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# How Nelson Mandela Went From “Terrorist” to Nobel Peace Prize Winner

by Will Potter on December 10, 2013

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As thousands of people attend Nelson Mandela’s memorial service, and politicians line up to praise him, it’s easy to forget how recently this international hero was viewed as a terrorist and enemy of the state.

In [Green Is the New Red](#), I discuss the change. Here’s an excerpt:

Nelson Mandela joined the African National Congress in 1944 to campaign against the South African government’s apartheid policies. As the government’s response grew increasingly violent, and after Mandela stood trial for treason and was acquitted, he argued in 1961 that the African National Congress should set up a military wing. He formed Umkhonto we Sizwe, or Spear of the Nation, and went abroad to study guerrilla warfare and military tactics. In the 1970s and ’80s, the country’s ruling white minority labeled the African National Congress a terrorist organization, and so did the United States. Mandela was later elected president of South Africa.

In 1993, he received the Nobel Peace Prize.

President Obama today called him [“the last great liberator of the 20th century.”](#) but the United States was one of the most vocal proponents of labeling Mandela a terrorist and placing him on international watch lists.

Many political leaders have now changed their stance. But not all. Dick Cheney is quite blunt in his [defense of calling Mandela a terrorist](#):

Cheney’s staunch resistance to the Anti-Apartheid Act arose as an issue during his future campaigns on the presidential ticket, but the Wyoming Republican has never said he regretted voting the way he did. In fact, in 2000, he maintained that he’d made the right decision.

“The ANC was then viewed as a terrorist organization,” Cheney said on ABC’s “This Week.” “I don’t have any problems at all with the vote I cast 20 years ago.”

Cheney went on to call Mandela a “great man” who had “mellowed” in the decade after his release from prison.

The [drastic change](#) in how Mandela is revered today, and how he will be praised posthumously, is a striking example of the fluid nature of the rhetoric of “terrorism.” It’s a term that can easily be modified for the enemy of the hour, and then changed again if those enemies are victorious in their struggles.

The most difficult part of writing the book was dissecting the many definitions of terrorism. But if there is one shared element among all of them, it is this: The term is solely a political one, designed to demonize based on the whims of those in power.

What’s the difference between a “terrorist” and a “freedom fighter”?

Sometimes the answer to that question is quite stark: The “terrorist” lost.

**If you haven’t read Mandela’s autobiography, [A Long Walk to Freedom](#), it’s excellent.**

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Will Potter is an award-winning independent journalist based in Washington, D.C. He is the author of [Green Is the New Red: An Insider's Account of a Social Movement Under Siege](#). This site is about how animal rights and environmental activists are being targeted as "eco-terrorists," and what that means for our safety and freedom. First time visiting? Here's an [introduction to the Green Scare](#).

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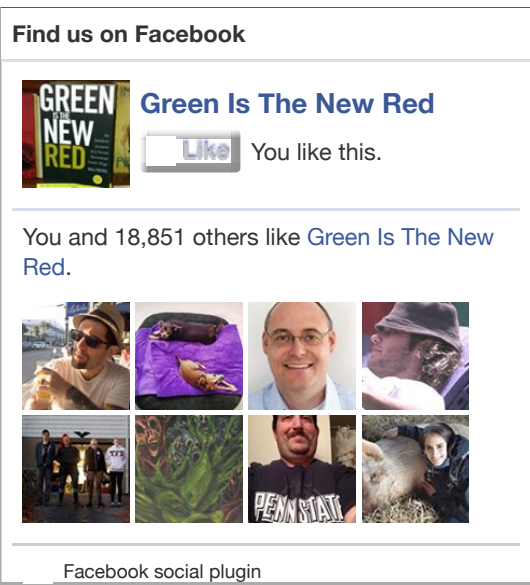
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The New York Times



December 5, 2013

# Nelson Mandela, South Africa's Liberator as Prisoner and President, Dies at 95

By **BILL KELLER**

Nelson Mandela, who led the emancipation of South Africa from white minority rule and served as his country's first black president, becoming an international emblem of dignity and forbearance, died Thursday night. He was 95.

The South African president, Jacob Zuma, announced Mr. Mandela's death.

Mr. Mandela had long said he wanted a quiet exit, but the time he spent in a Pretoria hospital this summer was a clamor of quarreling family, hungry news media, spotlight-seeking politicians and a national outpouring of affection and loss. The vigil eclipsed a visit by President Obama, who paid homage to Mr. Mandela but decided not to intrude on the privacy of a dying man he considered his hero.

Mr. Mandela ultimately died at home at 8:50 p.m. local time, and he will be buried according to his wishes in the village of Qunu, where he grew up. The exhumed remains of three of his children were reinterred there in early July under a court order, resolving a family squabble that had played out in the news media.

Mr. Mandela's quest for freedom took him from the court of tribal royalty to the liberation underground to a prison rock quarry to the presidential suite of Africa's richest country. And then, when his first term of office was up, unlike so many of the successful revolutionaries he regarded as kindred spirits, he declined a second term and cheerfully handed over power to an elected successor, the country still gnawed by crime, poverty, corruption and disease but a democracy, respected in the world and remarkably at peace.

The question most often asked about Mr. Mandela was how, after whites had systematically humiliated his people, tortured and murdered many of his friends, and cast him into prison for 27 years, he could be so evidently free of spite.

The government he formed when he finally won the chance was an improbable fusion of races and beliefs, including many of his former oppressors. When he became president, he invited one of his white wardens to the [inauguration](#). Mr. Mandela overcame a personal mistrust bordering on loathing to share both power and a Nobel Peace Prize with the white president who preceded him, F. W. de Klerk.

And as president, from 1994 to 1999, he devoted much energy to moderating the bitterness of his black electorate and to reassuring whites with fears of vengeance.

The explanation for his absence of rancor, at least in part, is that Mr. Mandela was that rarity among revolutionaries and moral dissidents: a capable statesman, comfortable with compromise and impatient with the doctrinaire.

When the question was put to Mr. Mandela in an interview for this obituary in 2007 — after such barbarous torment, how do you keep hatred in check? — his answer was almost dismissive: Hating clouds the mind. It gets in the way of strategy. Leaders cannot afford to hate.

Except for a youthful flirtation with black nationalism, he seemed to have genuinely transcended the racial passions that tore at his country. Some who worked with him said this apparent magnanimity came easily to him because he always regarded himself as superior to his persecutors.

In his five years as president, Mr. Mandela, though still a sainted figure abroad, lost some luster at home as he strained to hold together a divided populace and to turn a fractious liberation movement into a credible government.

Some blacks — including Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, Mr. Mandela's former wife, who cultivated a following among the most disaffected blacks — complained that he had moved too slowly to narrow the vast gulf between the impoverished black majority and the more prosperous white minority. Some whites said he had failed to control crime, corruption and cronyism. Some blacks deserted government to make money; some whites emigrated, taking capital and knowledge with them.

Undoubtedly Mr. Mandela had become less attentive to the details of governing, turning over the daily responsibilities to the deputy who would succeed him in 1999, Thabo Mbeki.

But few among his countrymen doubted that without his patriarchal authority and political shrewdness, South Africa might well have descended into civil war long before it reached its imperfect state of democracy.



After leaving the presidency, Mr. Mandela brought that moral stature to bear elsewhere around the continent, as a peace broker and champion of greater outside investment.

### **Rise of a ‘Troublemaker’**

Mr. Mandela was deep into a life prison term when he caught the notice of the world as a symbol of the opposition to apartheid, literally “apartness” in the Afrikaans language, a system of racial gerrymandering that stripped blacks of their citizenship and relegated them to reservation-style “homelands” and townships.

Around 1980, exiled leaders of the foremost anti-apartheid movement, the African National Congress, decided that this eloquent lawyer was the perfect hero to humanize their campaign against the system that denied 80 percent of South Africans any voice in their own affairs. “Free Nelson Mandela,” already a liberation chant within South Africa, became a pop-chart anthem in Britain, and Mr. Mandela’s face bloomed on placards at student rallies in America aimed at mustering trade sanctions against the apartheid regime.

Mr. Mandela noted with some amusement in his 1994 autobiography, “Long Walk to Freedom,” that this congregation made him the world’s best-known political prisoner without knowing precisely who he was. Probably it was just his impish humor, but he claimed to have been told that when posters went up in London, many young supporters thought Free was his Christian name.

In South Africa, though, and among those who followed the country’s affairs more closely, Nelson Mandela was already a name to reckon with.

He was born Rolihlahla Mandela on July 18, 1918, in Mvezo, a tiny village of cows, corn and mud huts in the rolling hills of the Transkei, a former British protectorate in the south. His given name, he enjoyed pointing out, translates colloquially as “troublemaker.” He received his more familiar English name from a teacher when he began school at age 7. His father, Gadla Henry Mphakanyiswa, was a chief of the Thembu people, a subdivision of the Xhosa nation.

When Nelson was an infant, his father was stripped of his chieftainship by a British magistrate for insubordination, showing a proud stubborn streak his son willingly claimed as an inheritance.

Nine years later, on the death of his father, young Nelson was taken into the home of the paramount chief of the Thembu — not as an heir to power, but in a position to study it. He would become worldly and westernized, but some of his closest friends would always attribute his regal self-confidence (and his occasional autocratic behavior) to his upbringing in a royal household.

Unlike many black South Africans, whose confidence had been crushed by generations of officially proclaimed white superiority, Mr. Mandela never seemed to doubt that he was the equal of any man. “The first thing to remember about Mandela is that he came from a royal family,” said Ahmed Kathrada, an activist who shared a prison cellblock with Mr. Mandela and was part of his inner circle. “That always gave him a strength.”

In his autobiography, Mr. Mandela recalled eavesdropping on the endless consensus-seeking deliberations of the tribal council and noticing that the chief worked “like a shepherd.”

“He stays behind the flock,” he continued, “letting the most nimble go out ahead, whereupon the others follow, not realizing that all along they are being directed from behind.”

That would often be his own style as leader and president.

Mr. Mandela maintained his close ties to the royal family of the Thembu tribe, a large and influential constituency in the important Transkei region. And his background there gave him useful insights into the sometimes tribal politics of South Africa.

Most important, it helped him manage the lethal divisions within the large Zulu nation, which was rived by a power struggle between the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party. While many A.N.C. leaders demonized the Inkatha leader, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Mr. Mandela embraced him into his new unity government and finally quelled the violence.

Mr. Mandela once explained in an interview that the key to peace in the Zulu nation was simple: Mr. Buthelezi had been raised as a member of the royal Zulu family, but as a nephew, not in the direct line of succession, leaving him tortured by a sense of insecurity about his position. The solution was to love him into acquiescence.

## **Joining a Movement**

The enlarging of Mr. Mandela’s outlook began at Methodist missionary schools and the University College of Fort Hare, then the only residential college for blacks in South Africa. Mr. Mandela said later that he had entered the university still thinking of himself as a Xhosa first and foremost, but left with a broader African perspective.

Studying law at Fort Hare, he fell in with Oliver Tambo, another leader-to-be of the liberation movement. The two were suspended for a student protest in 1940 and sent home on the verge of expulsion. Much later, Mr. Mandela called the episode — his refusal to yield on a minor point of

principle — “foolhardy.”

On returning to his home village, he learned that his family had chosen a bride for him. Finding the woman unappealing and the prospect of a career in tribal government even more so, he ran away to the black metropolis of Soweto, following other young blacks who had left mostly to work in the gold mines around Johannesburg.

There he was directed to Walter Sisulu, who ran a real estate business and was a spark plug in the African National Congress. Mr. Sisulu looked upon the tall young man with his aristocratic bearing and confident gaze and, he recalled in an interview, decided that his prayers had been answered.

Mr. Mandela soon impressed the activists with his ability to win over doubters. “His starting point is that ‘I am going to persuade this person no matter what,’ ” Mr. Sisulu said. “That is his gift. He will go to anybody, anywhere, with that confidence. Even when he does not have a strong case, he convinces himself that he has.”

Mr. Mandela, though he never completed his law degree, opened the first black law partnership in South Africa with Mr. Tambo. He took up amateur boxing, rising before dawn to run roadwork. Tall and slim, he was also somewhat vain. He wore impeccable suits, displaying an attention to fashion that would much later be evident in the elegantly bright loose shirts of African cloth that became his trademark.

Impatient with the seeming impotence of their elders in the African National Congress, Mr. Mandela, Mr. Tambo, Mr. Sisulu and other militants organized the A.N.C. Youth League, issuing a manifesto so charged with Pan-African nationalism that some of their nonblack sympathizers were offended.

Africanism versus nonracialism: that was the great divide in liberation thinking. The black consciousness movement, whose most famous martyr was Steve Biko, argued that before Africans could take their place in a multiracial state, their confidence and sense of responsibility must be rebuilt.

Mr. Mandela, too, was attracted to this doctrine of self-sufficiency.

“I was angry at the white man, not at racism,” he wrote in his autobiography. “While I was not prepared to hurl the white man into the sea, I would have been perfectly happy if he climbed aboard his steamships and left the continent of his own volition.”

In his conviction that blacks should liberate themselves, he joined friends in breaking up Communist Party meetings because he regarded Communism as an alien, non-African ideology, and for a time he insisted that the A.N.C. keep a distance from Indian and mixed-race political movements.

“This was the trend of the youth at that time,” Mr. Sisulu said. But Mr. Mandela, he said, was never “an extreme nationalist,” or much of an ideologue of any stripe. He was a man of action.

He was also, already, a man of audacious self-confidence.

Joe Matthews, who worked for Mr. Mandela in the Youth League (and later became a moderate voice in the rival Inkatha movement), heard Mr. Mandela speak at a black-tie dinner in 1952 and predict, in what the audience took as impudence, that he would be the first president of a free South Africa.

“He was not a theoretician, but he was a doer,” Mr. Matthews said in an interview for the television documentary program “Frontline.” “He was a man who did things, and he was always ready to volunteer to be the first to do any dangerous or difficult thing.”

Five years after forming the Youth League, the young rebels engineered a generational takeover of the African National Congress.

During his years as a young lawyer in Soweto, Mr. Mandela married a nurse, Evelyn Ntoko Mase, and they had four children, including a daughter who died at 9 months. But the demands of his politics kept him from his family. Compounding the strain was his wife’s joining the Jehovah’s Witnesses, a sect that abjures any participation in politics. The marriage grew cold and ended with abruptness.

“He said, ‘Evelyn, I feel that I have no love for you anymore,’” his first wife said in an interview for a documentary film. “ ‘I’ll give you the children and the house.’ ”

Not long afterward, a friend introduced him to Nomzamo Winifred Madikizela, a stunning and strong-willed medical social worker 16 years his junior. Mr. Mandela was smitten, declaring on their first date that he would marry her. He did so in 1958, while he and other activists were in the midst of a marathon trial on treason charges. His second marriage would be tumultuous, producing two daughters and a national drama of forced separation, devotion, remorse and acrimony.

## **A Shift to Militancy**

In 1961, with the patience of the liberation movement stretched to the snapping point by the police killing of 69 peaceful demonstrators in Sharpeville township the previous year, Mr. Mandela led the African National Congress onto a new road of armed insurrection.

