INDEX

Abacha, Sani, 196–97
ABC News, Mandela documentary by, 226–27
Achmat, Zackie, 104–5
Act of Union of 1910, 40–41
African-American jazz culture, Sophiatown Renaissance and, 93–94
African Democratic Party (ADP), launching of, 35–37
African Freedom Movement, 44–45. See also Organization of African Unity (OAU)
African independent churches, 85–86
African National Congress (ANC). See also ANC Women’s League; ANC Youth League; Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation)
autopsy painting controversy and, 278–80 banning and unbanning of, 1–2, 41–42, 165–66
INDEX

Afrikaners. See also National Party (NP)
Christian nationalism and, 85–86
fear and suspicion of blacks by, 76–77
film images of, 230–31, 232
Mandela’s interest in history of, 45–47
Mandela’s negotiations with, 45–47
Mandela’s symbolic gestures concerning, 82–83
aging, images of Mandela and, 275–78
AIDS. See HIV/AIDS
Alexander, Neville, 60, 168
Alexandra bus boycott, 34
Alexandra Township, 34
Algeria
FLN movement in, 174
Mandela’s military training in, 44–45, 165–66, 167–69
“All-in African Conference” (1961), 165–66
Anatomy Lesson of Dr. Tulp, The (Rembrandt), 278–80
ancestral memory, Mandela presidency linked to, 184–87
ANC Women’s League, 105–6
ANC Youth League, 34–37, 109
Mandela’s involvement in, 34–37
Programme of Action, 37
ANC Youth League Manifesto, 17, 148–50
Angola, conflict resolution in, 196
Anouilh, Jean, 39–60
Antigone (Anouilh), 59–60
“antinomies” of Mandela, 29–47, 181–84, 239
literary representations of, 211
Robben Island experiences and, 64–65
apartheid regime in South Africa. See also National Party (NP)
banning order under, 146–47
Derrida’s analysis of, 154–56
economic inequality in aftermath of, 88–89
jurisprudence under, 135, 146
“law of the person” concept under, 140–44
Mandela as symbol of opposition to, 210–13
mythologizing of Mandela and, 75–76
violence as negotiating tool with, 167–69
Western support for, 193–94
Arab Spring revolutions, 7–8
Arendt, Hannah, 267
Aristotelian ethics, prisoner resistance and, 63–67
armed struggle. See also violence; war
ANC support for, 175–76
Mandela’s study of, 162–63
Mandela’s support for, 42–43, 44–45
myth of Mandela’s pacifism and, 165–66
political limits of, 178–79
Archer, Tyrone, 277–78
Ashforth, Adam, 85–86
Aung San Suu Kyi, 99
Aurelius, Marcus (Emperor of Rome), 58–59, 66
Austin, John, 152–54
Autobiography and Decolonization (Holden), 220–21
Babbenia, Natoo, 55
Balibar, Etienne, 249–50
Balizulu, Nokwanele, 282–84
Bam, Brigalia, 80
Bam, Fikile, 45–47
banknotes, Mandela’s image on, 88–89, 262–64, 281
banning orders, implications of, 146–47
Bantu Education, protests against, 55
Barnard, Rita, 70–71, 212–13, 265
Barthes, Roland, 284–86
Battle of iNcome (1838), 191
Beckham, Victoria, 86–87
Begin, Menachem, 169
Benjamin, Walter, 286–87
Berlin Wall, fall of (1989), 79
Bernstein, Lionel (“Rusty”), 165–66
Bertelson, Eve, 80–82
Bhoola, Ahmed, 39
Bhoola, Ramlal, 39
Biko, Steve, 95–96
bildungsroman, Long Walk to Freedom as, 213–16, 217–21
Bill of Rights, South African adoption of, 187–90, 200
Billig, Michael, 259–60
Bizos, George, 39
Black Consciousness Movement
evolution of, 35–37
Mandela and, 210–11, 219
Robben Island prisoners from, 55, 60, 63–67
tension between Africanism and non-racialism and, 35–37
“black-on-black” violence, 79
Black Parents Association (BPA), 97
INDEX

“Black Pimpernel,” Mandela named as, 93–94

Boehmer, Elleke

on African women and nationalism, 96
on film images of Mandela, 20–21
on Mandela as gardener, 215–16, 274–75
on Mandela as living ghost, 277–78, 283–85
on Mandela’s biography as national allegory, 205
on Mandela’s postcolonial implications, 7
on Mandela’s self-representation, 211–12
on Mandela’s prison life, 214, 215–16
on Mandela’s self-representation, 211–12
on Mandela’s verbal performances, 283–85
on narrative structure of Long Walk to Freedom, 253–56, 274–75

