mandela in mourning, and Arthur Tyrone for the photograph of the aging Mandela. The artists whose work is reproduced in this volume were particularly generous. I am indebted to Yiull Damaso for not only allowing us to use his thought-provoking painting of Mandela on the autopsy table, but also taking the time to read parts of the manuscript and providing us with a high-resolution image of the work. Finally, I extend a very special thank you to Paul Emsley for the use of his magnificent portrait of Mandela both inside the text and as our cover image.
ABBREVIATIONS

ANC  African National Congress
ANCYL  African National Congress Youth League
BC  Black Consciousness
BPA  Black Parents Association
CODESA  Congress for a Democratic South Africa
COSATU  Congress of South African Trades’ Unions
CPSA  Communist Party of South Africa
DCR  Democratic Republic of Congo
FNL  National Liberation Front of Algeria (Front de la Libération Nationale)
GNU  Government of National Unity
IFP  Inkatha Freedom Party
MK  Umkhonto we Sizwe
MPLA  Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (Movimento Popular de Liberação de Angola)
MUFC  Mandela United Football Club
NEC  National Executive Committee
NP  National Party (Nasionale Party)
OAU  Organization of African Unity
PAC  Pan-Africanist Congress
RDP  Reconstruction and Development Program
RMC  Release Mandela Campaign
SACP  South African Communist Party
SADC  Southern African Development Community
TAC  Treatment Action Campaign
TRC  Truth and Reconciliation Commission
UDF  United Democratic Front
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UNESCO</td>
<td>United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNISA</td>
<td>University of South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNITA</td>
<td>National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wits</td>
<td>University of the Witwatersrand</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1910      Union of South Africa is founded on principles negotiated by a racially exclusive National Convention.
1912      Native National Congress, later named African National Congress (ANC), is founded.
1913      Native Land Act is passed, depriving black South Africans of right to own land.
1914      General J. B. M. Hertzog forms National Party (NP).
1915      South Africa occupies the German colony of South-West Africa; later governs it as League of Nations mandate territory.
1918      World War I ends.
        July 18. Rolihlahla Mandela is born at Mvezo, Transkei, son of Noqaphi Nosekeni and Mphakanyiswa Gadla Mandela.
1920      Moves with his mother to Qunu after his father is deposed as headman.
        ANC supports strike by black miners.
1921      Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA) is founded.
1923      South African Indian Congress (SAIC) is founded.
1925      Mandela attends primary school in Qunu; is named Nelson by a teacher.
1926      Balfour Declaration recognizes South Africa’s autonomy within British Empire.
1927      Native Administration Act is passed, setting up a separate legal system for black South Africans and giving sweeping powers to governor-general.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>Pass-burning campaign is undertaken by Industrial and Commercial Workers Union and Communist Party.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>Coalition of Hertzog’s NP and General Jan Smuts’s South African Party is formed; Smuts agrees to separate voters’ rolls for blacks and whites in Cape Province.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>Mandela undergoes circumcision ritual and is named Dalibhunga; addressed with other initiates by Chief Meligqili, who questions whether Africans can enjoy full manhood under colonial conditions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>Enrolls at Clarkebury Institute, a Methodist school in Engcobo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>Native Land and Trust Act extends territory set aside for reserves to 13.6 percent. Representation of Natives Act removes African voters from common roll in Cape Province.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1937</td>
<td>Mandela enrolls at Healdtown Methodist preparatory school in Fort Beaufort.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>Is impressed by visit of oral poet S. E. K. Mqhayi; wins prize for best essay in Xhosa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>Begins studying for BA at Fort Hare University. Becomes close friends with Kaizer Matanzima, later leader of Transkei Bantustan. South Africa enters World War II. Hertzog resigns; Smuts becomes prime minister.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>Hertzog and Dr. D. F. Malan form Herenigde Nasionale Party (Reunited National Party). Mandela is involved in student protest; expelled from Fort Hare for refusing to serve on Student Representative Council.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chronology

1942      Joins the ANC. Passes final exams for BA through University of South Africa.

1943      Graduates with BA from Fort Hare. Enrolls as part-time LLB student at University of the Witwatersrand (Wits). Meets longtime friends and political associates Bram Fischer, Ismail Meer, Joe Slovo, Ruth First, and George Bizos.
August. Marches with Alexandra Bus Boycotters.
December. ANC conference delegates vote to approve formation of Youth League (ANCYL).