It was an abrupt shift for a man who, not many weeks earlier, had proclaimed nonviolence an inviolable principle of the A.N.C. He later explained that forswearing violence “was not a moral principle but a strategy; there is no moral goodness in using an ineffective weapon.”

Taking as his text Che Guevara’s “Guerrilla Warfare,” Mr. Mandela became the first commander of a motley liberation army, grandly named Umkhonto we Sizwe, or Spear of the Nation.

Although he denied it throughout his life, there is persuasive evidence that about this time Mr. Mandela briefly joined the South African Communist Party, the A.N.C.’s partner in opening the armed resistance. Mr. Mandela presumably joined for the party’s connections to Communist countries that would finance the campaign of violence. Stephen Ellis, a British historian who in 2011 found reference to Mr. Mandela’s membership in secret party minutes, said Mr. Mandela “wasn’t a real convert; it was just an opportunist thing.”

Mr. Mandela’s exploits in the “armed struggle” have been somewhat mythologized. During his months as a cloak-and-dagger outlaw, the press christened him “the Black Pimpernel.” But while he trained for guerrilla fighting and sought weapons for Spear of the Nation, he saw no combat. The A.N.C.’s armed activities were mostly confined to planting land mines, blowing up electrical stations and committing occasional acts of terrorism against civilians.

After the first free elections in South Africa, Spear of the Nation’s reputation was stained by admissions of human rights abuses in its training camps, though no evidence emerged that Mr. Mandela was complicit in them.

## **During Trial, a Legend Grows**

South Africa’s rulers were determined to put Mr. Mandela and his comrades out of action. In 1956, he and scores of other dissidents were arrested on charges of treason. The state botched the prosecution, and after the acquittal Mr. Mandela went underground. Upon his capture he was charged with inciting a strike and leaving the country without a passport. His legend grew when, on the first day of that trial, he entered the courtroom wearing a traditional Xhosa leopard-skin cape to underscore that he was an African entering a white man’s jurisdiction.

That trial resulted in a three-year sentence, but it was just a warm-up for the main event. Next Mr. Mandela and eight other A.N.C. leaders were charged with sabotage and conspiracy to overthrow the state — capital crimes. It was called the Rivonia trial, for the name of the farm where the defendants had conspired and where a trove of incriminating documents was found — many in Mr. Mandela's handwriting — outlining and justifying a violent campaign to bring down the regime.

At Mr. Mandela's suggestion, the defendants, certain of conviction, set out to turn the trial into a moral drama that would vindicate them in the court of world opinion. They admitted that they had organized a liberation army and had engaged in sabotage and tried to lay out a political justification for these acts. Among themselves, they agreed that even if sentenced to hang, they would refuse on principle to appeal.

The [four-hour speech](#) with which Mr. Mandela opened the defense's case was one of the most eloquent of his life, and — in the view of his authorized biographer, Anthony Sampson — it established him as the leader not only of the A.N.C. but also of the international movement against apartheid.

Mr. Mandela described his personal evolution from the temptations of black nationalism to the politics of multiracialism. He acknowledged that he was the commander of Spear of the Nation, but asserted that he had turned to violence only after nonviolent resistance had been foreclosed. He conceded that he had made alliances with Communists — a powerful current in the prosecution case in those Cold War days — but likened this to Churchill's cooperation with Stalin against Hitler.

He finished with a coda of his convictions that would endure as an oratorical highlight of South African history.

“I have fought against white domination, and I have fought against black domination,” he told the court. “I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons will live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal for which I hope to live for and to see realized. But my lord, if it needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die.”

Under considerable pressure from liberals at home and abroad, including a nearly unanimous vote of the United Nations General Assembly, to spare the defendants, the judge acquitted one and sentenced Mr. Mandela and the others to life in prison.

### **An Education in Prison**

Mr. Mandela was 44 when he was manacled and put on a ferry to the Robben Island prison. He

would be 71 when he was released.

Robben Island, in shark-infested waters about seven miles off Cape Town, had over the centuries been a naval garrison, a mental hospital and a leper colony, but it was most famously a prison. For Mr. Mandela and his co-defendants, it began with a nauseating ferry ride, during which guards amused themselves by urinating down the air vents onto the prisoners below.

The routine on Robben Island was one of isolation, boredom and petty humiliations, met with frequent shows of resistance. By day the men were marched to a limestone quarry, where the fine dust stirred up by their labors glued their tear ducts shut.

But in some ways prison was less arduous than life outside in those unsettled times. For Mr. Mandela and others, Robben Island was a university. In whispered conversations as they hacked at the limestone and in tightly written polemics handed from cellblock to cellblock, the prisoners debated everything from Marxism to circumcision.

Mr. Mandela learned Afrikaans, the language of the dominant whites, and urged other prisoners to do the same.

He honed his skills as a leader, negotiator and proselytizer, and not only the factions among the prisoners but also some of the white administrators found his charm and iron will irresistible. He credited his prison experience with teaching him the tactics and strategy that would make him president.

Almost from his arrival he assumed a kind of command. The first time his lawyer, George Bizos, visited him, Mr. Mandela greeted him and then introduced his eight guards by name — to their amazement — as “my guard of honor.” The prison authorities began treating him as a prison elder statesman.

During his time on the island, a new generation of political inmates arose, defiant veterans of a national student uprising who at first resisted the authority of the elders but gradually came under their tutelage. Years later Mr. Mandela recalled the young hotheads with a measure of exasperation:

“When you say, ‘What are you going to do?’ they say, ‘We will attack and destroy them!’ I say: ‘All right, have you analyzed how strong they are, the enemy? Have you compared their strength to your strength?’ They say, ‘No, we will just attack!’ ”





Victor Verster Prison outside Cape Town, where the government could meet with him conveniently and monitor his health. (In prison he had had prostate surgery and lung problems, and the government was terrified of the uproar if he were to die in captivity.) He lived in a warden's bungalow. He had access to a swimming pool, a garden, a chef and a VCR. A suit was tailored for his meetings with government luminaries.

(After his release he built a vacation home near his ancestral village, a brick replica of the warden's house. This was pure pragmatism, he explained: he was accustomed to the floor plan and could find the bathroom at night without stumbling in the dark.)

From the moment they learned of the talks, Mr. Mandela's allies in the A.N.C. were suspicious, and their worries were not allayed when the government allowed them to confer with Mr. Mandela at his quarters in the warden's house.

Tokyo Sexwale, who had come to Robben Island as a student rebel, spoke in a "Frontline" interview about encountering Mr. Mandela in this comfortable house. Mr. Mandela walked them through the house, showing off the television and the microwave. "And," Mr. Sexwale said, "I thought, 'I think you are sold out.'"

Mr. Mandela seated his visitors at a table and patiently explained his view that the enemy was morally and politically defeated, with nothing left but the army, the country ungovernable. His strategy, he said, was to give the white rulers every chance to retreat in an orderly way. He was preparing to meet Mr. de Klerk, who had just taken over from Mr. Botha.

## **Free in a Changed World**

In February 1990, Mr. Mandela walked out of prison into a world that he knew little, and that knew him less. The African National Congress was now torn by factions — the prison veterans, those who had spent the years of struggle working legally in labor unions, and the exiles who had spent them in foreign capitals. The white government was also split, with some committed to negotiating an honest new order while others fomented factional violence.

Over the next four years Mr. Mandela would be embroiled in a laborious negotiation, not only with the white government but also with his own fractious alliance.

But first he took time for a victory lap around the world, including an eight-city tour of the United States that began with a motorcade through delirious crowds in New York City.

The anti-apartheid movement had had a rocky relationship with United States governments, which saw South Africa through the lens of the Cold War rivalry with Communists and also regarded the country as an important source of uranium. Until the late 1980s the Central Intelligence Agency portrayed the A.N.C. as Communist-dominated. There have been allegations, neither substantiated nor dispelled, that a C.I.A. agent had tipped the police officers who arrested Mr. Mandela.

Congress, following popular sentiment, enacted economic sanctions against investment in South Africa in 1986, overriding the veto of President Ronald Reagan. Even at the time of his euphoric public welcome in the United States, Mr. Mandela was regarded with some official misgivings, because of both his devotion to economic sanctions and his loyalties to various self-styled liberation figures like Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi and Yasir Arafat.

While Mr. Mandela had languished in prison, a campaign of civil disobedience was underway. No one participated more enthusiastically than Winnie Mandela. By the time of her husband's imprisonment, the Mandelas had produced two daughters but had little time to enjoy a domestic life. For most of their marriage they saw each other through the thick glass partition of the prison visiting room: for 21 years of his captivity, they never touched.

She was, however, a megaphone to the outside world, a source of information on friends and comrades and an interpreter of his views through the journalists who came to visit her. She was tormented by the police, jailed and banished with her children to a remote Afrikaner town, Brandfort, where she challenged her captors at every turn.

By the time she was released into the tumult of Soweto in 1984, she had become a firebrand. She now dressed in military khakis and boots and spoke in a violent rhetoric, notoriously endorsing the practice of "necklacing" foes, incinerating them in a straitjacket of gasoline-soaked tires. She surrounded herself with young thugs who terrorized, kidnapped and killed blacks she deemed hostile to the cause.

Friends said Mr. Mandela's choice of his cause over his family often filled him with remorse — so much so that long after Winnie Mandela was widely known to have conducted a reign of terror, long after she was implicated in the kidnapping and murder of young township activists, long after the marriage was effectively dead, Mr. Mandela refused to utter a word of criticism.

As president, he bowed to her popularity by appointing her deputy minister of arts, a position in which she became entangled in financial scandals and increasingly challenged the government for appeasing whites. In 1995 Mr. Mandela finally filed for divorce, which was granted the next year

after an emotionally wrenching public hearing.

Mr. Mandela later fell publicly in love with Graça Machel, widow of the former president of Mozambique and an activist in her own right for humanitarian causes. They married on Mr. Mandela's 80th birthday. She survives him, as do his two daughters by Winnie Mandela, Zenani and Zindziswa; a daughter, Makaziwe, by his first wife; 17 grandchildren; and 14 great-grandchildren.

### **A Deal for Majority Rule**

Two years after Mr. Mandela's release from prison, black and white leaders met in a convention center on the outskirts of Johannesburg for negotiations that would lead, fitfully, to an end of white rule. While out in the country extremists black and white used violence to try to tilt the outcome their way, Mr. Mandela and the white president, Mr. de Klerk, argued and maneuvered toward a peaceful transfer of power.

Mr. Mandela understood the mutual need in his relationship with Mr. de Klerk, a proud, dour, chain-smoking pragmatist, but he never much liked or fully trusted him. Two years into the negotiations, the men were jointly awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, and their appearance together in Oslo in 1993 was marked by **bouts of pique and recriminations**. In a conversation a year after becoming president, with Mr. de Klerk as deputy president, Mr. Mandela said he still suspected Mr. de Klerk of complicity in the murders of countless blacks by police and army units, a rogue "third force" opposed to black rule.

Eventually, though, Mr. Mandela and his negotiating team, led by the former labor leader Cyril Ramaphosa, found their way to the grand bargain that assured free elections in exchange for promising opposition parties a share of power and a guarantee that whites would not be subjected to reprisals.

At times, the ensuing election campaign seemed in danger of collapsing into chaos. Strife between rival Zulu factions cost hundreds of lives, and white extremists set off bombs at campaign rallies and assassinated the second most popular black figure, Chris Hani.

But the fear was more than offset by the excitement in black townships. Mr. Mandela, wearing a hearing aid and orthopedic socks, soldiered on through 12-hour campaign days, igniting euphoric crowds packed into dusty soccer stadiums and perched on building tops to sing liberation songs and cheer.

During the elections in April 1994, voters lined up in some places for miles. The African National Congress won 62 percent of the vote, earning 252 of the 400 seats in Parliament's National Assembly and ensuring that Mr. Mandela, as party leader, would be named president when Parliament convened.

Mr. Mandela was sworn in as president on May 10, and he accepted office with a [speech of shared patriotism](#), summoning South Africans' communal exhilaration in their land and their common relief at being freed from the world's disapproval.

"Never, never and never again shall it be that this beautiful land will again experience the oppression of one by another and suffer the indignity of being the skunk of the world," he declared.

Then nine Mirage fighter jets of the South African Air Force, originally bought to help keep someone like Mr. Mandela from taking power, roared overhead, and 50,000 roared back from the lawn spread below the government buildings in Pretoria, "Viva the South African Air Force, viva!"

### **Limitations as a President**

As president, Mr. Mandela set a style that was informal and multiracial. He lived much of the time in a modest house in Johannesburg, where he made his own bed. He enjoyed inviting visiting foreign dignitaries to shake hands with the woman who served them tea.

But he was also casual, even careless, in his relationships with rich capitalists, the mining tycoons, retailers and developers whose continued investment he saw as vital to South Africa's economy. Before the election, he went to 20 industrialists and asked each for at least one million rand (\$275,000 at the exchange rate of that time) to build up his party and finance the campaign. In office, he was unabashed about taking their phone calls — and bristled when unions organized a strike against some of his big donors. He enjoyed socializing with the very rich and the show-business celebrities who flocked to pay homage.

At the same time, he was insistent that the black majority should not expect instant material gratification. He told union leaders at one point to "tighten your belts" and accept low wages so that investment would flow. "We must move from the position of a resistance movement to one of builders," he said in an interview.

Mr. Mandela exhibited a genius for the grand gesture of reconciliation. Some attempts, like a tea he organized for prominent A.N.C. women and the wives of apartheid-era white officials, were awkward.

Others were triumphant. Few in South Africa, whatever their race, were unmoved in June 1995 when the South African rugby team, long a symbol of white arrogance, defeated New Zealand in a World Cup final, a moment dramatized in the 2009 film “Invictus.” Mr. Mandela strode onto the field wearing the team’s green jersey, and 80,000 fans, mostly Afrikaners, erupted in a chant of “Nel-son! Nel-son!”

Mr. Mandela’s instinct for compromise in the interest of unity was evident in the 1995 creation of the **Truth and Reconciliation Commission**, devised to balance justice and forgiveness in a reckoning of the country’s history. The panel offered individual amnesties for anyone who testified fully on the crimes committed during the apartheid period.

In the end, the process fell short of both truth (white officials and A.N.C. leaders were evasive) and reconciliation (many blacks found that information only fed their anger). But it was generally counted a success, giving South Africans who had lost loved ones to secret graves a chance to reclaim their grief, while avoiding the spectacle of endless trials.

There was a limit, though, to how much Mr. Mandela — by exhortation, by symbolism, by regal appeals to the better natures of his constituents — could paper over the gulf between white privilege and black privation.

After Mr. Mandela delivered one miracle in the shape of South Africa’s freedom, it was perhaps too much to expect that he could deliver another in the form of broad prosperity. In his term, he made only modest progress in fulfilling the modest goals he had set for housing, education and jobs.

He tried with limited success to transform the police from an instrument of white supremacy to an effective crime-fighting force. Corruption and cronyism, which predated majority rule, blossomed. Foreign investment, despite the universal high esteem for Mr. Mandela, kept its distance. Racial divisions, kept in check by the euphoria of the peaceful transition and by Mr. Mandela’s moral authority, re-emerged somewhat as the ultimate problem of closing the income gap remained unresolved.