Bonner, Philip, 10–11, 29–47, 64–65, 183–84, 211, 239

Born of the People (Taruc), 43–44

Botha, P. W., 232, 257–62

Breytenbach, Breyten, 95–96

Brown, Gordon, 283–84

Buck-Morss, Susan, 286–87

Buntman, Fran, 63

Burger’s Daughter (Gordimer), 96

Business Day, 277–78

Buthelezi, Mangosuthu (Chief), 188–90, 198, 202

Cabinet appointments by Mandela, 197–99

Cachalia, Azhari, 106

Call Me Woman (Kuzwayo), 40

Cameron, Edwin, 288

Carlin, John, 90–92, 214–15

Castro, Fidel, ANC admiration of, 173–74

celebrity, Mandela’s embrace of, 3–4, 86–87, 245–47

Chakrabarty, Dipesh, 70

Change of Tongue, A (Krog), 207–8

charisma, Mandela’s use of, 71, 74–75, 275–78

charismatic churches

economic prosperity and, 88–89

post-apartheid enchantment and, 85–86

chiasmus, in Long Walk to Freedom (Mandela), 213–16

“Chief Rolihlahla Nelson Mandela (Hail, Earth Tremor!)” (Yali-Manisi), 206–7

chiefly connections, influence on Mandela of, 10–31, 32–33

Chikane, Frank, 103–4

children

apartheid’s impact on, 97

reburial of Mandela’s children, 281

tradition and role of, 117–25

China

Sisulu’s discussions with leaders in, 164–65

South African Communism and, 173–74

Chipkin, Ivor, 86–87

Christianity

film images of Mandela and, 232–33, 234–39

iconic images of Mandela and, 245–50

Mandela’s meaning in context of, 3–4, 116–17, 127–28, 168

and miracle of democratic transition, 85–86

praise poetry about Mandela and images of, 205–7

vernacular literature and conversion to, 118, 131–12, 132

Churchill, Winston, 164

circumcision ceremony, Mandela’s description of, 123–25, 269

citizenship

changing models of, 257–62

iconicity and pedagogy of, 245–50

Mandela’s embodiment of, 21–22

Mandela’s life as education in, 244–64

South African jurisprudence and, 148

“Citizenship in a Republic” (Roosevelt), 244

civil disobedience

Mandela’s skepticism concerning, 165–66

South African jurisprudence and, 148

Civil Rights movement (United States), 151, 187–88

civil service, Mandela’s presidency and changes to, 197–99

Clark, John Pepper, 224

Clarkebury school, 11, 54, 116–17, 214–15, 217

class politics in South Africa, 109

film images of, 236–37

male political elites and, 119–20

Mandela’s military thought and, 169

Clausewitz, Carl von, 18, 43–44, 169–72

Clinton, Bill, 2–3, 283–84

Coetsee, Hendrik Jacobus (“Kobie”), 45–47, 74–75

Coetzee, J. M., 214–15

Cold War

Mandela’s political philosophy and, 18, 163–64

military politics of, 172–75

303
INDEX

Colford, Paul, 282–84

collective leadership, Mandela’s embrace of, 29–30, 38–39, 40–45


See also Goodbye Bafana (film)

Comaroff, Jean, 12–13, 85, 264

Comaroff, John, 12–13, 85, 264


commodification

iconography of Mandela and, 252

“Madiba magic” and, 264

of Mandela’s death and funeral, 281–82

Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group, 73

Communism

Mandela’s association with, 42–43, 163–64, 165–66, 210–11

Mandela’s military politics and, 172–75


See also South African Communist Party (SACP)

Confederation of African Football (CAF), 196–97

conflict resolution, Mandela presidency and, 194–97

Congress Alliance, 43–45, 129

Congress of South African Trades’ Unions (COSATU), 188–90

Congress of the People, 40–41

Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA), 188–90, 198

Conversations with Myself (Mandela), 22–23, 268–72

Marcus Aurelius discussed in, 58

political discussions in, 35, 36–37, 43–44

Cooper, Sathisivan (“Saths”), 66–67

Cornwell, Gareth, 8

court interpreter
duties of, 116–39

Mandela’s desire to become, 16–17, 136–39

as profession, 119–20

Crapanzano, Vincent, 76–77

Cronin, Jeremy, 8–9

Cry, the Beloved Country (film), 241–42

Cry of Winnie Mandela, The (Ndebele), 95–96, 101–2

Cuba, South African view of, 175–76

cult of personality, Mandela and, 1–2.

See also iconic status of Mandela; mythologizing of Mandela

Dadoo, Yusuf, 44–45, 174–75, 186–87, 189–90

Daily Telegraph newspaper, 211–12

Dalai Lama, 99

Dalindyebo, Jongintaba (Chief), 16, 30–31, 32, 116–17, 270–71

Dalindyebo, Justice, 31–32

Damaso, Yuill, 278–80

Damon, Matt, 235

Dangor, Achmat

on Mandela’s imprisonment, 70

on mythologizing of Mandela, 74–75

Daniels, Eddie, 60

Das, Veena, 75–76

Davis, Peter, 242

Defiance Campaign, 17, 93–94, 129

film portrayals of, 228–29, 241

Mandela’s leadership during, 37–38, 39–40

De Klerk, F. W., 98–99, 197, 278–80, 285

Mandela’s release by, 78

media interviews with, 208–9

participation in and resignation from Government of National Unity, 188–90

post-apartheid violence and, 79

De la Rey, Koos (General), 45–47

Delmas Treason Trial, 100–1

Demme, Jonathan, 226–27

democracy

connections to indigenous traditions and, 16

Mandela’s presidency and principles of, 187–90

post-apartheid euphoria concerning, 70–72

pre-election violence and, 87–88

Democratic Alliance, 280–81

Democratic Republic of Congo, 196

Derrida, Jacques, 134, 144–56, 277–78

Diana, Princess of Wales, 86–87

Dicy, A. V., 137–38

Dilthey, Wilhelm, 217

Dingane ka Senzangakhona, 121–22

Discovery Channel, 226–27

Dos Santos, Eduardo, 196

Dreamworld and Catastrophe (Buck-Morss), 286–87

Drum (film), 226–27

Drum magazine, 93–94

Dube, John Langalibalele, 184–87, 189–90, 192–93
INDEX

Dubow, Saul, 187–88, 200
Du Preez, Max, 20–21, 106, 208–9, 240
Du Toit, J. D. (“Totius”), 232

East Timor, Mandela’s views on, 223

Eco, Umberto, 285–86
Economic conditions in South Africa, 7–8
“Madiba magic” and, 88–89
Mandela’s policies concerning, 14–16, 190–92
and neoliberalism, 12–13, 14–16, 109

Edgar, Robert, 33
Education, rejection of tradition and, 117–22
Elba, Idris, 226–27

Elders, The (human rights group), 1–2
Emotional education, Mandela’s prison experience as, 50–67

Emsley, Paul, 21–22, 23, 247–50, 265
Enchantment
“Madiba magic” and genealogy of, 84–88
mass culture and, 86–87
modern disenchantment vs., 84–88, 144–45

English common law, apartheid jurisprudence and, 135

Enlightenment, citizenship concepts and, 230

Euripides, 59–60
European jurisprudence, apartheid jurisprudence and, 140–44
European military theory, Mandela’s study of, 169–72