1944      April. Mandela is elected to Executive Committee of ANCYL.
Marries Evelyn Ntoko Mase. Completes articles and becomes full-time law student at Wits.

1945      Thembekile Madiba, Mandela’s first son, is born.

1946      Discriminatory treatment of Indians in South Africa is included on agenda of first session of United Nations General Assembly.
Mandela moves to Orlando West, Soweto. Provides legal advice to James Mpanza’s Sofazonke squatters’ movement. African mine workers go on strike.

1947      Mandela is elected to Executive Committee of Transvaal ANC; opposes “Votes for All” campaign because of Communist and Indian participation.
Anton Lembede, influential Africanist thinker in ANCYL, dies.

1948      Makaziwe Mandela is born; dies nine months later.
May 26. Malan’s NP wins general election; apartheid era begins.
UN General Assembly adopts Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

1949      Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act is passed. ANC adopts Programme of Action in response to tightening restrictions. Indians and Africans clash in Durban; ANC and Indian Congress leaders work together to defuse violence.
Mandela fails LLB exam at Wits.

1950      Key apartheid laws are enacted, including Population Registration Act, Groups Areas Act, and Suppression of
Chronology

Communism Act, which equates any opposition to apartheid with Communism.

May Day strike is undertaken against Suppression of Communism Act.

Mandela joins ANC’s National Executive Committee.

June 26. National Day of Protest and Mourning is called by ANC and SAIC.

Makgatho Lewanika, Mandela’s second son, is born.

1951
Mandela is elected president of ANCYL.

1952
June 26. ANC launches Defiance Campaign with Mandela as “volunteer-in-chief.”

Mandela is arrested and placed under banning orders for six months.

Passes exams to qualify as attorney and opens law office with Oliver Tambo.

Is elected president of Transvaal ANC, then ANC deputy president. Albert Luthuli becomes ANC president.

1953
Bantu Education Act is passed.

Communist Party reorganizes in secret and renames itself South African Communist Party (SACP). Walter Sisulu tours Communist countries.

Mandela is involved in organizing protests against demolition of Sophiatown and forced removal of residents; declares that time for passive resistance has ended.

Is served with second banning order, restricting him to Johannesburg and prohibiting him from attending gatherings. Devises M-Plan for future underground activities.

1954
Sophiatown demolitions begin, initiating three decades of forced removals.

Pumla Makaziwe, Mandela’s first surviving daughter, is born.

1955
June 26. Congress of the People adopts Freedom Chapter; Mandela, still banned, watches proceedings.

ANC’s boycott against Bantu education called off.

1956
August 9. 20,000 women march to Union Buildings to protest pass laws.

December. Mandela is arrested with 156 other activists and charged with high treason. The trial, lasting until 1961, cripples his law practice.
Chronology

Tomlinson Commission Report explores viability of separate “Bantu Homelands.”

1957
Evelyn leaves Mandela, taking furniture and children with her.

1958
Mandela is divorced from Evelyn.
June 14. Marries Winifred Nomzano Madikizela. Dr. H. F. Verwoerd is elected prime minister of South Africa.

1959
Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC), led by Potlako Leballo and Robert Sobukwe, is formed.
Extension of University Education Act is passed, leading to racially segregated universities. Verwoerd begins to implement “Bantu Homeland” policies of territorial segregation on a tribal basis.
Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) is founded in London. Mandela’s daughter Zenani is born.