The South African journalist Mark Gevisser, in his 2007 biography of Mr. Mandela’s successor as president, Thabo Mbeki, wrote: “The overriding legacy of the Mandela presidency — of the years 1994 to 1999 — is a country where the rule of law was entrenched in an unassailable Bill of Rights, and where the predictions of racial and ethnic conflict did not come true. These feats, alone, guarantee Mandela his sanctity. But he was a far better liberator and nation-builder than he was a governor.”

Mr. Mandela himself deferred to his party, notably in the choice of a successor. After the party favorite, Mr. Mbeki, had ascended to the presidency, Mr. Mandela let it be known that he had actually preferred the younger Mr. Ramaphosa, the former mine workers' union leader who had negotiated the new Constitution. Mr. Mbeki knew and resented that he was not the favorite, and for much of his presidency he snubbed Mr. Mandela.

Mr. Mandela mostly refrained from directly criticizing his successor, but his disappointment was unmistakable when Mr. Mbeki showed his intolerance of criticism and his conspiratorial view of the world. When Mr. Mbeki questioned mainstream medical explanations of the cause of AIDS, stifling open discussion that might have helped cope with a galloping epidemic, Mr. Mandela spoke up on the need for protected sex and cheaper medicines. When his eldest son, Makgatho, died in 2005, Mr. Mandela gathered family members to publicly disclose that the cause was AIDS.

In the 2007 interview, speaking on the condition that he not be quoted until after his death, Mr. Mandela was openly scornful of Mr. Mbeki's leadership. The A.N.C., he said, had always succeeded as a movement and a party because it had drawn on the collective wisdom of its many constituencies.

"There is a great deal of centralization now under President Mbeki, where he takes decisions himself," Mr. Mandela declared. "We never liked that."

Mr. Mbeki often found it excruciating to govern in Mr. Mandela's shadow. He felt that his predecessor had dealt him a nearly impossible hand — first by encouraging the notion that South Africa's liberation was the magic of one great black man, and second by emphasizing accommodation with white power and thus doing relatively little to relieve the impoverished black majority.

In interviews published in Mr. Gevisser's biography, Mr. Mbeki chafed at President Mandela's ability to rule by charm and stature, with little attention to the mechanics of governing.

"Madiba didn't pay any attention to what the government was doing," Mr. Mbeki said, using the clan name for his predecessor. "*We* had to, because *somebody* had to."

As a former president, Mr. Mandela lent his charisma to a variety of causes on the African continent, joining peace talks in several wars and assisting his wife, Graça, in raising money for children's aid organizations.

In 2010, the World Cup soccer games took place in South Africa, another sporting-world

benediction of the peace Mr. Mandela did so much to deliver to his country. But for Mr. Mandela, the proud occasion turned to heartbreak when his 13-year-old granddaughter Zenani was killed in an auto accident while returning from an opening-day concert. Mr. Mandela, who had been instrumental in luring the tournament to its first African setting, canceled his plans to attend the opening day.

By then, his hearing and memory shaky, he had already largely withdrawn from public debate, declining almost all interview requests and confining himself to scripted public statements on issues like the war in Iraq. (He was vehemently against it.)

When he received a reporter for the 2007 interview, his aides were already contending with a custody battle over Mr. Mandela's legacy, including where he would be buried and how he would be memorialized. Mr. Mandela insisted that his burial be left to his widow and be done with minimal fanfare. His acolytes had other plans.

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# The Day Mandela Was Arrested, With A Little Help From the CIA

By Jeff Stein / December 05 2013 6:20 PM



A CIA agent fingered Mandela for the apartheid regime's secret police. REUTERS/Mike Hutchings MH/DBP

One of the great things about the late great Nelson Mandela is that he didn't hold grudges.

How else could he have accepted normal relations with the CIA, which tipped off the white-supremacy regime to his whereabouts in 1962?

According to a 1990 Johannesburg *Sunday Times* newspaper account, a CIA agent by the name of Millard Shirley fingered Mandela for the apartheid regime's secret police, allowing them to throw up a roadblock and capture him.

"Shirley had a high-ranking 'deep throat,' a Durban-based

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Indian, within South African Communist party ranks,” Gerard Ludi, a retired senior South African intelligence agent told the paper.

“I can only guess that Shirley was instructed by his government to supply the information to the South Africans because it was in America’s interest to have Mr. Mandela out of the way.”

A dozen years later, Ludi [told me](#) in 1996, he went into business with Shirley, who had officially retired from the CIA. Naturally, they ran a private security business.

Then, in 1985, came the call from a secret South African government unit called Stratcom (Strategic Communications), whose function was to disrupt and destroy anti-apartheid groups, I reported for Salon. Shirley was hired to train the unit’s operatives and develop a covert operations training manual.

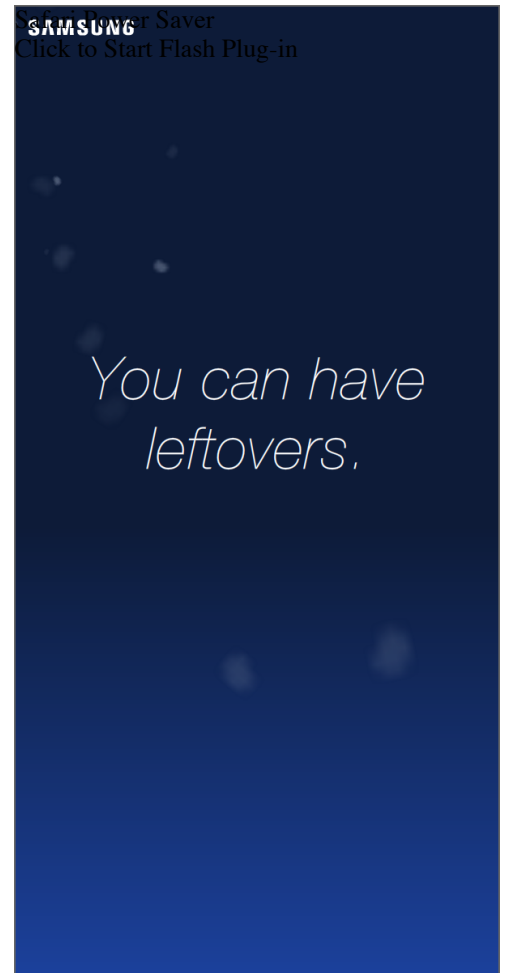
My [Salon story](#) continued:

“The South African intelligence services didn’t have decent training materials,” Ludi said. “They asked Millard to update and do a proper training manual. He did it for a year off and on for a year.”

Asked whether his friend was still working for the CIA at that point, Ludi answered, “Who knows? Shirley tried to retire many times, but the CIA kept calling him back to duty. We gave him about 20 retirement parties.”

According to Mike Leach, who also worked for Stratcom, the manuals used by Shirley had U.S. Department of Defense stamped on their covers. But Shirley’s activities went beyond designing training manuals, according to Leach.

“One of the things Shirley did during the negotiations with unions was to doctor the water on the table with chemicals to induce stomach cramps, to bring about a point where the union officials would want to hurry up the negotiations and just settle because they were physically uncomfortable.”



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Another trick was to launder anti-apartheid T-shirts in a

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who would soon be convulsed in uncontrollable itching.

The Stratcom unit also intercepted foreign donations to anti-apartheid groups, then sent back thank-you notes on phony letterheads and put the money into more "psychological warfare operations," said Leach.

The CIA's involvement in these activities is unclear, but Leach claims the agency sent South Africans to a facility in Taiwan for advanced psychological warfare training. The Telcom auditing official called the CIA's alleged wiretap training "very sinister." He suspects the CIA used the program to develop its own spies in Telcom, to protect its assets in the country at this time.

"The American government wanted to know which way the cookie would crumble," he said

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# Nelson Mandela

|   |   |
|---|---|
| <p><b>His Excellency</b><br/> <b>Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela</b><br/> OM AC CC OJ GCStJ QC GCH BR RSO NPK</p> |   |
|                            |   |
| <p>Mandela in Johannesburg, on 13 May 2008</p>  |   |
| <p><b>President of South Africa</b></p>   |   |
| <p><b>In office</b><br/> 10 May 1994 – 14 June 1999</p>   |   |
| <b>Deputy</b>   | Thabo Mbeki<br>F. W. de Klerk   |
| <b>Preceded by</b>  | F. W. de Klerk  |
| <b>Succeeded by</b>   | Thabo Mbeki   |
| <p><b>Personal details</b></p>  |   |
| <b>Born</b>   | Rolihlahla Mandela<br>18 July 1918<br>Mvezo, Union of South Africa  |
| <b>Died</b>   | 5 December 2013 (aged 95)<br>Johannesburg, Gauteng, South Africa  |
| <b>Nationality</b>  | South African   |
| <b>Political party</b>  | African National Congress South African Communist Party   |
| <b>Spouse(s)</b>  | Evelyn Ntoko Mase<br>(m. 1944–1957; divorced)<br>Winnie Madikizela<br>(m. 1958–1996; divorced)<br>Graça Machel<br>(m. 1998–2013; his death) |

|                   |  |
|-------------------|--|
| <b>Children</b>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Madiba Thembekile Mandela</li> <li>• Makaziwe Mandela</li> <li>• Makgatho Lewanika Mandela</li> <li>• Makaziwe Mandela</li> <li>• Zenani Mandela</li> <li>• Zindziswa Mandela</li> </ul> <p>step children</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Josina Z. Machel</li> <li>• Samora M. Machel Jnr.</li> </ul> |
| <b>Alma mater</b> | <p>University of Fort Hare<br/> University of London External System<br/> University of South Africa<br/> University of the Witwatersrand</p>  |
| <b>Profession</b> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Lawyer</li> <li>• Social Activist</li> <li>• Politician</li> <li>• Philanthropist</li> </ul>  |
| <b>Religion</b>   | Methodism  |
| <b>Signature</b>  |   |
| <b>Website</b>    | <a href="http://www.nelsonmandela.org">www.nelsonmandela.org</a> <sup>[1]</sup>  |

**Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela** (Xhosa pronunciation: [xoˈliːɬaɬa manˈdeːla]) (18 July 1918 – 5 December 2013) was a South African anti-apartheid revolutionary, politician, and philanthropist who served as President of South Africa from 1994 to 1999. He was the first black South African to hold the office, and the first elected in a fully representative democratic election. His government focused on dismantling the legacy of apartheid through tackling institutionalised racism, poverty and inequality, and fostering racial reconciliation. Politically an African nationalist and democratic socialist, he served as President of the African National Congress (ANC) from 1991 to 1997. Internationally, Mandela was Secretary General of the Non-Aligned Movement from 1998 to 1999.

A Xhosa born to the Thembu royal family, Mandela attended the Fort Hare University and the University of Witwatersrand, where he studied law. Living in Johannesburg, he became involved in anti-colonial politics, joining the ANC and becoming a founding member of its Youth League. After the South African National Party came to power in 1948, he rose to prominence in the ANC's 1952 Defiance Campaign, was appointed superintendent of the organisation's Transvaal chapter and presided over the 1955 Congress of the People. Working as a lawyer, he was repeatedly arrested for seditious activities and, with the ANC leadership, was unsuccessfully prosecuted in the Treason Trial from 1956 to 1961. Although initially committed to non-violent protest, he co-founded the militant Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) in 1961 in association with the South African Communist Party, leading a sabotage campaign against the apartheid government. In 1962 he was arrested, convicted of conspiracy to overthrow the state, and sentenced to life imprisonment in the Rivonia Trial.

Mandela served over 27 years in prison, initially on Robben Island, and later in Pollsmoor Prison and Victor Verster Prison. An international campaign lobbied for his release. He was released in 1990, during a time of escalating civil strife. Mandela joined negotiations with President F. W. de Klerk to abolish apartheid and establish multiracial elections in 1994, in which he led the ANC to victory and became South Africa's first black president. He published his autobiography in 1995. During his tenure in the Government of National Unity he invited several other political parties to join the cabinet. As agreed to during the negotiations to end apartheid in South Africa, he promulgated a new constitution. He also created the Truth and Reconciliation Commission to investigate past human rights abuses. While continuing the former government's liberal economic policy, his administration also introduced measures to encourage land reform, combat poverty, and expand healthcare services. Internationally, he acted as mediator

between Libya and the United Kingdom in the Pan Am Flight 103 bombing trial, and oversaw military intervention in Lesotho. He declined to run for a second term, and was succeeded by his deputy, Thabo Mbeki. Mandela became an elder statesman, focusing on charitable work in combating poverty and HIV/AIDS through the Nelson Mandela Foundation.

Mandela was a controversial figure for much of his life. Denounced as a Marxist terrorist by critics, he nevertheless gained international acclaim for his activism, having received more than 250 honours, including the 1993 Nobel Peace Prize, the US Presidential Medal of Freedom, the Soviet Order of Lenin and the Bharat Ratna. He is held in deep respect within South Africa, where he is often referred to by his Xhosa clan name, **Madiba**, or as **Tata** ("Father"); he is often described as "the father of the nation".

## Early life

### Childhood: 1918–1936

Mandela was born on 18 July 1918 in the village of Mvezo in Umtatu, then a part of South Africa's Cape Province.<sup>[2]</sup> Given the forename Rolihlahla, a Xhosa term colloquially meaning "troublemaker", in later years he became known by his clan name, Madiba.<sup>[3]</sup> His patrilineal great-grandfather, Ngubengcuka, was ruler of the Thembu people in the Transkeian Territories of South Africa's modern Eastern Cape province.<sup>[4]</sup> One of this king's sons, named *Mandela*, became Nelson's grandfather and the source of his surname.<sup>[5]</sup> Because Mandela was only the king's child by a wife of the Ixhiba clan, a so-called "Left-Hand House", the descendants of his cadet branch of the royal family were morganatic, ineligible to inherit the throne but recognized as hereditary royal councillors. His father, Gadla Henry Mphakanyiswa, was a local chief and councillor to the monarch; he had been appointed to the position in 1915, after his predecessor was accused of corruption by a governing white magistrate. In 1926, Gadla, too, was sacked for corruption, but Nelson was told that he had lost his job for standing up to the magistrate's unreasonable demands.<sup>[6]</sup> A devotee of the god Qamata, Gadla was a polygamist, having four wives, four sons and nine daughters, who lived in different villages. Nelson's mother was Gadla's third wife, Nosekeni Fanny, who was daughter of Nkedama of the Right Hand House and a member of the amaMpemvu clan of Xhosa.<sup>[7]</sup>

"No one in my family had ever attended school [...] On the first day of school my teacher, Miss Mdingane, gave each of us an English name. This was the custom among Africans in those days and was undoubtedly due to the British bias of our education. That day, Miss Mdingane told me that my new name was Nelson. Why this particular name I have no idea."