Falati, Xoliswa, 104–5
Family
apartheid’s impact on, 13–14
dissolution of Mandela marriage and images of, 108
Mandela’s discussion of, 99–100, 127
and national imagination, 92–109
tradition and role of, 117–25

Fanon, Franz, 18, 163, 167–69, 264
Fassie, Brenda, 108
Father of the nation, Mandela’s image as, 99, 261–62

Feminist politics
in post-apartheid South Africa, 107–8
women’s leadership in ANC and, 201

Film
anti-apartheid messages in, 227–33
documentary vs. fictional representations of Mandela and, 230
Mandela’s return to public life in, 234–39
portrayal of Mandela in, 20–21, 224–39
First, Ruth, 39
Fischer, Bram, 39

FLN (Algerian National Liberation Front), 173–74
Mandela’s military training by, 44–45, 60, 165–66, 167–69

Fools (film), 242

Foreign policy
Mandela’s approach to, 14
Mandela’s presidency and, 193–94
peace-building and conflict resolution in Mandela presidency and, 194–97

Foucault, Michel, 54
France, apartheid regime supported by, 193–94
Freedom
and citizen-subject, 249–50
Mandela’s reflections on, 2–3, 218
See also Congress of the People
Freedom of Information Act, 283–84
Freehold rights, Mandela’s support for, 133–34
Freeman, Morgan, 235, 236
French Revolution, Mandela’s study of, 169–72

Gandhi, Mohandas K., 58, 163
gardening metaphor, in Mandela’s writing, 213–16

Gay rights
Mandela’s defense of, 100–1
popular culture in South Africa and, 108
and Winnie Mandela trial, 104–5

Gender
African nationalism and, 117–22
Mandela’s economic policies and, 190–92
Mandela’s legacy and, 13–14
Mandela’s marriage and politics of, 92–109
tradition and, 117–22

ukublomphla discourse and hierarchies of, 122–25
women in parliament and issues of, 201

Geneva Conventions, 18, 169–72

Gevisser, Mark, 1–2, 99, 280–81

Ginwala, Frene, 45
Glover, Danny, 227, 231, 240
Goldreich, Arthur, 43–44, 161

305
INDEX

See also Color of Freedom, The (film)
Gordimer, Nadine, 96, 205–7
government infrastructure, Mandela presidency and, 197–99
Government of National Unity (GNU), 14–16
Africanist perspective on, 187
Bill of Rights initiative and, 188–90
De Klerk’s participation in and resignation from, 188–90
presidency of Mandela and influence of, 197–99
Gran Torino (film), 238–39
Grand Alliance, 172–75
graphic narrative, Mandela’s life story as, 244–64
Greek tragedy, Mandela’s knowledge of, 59–60
Gregory, James, 60–61
Group Areas Act, 145
Growth, Employment, and Redistribution Programme (GEAR), 14–16, 190–92
guerrilla forces
ANC development of, 175–76
legal status of, 18, 169–72
Mandela’s involvement with, 44–45, 162
Guevara, Ernesto “Che,” 41–42, 93–94
Gumede, Josiah, 186–87
Gwala, Harry, 176
Hague Conventions, 169–72
Hahlo, Herman Robert, 17, 140–45
Hamlet (Shakespeare), 59–60
hard labor, Mandela’s experience of, 272–75
Harris, Cecil (Reverend), 54, 214–15
Harris, Verne, 58, 274–75, 283–84
Hartzenberg, Ferdi, 176–77
Harwood, Ronald, 229–30, 241
“How You Met Madiba” blog, 82–83
Healdtown Methodist preparatory school, 11, 54, 116–17
Heinemann, C. R., 151
Henley, William Ernest, 61–62, 247–50, 264
High Life (British Airways magazine), 250–51
historical context of Mandela’s legacy, 6–7
film representations of Mandela and, 230–31
presidency of Mandela and, 184–87
HIV/AIDS
African skepticism concerning, 266
Graça Machel’s work in, 108
Mandela and, 1–2, 280–81, 288
Hobbes, Thomas, 151–54
Hoërnlé, R. F. A., 148
Holden, Philip, 220–21
holidays, Mandela’s presidency and creation of, 191
Holland, Heidi, 205
Holmes, Rachel, 104–5, 107
homosexuality. See also gay rights
Mandela’s defense of, 100–1
repeaduation of in South Africa, 104–5
in South African popular culture, 108
Winnie Mandela trial and issue of, 102–6
House of Traditional Leaders, 191–92
human rights
in Mandela’s presidency, 187–90
in Mandela’s writing, 217–21
mythic Mandela as symbol for, 79
Human Rights Inc. (Slaughter), 217–18
Human Rights in South Africa (Dubow), 187–88
Human Sciences Research Council, 76–77
Hyslop, Jonathan, 18, 162–79
iconic status of Mandela. See also mythologizing of Mandela
tax bodily mutations and, 275–78
comic-book version of Long Walk to Freedom and, 253–56
commercial appropriation of, 252
critical analysis of, 21–22
global implications of, 262–64
national narcissism and, 250–53
pedagogy of citizenship and, 245–50
sartorial aspects of, 261–62
iconography and history of portraiture, 245–50
idem (identity as sameness), 253–54
inkokheli zoluntu (people’s leaders), emergence of, 120
Illouz, Eva, 72
imagined communities
nation as family and, 92
politics of enchantment and, 84–88
imbongi (praise poet), 130, 134, 205–7
imithotsho ritual, 121–24, 132
imprisonment. See also Robben Island; solitary confinement
bodily mutations as consequence of, 275–78
INDEX

as death experience, 272–75
as emotional education, Mandela’s account of, 56–57
film versions of Mandela’s experience with, 234
impact on Mandela of, 11–12, 45–47, 50–67
international campaign for Mandela’s release from, 73
Mandela’s military strategy development during, 175–76
resistance and politics of affect in, 63–67
symbolism of, 78