1960
March 21. Sixty-nine demonstrators are massacred by police at Sharpeville. State of emergency is declared; ANC and PAC are banned.
Mandela burns his pass in Orlando; is arrested and detained under emergency regulations.
South West African People’s Organization (SWAPO) is founded by Andimba Toivo ya Toivo, who is later imprisoned on Robben Island.

1961
March 29. Mandela is acquitted along with other treason trial defendants; goes underground.
April 31. Republic of South Africa is declared; leaves British Commonwealth.
Three-day strike is organized in response; Mandela calls it off after first day.
Mandela is interviewed by BBC television.
December 16. Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) launches sabotage campaign.

1962
January–July. Mandela travels widely in Africa and England to organize support for ANC and acquire military training.
August 5. Is arrested outside Pietermaritzburg; charged with incitement and leaving South Africa illegally.
Chronicology

Receives five-year sentence. Spends time in solitary confinement at Pretoria Central Prison for refusing to wear shorts but soon asks to rejoin other prisoners.

1963

Is transferred to Robben Island; brought back to Pretoria after police raid on Liliesleaf Farm, Rivonia, where other MK leaders are captured and incriminating documents seized. October 9. Mandela and comrades are charged with sabotage, promotion of guerrilla warfare, and planning an armed invasion. Ninety-day Detention Act is passed, permitting interrogations and detentions without trial.

1964

April 20. Mandela delivers his famous speech from the dock. June 12. Is sentenced to life in prison along with eight co-defendants and taken to Robben Island. November. Receives a visit from Daily Telegraph reporter, who takes the sole published photograph of Mandela as prisoner.

1965

Along with other Section B prisoners, Mandela begins work at Robben Island lime quarry. Is visited by representatives of American Bar Association and International Red Cross (IRC). Section B prisoners establish Communications Committee and High Organ, on which Mandela serves.

1966

African prisoners in Section B are given permission to wear long trousers. Mandela participates in hunger strike. Verwoerd is assassinated; John Vorster becomes prime minister. SWAPO clashes with South African forces in Ovamboland; “Border War” begins.

1967

Terrorism Act is passed, legalizing detention without trial.

1968

Section B prisoners are allowed to subscribe to select magazines after intervention by IRC. Mandela’s mother dies; request to attend funeral is denied. Founding of South African Students Organization with Steve Biko as president.

1969

Mandela’s son Thembi dies in car accident; request to attend funeral denied. Winnie Mandela is arrested and held for 491 days under Terrorism Act.
Chronology

1970
January. Mandela sends letter of complaint to commissioner of prisons. Protests against behavior of Colonel Badenhorst, the prison’s commanding officer to visiting judges; Badenhorst is replaced. Black Homelands Citizenship Act is passed. Winnie Mandela is released from prison.

1972
Black People’s Convention is launched; Biko banned.

1973
Strikes take place in Durban; independent trade unions formed. UN declares apartheid a crime against humanity.

1975
Mandela begins writing his autobiography. Inkatha, Zulu cultural and political movement led by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, is launched. Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique become independent.

1976

1977
Prison authorities end daily manual labor on Robben Island. Winnie Mandela is banished to Brandfort in Orange Free State; Biko killed in detention. UN Security Council imposes arms embargo on South Africa.

1978
Vorster resigns; P.W. Botha becomes prime minister.

1979
Azanian People’s Organization is founded. Industrial Relations Act legalizes black trade unions.

1980
Sunday Post launches nationwide Release Mandela Campaign; worldwide campaign is launched by AAM. Zimbabwe becomes independent. Student boycotts, strikes, and community protests break out across South Africa and continue throughout decade.
**Chronology**

SASOL oil refinery is bombed by MK.

Mandela is awarded Jawaharlal Nehru Award for International Understanding, the first of numerous major international prizes, awards, and honorary degrees.

1982

Mandela is transferred to Pollsmoor Prison, along with Walter Sisulu, Raymond Mhlaba, Andrew Mlangeni, and Ahmed Kathrada.