— Mandela, 1994

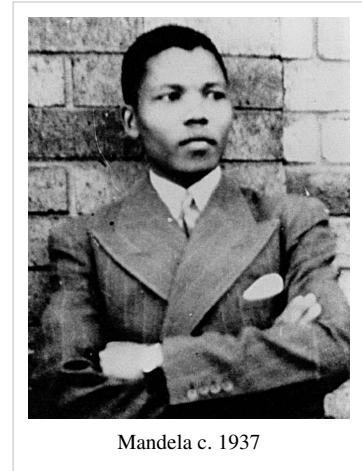
Later stating that his early life was dominated by "custom, ritual and taboo", Mandela grew up with two sisters in his mother's *kraal* in the village of Qunu, where he tended herds as a cattle-boy, spending much time outside with other boys.<sup>[8]</sup> Both his parents were illiterate, but being a devout Christian, his mother sent him to a local Methodist school when he was about seven. Baptised a Methodist, Mandela was given the English forename of "Nelson" by his teacher.<sup>[9]</sup> When Mandela was about nine, his father came to stay at Qunu, where he died of an undiagnosed ailment which Mandela believed to be lung disease.<sup>[10]</sup> Feeling "cut adrift", he later said that he inherited his father's "proud rebelliousness" and "stubborn sense of fairness".

His mother took Mandela to the "Great Place" palace at Mqhekezweni, where he was entrusted under the guardianship of Thembu regent, Chief Jongintaba Dalindyebo. Although he did not see his mother again for many years, Mandela felt that Jongintaba and his wife Noengland treated him as their own child, raising him alongside their son Justice and daughter Nomafu.<sup>[11]</sup> As Mandela attended church services every Sunday with his guardians, Christianity became a significant part of his life. He attended a Methodist mission school located next to the palace, studying English, Xhosa, history and geography.<sup>[12]</sup> He developed a love of African history, listening to the tales told by elderly visitors to the palace, and became influenced by the anti-imperialist rhetoric of Chief Joyi.<sup>[13]</sup> At the time he nevertheless considered the European colonialists as benefactors, not oppressors. Aged 16, he, Justice and several other boys travelled to Tyhalarha to undergo the circumcision ritual that symbolically marked their transition from

boys to men; the rite over, he was given the name *Dalibunga*.<sup>[14]</sup>

### Clarkebury, Healdtown, and Fort Hare: 1936–1940

Intending to gain skills needed to become a privy councillor for the Thembu royal house, Mandela began his secondary education at Clarkebury Boarding Institute in Engcobo, a Western-style institution that was the largest school for black Africans in Thembuland.<sup>[15]</sup> Made to socialise with other students on an equal basis, he claimed that he lost his "stuck up" attitude, becoming best friends with a girl for the first time; he began playing sports and developed his lifelong love of gardening. Completing his Junior Certificate in two years, in 1937 he moved to Healdtown, the Methodist college in Fort Beaufort attended by most Thembu royalty, including Justice.<sup>[16]</sup> The headmaster emphasised the superiority of English culture and government, but Mandela became increasingly interested in native African culture, making his first non-Xhosa friend, a Sotho language-speaker, and coming under the influence of one of his favourite teachers, a Xhosa who broke taboo by marrying a Sotho.<sup>[17]</sup> Spending much of his spare time long-distance running and boxing, in his second year Mandela became a prefect.<sup>[18]</sup>



Mandela c. 1937

With Jongintaba's backing, Mandela began work on a Bachelor of Arts (BA) degree at the University of Fort Hare, an elite black institution in Alice, Eastern Cape, with around 150 students. There he studied English, anthropology, politics, native administration, and Roman Dutch law in his first year, desiring to become an interpreter or clerk in the Native Affairs Department.<sup>[19]</sup> Mandela stayed in the Wesley House dormitory, befriending his own kinsman, K.D. Matanzima, as well as Oliver Tambo, who became a close friend and comrade for decades to come.<sup>[20]</sup> Continuing his interest in sport, Mandela took up ballroom dancing,<sup>[21]</sup> performed in a drama society play about Abraham Lincoln,<sup>[22]</sup> and gave Bible classes in the local community as part of the Students Christian Association. Although having friends connected to the African National Congress (ANC) and the anti-imperialist movement who wanted an independent South Africa, Mandela avoided any involvement, and became a vocal supporter of the British war effort when the Second World War broke out.<sup>[23]</sup> Helping found a first-year students' house committee which challenged the dominance of the second-years,<sup>[24]</sup> at the end of his first year he became involved in a Students' Representative Council (SRC) boycott against the quality of food, for which he was temporarily suspended from the university; he left without receiving a degree.<sup>[25]</sup>

### Arriving in Johannesburg: 1941–1943

Returning to Mqhekezweni in December 1940, Mandela found that Jongintaba had arranged marriages for him and Justice; dismayed, they fled to Johannesburg via Queenstown, arriving in April 1941.<sup>[26]</sup> Mandela found work as a night watchman at Crown Mines, his "first sight of South African capitalism in action", but was fired when the *induna* (headman) discovered he was a runaway.<sup>[27]</sup> Staying with a cousin in George Goch Township, Mandela was introduced to the realtor and ANC activist Walter Sisulu, who secured him a job as an articled clerk at law firm Witkin, Sidelsky and Eidelman. The company was run by a liberal Jew, Lazar Sidelsky, who was sympathetic to the ANC's cause.<sup>[28]</sup> At the firm, Mandela befriended Gaur Redebe, a Xhosa member of the ANC and Communist Party, as well as Nat Bregman, a Jewish communist who became his first white friend.<sup>[29]</sup> Attending communist talks and parties, Mandela was impressed that Europeans, Africans, Indians and Coloureds were mixing as equals. He stated later that he did not join the Party because its atheism conflicted with his Christian faith, and because he saw the South African struggle as being racially based rather than class warfare.<sup>[30]</sup> Becoming increasingly politicised, in August 1943 Mandela marched in support of a successful bus boycott to reverse fare rises.<sup>[31]</sup> Continuing his higher education, Mandela signed up to a University of South Africa correspondence course, working on his bachelor's degree at night.<sup>[32]</sup>

Earning a small wage, Mandela rented a room in the house of the Xhoma family in the Alexandra township; although rife with poverty, crime and pollution, Alexandra always remained "a treasured place" for him.<sup>[33]</sup> Although embarrassed by his poverty, he briefly courted a Swazi woman before unsuccessfully courting his landlord's daughter.<sup>[34]</sup> In order to save money and be closer to downtown Johannesburg, Mandela moved into the compound of the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association, living among miners of various tribes; as the compound was a "way station for visiting chiefs", he once met the Queen Regent of Basutoland.<sup>[35]</sup> In late 1941, Jongintaba visited, forgiving Mandela for running away. On returning to Thembuland, the regent died in winter 1942; Mandela and Justice arrived a day late for the funeral.<sup>[36]</sup> After passing his BA exams in early 1943, Mandela returned to Johannesburg to follow a political path as a lawyer rather than become a privy councillor in Thembuland.<sup>[37]</sup> He later stated that he experienced no epiphany, but that he "simply found myself doing so, and could not do otherwise."

## Revolutionary activity

### Law studies and the ANC Youth League: 1943–1949

Beginning law studies at the University of Witwatersrand, Mandela was the only native African student, and though facing racism, he befriended liberal and communist European, Jewish, and Indian students, among them Joe Slovo, Harry Schwarz and Ruth First.<sup>[38]</sup> Joining the ANC, Mandela was increasingly influenced by Sisulu, spending much time with other activists at Sisulu's Orlando house, including old friend Oliver Tambo.<sup>[39]</sup> In 1943, Mandela met Anton Lembede, an African nationalist virulently opposed to a racially united front against colonialism and imperialism or to an alliance with the communists.<sup>[40]</sup> Despite his friendships with non-blacks and communists, Mandela supported Lembede's views, believing that black Africans should be entirely independent in their struggle for political self-determination.<sup>[41]</sup> Deciding on the need for a youth wing to mass mobilise Africans in opposition to their subjugation, Mandela was among a delegation that approached ANC President Alfred Bitini Xuma on the subject at his home in Sophiatown; the African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL) was founded on Easter Sunday 1944 in the Bantu Men's Social Centre in Eloff Street, with Lembede as President and Mandela as a member of the executive committee.<sup>[42]</sup>



Mandela and Evelyn in 1944

At Sisulu's house, Mandela met Evelyn Mase, an ANC activist from Engcobo, Transkei, who was training at the time to become a nurse. Married on 5 October 1944, after initially living with her relatives, they rented House no. 8115 in Orlando from early 1946.<sup>[43]</sup> Their first child, Madiba "Thembi" Thembekile, was born in February 1945, and a daughter named Makaziwe was born in 1947, dying nine months later of meningitis.<sup>[44]</sup> Mandela enjoyed home life, welcoming his mother and sister Leabie to stay with him.<sup>[45]</sup> In early 1947, his three years of articles ended at Witkin, Sidelsky and Eidelman, and he decided to become a full-time student, subsisting on loans from the Bantu Welfare Trust.<sup>[46]</sup>

In July 1947, Mandela rushed Lembede to hospital, where he died; he was succeeded as ANCYL president by the more moderate Peter Mda, who agreed to co-operate with communists and non-blacks, appointing Mandela ANCYL secretary.<sup>[47]</sup> Mandela disagreed with Mda's approach, in December 1947 supporting an unsuccessful measure to expel communists from the ANCYL, considering their ideology un-African.<sup>[48]</sup> In 1947, Mandela was elected to the executive committee of the Transvaal ANC, serving under regional president C.S. Ramohanoe. When Ramohanoe acted against the wishes of the Transvaal Executive Committee by co-operating with Indians and communists, Mandela was one of those who forced his resignation.<sup>[49]</sup>



In the South African general election, 1948, in which only whites were permitted to vote, the Afrikaner-dominated Herenigde Nasionale Party under Daniel François Malan took power, soon uniting with the Afrikaner Party to form the National Party. Openly racist, the party codified and expanded racial segregation with the new apartheid legislation.<sup>[50]</sup> Gaining increasing influence in the ANC, Mandela and his cadres began advocating direct action against apartheid, such as boycotts and strikes, influenced by the tactics of South Africa's Indian community. Xuma did not support these measures and was removed from the presidency in a vote of no confidence, replaced by James Moroka and a more militant cabinet containing Sisulu, Mda, Tambo and Godfrey Pitje; Mandela later related that "We had now guided the ANC to a more radical and revolutionary path."<sup>[51]</sup> Having devoted his time to politics, Mandela failed his final year at Witwatersrand three times; he was ultimately denied his degree in December 1949.<sup>[52]</sup>

### **Defiance Campaign and Transvaal ANC Presidency: 1950–1954**

Mandela took Xuma's place on the ANC National Executive in March 1950.<sup>[53]</sup> That month, the Defend Free Speech Convention was held in Johannesburg, bringing together African, Indian and communist activists to call an anti-apartheid general strike. Mandela opposed the strike because it was not ANC-led, but a majority of black workers took part, resulting in increased police repression and the introduction of the Suppression of Communism Act, 1950, affecting the actions of all protest groups.<sup>[54]</sup> In 1950, Mandela was elected national president of the ANCYL; at the ANC national conference of December 1951, he continued arguing against a racially united front, but was outvoted.<sup>[55]</sup> Thenceforth, he altered his entire perspective, embracing such an approach; influenced by friends like Moses Kotane and by the Soviet Union's support for wars of independence, Mandela's mistrust of communism also broke down. He became influenced by the texts of Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, Vladimir Lenin, Joseph Stalin and Mao Zedong, and embraced dialectical materialism.<sup>[56]</sup> In April 1952, Mandela began work at the H.M. Basner law firm,<sup>[57]</sup> though his increasing commitment to work and activism meant he spent less time with his family.<sup>[58]</sup>

In 1952, the ANC began preparation for a joint Defiance Campaign against apartheid with Indian and communist groups, founding a National Voluntary Board to recruit volunteers. Deciding on a path of nonviolent resistance influenced by Mahatma Gandhi, some considered it the ethical option, but Mandela instead considered it pragmatic.<sup>[59]</sup> At a Durban rally on 22 June, Mandela addressed an assembled crowd of 10,000, initiating the campaign protests, for which he was arrested and briefly interned in Marshall Square prison.<sup>[60]</sup> With further protests, the ANC's membership grew from 20,000 to 100,000; the government responded with mass arrests, introducing the Public Safety Act, 1953 to permit martial law.<sup>[61]</sup> In May, authorities banned Transvaal ANU President J. B. Marks from making public appearances; unable to maintain his position, he recommended Mandela as his successor. Although the ultra-Africanist Bafabegiyi group opposed his candidacy, Mandela was elected regional president in October.<sup>[62]</sup> On 30 July 1952, Mandela was arrested under the Suppression of Communism Act and stood trial as a part of the 21 accused – among them Moroka, Sisulu and Dadoo – in Johannesburg. Found guilty of "statutory communism", their sentence of nine months' hard labour was suspended for two years.<sup>[63]</sup> In December, Mandela was given a six-month ban from attending meetings or talking to more than one individual at a time, making his Transvaal ANU presidency impractical. The Defiance Campaign petered out.<sup>[64]</sup> In September 1953, Andrew Kunene read out Mandela's "No Easy Walk to Freedom" speech at a Transvaal ANC meeting; the title was taken from a quote by Indian independence leader Jawaharlal Nehru, a seminal influence on Mandela's thought. The speech laid out a contingency plan for a scenario in which the ANC was banned. This Mandela Plan, or M-Plan, involved dividing the organisation into a cell structure with a more centralised leadership.<sup>[65]</sup>

Mandela obtained work as an attorney for the firm Terblanche and Briggish, before moving to the liberal-run Helman and Michel, passing qualification exams to become a full-fledged attorney.<sup>[66]</sup> In August 1953, Mandela and Oliver Tambo opened their own law firm, Mandela and Tambo, operating in downtown Johannesburg. The only African-run law firm in the country, it was popular with aggrieved blacks, often dealing with cases of police brutality. Disliked by the authorities, the firm was forced to relocate to a remote location after their office permit was

removed under the Group Areas Act; as a result, their custom dwindled.<sup>[67]</sup> Though a second daughter, Makaziwe Phumia, was born in May 1954, Mandela's relationship with Evelyn became strained, and she accused him of adultery. Evidence has emerged indicating that he was having affairs with ANC member Lillian Ngoyi and secretary Ruth Mompati; persistent but unproven claims assert that the latter bore Mandela a child. Disgusted by her son's behaviour, Nosekeni returned to Transkei, and Evelyn embraced the Jehovah's Witnesses and rejected Mandela's obsession with politics.<sup>[68]</sup>

### Congress of the People and the Treason Trial: 1955–1961

"We, the people of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know:

That South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of the people."