Indians in South Africa, Mandela’s relations with, 38–39, 168–69

individualism vs. collective identity, 115

Ingqumbo Yeminyanya (Jordan), 118

initiation ritual. See also circumcision ceremony
Mandela’s description of, 124–25

Inkath Freedom Party, 79, 188–90, 234–35

international donor syndrome, 194
International Monetary Fund (IMF), 194
International Red Cross, 64
internationalism, presidency of Mandela and, 192–94


“Invictus” (Henley), 61–62, 247–50, 264

ipsa (selfhood), 253–54

Island in Chains (Naidoo), 52–54

isolation, Mandela’s description of, 272–75


Jackson, Jesse, 235

Jameson, Fredric, 5–6, 221, 223

Joffe, Joel, 271–72, 276–77

Johannesburg Sunday Times newspaper, 104–5, 106–7

Johnson, Nkosí, 278–80

Jolobe, J. R. I., 121–22

Jordan, A. C., 118, 119–20, 123–24

Joseph, Helen, 186–87, 189–90

Joyi, Anderson Dalagubhe (Chief), 50

Julius Caesar (Shakespeare), 59–60

jurisprudence in South Africa, 135, 137–38, 139, 140–44, 148, 152–54

Kabila, Laurent, 196

Kant, Immanuel, 249–50, 265

Kaschula, Russell, 205–7

Kashirs, Ronnie, 41–47

Kathrada, Ahmed, 5–6, 45–47, 58, 66, 224–25

Kean, John, 178–79

Kentridge, Sidney, 40–41

Kenyatta, Jomo, 5–6

Keys, Derek, 197

Khruschev, Nikita, 174

King, Martin Luther, 5–6, 163

King Kong (South African musical), 40–41

Kodesh, Wolfi e, 162

Kosminsky, Peter, 226–27

Kotane, Moses, 42–43, 186–87, 189–90

Kovatsky and Tuch law firm, 143

Krabill, Ron, 240

Krián, Belkacem, 167

Krog, Antjie, 106, 107, 207–8

Kroooostad Prison, Winnie Mandela’s incarceration in, 57

Kunene, Kenny, 109

Kunene, Mazisi, 185–86

Kuzwayo, Ellen, 40

KwaZulu-Natal, conflict resolution in, 196

Kwezo Mpindo ZeTsitsa (Jordan), 123–24

Lacanian psychoanalysis, 250–53

Landsberg, Chris, 189

language, Mandela’s mortality and limits of, 284–86

“Law of Persons,” 17

Hahlo’s concept of, 140–44
Mandela’s court appearances and, 151–52

lawyers in South Africa, 135, 137–38, 139, 140–44, 148, 152–54

Lays of Ancient Rome (Macaulay), 11

legal profession, Mandela’s career in, 14–18, 134–56

Lekota, Mosiuoa “Terror,” 100–1

Lembede, Anton, 34–37, 129, 149–50, 265

leopard-skin kaross, Mandela’s court appearance dressed in, 16, 21–22, 94–95, 116–17, 121, 125–31, 151–52, 259

Lesotho, conflict resolution in, 196

Lewis, Desiree, 107, 108

Liberation (magazine), 284–85

Liberation (magazine), 284–85

Liebenberg, Chris, 197

Life and Times of Michael K. (Coetzee), 214–15

Liliesleaf Farm, 43–44, 165–66, 271–72

307
INDEX

Liliesleaf Trust, 43–44
Limb, Peter, 191, 223
literature sources on Mandela, 205–21
biographical and autobiographical information in, 207–10
human rights in, 217–21
mythologizing of Mandela in, 205–7, 210–13
public image founded in, 213–16
self-representation and narrative in, 210–13, 217–21
Living in Hope and History (Gordimer), 205–7
Lodge, Tom
on international campaign for Mandela’s release, 71
on law and anticolonial movements, 17
on Mandela at Robben Island, 50–51, 52
on Mandela’s global image, 226
on Mandela’s politics and narrative form, 8–9, 11, 211–12, 226
Long Walk to Freedom (Mandela)
autobiographical information in, 207–10
childhood described in, 115
critical analysis of, 19–20
death and loss in, 22–23, 268–72
early life described in, 32
film adaptation of, 226–27
human rights discussed in, 220–21
Mandela’s father and guardian described in, 32
marriage discussed in, 93
media discussed in, 6–7
mixed social interactions discussed in, 33–34
mortality discussed in, 268–72
narrative technique in, 211–12, 213, 217–21
nationalist discourse in, 116, 121–22, 222, 265
political activism discussed in, 38–39, 44–45
public image developed in, 213–16
Robben Island experiences discussed in, 50, 52, 53–54
self-representation in, 11–12, 217–21
tradition and ritual discussed in, 130
university training described in, 140
unpublished sequel to, 209–10
Youth League Manifesto discussed in, 149–50

“Long Walk to Ordinariness” (Cornwell), 8
Louis, Joe, 30–31
Lukhele, Douglas, 61–62
Lusaka Peace Process, 196
early life of, 122–23
reservations about armed struggle, 44–45
Machel, Graça, 108, 281
Machel, Samora, 108
“Madiha magic,” 12–13, 22–23
commercialization of, 264
economic prosperity and, 88–89
enchantment and, 84–88
in film and television images, 224–27
literary representations of, 205–7, 210–11
myth of Mandela and, 72–83
political analysis of, 70–89
post-apartheid negotiations and, 77–83
Madikizela-Mandela, Winnie, 9–10
divorce from Mandela, 99–100, 106–7, 115
early life of, 122
exile to Brandfort township, 97
feminist politics in post-apartheid South Africa and, 107–8
film portrayals of, 227–33, 241
imprisonment of, 68
kidnapings ordered by, 104–5
legacy of, 108–9
Mandela United Football Club founded by, 102–6
Mandela’s arrest and trial and, 126–27, 129–30
Mandela’s prison correspondence with, 57
marriage to Mandela, 9–10, 13–14, 92–109, 285
persecution of, 101–2
political activism of, 95–96
poverty advocacy of, 109
sexist and racist media images of, 107
theatrical politics of, 94–95
tradition in politics of, 118, 129–30, 133
tragic iconography of, 92
Magubane, Peter, 93–94, 95
Maharaj, Mac, 54, 176
Maingard, Jacqueline, 82
Malcolm X, 5–6
Malema, Julius, 109, 178–79
Mandela (film), 20–21, 225, 239
## INDEX

