

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-01311-7 — The Cambridge Companion to Nelson Mandela
Edited by Rita Barnard
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THE CAMBRIDGE COMPANION TO
NELSON MANDELA

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.

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EDITED BY
RITA BARNARD
University of Pennsylvania



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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.

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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

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ABBREVIATIONS

UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
UNISA	University of South Africa
UNITA	National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola)
Wits	University of the Witwatersrand

CHRONOLOGY

- 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.

CHRONOLOGY

- Mandela's father dies from tuberculosis. Mandela moves to Mqokezwi as ward of the regent of the Thembu royal house, Jongintaba Dalindyebo.
- 1930 Pass-burning campaign is undertaken by Industrial and Commercial Workers Union and Communist Party.
- 1933 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.
- 1934 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.
- 1935 Enrolls at Clarkebury Institute, a Methodist school in Engcobo.
- 1936 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.
- 1937 Mandela enrolls at Healdtown Methodist preparatory school in Fort Beaufort.
- 1938 Is impressed by visit of oral poet S. E. K. Mqhayi; wins prize for best essay in Xhosa.
- 1939 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.
- 1940 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.
- 1941 Absconds to Johannesburg to avoid arranged marriage.
Serves a brief stint at Crown Mines as compound policeman. Meets Walter Sisulu, who finds him a clerical position at Witkin, Sidelsky, and Edelman. Begins attending ANC meetings.

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 Nomzamo Madikizela.
Dr. H. F. Verwoerd is elected prime minister of South Africa.
- 1959 Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC), led by Potlake 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.
August 3. Mandela testifies at treason trial in Pretoria.
Mandela’s daughter Zindiswa “Zindzi” is born.
- 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.

CHRONOLOGY

- 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 Homeland 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 South African forces initiate covert operations in Angola.
 June 16. Schoolchildren's uprising starts in Soweto and spreads across country.
 Transkei becomes first "independent" homeland, with Matanzima as leader.
 Mandela refuses conditional reduction of sentence offered by Jimmy Kruger, minister of justice.
 Television is introduced in South Africa.
- 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.

CHRONOLOGY

- 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.