— Opening words of the Freedom Charter

Mandela came to the opinion that the ANC "had no alternative to armed and violent resistance" after taking part in the unsuccessful protest to prevent the demolition of the all-black Sophiatown suburb of Johannesburg in February 1955.<sup>[69]</sup> He advised Sisulu to request weaponry from the People's Republic of China, but though supporting the anti-apartheid struggle, China's government believed the movement insufficiently prepared for guerilla warfare.<sup>[70]</sup> With the involvement of the South African Indian Congress, the Coloured People's Congress, the South African Congress of Trade Unions and the Congress of Democrats, the ANC planned a Congress of the People, calling on all South Africans to send in proposals for a post-apartheid era. Based on the responses, a Freedom Charter was drafted by Rusty Bernstein, calling for the creation of a democratic, non-racialist state with the nationalisation of major industry. When the charter was adopted at a June 1955 conference in Kliptown attended by 3000 delegates, police cracked down on the event, but it remained a key part of Mandela's ideology.<sup>[71]</sup>

Following the end of a second ban in September 1955, Mandela went on a working holiday to Transkei to discuss the implications of the Bantu Authorities Act, 1951 with local tribal leaders, also visiting his mother and Noengland before proceeding to Cape Town.<sup>[72]</sup> In March 1956 he received his third ban on public appearances, restricting him to Johannesburg for five years, but he often defied it.<sup>[73]</sup> His marriage broke down as Evelyn left Mandela, taking their children to live with her brother. Initiating divorce proceedings in May 1956, she claimed that Mandela had physically abused her; he denied the allegations, and fought for custody of their children. She withdrew her petition of separation in November, but Mandela filed for divorce in January 1958; the divorce was finalised in March, with the children placed in Evelyn's care.<sup>[74]</sup> During the divorce proceedings, he began courting and politicising a social worker, Winnie Madikizela, who he married in Bizana on 14 June 1958. She later became involved in ANC activities, spending several weeks imprisoned.<sup>[75]</sup>



The apartheid system pervaded all areas of life.

On 5 December 1956, Mandela was arrested alongside most of the ANC Executive for "high treason" against the state. Held in Johannesburg Prison amid mass protests, they underwent a preparatory examination in Drill Hall on 19 December, before being granted bail.<sup>[76]</sup> The defence's refutation began on 9 January 1957, overseen by defence lawyer Vernon Berrangé, and continued until adjourning in September. In January 1958, judge Oswald Pirow was appointed to the case, and in February he ruled that there was "sufficient reason" for the defendants to go on trial in the Transvaal Supreme Court.<sup>[77]</sup> The formal Treason Trial began in Pretoria in August 1958, with the defendants successfully applying to have the three judges – all linked to the governing National Party – replaced. In August, one charge was

dropped, and in October the prosecution withdrew its indictment, submitting a reformulated version in November which argued that the ANC leadership committed high treason by advocating violent revolution, a charge the defendants denied.<sup>[78]</sup>

In April 1959, militant Africanists dissatisfied with the ANC's united front approach founded the Pan-African Congress (PAC); Mandela's friend Robert Sobukwe was elected president, though Mandela thought the group "immature".<sup>[79]</sup> Both parties campaigned for an anti-pass campaign in May 1960, in which Africans burned the passes that they were legally obliged to carry. One of the PAC-organized demonstrations was fired upon by police, resulting in the deaths of 69 protesters in the Sharpeville massacre. In solidarity, Mandela publicly burned his pass as rioting broke out across South Africa, leading the government to proclaim martial law.<sup>[80]</sup> Under the State of Emergency measures, Mandela and other activists were arrested on 30 March, imprisoned without charge in the unsanitary conditions of the Pretoria Local prison, and the ANC and PAC were banned in April.<sup>[81]</sup> This made it difficult for their lawyers to reach them, and it was agreed that the defence team for the Treason Trial should withdraw in protest. Representing themselves in court, the accused were freed from prison when the state of emergency was lifted in late August.<sup>[82]</sup> Mandela used his free time to organise an All-In African Conference near Pietermaritzburg, Natal, in March, at which 1,400 anti-apartheid delegates met, agreeing on a stay-at home protest to mark 31 May, the day South Africa became a republic.<sup>[83]</sup> On 29 March 1961, after a six-year trial, the judges produced a verdict of not guilty, embarrassing the government.<sup>[84]</sup>

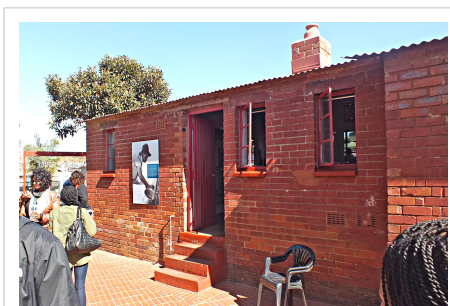
### Umkhonto we Sizwe and African tour: 1961–1962

Disguising himself as a chauffeur, Mandela travelled the country incognito, organising the ANC's new cell structure and a mass stay-at-home strike for 29 May. Referred to as the "Black Pimpernel" in the press – a reference to Emma Orczy's 1905 novel *The Scarlet Pimpernel* – the police put out a warrant for his arrest.<sup>[85]</sup> Mandela held secret meetings with reporters, and after the government failed to prevent the strike, he warned them that many anti-apartheid activists would soon resort to violence through groups like the PAC's Poqo.<sup>[86]</sup> He believed that the ANC should form an armed group to channel some of this violence, convincing both ANC leader Albert Luthuli – who was morally opposed to violence – and allied activist groups of its necessity.<sup>[87]</sup>

Inspired by Fidel Castro's 26th of July Movement in the Cuban Revolution, in 1961 Mandela co-founded Umkhonto we Sizwe ("Spear of the Nation", abbreviated *MK*) with Sisulu and the communist Joe Slovo. Becoming chairman of the militant group, he gained ideas from illegal literature on guerilla warfare by Mao and Che Guevara. Officially separate from the ANC, in later years MK became the group's armed wing.<sup>[88]</sup> Most early MK members were white communists; after hiding in communist Wolfie Kodesh's flat in Berea, Mandela moved to the communist-owned Liliesleaf Farm in Rivonia, there joined by Raymond Mhlaba, Slovo and Bernstein, who put together the MK constitution.<sup>[89]</sup> Although Mandela himself denied ever being a Communist Party member, historical research has suggested that he might have been for a short period, starting from the late 1950s or early 1960s. After his death, the Communist Party and the ANC confirmed that he was a Communist Party member when he was arrested in 1962.



Thatched room at Liliesleaf Farm, where Mandela hid



Mandela House in the Johannesburg township of Soweto was Mandela's home before his 27-year imprisonment, and his home immediately after being released from prison. The property is now a national museum.

Operating through a cell structure, the MK agreed to acts of sabotage to exert maximum pressure on the government with minimum casualties, bombing military installations, power plants, telephone lines and transport links at night, when civilians were not present. Mandela himself stated that they chose sabotage not only because it was the least harmful action, but also "because it did not involve loss of life [and] it offered the best hope for reconciliation among the races afterward." He noted that "strict instructions were given to members of MK that we would countenance no loss of life", but should these tactics fail, MK would resort to "guerilla warfare and terrorism".

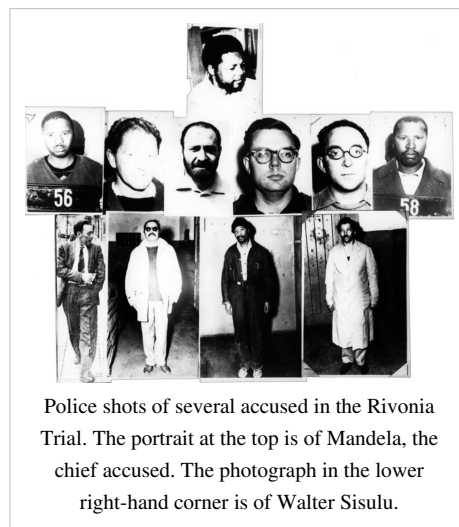
Soon after ANC leader Luthuli was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, the MK publicly announced its existence with 57 bombings on Dingane's Day (16 December) 1961, followed by further attacks on New Year's Eve.<sup>[90]</sup>

The ANC agreed to send Mandela as a delegate to the February 1962 Pan-African Freedom Movement for East, Central and Southern Africa (PAFMECSA) meeting in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.<sup>[91]</sup> Traveling there in secret, Mandela met with Emperor Haile Selassie I, and gave his speech after Selassie's at the conference.<sup>[92]</sup> After the conference, he travelled to Cairo, Egypt, admiring the political reforms of President Gamal Abdel Nasser, and then went to Tunis, Tunisia, where President Habib Bourguiba gave him £5000 for weaponry. He proceeded to Morocco, Mali, Guinea, Sierra Leone, Liberia and Senegal, receiving funds from Liberian President William Tubman and Guinean President Ahmed Sékou Touré.<sup>[93]</sup> Leaving Africa for London, England, he met anti-apartheid activists, reporters and prominent leftist politicians.<sup>[94]</sup> Returning to Ethiopia, he began a six-month course in guerrilla warfare, but completed only two months before being recalled to South Africa.<sup>[95]</sup>

## Imprisonment

### Arrest and Rivonia trial: 1962–1964

On 5 August 1962, police captured Mandela along with Cecil Williams near Howick.<sup>[96]</sup> A large number of groups have been accused of having tipped off the police about Mandela's whereabouts including Mandela's host in Durban GR Naidoo, white members of the South African Communist Party, and the CIA, but Mandela himself considers none of these connections to be credible and instead attributes his arrest to his own carelessness in concealing his movements. Of the CIA link in particular, Mandela's official biographer Anthony Sampson believes that "the claim cannot be substantiated." Jailed in Johannesburg's Marshall Square prison, he was charged with inciting workers' strikes and leaving the country without permission. Representing himself with Slovo as legal advisor, Mandela intended to use the trial to showcase "the ANC's moral opposition to racism" while supporters demonstrated outside the court.<sup>[97]</sup> Moved to Pretoria, where Winnie could visit him, in his cell he began correspondence studies for a Bachelor of Laws (LLB) degree from the University of London.<sup>[98]</sup> His hearing began on 15 October, but he disrupted proceedings by wearing a traditional *kaross*, refusing to call any witnesses, and turning his plea of mitigation into a political speech. Found guilty, he was sentenced to five years' imprisonment; as he left the courtroom, supporters sang *Nkosi Sikelel iAfrika*.<sup>[99]</sup>



Police shots of several accused in the Rivonia Trial. The portrait at the top is of Mandela, the chief accused. The photograph in the lower right-hand corner is of Walter Sisulu.

"In a way I had never quite comprehended before, I realized the role I could play in court and the possibilities before me as a defendant. I was the symbol of justice in the court of the oppressor, the representative of the great ideals of freedom, fairness and democracy in a society that dishonoured those virtues. I realized then and there that I could carry on the fight even in the fortress of the enemy."

— Mandela, 1994

"I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die. "

— Rivonia Trial Speech, 1964<sup>[100]</sup>

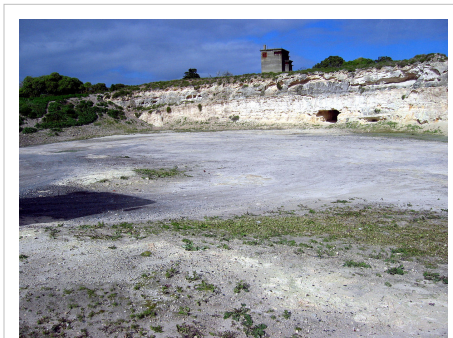
On 11 July 1963, police raided Liliesleaf Farm, arresting those they found there and uncovering paperwork documenting MK's activities, some of which mentioned Mandela. The Rivonia Trial began at Pretoria Supreme Court on 9 October, with Mandela and his comrades charged with four counts of sabotage and conspiracy to violently overthrow the government. Their chief prosecutor was Percy Yutar, who called for them to receive the death penalty.<sup>[101]</sup> Judge Quartus de Wet soon threw out the prosecution's case for insufficient evidence, but Yutar reformulated the charges, presenting his new case from December until February 1964, calling 173 witnesses and bringing thousands of documents and photographs to the trial.<sup>[102]</sup>

With the exception of James Kantor, who was innocent of all charges, Mandela and the accused admitted sabotage but denied that they had ever agreed to initiate guerilla war against the government. They used the trial to highlight their political cause. At the opening of the defence's proceedings Mandela gave a four hour long speech. That speech – which was inspired by Castro's "History Will Absolve Me" speech – was widely reported in the press despite official censorship, and has been hailed as one of his greatest speeches.<sup>[103]</sup> The trial gained international attention, with global calls for the release of the accused from such institutions as the United Nations and World Peace Council. The University of London Union voted Mandela to its presidency, and nightly vigils for him were held in St. Paul's Cathedral, London.<sup>[104]</sup> Deeming them to be violent communist agitators, South Africa's government ignored all calls for clemency, and on 12 June 1964 de Wet found Mandela and two of his co-accused guilty on all four charges, sentencing them to life imprisonment rather than death.<sup>[105]</sup>

### **Robben Island: 1964–1982**

Mandela and his co-accused were transferred from Pretoria to the prison on Robben Island, remaining there for the next 18 years.<sup>[106]</sup>

Isolated from non-political prisoners in Section B, Mandela was imprisoned in a damp concrete cell measuring 8 feet (2.4 m) by 7 feet (2.1 m), with a straw mat on which to sleep.<sup>[107]</sup> Verbally and physically harassed by several white prison wardens, the Rivonia Trial prisoners spent their days breaking rocks into gravel, until being reassigned in January 1965 to work in a lime quarry. Mandela was initially forbidden to wear sunglasses, and the glare from the lime permanently damaged his eyesight.<sup>[108]</sup> At night, he worked on his LLB degree, but newspapers were forbidden, and he was locked in solitary confinement on several occasions for possessing smuggled news clippings.<sup>[109]</sup> Classified as the lowest grade of prisoner, Class D, he was permitted one visit and one letter every six months, although all mail was heavily censored.<sup>[110]</sup>



Lime quarry on Robben Island where Mandela and other prisoners were subjected to hard labour

The political prisoners took part in work and hunger strikes – the latter considered largely ineffective by Mandela – to improve prison conditions, viewing this as a microcosm of the anti-apartheid struggle.<sup>[111]</sup> ANC prisoners elected him to their four-man "High Organ" along with Sisulu, Govan Mbeki and Raymond Mhlaba, and he involved himself in a group representing all political prisoners on the island, Ulundi, through which he forged links with PAC and Yu Chi Chan Club members.<sup>[112]</sup> Initiating the "University of Robben Island", whereby prisoners lectured on their own areas of expertise, he debated topics such as homosexuality and politics with his comrades, getting into fierce arguments on the latter with Marxists like Mbeki and Harry Gwala.<sup>[113]</sup> Though attending Christian Sunday services, Mandela studied Islam.<sup>[114]</sup> He also studied Afrikaans, hoping to build a mutual respect with the warders and convert them to his cause.<sup>[115]</sup> Various official visitors met with Mandela; most significant was the liberal parliamentary representative Helen Suzman of the Progressive Party, who championed Mandela's cause outside

prison.<sup>[116]</sup> In September 1970 he met British Labour Party MP Dennis Healey.<sup>[117]</sup> South African Minister of Justice Jimmy Kruger visited in December 1974, but he and Mandela did not get on.<sup>[118]</sup> His mother visited in 1968, dying shortly after, and his firstborn son Thembi died in a car accident the following year; Mandela was forbidden from attending either funeral.<sup>[119]</sup> His wife was rarely able to visit, being regularly imprisoned for political activity, and his daughters first visited in December 1975; Winnie got out of prison in 1977 but was forcibly settled in Brandfort, still unable to visit him.