**European and American release of,** 240–41  
journalistic aspects of, 241  
Mandela, Gadla Mphakanyiswa, 30–31, 269–70  
Mandela, Makaziwe, 270–71  
Mandela, Makgatho, 275–78  
Mandela, Mandla (Chief), 281–82, 287  
Mandela, Nelson Rolihlahla  
ANC Youth League and, 149–50  
an autopsy portrait of, 278–80  
Black Consciousness prisoners and, 55–56  
bodily mutations and aging of, 275–78  
chronology of life of, viii  
*Cry, the Beloved Country* (Paton), 241–42  
deaths of children and, 66, 252, 288  
defense of Winnie Mandela by, 105–6  
divorce from Winnie Mandela, 106–7, 115  
educational experiences of, 30–31, 32–33, 54  
election as president in 1994, 70  
emotional reticence of, 50–51  
family feud on legacy of, 281–82  
functioning in, 281–82  
film and television images of, 224–39  
inauguration as president, 7–8, 80–82  
incarceration of, 11–12  
initiation ritual described by, 124–25  
legacy of, 1–2  
legal career of, 40–45, 134–56  
media images of, 19–23  
military doctrine of, 167–69  
moral authority of, 45–47  
mortality of, 267–87  
names and renaming of, 24–25, 134, 155, 183–84  
personality contradictions of, 30  
political and legal philosophy of, 9–18  
on post-apartheid euphoria, 70–71  
“pre-mortem” analysis of, 19, 286–87  
prison experiences of, 45–47  
reburial of children, 281  
on release from prison, 12–13  
revisionary romanticism of, 45  
rural roots of, 30–40  
self-representation by, i, 74  
symbolic gestures of, 82–83  
transcendence and disjuncture in career of, 2–9  
underground political activities of, 41–42, 93–94, 126, 272–75  
urban migration of, 30–40  
war discussed by, 162–79  
writing by, 205–21  
written material about, 205–21  
Mandela, Nosikezi Noqaphi, 183–84  
Mandela, Thembu, 270–71  
death of, 65–66, 252  
Mandela, Winnie. See Madikizela-Mandela, Winnie  
Mandela, Zenani, 275–78  
Mandela, Zindzi, 97, 102, 232, 236–37, 238–39, 268–69  
“Mandela” (Clark), 224  
*Mandela and De Klerk* (film), 226–27  
“Mandela Comes Home: The Poet’s Perspective” (Kaschula), 205–7  
*Mandela Crisis Committee*, 103–4  
Mandela Day, 262–64  
*Mandela’s Ego* (Nkosi), 134, 206–7  
*Mandela’s Fight for Freedom* (Discovery Channel documentary), 226–27  
Mandela United Football Club (MUFC), 102–6  
Manuel, Trevor, 197, 278–80  
Mao Ze Dong, 162  
Marcus, Gill, 88–89  
Marshall, Victoria, 228  
Masculinity  
Mandela’s projection of, 21–22, 93–94, 98–100  
mythologizing of Mandela and, 97–98  
tradition and, 119–20  
Mase, Evelyn Ntoko, 93, 209–10, 242, 273–74  
Mashinini, Emma, 96, 107  
mass culture, 86–87  
Matanzima, Kaiser Daliwonga, 30–31  
Matthews, Anthony, 146–47  
Matshikiza, Esnè, 209–10  
Matshikiza, Todd, 40–41  
Matthews, J. B., 176  
Mbata, J. Congress, 34–37  
Mbeki, Govan, 176  
Mbeki, Thabo, 197  
economic policies of, 190–92
INDEX