1983

Botha implements his constitutional reforms: a tricameral parliament without representation for black majority.

In response, United Democratic Front (UDF) is formed.

1984

Mandela rejects offer pushed by Matanzima that he be released to Transkei Bantustan. Has first contact visit with Winnie.

Nkomati Non-aggression Pact is signed by South Africa and Mozambique, intended to prevent the latter from supporting MK and ANC.

Bishop Desmond Tutu receives Nobel Peace Prize.

1985

January 31. Botha offers Mandela freedom, conditional on renunciation of violence; his rejection is read by Zindzi Mandela to crowd at Jabulani Stadium, Soweto.

National insurrection continues, especially in black townships, and state of emergency is declared.

Winnie Mandela gives militant speech endorsing violence, even necklacing.

COSATU trade union federation is formed.

Mandela requests meeting with Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee.

Is treated in hospital for prostate condition; receives visit from Coetsee.

December. Mandela is incarcerated separately to facilitate meetings with government officials; notifies Tambo of this initiative via his lawyer, George Bizos.

1986

Meets with members of Commonwealth Eminent Persons’ Group and has further meetings with Minister Coetsee; is driven around Cape Town area and even has a chance to escape.

State of emergency is renewed.

1987

Eminent Afrikaners meet with ANC leaders in Dakar, Senegal, and England. Govan Mbeki is released from Robben Island.
1988
February. UDF is banned.
March. South African forces are defeated at Cuito Cuanavale in Angola.
Mandela begins secret meetings with Botha’s intelligence chief, Niel Barnard.
Is hospitalized for tuberculosis; transferred upon release to head warder’s house at Victor Verster Prison, where meetings continue.
June 11. Mandela’s seventieth birthday is celebrated with pop concert at Wembley Stadium, London, broadcast to international audience of 600 million.
Graduates with LLB degree from University of South Africa.
Winnie Mandela’s home is burned down in Soweto by residents angered at activities of her bodyguards, the United Mandela Football Club.
December 29. Stompie Seipei is kidnapped by Football Club members; he dies on January 1.

1989
Mandela meets Botha for tea at his residence; requests Sisulu’s release.
August 14. F. W. de Klerk replaces Botha as president.
Harare Declaration articulates ANC’s position on negotiations; Tambo suffers a stroke.
Walter Sisulu and five other political leaders are released from prison.
Soviet Bloc collapses in Eastern Europe; Berlin Wall falls.
December. Mandela meets De Klerk.

1990
February 2. De Klerk announces release of Mandela and unbanning of ANC, PAC, SACP, and other political organizations.
February 11. Mandela walks out of Victor Verster Prison a free man; is celebrated at mass rallies across South Africa.
Is reappointed ANC deputy president and effectively assumes leadership of ANC.
Namibia becomes independent.
ANC and government leaders sign Groote Schuur Minute, charting way to negotiations; agreement is reached on release of prisoners and indemnities for returning exiles.
Mandela undertakes fourteen-nation tour, including visits to eight US cities; addresses US Congress and joint Houses of Parliament in UK.
Chronology

ANC announces suspension of armed struggle.
MK leader Chris Hani, still in exile, speaks of need to combat HIV-AIDS.

1991
July 5. Mandela is elected ANC president.
December. Congress for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) begins negotiations; De Klerk and Mandela clash over MK activities during opening session.
Remaining apartheid laws are rescinded; international sanctions against South Africa lifted.
Winnie Madikizela-Mandela is tried for kidnapping and accessory to assault; receives six-year sentence.
Soviet Union dissolves.

1992
Mandela makes first visit to Davos Economic Summit.
March. Whites-only referendum endorses negotiations.
CODESA talks reconvene, then break down.
June 16. ANC and alliance partners begin “rolling mass action.”
Violence erupts at Boipatong (between Zulu hostel dwellers and ANC-supporting township residents) and Bisho, Ciskei (between bantustan military and ANC marchers); talks resume as only alternative to further violence.
Mandela publicly announces his separation from Winnie.