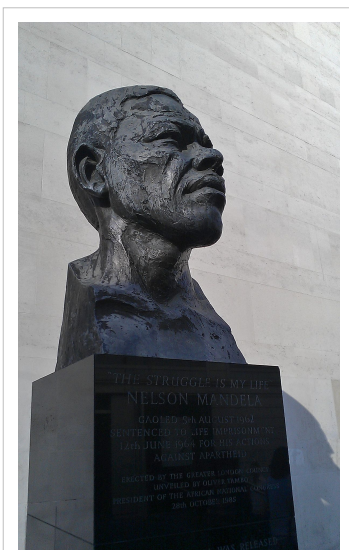
The inside of Mandela's prison cell as it was when he was imprisoned in 1964 and his open cell window facing the prison yard on Robben Island, now a national and World Heritage Site. Mandela's cell later contained more furniture, including a bed from around 1973.

From 1967, prison conditions improved, with black prisoners given trousers rather than shorts, games being permitted, and food quality improving.<sup>[120]</sup> In a FIFA documentary, Mandela commented on how football gave hope to his fellow inmates; "the game made us feel alive and triumphant despite the situation we found ourselves in".<sup>[121]</sup> In 1969, an escape plan for Mandela was developed by Gordon Bruce, but it was abandoned after being infiltrated by an agent of the South African Bureau of State Security (BOSS), who hoped to see Mandela shot during the escape. In 1970, Commander Piet Badenhorst became commanding officer. Mandela, seeing an increase in the physical and mental abuse of prisoners, complained to visiting judges, who had Badenhorst reassigned.<sup>[122]</sup> He was replaced by Commander Willie Willemse, who developed a co-operative relationship with Mandela and was keen to improve prison standards. By 1975, Mandela had become a Class A prisoner, allowing greater numbers of visits and letters; he corresponded with anti-apartheid activists like Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Desmond Tutu. That year, he began his autobiography, which was smuggled to London, but remained unpublished at the time; prison authorities discovered several pages, and his study privileges were stopped for four years.<sup>[123]</sup> Instead he devoted his spare time to gardening and reading until he resumed his LLB degree studies in 1980.

By the late 1960s, Mandela's fame had been eclipsed by Steve Biko and the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM). Seeing the ANC as ineffectual, the BCM called for militant action, but following the Soweto uprising of 1976, many BCM activists were imprisoned on Robben Island.<sup>[124]</sup> Mandela tried to build a relationship with these young radicals, although he was critical of their racialism and contempt for white anti-apartheid activists.<sup>[125]</sup> Renewed international interest in his plight came in July 1978, when he celebrated his 60th birthday. He was awarded an honorary doctorate in Lesotho, the Jawaharlal Nehru Award for International Understanding in India in 1979, and the Freedom of the City of Glasgow, Scotland in 1981. In March 1980 the slogan "Free Mandela!" was developed by journalist Percy Qoboza, sparking an international campaign that led the UN Security Council to call for his release.<sup>[126]</sup> Despite increasing foreign pressure, the government refused, relying on powerful foreign Cold War allies in US President Ronald Reagan and UK Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher; both considered Mandela a communist terrorist and supported the suppression of the ANC.

### Pollsmoor Prison: 1982–1988

In April 1982 Mandela was transferred to Pollsmoor Prison in Tokai, Cape Town along with senior ANC leaders Walter Sisulu, Andrew Mlangeni, Ahmed Kathrada and Raymond Mhlaba; they believed that they were being isolated to remove their influence on younger activists.<sup>[127]</sup> Conditions at Pollsmoor were better than at Robben Island, although Mandela missed the camaraderie and scenery of the island.<sup>[128]</sup> Getting on well with Pollsmoor's commanding officer, Brigadier Munro, Mandela was permitted to create a roof garden,<sup>[129]</sup> also reading voraciously and corresponding widely, now permitted 52 letters a year. He was appointed patron of the multi-racial United Democratic Front (UDF), founded to combat reforms implemented by South African President P.W. Botha. Botha's National Party government had permitted Coloured and Indian citizens to vote for their own parliaments which had control over education, health, and housing, but black Africans were excluded from the system; like Mandela, the UDF saw this as an attempt to divide the anti-apartheid movement on racial lines.<sup>[130]</sup>



Bust of Mandela erected on London's Southbank by the Greater London Council administration of socialist Ken Livingstone in 1985

Violence across the country escalated, with many fearing civil war. Under pressure from an international lobby, multinational banks stopped investing in South Africa, resulting in economic stagnation. Numerous banks and Thatcher asked Botha to release Mandela – then at the height of his international fame – to defuse the volatile situation.<sup>[131]</sup> Although considering Mandela a dangerous "arch-Marxist", in February 1985 Botha offered him a release from prison on condition that he "unconditionally rejected violence as a political weapon". Mandela spurned the offer, releasing a statement through his daughter Zindzi stating "What freedom am I being offered while the organisation of the people [ANC] remains banned? Only free men can negotiate. A prisoner cannot enter into contracts."<sup>[132]</sup>

In 1985 Mandela underwent surgery on an enlarged prostate gland, before being given new solitary quarters on the ground floor.<sup>[133]</sup> He was met by "seven eminent persons", an international delegation sent to negotiate a settlement, but Botha's government refused to co-operate, in June calling a state of emergency and initiating a police crackdown on unrest. The anti-apartheid resistance fought back, with the ANC committing 231 attacks in 1986 and 235 in 1987. Utilising the army and right-wing paramilitaries to combat the resistance, the government secretly funded Zulu nationalist movement Inkatha to attack ANC members, furthering the violence.<sup>[134]</sup> Mandela requested talks with Botha but was denied, instead secretly meeting with Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee in 1987, having a further 11 meetings over 3 years. Coetsee organised negotiations between Mandela and a team of four government figures starting in May 1988; the team agreed to the release of political prisoners and the legalisation of the ANC on the condition that they permanently renounce violence, break links with the Communist Party and not insist on majority rule. Mandela rejected these conditions, insisting that the ANC would only end the armed struggle when the government renounced violence.<sup>[135]</sup>

Mandela's 70th birthday in July 1988 attracted international attention, notably with the Nelson Mandela 70th Birthday Tribute concert at London's Wembley Stadium. Although presented globally as a heroic figure, he faced personal problems when ANC leaders informed him that Winnie had set herself up as head of a criminal gang, the "Mandela United Football Club", who had been responsible for torturing and killing opponents – including children – in Soweto. Though some encouraged him to divorce her, he decided to remain loyal until she was found guilty by trial.<sup>[136]</sup>

### Victor Verster Prison and release: 1988–1990

Recovering from tuberculosis caused by dank conditions in his cell,<sup>[137]</sup> in December 1988 Mandela was moved to Victor Verster Prison near Paarl. Here, he was housed in the relative comfort of a warder's house with a personal cook, using the time to complete his LLB degree.<sup>[138]</sup> There he was permitted many visitors, such as anti-apartheid campaigner and longtime friend Harry Schwarz.<sup>[139]</sup> Mandela organised secret communications with exiled ANC leader Oliver Tambo. In 1989, Botha suffered a stroke, retaining the state presidency but stepping down as leader of the National Party, to be replaced by the conservative F. W. de Klerk.<sup>[140]</sup> In a surprise move, Botha invited Mandela to a meeting over tea in July 1989, an invitation Mandela considered genial.<sup>[141]</sup> Botha was replaced as state president by de Klerk six weeks later; the new president believed that apartheid was unsustainable and unconditionally released all ANC prisoners except Mandela. Following the fall of the Berlin Wall in November 1989, de Klerk called his cabinet together to debate legalising the ANC and freeing Mandela. Although some were deeply opposed to his plans, de Klerk met with Mandela in December to discuss the situation, a meeting both men considered friendly, before releasing Mandela unconditionally and legalising all formerly banned political parties on 2 February 1990.<sup>[142]</sup> The first photographs of Mandela were allowed to be published in South Africa for 20 years.



Mandela on a 1988 Soviet commemorative stamp

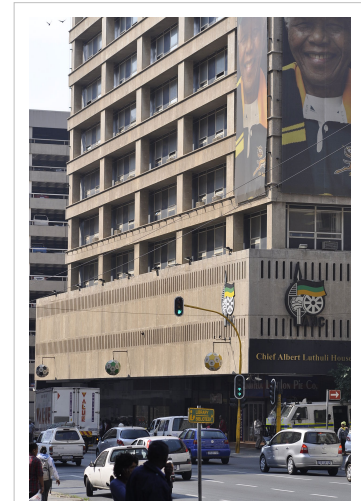
Leaving Victor Verster on 11 February, Mandela held Winnie's hand in front of amassed crowds and press; the event was broadcast live across the world.<sup>[143]</sup> Driven to Cape Town's City Hall through crowds, he gave a speech declaring his commitment to peace and reconciliation with the white minority, but made it clear that the ANC's armed struggle was not over, and would continue as "a purely defensive action against the violence of apartheid." He expressed hope that the government would agree to negotiations, so that "there may no longer be the need for the armed struggle", and insisted that his main focus was to bring peace to the black majority and give them the right to vote in national and local elections.<sup>[144]</sup> Staying at the home of Desmond Tutu, in the following days Mandela met with friends, activists, and press, giving a speech to 100,000 people at Johannesburg's Soccer City.<sup>[145]</sup>



## End of apartheid

### Early negotiations: 1990–1991

Mandela proceeded on an African tour, meeting supporters and politicians in Zambia, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Libya and Algeria, continuing to Sweden where he was reunited with Tambo, and then London, where he appeared at the Nelson Mandela: An International Tribute for a Free South Africa concert in Wembley Stadium.<sup>[146]</sup> Encouraging foreign countries to support sanctions against the apartheid government, in France he was welcomed by President François Mitterrand, in Vatican City by Pope John Paul II, and in the United Kingdom he met Margaret Thatcher. In the United States, he met President George H.W. Bush, addressed both Houses of Congress and visited eight cities, being particularly popular among the African-American community. In Cuba he met President Fidel Castro, whom he had long admired, with the two becoming friends.<sup>[147]</sup> In Asia he met President R. Venkataraman in India, President Suharto in Indonesia and Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad in Malaysia, before visiting Australia to meet Prime Minister Bob Hawke and Japan; he notably did not visit the Soviet Union, a longtime ANC supporter.



Luthuli House in Johannesburg, which became the ANC headquarters in 1991

In May 1990, Mandela led a multiracial ANC delegation into preliminary negotiations with a government delegation of 11 Afrikaner men. Mandela impressed them with his discussions of Afrikaner history, and the negotiations led to the Groot Schuur Minute, in which the government lifted the state of emergency. In August Mandela – recognising the ANC's severe military disadvantage – offered a ceasefire, the Pretoria Minute, for which he was widely criticised by MK activists.<sup>[148]</sup> He spent much time trying to unify and build the ANC, appearing at a Johannesburg conference in December attended by 1600 delegates, many of whom found him more moderate than expected.<sup>[149]</sup> At the ANC's July 1991 national conference in Durban, Mandela admitted the party's faults and announced his aim to build a "strong and well-oiled task force" for securing majority rule. At the conference, he was elected ANC President, replacing the ailing Tambo, and a 50-strong multiracial, mixed gendered national executive was elected.<sup>[150]</sup>

Mandela was given an office in the newly purchased ANC headquarters at Shell House, central Johannesburg, and moved with Winnie to her large Soweto home.<sup>[151]</sup> Their marriage was increasingly strained as he learned of her affair with Dali Mpofu, but he supported her during her trial for kidnapping and assault. He gained funding for her defence from the International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa and from Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi, but in June 1991 she was found guilty and sentenced to six years in prison, reduced to two on appeal. On 13 April 1992, Mandela publicly announced his separation from Winnie. The ANC forced her to step down from the national executive for misappropriating ANC funds; Mandela moved into the mostly white Johannesburg suburb of Houghton. Mandela's reputation was further damaged by the increase in "black-on-black" violence, particularly between ANC and Inkatha supporters in KwaZulu-Natal, in which thousands died. Mandela met with Inkatha leader Buthelezi, but the ANC prevented further negotiations on the issue. Mandela recognised that there was a "third force" within the state intelligence services fuelling the "slaughter of the people" and openly blamed de Klerk – whom he increasingly distrusted – for the Sebokeng massacre.<sup>[152]</sup> In September 1991 a national peace conference was held in Johannesburg in which Mandela, Buthelezi and de Klerk signed a peace accord, though the violence continued.<sup>[153]</sup>

## CODESA talks: 1991–1992

The Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) began in December 1991 at the Johannesburg World Trade Center, attended by 228 delegates from 19 political parties. Although Cyril Ramaphosa led the ANC's delegation, Mandela remained a key figure, and after de Klerk used the closing speech to condemn the ANC's violence, he took to the stage to denounce him as "head of an illegitimate, discredited minority regime". Dominated by the National Party and ANC, little negotiation was achieved.<sup>[154]</sup> CODESA 2 was held in May 1992, in which de Klerk insisted that post-apartheid South Africa must use a federal system with a rotating presidency to ensure the protection of ethnic minorities; Mandela opposed this, demanding a unitary system governed by majority rule.<sup>[155]</sup> Following the Boipatong massacre of ANC activists by government-aided Inkatha militants, Mandela called off the negotiations, before attending a meeting of the Organisation of African Unity in Senegal, at which he called for a special session of the UN Security Council and proposed that a UN peacekeeping force be stationed in South Africa to prevent "state terrorism". The UN sent special envoy Cyrus Vance to the country to aid negotiations.<sup>[156]</sup> Calling for domestic mass action, in August the ANC organised the largest-ever strike in South African history, and supporters marched on Pretoria.<sup>[157]</sup>



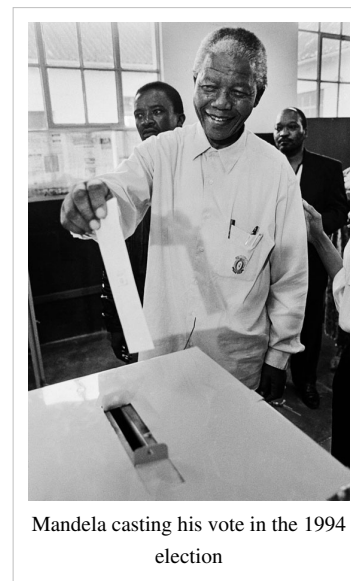
De Klerk and Mandela shake hands at the World Economic Forum, 1992

Following the Bisho massacre, in which 28 ANC supporters and one soldier were shot dead by the Ciskei Defence Force during a protest march, Mandela realised that mass action was leading to further violence and resumed negotiations in September. He agreed to do so on the conditions that all political prisoners be released, that Zulu traditional weapons be banned, and that Zulu hostels would be fenced off, the latter two measures to prevent further Inkatha attacks; under increasing pressure, de Klerk reluctantly agreed. The negotiations agreed that a multiracial general election would be held, resulting in a five-year coalition government of national unity and a constitutional assembly that gave the National Party continuing influence. The ANC also conceded to safeguarding the jobs of white civil servants; such concessions brought fierce internal criticism.<sup>[158]</sup> The duo agreed on an interim constitution, guaranteeing separation of powers, creating a constitutional court, and including a US-style bill of rights; it also divided the country into nine provinces, each with its own premier and civil service, a concession between de Klerk's desire for federalism and Mandela's for unitary government.<sup>[159]</sup>

The democratic process was threatened by the Concerned South Africans Group (COSAG), an alliance of far-right Afrikaner parties and black ethnic-secessionist groups like Inkatha; in June 1993 the white supremacist Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) attacked the Kempton Park World Trade Centre.<sup>[160]</sup> Following the murder of ANC leader Chris Hani, Mandela made a publicised speech to calm rioting, soon after appearing at a mass funeral in Soweto for Tambo, who had died from a stroke.<sup>[161]</sup> In July 1993, both Mandela and de Klerk visited the US, independently meeting President Bill Clinton and each receiving the Liberty Medal. Soon after, they were jointly awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in Norway.<sup>[162]</sup> Influenced by young ANC leader Thabo Mbeki, Mandela began meeting with big business figures, and played down his support for nationalisation, fearing that he would scare away much-needed foreign investment. Although criticised by socialist ANC members, he was encouraged to embrace private enterprise by members of the Chinese and Vietnamese Communist parties at the January 1992 World Economic Forum in Switzerland.<sup>[163]</sup> Mandela also made a cameo appearance as a schoolteacher reciting one of Malcolm X's speeches in the final scene of the 1992 film *Malcolm X*.