Mandela's legacy and, 1–2, 10–11, 14–16, 176–77, 285
mortality of Mandela and, 280–81
as president of South Africa, 199
Mbelle, Budlwana ("Bud"), 119–20
Mbembe, Achille, 19, 22–23, 267–87
McClintock, Anne, 96
Mda, A. P., 34–37
Mda, Zakes, 109
Measure for Measure (Shakespeare), 59–60
media images of Mandela. See also film as aging, 275–78
and autopsy painting, 278–81
in film and television, 224–39
"heroic" release from prison, 78, 98–99
inauguration in coverage and, 81–82
"Madiba magic" and, 80–82
marriage to Winnie Mandela and, 93–94
mortality of Mandela and, 240, 282
news coverage at Robben Island and, 211–12
as pedagogy of citizenship, 244–64
post-prison images of, 240
Rivonia trial coverage and, 151
scholarship concerning, 19–23
as signifiers of nation building, 234–39
Meditations (Aurelius), 58–59
Mehr, Israel, 39
Meintjes, Sheila, 97
Melqgili, Dalindyebo (Chief), 124–25
Memela, Sandle, 87–88
Menell, Jo, 226–27
Meredith, Martin, 52
messianic imagery
in films of Mandela's life, 234–39
in Mandela (film), 227–33
Mandela's court appearances and, 125–31
Mhlabo, Raymond, 45–47
Mhudi (Plaatje), 121
Mikoyan, Anastas, 173–74
militarism. See also armed struggle; war Cold War politics and, 172–75
Madikizela-Mandela's embrace of, 101–2
Mandela's political philosophy and, 18, 55–56, 162–63, 164–66, 167–69
political limits of, 178–79
in post-apartheid South Africa, 176–77
theoretical principles of, 169–72
as threat, negotiations, 169–72
Mill, John Stuart, 141
“miracle” imagery of South Africa's political transformation, 70–72
missionary boarding schools, Mandela's experiences in, 34
Mkwayi, Wilton, 182
Mlambo, Johnson, 52–54
Mobutu Sese Seko, 196
modernity
apartheid and impact of, 5–6
as disenchantment, 84–88
of enchantment, Mandela's legacy and, 12–13
film images of Mandela and, 231–33
Mandela as representative of, 4–5
Sohi town Renaissance and, 93–94
urban influences on Mandela and, 30–40
Mlondane, Bloke, 120
Mlondane, Lithoko, 20–21, 224–39, 252
Modic, Joe, 176
Modise, Tim, 265
Moffatt, Helen, 107–8
Mokgatle, Naboroth, 120, 122–23
Mokopane, Aubrey, 73
Mompiti, Ruth, 209–10
Monare Elias, 38–39
moral authority, Mandela's acquisition of, 45–47
moral capital, 11–12
Moretti, Franco, 217–18
Morobe, Murphy, 106
Morison, Toni, 199
mortality
emptiness of language concerning, 284–86
Mandela's reflections on, 222–23, 267–87
Mostefai, Chawki, 167
Motlanthe, Nthato, 103–4
Motsa, Zodwa, 222
Motsemme, Nhabseng, 108–9
Movimiento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA), 196
Mpanza, James, 35–37
Mphahlele, Es'kia, 120, 122–23, 124, 132
Mpho, Dali, 106–7
Mqhayi, S. E. K., 120, 121–22, 129
Msimang, R. W., 149–50
Msunza, Luyanda ka, 35–37
Mtshengu, Jackson, 278–80
Mugabe, Robert, 98–99, 196
Munro, Ben, 13–14
Murray, Brett, 262–64
museums, Mandela's presidency and creation of, 191

© in this web service Cambridge University Press
www.cambridge.org
mythologizing of Mandela. See also iconic status of Mandela
citizenship pedagogy and, 245–50
film and television images and, 224–27, 231–32
masculinity as trope in, 97–98
political construction of, 72–83
racist perspectives on, 182–83
Robben Island experiences and, 64–65
Rugby World Cup victory and, 82
scholarship concerning, 19–23
spirituality in, 99
symbolic political gestures and, 82–83
theatricality in public appearances and, 127–28
written materials and perpetuation of, 253–7
Naicker, G. M., 186–87, 189–90
Naidoo, Indres, 52–54
Naidoo, Vish, 282
Nair, Billy, 63–64
Napoleonic Wars, Mandela’s study of, 169–72
narrative pedagogy, destiny as, 253–56
Natal Indian Congress, 29–30, 37–38, 42–43
National Action Committee, 39–40
national allegory, Jameson’s discussion of, 221, 223
National Convention of 1909, 40–41
“National Democratic Revolution” doctrine,
Nelson Mandela Foundation, 283–84
Nelson Mandela: Son of Africa: Father of a Nation
(Mandela), 224–25
Nelson Mandela: The Authorized Comic Book, 21–22,
253–56, 257–62
neoliberalism
in ANC policies, 109, 190–92
economic policy and, 14–16
Mandela and legacy of, 8, 12–13
Ngoyi, Lilian, 186–87, 209–10
Ngubane, Ben, 198
Nkosi, Lewis, 134, 206–7
Nkrumah, Kwame, 5–6
“‘No,’ He Said” (Soyinka poem), 97–98
Nkosi, Simon Tseko, 104–5
Nkosi, Lewis, 134, 206–7
Nkumah, Kwame, 5–6
“No, He Said” (Soyinka poem), 97–98
No Bread for Mandela (Kathrada), 58
No Easy Walk to Freedom (Mandela), 151
Nobel Peace Prize, joint award to Mandela
and De Klerk, 1–2
311
INDEX

Nokwe, Duma, 165–66
Non-Aligned Movement, 151
non-racialism
Africanism and, 9–10, 35–37, 129
ANC foreign policy and, 193–94
of Mandela, 44–45, 130, 168–69, 235, 244, 250
racist aspects of, 182–83, 199
non-violence, 18, 163, 164–65
Nujoma, Sam, 196
Nuttall, Sarah, 19, 22–23, 267–87
Nxumalo, “Mzala,” 183–84
Obama, Barack, 7–8, 21–22, 262–64, 266
Ogoni people, human rights violations against, 196–97
On War (Clausewitz), 43–44, 162, 169–72
100 Years of Struggle: Mandela (Holland), 205
Opera Aperta (Eco), 285–86
“Operation Mayibuye,” 165–66
oppression, Mandela’s discussion of, 3
Organization of African Unity (OAU), 44–45, 193–94
Orlando Brotherly Society, 32–33
pacifism, 165, 164–65, 176–77, 241
Pahad, Essop, 198
Pale Native (Du Preez), 208–9
Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), 44–45, 60
banning of, 41–42, 165–66
nationalist goals of, 130
Part of My Soul Went With Him (Mandela), 95–96
“pass laws,” 138
Paton, Alan, 241–42
patriarchal ideology, Madikizela-Mandela’s activities in context of, 13–14, 107
peace-building during Mandela presidency, 194–97
Pelindaba Treaty, 195
performative politics, Mandela’s deployment of, 16
Phantom Formations (Redfield), 213–16
photographic technology vs. handcrafted portraiture, 245–50, 264, 278–80
Pienaar, Francois, 214–19, 244, 264
Pieterse, Hec, 4, 97
Plaatje, Sol, 120, 121, 136–39, 148, 192–93
Plato, 155