1993
April 10. Chris Hani is assassinated. Mandela appears on television and calls for calm; with this he effectively becomes leader of South Africa.
Oliver Tambo dies.
Winnie Mandela’s prison sentence is reduced to fine on appeal.
Mandela is awarded Nobel Peace Prize, jointly with F. W. de Klerk.
Interim constitution is adopted; Transitional Executive Council formed.

1994
April 26–29. South Africa’s first democratic election is held. ANC wins 62.6 percent of vote.
May 10. Mandela is inaugurated as president of South Africa.
Restitution of Land Rights Act is passed.

1995
Rugby World Cup is hosted and won by South Africa.
Mandela appears at Ellis Park Stadium to acclaim of largely white crowd.
Chronology

Nelson Mandela Children’s Fund is founded.
Nigerian writer-activist Ken Saro-Wiwa is executed despite Mandela’s diplomacy; Mandela denounces General Sani Abacha for this deed.

1996 March. Mandela is divorced from Winnie.
Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), chaired by Desmond Tutu, begins hearings on human rights violations during apartheid era.
Parliament adopts new non-discriminatory constitution.
F. W. de Klerk and NP withdraw from Government of National Unity (GNU).

1997 Winnie Madikizela-Mandela appears before TRC; does not acknowledge personal wrongdoing or request amnesty.

1998 Mandela marries Graça Machel on his eightieth birthday.
TRC Report is published; Mandela accepts it, but ANC President Thabo Mbeki challenges it for criticizing ANC’s human rights record.
Treatment Action Campaign (TAC) is launched by Zachie Achmat to protest ANC government’s failure to provide drugs to victims of HIV-AIDS.

1999 ANC wins 66.36 percent of poll in second general election.
July 14. Mandela ends term as president; is succeeded by Mbeki.
Nelson Mandela Foundation is established.
Mandela opposes NATO intervention in Kosovo; serves as facilitator in Burundian peace negotiations.

2000 Land invasions of white farms begin in Zimbabwe.
Mbeki sends letter to US President Bill Clinton questioning applicability of scientific AIDS research to African conditions.
Mandela calls Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe a tyrant, yet claims to support Mbeki’s “silent diplomacy.”
Mandela formally retires from public life.
13th International AIDS conference is held in Durban.

2001 Scandal erupts over kickbacks for ANC leaders in 1998 arms deal.
Mandela is treated for prostate cancer.
AIDS becomes leading cause of death in sub-Saharan Africa.
Chronology

High court rules that pregnant women must be given AIDS drugs to prevent transmission to babies.

2002
Mandela backs TAC protests against Mbeki government’s AIDS policies.

2003
Criticizes US invasion of Iraq and the UK’s acquiescent involvement.
Nelson Mandela Award for Health and Human Rights is awarded to Zachie Achmat.
Walter Sisulu dies.
South African government finally approves program to treat HIV-AIDS.

2004
Mandela announces retirement from public life.
Statue of Mandela is installed in Sandton Square, renamed Nelson Mandela Square.

2005
Mandela announces his son Makgatho’s death from AIDS.
Mbeki fires his vice president, Jacob Zuma.

2006
Mandela receives Amnesty International’s Ambassador of Conscience Award.

2007
Announces formation of The Elders, a group of global leaders working for peace.
Attends conference in New Delhi to mark hundredth anniversary of Gandhi’s satyagraha campaign.
Mbeki is deposed as ANC president; Zuma elected.

2008
Xenophobic attacks on immigrants from other African countries are carried out in several South African townships.
Mandela’s ninetieth birthday is marked across South Africa; birthday tribute concert held in Hyde Park, London.
Mandela publically criticizes Mugabe after election violence in Zimbabwe.
Mbeki is forced to resign as president of South Africa; succeeded by Kgalema Motlantse.
Barack Obama is elected US president.

2009
ANC wins general election; Jacob Zuma becomes president of South Africa.