## General election: 1994

With the election set for 27 April 1994, the ANC began campaigning, opening 100 election offices and hiring advisor Stanley Greenberg. Greenberg orchestrated the foundation of People's Forums across the country, at which Mandela could appear; though a poor public speaker, he was a popular figure with great status among black South Africans.<sup>[164]</sup> The ANC campaigned on a Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) to build a million houses in five years, introduce universal free education and extend access to water and electricity. The party's slogan was "a better life for all", although it was not explained how this development would be funded.<sup>[165]</sup> With the exception of the *Weekly Mail* and the *New Nation*, South Africa's press opposed Mandela's election, fearing continued ethnic strife, instead supporting the National or Democratic Party. Mandela devoted much time to fundraising for the ANC, touring North America, Europe and Asia to meet wealthy donors, including former supporters of the apartheid regime. He also urged a reduction in the voting age from 18 to 14; rejected by the ANC, this policy became the subject of ridicule.<sup>[166]</sup>



Mandela casting his vote in the 1994 election

Concerned that COSAG would undermine the election, particularly in the wake of the Battle of Bop and Shell House Massacre – incidents of violence involving the AWB and Inkatha, respectively – Mandela met with Afrikaner politicians and generals, including P.W. Botha, Pik Botha and Constand Viljoen, persuading many to work within the democratic system, and with de Klerk convinced Inkatha's Buthelezi to enter the elections rather than launch a war of secession. As leaders of the two major parties, de Klerk and Mandela appeared on a televised debate; although de Klerk was widely considered the better speaker at the event, Mandela's offer to shake his hand surprised him, leading some commentators to consider it a victory for Mandela.<sup>[167]</sup> The election went ahead with little violence, although an AWB cell killed 20 with car bombs. As widely expected, the ANC won a sweeping victory, taking 62 percent of the vote, just short of the two-thirds majority needed to unilaterally change the constitution. The ANC was also victorious in 7 provinces, with Inkatha and the National Party each taking another.<sup>[168]</sup> Mandela voted at the Ohlange High School in Durban, and though the ANC's victory assured his election as President, he publicly accepted that the election had been marred by instances of fraud and sabotage.<sup>[169]</sup>

## Presidency of South Africa: 1994–1999

The newly elected National Assembly's first act was to formally elect Mandela as South Africa's first black chief executive. His inauguration took place in Pretoria on 10 May 1994, televised to a billion viewers globally. The event was attended by 4000 guests, including world leaders from disparate backgrounds.<sup>[170]</sup> Mandela headed a Government of National Unity dominated by the ANC – which alone had no experience of governance – but containing representatives from the National Party and Inkatha. Under the Interim Constitution, Inkatha and the NP were entitled to seats in the government by virtue of winning at least 20 seats. In keeping with earlier agreements, de Klerk became first Deputy President, and Thabo Mbeki was selected as second. Although Mbeki had not been his first choice for the job, Mandela grew to rely heavily on him throughout his presidency, allowing him to organise policy details.<sup>[171]</sup> Moving into the presidential office at Tuynhuys in Cape Town, Mandela allowed de Klerk to retain the presidential residence in the Groote Schuur estate, instead settling into the nearby Westbrooke manor, which he renamed "Genadendal", meaning "Valley of Mercy" in Afrikaans.<sup>[172]</sup> Retaining his Houghton home, he also had a house built in his home village of Qunu, which he visited regularly, walking around the area, meeting with locals, and judging tribal disputes.



Mandela moved into the presidential office at Tuynhuys, Cape Town.

Aged 76, he faced various ailments, and although exhibiting continued energy, he felt isolated and lonely. He often entertained celebrities, such as Michael Jackson, Whoopi Goldberg, and the Spice Girls, and befriended ultra-rich businessmen, like Harry Oppenheimer of Anglo-American, as well as Queen Elizabeth II on her March 1995 state visit to South Africa, resulting in strong criticism from ANC anti-capitalists. Despite his opulent surroundings, Mandela lived simply, donating a third of his 552,000 rand annual income to the Nelson Mandela Children's Fund, which he had founded in 1995.<sup>[173]</sup> Although speaking out in favour of freedom of the press and befriending many journalists, Mandela was critical of much of the country's media, noting that it was overwhelmingly owned and run by middle-class whites and believing that it focused too much on scaremongering around crime.<sup>[174]</sup> Changing clothes several times a day, after assuming the presidency, one of Mandela's trademarks was his use of Batik shirts, known as "Madiba shirts", even on formal occasions.<sup>[175]</sup>

In December 1994, Mandela's autobiography, *Long Walk to Freedom*, was finally published. In late 1994 he attended the 49th conference of the ANC in Bloemfontein, at which a more militant National Executive was elected, among them Winnie Mandela; although she expressed an interest in reconciling, Nelson initiated divorce proceedings in August 1995.<sup>[176]</sup> By 1995 he had entered into a relationship with Graça Machel, a Mozambican political activist 27 years his junior who was the widow of former president Samora Machel. They had first met in July 1990, when she was still in mourning, but their friendship grew into a partnership, with Machel accompanying him on many of his foreign visits. She turned down Mandela's first marriage proposal, wanting to retain some independence and dividing her time between Mozambique and Johannesburg.<sup>[177]</sup>

## National reconciliation

Presiding over the transition from apartheid minority rule to a multicultural democracy, Mandela saw national reconciliation as the primary task of his presidency. Having seen other post-colonial African economies damaged by the departure of white elites, Mandela worked to reassure South Africa's white population that they were protected and represented in "the Rainbow Nation".<sup>[178]</sup> Mandela attempted to create the broadest possible coalition in his cabinet, with de Klerk as first Deputy President. Other National Party officials became ministers for Agriculture, Energy, Environment, and Minerals and Energy, and Buthelezi was named Minister for Home Affairs. The other cabinet positions were taken by ANC members, many of whom – like Joe Modise, Alfred Nzo, Joe Slovo, Mac Maharaj and Dullah Omar – had long been comrades, although others, such as Tito Mboweni and Jeff Radebe, were much younger. Mandela's relationship with de Klerk was strained; Mandela thought that de Klerk was intentionally provocative, and de Klerk felt that he was being intentionally humiliated by the president. In January 1995, Mandela heavily chastised him for awarding amnesty to 3,500 police just before the election, and later criticised him for defending former Minister of Defence Magnus Malan when the latter was charged with murder.<sup>[179]</sup>

Mandela personally met with senior figures of the apartheid regime, including Hendrik Verwoerd's widow Betsie Schoombie and the lawyer Percy Yutar; emphasising personal forgiveness and reconciliation, he announced that "courageous people do not fear forgiving, for the sake of peace."<sup>[180]</sup> He encouraged black South Africans to get behind the previously hated national rugby team, the Springboks, as South Africa hosted the 1995 Rugby World Cup. After the Springboks won an epic final over New Zealand, Mandela presented the trophy to captain Francois Pienaar, an Afrikaner, wearing a Springbok shirt with Pienaar's own number 6 on the back. This was widely seen as a major step in the reconciliation of white and black South Africans; as de Klerk later put it, "Mandela won the hearts of millions of white rugby fans."<sup>[181]</sup> Mandela's efforts at reconciliation assuaged the fears of whites, but also drew criticism from more militant blacks. His estranged wife, Winnie, accused the ANC of being more interested in

appeasing whites than in helping blacks.<sup>[182]</sup>

More controversially, Mandela oversaw the formation of a Truth and Reconciliation Commission to investigate crimes committed under apartheid by both the government and the ANC, appointing Desmond Tutu as its chair. To prevent the creation of martyrs, the Commission granted individual amnesties in exchange for testimony of crimes committed during the apartheid era. Dedicated in February 1996, it held two years of hearings detailing rapes, torture, bombings, and assassinations, before issuing its final report in October 1998. Both de Klerk and Mbeki appealed to have parts of the report suppressed, though only de Klerk's appeal was successful.<sup>[183]</sup> Mandela praised the Commission's work, stating that it "had helped us move away from the past to concentrate on the present and the future".<sup>[184]</sup>

## Domestic programmes

Mandela's administration inherited a country with a huge disparity in wealth and services between white and black communities. Of a population of 40 million, around 23 million lacked electricity or adequate sanitation, 12 million lacked clean water supplies, with 2 million children not in school and a third of the population illiterate. There was 33% unemployment, and just under half of the population lived below the poverty line. Government financial reserves were nearly depleted, with a fifth of the national budget being spent on debt repayment, meaning that the extent of the promised Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) was scaled back, with none of the proposed nationalisation or job creation.<sup>[185]</sup> Instead, the government adopted liberal economic policies designed to promote foreign investment, adhering to the "Washington consensus" advocated by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund.



Mandela on a visit to Brazil in 1998

Under Mandela's presidency, welfare spending increased by 13% in 1996/97, 13% in 1997/98, and 7% in 1998/99. The government introduced parity in grants for communities, including disability grants, child maintenance grants, and old-age pensions, which had previously been set at different levels for South Africa's different racial groups. In 1994, free healthcare was introduced for children under six and pregnant women, a provision extended to all those using primary level public sector health care services in 1996. By the 1999 election, the ANC could boast that due to their policies, 3 million people were connected to telephone lines, 1.5 million children were brought into the education system, 500 clinics were upgraded or constructed, 2 million people were connected to the electricity grid, water access was extended to 3 million people, and 750,000 houses were constructed, housing nearly 3 million people.

The Land Restitution Act of 1994 enabled people who had lost their property as a result of the Natives Land Act, 1913 to claim back their land, leading to the settlement of tens of thousands of land claims. The Land Reform Act 3 of 1996 safeguarded the rights of labour tenants who live and grow crops or graze livestock on farms. This legislation ensured that such tenants could not be evicted without a court order or if they were over the age of sixty-five. The Skills Development Act of 1998 provided for the establishment of mechanisms to finance and promote skills development at the workplace. The Labour Relations Act of 1995 promoted workplace democracy, orderly collective bargaining, and the effective resolution of labour disputes. The Basic Conditions of Employment Act of 1997 improved enforcement mechanisms while extending a "floor" of rights to all workers; the Employment Equity Act of 1998 was passed to put an end to unfair discrimination and ensure the implementation of affirmative action in the workplace.

Many domestic problems remained. Critics like Edwin Cameron accused Mandela's government of doing little to stem the HIV/AIDS pandemic in the country; by 1999, 10% of South Africa's population were HIV positive. Mandela later admitted that he had personally neglected the issue, leaving it for Mbeki to deal with.<sup>[186]</sup> Mandela

also received criticism for failing to sufficiently combat crime, South Africa having one of the world's highest crime rates; this was a key reason cited by the 750,000 whites who emigrated in the late 1990s.<sup>[187]</sup> Mandela's administration was mired in corruption scandals, with Mandela being perceived as "soft" on corruption and greed.<sup>[188]</sup>

## Foreign affairs

Following the South African example, Mandela encouraged other nations to resolve conflicts through diplomacy and reconciliation. He echoed Mbeki's calls for an "African Renaissance", and was greatly concerned with issues on the continent; he took a soft diplomatic approach to removing Sani Abacha's military junta in Nigeria but later became a leading figure in calling for sanctions when Abacha's regime increased human rights violations. In 1996 he was appointed Chairman of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and initiated unsuccessful negotiations to end the First Congo War in Zaire. In South Africa's first post-apartheid military operation, Mandela ordered troops into Lesotho in September 1998 to protect the government of Prime Minister Pakalitha Mosisili after a disputed election prompted opposition uprisings.



Mandela with US President Bill Clinton. Despite publicly criticising him on several occasions, Mandela liked Clinton, and personally supported him during his impeachment proceedings.

In September 1998, Mandela was appointed Secretary-General of the Non-Aligned Movement, who held their annual conference in Durban. He used the event to criticise the "narrow, chauvinistic interests" of the Israeli government in stalling negotiations to end the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and urged India and Pakistan to negotiate to end the Kashmir conflict, for which he was criticised by both Israel and India. Inspired by the region's economic boom, Mandela sought greater economic relations with East Asia, in particular with Malaysia, although this was scuppered by the 1997 Asian financial crisis. He attracted controversy for his close relationship with Indonesian President Suharto, whose regime was responsible for mass human rights abuses, although privately urged him to withdraw from the occupation of East Timor.

Mandela faced similar criticism from the West for his personal friendships with Fidel Castro and Muammar Gaddafi. Castro visited in 1998, to widespread popular acclaim, and Mandela met Gaddafi in Libya to award him the Order of Good Hope. When Western governments and media criticised these visits, Mandela lambasted the criticisms as having racist undertones. Mandela hoped to resolve the long-running dispute between Libya and the US and Britain over bringing to trial the two Libyans, Abdelbaset al-Megrahi and Lamin Khalifah Fhimah, who were indicted in November 1991 and accused of sabotaging Pan Am Flight 103. Mandela proposed that they be tried in a third country, which was agreed to by all parties; governed by Scots law, the trial was held at Camp Zeist in the Netherlands in April 1999, and found one of the two men guilty.

## Withdrawing from politics

The new Constitution of South Africa was agreed upon by parliament in May 1996, enshrining a series of institutions to check political and administrative authority within a constitutional democracy. De Klerk opposed the implementation of this constitution, withdrawing from the coalition government in protest.<sup>[189]</sup> The ANC took over the cabinet positions formerly held by the National Party, with Mbeki becoming sole Deputy President. When both Mandela and Mbeki were out of the country in one occasion, Buthelezi was appointed "Acting President", marking an improvement in his relationship with Mandela.

Mandela stepped down as ANC President at the December 1997 conference, and although hoping that Ramaphosa would replace him, the ANC elected Mbeki to the position; Mandela admitted that by then, Mbeki had become "*de facto* President of the country". Replacing Mbeki as Deputy President, Mandela and the Executive supported the candidacy of Jacob Zuma, a Zulu who had been imprisoned on Robben Island, but he was challenged by Winnie, whose populist rhetoric had gained her a strong following within the party; Zuma defeated her in a landslide victory vote at the election.<sup>[190]</sup>

Mandela's relationship with Machel had intensified; in February 1998 he publicly stated that "I'm in love with a remarkable lady", and under pressure from his friend Desmond Tutu, who urged him to set an example for young people, he set a wedding for his 80th birthday, in July.<sup>[191]</sup> The following day he held a grand party with many foreign dignitaries. The 1996 constitution limited the president to two consecutive five-year terms. Mandela did not attempt to amend the document to remove the two-term limit; indeed, he had never planned on standing for a second term in office. He gave his farewell speech on 29 March 1999, after which he retired.