Playing the Enemy: Nelson Mandela and the Game that Made a Nation (Carlin), 234–35
“Poem for Mandela” (Cronin), 8–9
politics of affect, prisoner resistance and, 63–67
antinomies of Mandela and, 29–47
of enchantment in, 84–88
of gender, Mandela marriages and, 92–109
“Madiba magic” and, 70–89
Mandela on war and, 18
Mandela’s early activities in, 10–11
mass rallies and, 80–82
military theory and, 169–72, 178–79
mortality of Mandela and, 278–81, 284–86
mythologizing of Mandela and, 72–83
political and legal philosophy of Mandela and, 14–18
Robben Island prisoners’ activism and, 52–54
of the sublime, 2–4
as theater, Mandela’s flair for, 94–95
tradition deployed in, 121–22
Pollsmoor Prison, 46–47, 52–54, 64–65, 73, 214, 227
Ponomarev, Boris, 174–75
Popular Front, 172–73
Posel, Deborah, 12–13, 22–23, 70–89, 224–27
positivist jurisprudence, Rivonia trial and, 152–54
power
academic disciplines as form of, 135
gender and, 117–22
praise poetry, mythologizing of Mandela in, 205–7
“pre-mortem” analysis of Mandela, 19, 286–87
presidency of Mandela, 182–99
African nationalism and, 192–94
African peace-building and conflict resolution and, 194–97
challenges and accomplishments of, 197–99
democracy, reconciliation, and rights in, 187–92
economic justice and cultural heritage in, 190–92
internationalism and foreign policy in, 192–94

© in this web service Cambridge University Press  www.cambridge.org
INDEX

public service appointments
under, 197–99
“Presidential Lead Projects,” 190–92
Pretoria, advertisement for, 250–53
Pretoria Central Prison, 56–57
prison. See imprisonment
prison life. See imprisonment
“Prisoner in the Garden, A” (Mandela photo), 215–16
private security sector, growth in apartheid state of, 76–77
propaganda, film representations of Mandela as, 230–31
prosopon, Greek concept of, 151–52
“Protracted People’s War,” 175–76
Qunu
exhumation of children’s remains in, 282, 287
Mandela’s early life in, 16, 116, 122–25, 183–84, 207–8
Mandela’s house in, 240, 274–75, 282–84
Radebe, Gaur, 145
“rainbow nation”
gay rights and, 100–1
Mandela’s invocation of, 81–82, 87–88, 92, 98–99
as reconciliation and inclusivity metaphor, 121
and Rugby World Cup, 235
Ramaphosa, Cyril, 278–80
Randame, Abane, 167
Rathebe, Dolly, 209–10
reconciliation, 14–16, 98–99
Africanist perspective on, 182–83, 187
investigation of Madikizela-Mandela and, 106
in Mandela’s presidency, 187–90
mythic repertoire of, 78–79
Rugby World Cup as occasion for, 235
Reconciliation Day, creation of, 191
Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), 190–92
ANC proposal for, 14–16
redemption, Mandela’s association with, 20–21, 80–82, 234–39
Redfield, Marc, 213–16
Reitz, Denys, 162
Release Mandela Campaign (RMC), 73, 182, 226–27
religion. See also Christianity
Christian nationalism of apartheid and, 85–86
Rembrandt (Rembrandt Harmenszoon van Rijn), 278–80
Remember Mandela (film), 234, 242
representation of blackness in context of Western power, 262–64
iconicity of Mandela and, 245–50
national narcissism and, 250–53
Richardson, Jerry, 102, 104
Ricoeur, Paul, 233–54
Right To Know Campaign, 283–84
rituals and customs
as anticolonial resistance, 121–22
childhood in relation to, 123–24
initiation, 124–25
mythologizing of Mandela and use of, 128
nationalism and role of, 118–19
Rivonia, raid and trial, 45, 126, 271–72
defendants in, 55, 58–60
international impact of, 152–54
Mandela’s discussion of, 211–12
Mandela’s statement at, 54, 150–54
theatricality of, 152–54
Rivonia Trial (Der Rivonia-Prozeß), 226–27
Robben Island.
See also prison life
Black Consciousness Movement prisoners on, 53, 63–67, 219
as death experience, 272–75
gardening on, 214–15
international campaign for Mandela’s release from, 73
living conditions on, 52–54
Mandela’s metamorphosis on, 12, 50–67
media visits to, 211–12
militarist ideology on, 176
political divisions among prisoners on, 63–67
prisoners’ reading habits on, 59–60
resistance and politics of affect on, 63–67
symbolism of Mandela on, 64
transfer to Pollsmoor from, 45–47
Robben Island and Prisoner Resistance to Apartheid (Buntman), 63
Robolin, Stéphane, 235, 242
Rock, Chris, 262–64
Roman-Dutch law
apartheid jurisprudence and, 135, 137–38, 140–44
Mandela’s Rivonia trial and, 151–52
Roosevelt, Theodore, 244
INDEX

Rough Guide to Nelson Mandela, The (Du Preez), 240
Roux, Daniel, 19–20, 23, 205–21, 245, 252
Roux, Eddie, 14
Rugby World Cup, 82, 234–39, 244, 250
rule of law
apartheid jurisprudence and, 135
civil disobedience and, 148
Rushdie, Salman, fatwah against, 79
Rwanda conflict, 196
Sabela, Simon, 226–27
Sabotage Act of 1963, 150
Sachs, Albie, 72
Sampson, Anthony, 4–5
on Mandela as father figure, 99–100
on Mandela’s education, 54, 60–61
on Mandela’s political activism, 45–47
on Mandela United Football Club activities, 102
on Robben Island’s impact on Mandela, 52
Saro-Wiwa, Ken, 196–97
satyagraha principles, 148, 164–65
Saville, Philip, 20–21, 225
Schalkwyk, David, 11–12, 50–67, 168, 274
Schmitt, Carl, 140
Seakamela, Kefuoe, 275–78
secular humanism, Mandela’s embrace of, 92–93
Sepei, Stompie Moeketsi, 104–5, 241
self-representation
film and television images of Mandela and, 224–39
literary material on Mandela and, 217–21
prison experiences and, 57–62
Seme, Pixley ka Isaka, 149–50
Seneca, 60
sexuality, film images of Mandela and, 229–30
Shaka ka Senzangakhona, 121–22
Shakespeare, William, 59–60, 63–64
Sharpeville massacre, 41–42, 93–94, 151, 165–66
Sidelsky, Lazar, 143
Singh, Anant, 226–27
Singh, J. N., 39
Sisulu, Alfred, 23
Sisulu, Esninor, 32–33
Sisulu, Walter
ANC Youth League and, 35–37, 149–50
armed struggle and, 164–66
collective leadership principles of, 38–39
Communist Party of South Africa
and, 42–43
death of, 271
eyear of, 122–23
on Mandela’s imprisonment, 45–47
on Mandela’s political activism, 37–38, 41–42
Mandela’s relationship with, 29–30, 32–33, 145
and militarism, 176
at Robben Island, 211–12
Tambo and, 182
on tradition, 120
Youth League activities of, 37
Sithole, Sizwe, 102
Sitze, Adam, 16–17, 134–56
Slaughter, Joseph, 217–18
Slovo, Joe, 19, 165–66
Smith, David, 209–10
Smuts, Jan (General), 164
Sobukwe, Robert, 53–54, 210–11
solitary confinement, Mandela’s discussion of, 56–7, 172–75
Sono, Lolo, 106
Sono, Nicodemus, 106
Sontag, Susan, 73–74, 151–52
Sophiatown Renaissance, 93–94
Sophocles, 59–60
South Africa
current conditions in, 7–8
democratic elections of 1994 in, 70
ethnography of white minority in, 76–77
political conditions in, 10–11
post-apartheid euphoria in, 70–72
pre-election violence in, 87–88
spiritual and cultural traditions in, 14–16
South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), 282
South African Communist Party (SACP), See also Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA)
lawyers in, 145
Mandela’s association with, 42–43
Mandela’s politics in relation to, 172–75
militancy of, 165–66
South African Council of Churches, 80, 103–4
South African Reserve Bank, 88–89
INDEX

Truth Omissions (Uys), 108
Tshwete, Steve, 82
Turok, Ben, 42–43
Tutu, Desmond (Archbishop), 71, 80, 106, 235, 278–80

ubuntu
ancestral memory and, 183–86
ANC’s internationalism and, 193–94
Bill of Rights campaign and, 188–90
citizenship models and, 257–62, 265
economic justice and cultural heritage and, 191
Mandela’s legacy and, 3–4, 14–16, 182–83
Robben Island experience and, 60
Uganda, conflict resolution in, 196

ukublonipha discourse, gender hierarchies in, 122–25

ukuquza. See oral narrative tradition

Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), 16, 169–72
Cold War ideology and, 18
establishment of, 165–66
film portrayal of, 226–27
formation of, 43, 126, 165–66
guerrilla strategy of, 175–76
mythologizing of Mandela and, 211–12
political limits of, 178–79
Soviet Union’s support of, 174
Union of South Africa, establishment of, 192–93
UNITA, 196
United Democratic Front (UDF), 79, 228
repudiation of Madikizela-Mandela by, 103, 105–6
United Kingdom, apartheid regime supported by, 193–94
United Nations, 151, 193–94
Mandela’s address to, 194
United States, apartheid regime supported by, 193–94
Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), 143
University of Fort Hare
Mandela’s dispute with, 31–32
Mandela’s enrollment at, 30–31, 54, 134
Mandela’s legal training at, 136–39
University of London, Mandela’s enrollment at, 130
University of South Africa, Mandela’s enrollment at, 135

University of Witwatersrand, Mandela’s enrollment at, 32–33, 140–44
Uys, Pieter-Dirk, 108
Van Kan, Nicola, 278–80
Van Robbroeck, Lize, 21–22
Verryn, Paul, 104–5
Verwoerd, Betsie, 82–83, 99–100, 280–81
Verwoerd, Hendrik, 82–83, 99–100, 163–66
Vickers, Brendan, 193–94
Viktor Verster prison, 78, 98–99, 205, 274–75
Vilakazi, B. W., 121–22
Viljoen, Constand (General), 176–77

violence
African stereotypes about, 129
apartheid government’s justification of, 139
Derrida on, 154–56
Madikizela-Mandela’s embrace of, 101–2, 106–7
Mandela on use of, 13–14, 18, 148, 163
media coverage of, 79
negotiated transition and absence of, 72, 87–88, 98–99
as negotiating strategy, 167–72
white South Africans’ fear of, 76–77
Vorster, John, 152–54, 161
Vutela, Sefton, 272

war, Mandela’s political philosophy and, 18, 162–79
War and Peace (Tolstoy), 162
Ways of Dying (Mda), 109
Weber, Max, 84–88, 144–45
Wellington, Arthur, 54
white supremacy, filmic portrayals of, 228–29, 230–31, 234–39
Williams, Chester, 235
Winnie (film), 226–27
witchcraft, politics of enchantment and, 85, 88–89
Witkin, Sidelsky, and Eidelman law firm, 143
Wittgenstein, Ludwig, 215–16
women leaders, African tradition and, 201
Woodard, Alfre, 227

World Bank, 194
# Index

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Page Range</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>World War II, Mandela’s military politics and influence of</td>
<td>172–75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xhosa culture</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandela’s connection to</td>
<td>16, 32–33, 115, 128–31, 154–56, 269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poetry about Mandela in</td>
<td>205–7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tradition in</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vernacular literature in</td>
<td>118, 131–32, 132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xuma, A. B.</td>
<td>35, 37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yali-Manisi, Phakamile</td>
<td>206–7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yi Chi Chan Club,</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young Mandela (Smith)</td>
<td>209–10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>youth culture in South Africa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gay rights and</td>
<td>104–5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tradition and role of</td>
<td>122–25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth League (ANC). See ANC Youth League</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yutar, Percy</td>
<td>152–54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zaire, conflict resolution in</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zapiro</td>
<td>262–64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zille, Helen</td>
<td>278–81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zwelonke, D. M.</td>
<td>52–54</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>