## Retirement

### Continued activism and philanthropy: 1999–2004

Retiring in June 1999, Mandela sought a quiet family life, to be divided between Johannesburg and Qunu. He set about authoring a sequel to his first autobiography, to be titled *The Presidential Years*, but it was abandoned before publication.<sup>[192]</sup> Finding such seclusion difficult, he reverted to a busy public life with a daily programme of tasks, meeting with world leaders and celebrities, and when in Johannesburg worked with the Nelson Mandela Foundation, founded in 1999 to focus on combating HIV/AIDS, rural development and school construction.<sup>[193]</sup> Although he had been heavily criticised for failing to do enough to fight the pandemic during his presidency, he devoted much of his time to the issue following his retirement, describing it as "a war" that had killed more than "all previous wars", and urged Mbeki's government to ensure that HIV+ South Africans had access to retrovirals.<sup>[194]</sup> In 2000, the Nelson Mandela Invitational charity golf tournament was founded, hosted by Gary Player. Mandela was successfully treated for prostate cancer in July 2001.



Mandela visiting the London School of Economics in 2000

In 2002, Mandela inaugurated the Nelson Mandela Annual Lecture, and in 2003 the Mandela Rhodes Foundation was created at Rhodes House, University of Oxford, to provide postgraduate scholarships to African students. These projects were followed by the Nelson Mandela Centre of Memory and the 46664 campaign against HIV/AIDS. He gave the closing address at the XIII International AIDS Conference in Durban in 2000, and in 2004, spoke at the XV International AIDS Conference in Bangkok, Thailand.

Publicly, Mandela became more vocal in criticising Western powers. He strongly opposed the 1999 NATO intervention in Kosovo and called it an attempt by the world's powerful nations to police the entire world. In 2003 he spoke out against the plans for the US and UK to launch the War in Iraq, describing it as "a tragedy" and lambasting US President George W. Bush and UK Prime Minister Tony Blair for undermining the UN. "All that (Mr. Bush) wants is Iraqi oil,"<sup>[195]</sup> He attacked the US more generally, asserting that it had committed more "unspeakable atrocities" across the world than any other nation, citing the atomic bombing of Japan; this attracted international controversy, although he later reconciled his relationship with Blair.<sup>[196]</sup> Retaining an interest in Libyan-UK relations, he visited Megrahi in Barlinnie prison and spoke out against the conditions of his treatment, referring to them as "psychological persecution".

### "Retiring from retirement", illness: 2004–2013

In June 2004, aged 85 and amid failing health, Mandela announced that he was "retiring from retirement" and retreating from public life, remarking "Don't call me, I will call you."<sup>[197]</sup> Although continuing to meet with close friends and family, the Foundation discouraged invitations for him to appear at public events and denied most interview requests.

He retained some involvement in international affairs. In 2005, he founded the Nelson Mandela Legacy Trust, travelling to the U.S., to speak before the Brookings Institute and the NAACP on the need for economic assistance to Africa. He spoke with U.S. Senator Hillary Clinton and President George W. Bush and first met then-U.S. Senator Barack Obama. Mandela also encouraged Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe to resign over growing human rights abuses in the country. When this proved ineffective, he spoke out publicly against Mugabe in 2007, asking him to step down "with residual respect and a modicum of dignity." That year, Mandela, Machel, and Desmond Tutu convened a group of world leaders in Johannesburg to contribute their wisdom and independent leadership to some of the world's toughest problems. Mandela announced the formation of this new group, The Elders, in a speech delivered on his 89th birthday.<sup>[198]</sup>

Mandela's 90th birthday was marked across the country on 18 July 2008, with the main celebrations held at Qunu, and a concert in his honour in Hyde Park, London. In a speech marking the event, Mandela called for the rich to help the poor across the world. Throughout Mbeki's presidency, Mandela continued to support the ANC, although usually overshadowed Mbeki at any public events that the two attended. Mandela was more at ease with Mbeki's successor Jacob Zuma, although the Nelson Mandela Foundation were upset when his grandson, Mandla Mandela, flew him out to the Eastern Cape to attend a pro-Zuma rally in the midst of a storm in 2009.<sup>[199]</sup>

In 2004, Mandela had successfully campaigned for South Africa to host the 2010 FIFA World Cup, declaring that there would be "few better gifts for us in the year" marking a decade since the fall of apartheid. Mandela emotionally raised the FIFA World Cup Trophy after South Africa was awarded host status.<sup>[200]</sup> Despite maintaining a low profile during the event due to ill-health, Mandela made his final public appearance during the World Cup closing ceremony, where he received a "rapturous reception".<sup>[201]</sup> Between 2005 and 2013, Mandela, and later his family, were embroiled in a series of legal disputes regarding money held in family trusts for the benefit of his descendants. In mid-2013, as Mandela was hospitalised for a lung infection in Pretoria, his descendants were involved in intra-family legal dispute relating to the burial place of Mandela's children, and ultimately Mandela himself.



Nelson Mandela and President George W. Bush in the Oval Office, May 2005



In February 2011, he was briefly hospitalised with a respiratory infection, attracting international attention, before being re-hospitalised for a lung infection and gallstone removal in December 2012. After a successful medical procedure in early March 2013, his lung infection recurred, and he was briefly hospitalised in Pretoria. On 8 June 2013, his lung infection worsened, and he was rehospitalised in Pretoria in a serious condition. After four days, it was reported that he had stabilised and remained in a "serious, but stable condition". En route to the hospital, his ambulance broke down and was stranded on the roadside for 40 minutes. The government was criticised for the incident, but Zuma countered that throughout, Mandela was given "expert medical care."

On 22 June 2013, CBS News stated that he had not opened his eyes in days and was unresponsive, and the family was discussing how much medical intervention should be given. Former bodyguard Shaun van Heerden, described by CBS News as "Mandela's constant companion for the last 12 years", had publicly asked the family to "set him free" a week prior. On 23 June 2013, Zuma announced that Mandela's condition had become "critical". Zuma, accompanied by the Deputy President of the ANC, Cyril Ramaphosa, met Mandela's wife Graça Machel at the hospital in Pretoria and discussed his condition. On 25 June Cape Town Archbishop Thabo Makgoba visited Mandela at the hospital and prayed with Graça Machel Mandela "at this hard time of watching and waiting". The next day, Zuma visited Mandela in the hospital and canceled a visit scheduled for the next day to Mozambique. A relative of Mandela told *The Daily Telegraph* newspaper he was on life support.

On 4 July, it was reported that David Smith, a lawyer acting on behalf of Mandela family members, claimed in court on 26 June that Mandela was in a permanent vegetative state and life support should be withdrawn. The South African Presidency stated that the doctors treating Mandela denied that he was in a vegetative state. On 10 July, Zuma's office announced that Mandela remained in critical but stable condition, and was responding to treatment.

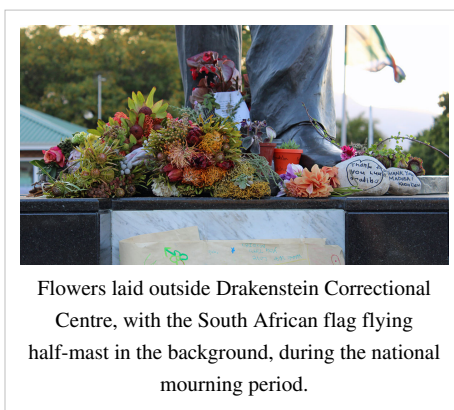
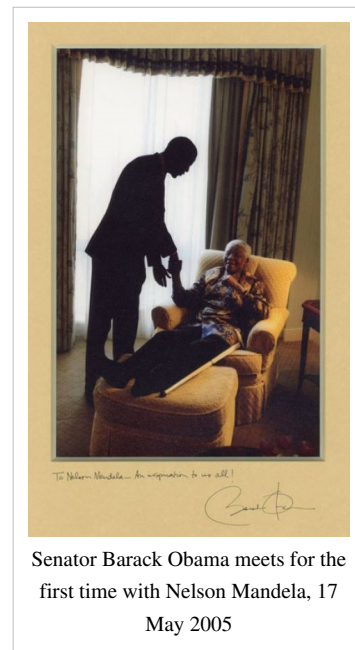
On 1 September 2013, Mandela was discharged from hospital although his condition remained unstable.

## Death and funeral

Mandela died of a lung infection on 5 December 2013 at around 20:50 local time (UTC+2) at his home in Houghton, Johannesburg, surrounded by his family. He was 95. His death was announced by President Jacob Zuma.

On 6 December, Zuma announced a national mourning period of ten days, with the main event being an official memorial service to be held at the FNB Stadium in Johannesburg on Tuesday 10 December. He declared Sunday 8 December a national day of prayer and reflection: "We call upon all our people to gather in halls, churches, mosques, temples, synagogues and in their homes to pray and hold prayer services and meditation reflecting on the life of Madiba and his contribution to our country and the world." Mandela's body will lie in state from 11 to 13 December at the Union Buildings in Pretoria and a state funeral will be held on Sunday 15 December in Qunu.

Cape Town mayor Patricia de Lille announced that Cape Town will host an interfaith service on the Grand Parade, which has been designated as Cape Town's primary public mourning space, on Sunday 8 December. A public night vigil will be held there on the evening before Mandela's funeral. Cape Town will also host a free tribute concert at



the Cape Town Stadium on Wednesday 11 December.

## Political ideology

Mandela was an African nationalist, an ideological position he held since joining the ANC,<sup>[202]</sup> also being "a democrat, and a socialist". Although he presented himself in an autocratic manner in several speeches, Mandela was a devout believer in democracy and abided by majority decisions even when deeply disagreeing with them. He held a conviction that "inclusivity, accountability and freedom of speech" were the fundamentals of democracy, and was driven by a belief in natural and human rights. This belief drove him to not only pursue racial equality but also to promote gay rights as part of the post-apartheid reforms.



"Free Mandela" protest in Berlin, 1986

A democratic socialist, Mandela was "openly opposed to capitalism, private land-ownership and the power of big money". Influenced by Marxism, during the revolution Mandela advocated scientific socialism, although he denied being a communist during the Treason Trial.<sup>[203]</sup> Biographer David James Smith thought this untrue, stating that Mandela "embraced communism and communists" in the late 1950s and early 1960s, though was a "fellow traveller" rather than a party member. In the 1955 Freedom Charter, which Mandela had helped create, it called for the nationalisation of banks, gold mines, and land, believing it necessary to ensure equal distribution of wealth. Despite these beliefs, Mandela nationalised nothing during his presidency, fearing that this would scare away foreign investors. This decision was in part influenced by the fall of the socialist states in the Soviet Union and Eastern Bloc during the early 1990s.

## Personal life

Mandela was a private person who often concealed his emotions and confided in very few people.<sup>[204]</sup> Privately, he lived an austere life, refusing to drink alcohol or smoke, and even as President made his own bed,<sup>[205]</sup> although was also renowned for his mischievous sense of humour.<sup>[206]</sup> He was known for being both stubborn and loyal,<sup>[207]</sup> and at times exhibited a quick temper.<sup>[205]</sup> He was typically friendly and welcoming, and appeared relaxed in conversation with everyone, including his opponents.<sup>[208]</sup> Constantly polite and courteous, he was attentive to everyone, irrespective of their age or status, and often talked to children or servants.<sup>[209]</sup> In later life he always looked for the best in people, even defending political opponents to his allies, who sometimes thought him too trusting of others.<sup>[210]</sup> He was highly image conscious, and throughout his life always sought out fine quality clothes, with many commentators believing that he carried himself in a regal manner.<sup>[211]</sup> His official biographer Anthony Sampson commented that he was a "master of imagery and performance", excelling at presenting himself well in press photographs and producing soundbites.<sup>[212]</sup> In describing his life, Mandela stated that "I was not a messiah, but an ordinary man who had become a leader because of extraordinary circumstances."<sup>[213]</sup>

Mandela was married three times, fathered six children, had 17 grandchildren, and many great-grandchildren. He could be stern and demanding of his children, although he was more affectionate with his grandchildren.<sup>[214]</sup> His first marriage was to Evelyn Ntoko Mase in October 1944; they divorced after 13 years in 1957 under the multiple strains of his adultery and constant absences, devotion to revolutionary agitation, and the fact that she was a member of the Jehovah's Witnesses, a religion requiring political neutrality. The couple had two sons whom Mandela survived, Madiba "Thembi" Thembekile (1945–1969) and Makgatho Mandela (1950–2005); his first son died in a car crash, and his second son died of AIDS. The couple had two daughters, both named Makaziwe Mandela (born 1947 and 1954); the first died at the age of nine months, the second, known as "Maki", survived Mandela. Makgatho's son, Mandla Mandela, became chief of the Mvezo tribal council in 2007.



Mandela House museum, Soweto

Mandela's second wife, Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, also came from the Transkei area, although they, too, met in Johannesburg, where she was the city's first black social worker. They had two daughters, Zenani (Zeni), born 4 February 1958, and Zindiswa (Zindzi) Mandela-Hlongwane, born 1960. Zindzi was only 18 months old when her father was sent to Robben island. Later, Winnie was deeply torn by family discord which mirrored the country's political strife; separation (April 1992) and divorce (March 1996), fuelled by political estrangement. Mandela's third wife was Graça Machel (*née* Simbine), whom he married on his 80th birthday in 1998.<sup>[215]</sup>

In late 1996 Mandela was asked by friends if he was religious, Mandela explained he was a Methodist but he felt at ease in multiple religions place of worship. [216]

## Influence and legacy

By the time of his death, Mandela had come to be widely considered "the father of the nation" within South Africa, and "the founding father of democracy", being seen as "the national liberator, the saviour, its Washington and Lincoln rolled into one". Mandela's biographer Anthony Sampson commented that even during his life, a myth had developed around him that turned him into "a secular saint" and which was "so powerful that it blurs the realities."<sup>[217]</sup> Within a decade after the end of his Presidency, Mandela's era was being widely thought of as "a golden age of hope and harmony".<sup>[213]</sup> Across the world, Mandela earned international acclaim for his activism in overcoming apartheid and fostering racial reconciliation,<sup>[205]</sup> coming to be viewed as "a moral authority" with a great "concern for truth".<sup>[218]</sup>

Throughout his life, Mandela had also faced criticism. Margaret Thatcher attracted international attention for describing the ANC as "a typical terrorist organisation" in 1987,<sup>[219]</sup>; she later called on Botha to release Mandela.<sup>[220]</sup> Mandela has also been criticised for his friendship with political leaders such as Fidel Castro, Muammar Gaddafi, Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani, and Suharto as well as his refusal to condemn their various human rights violations.

## Orders, decorations, and monuments

In 2004, Johannesburg granted Mandela the freedom of the city, and the Sandton Square shopping centre was renamed Nelson Mandela Square, after a Mandela statue was installed there. In 2008, another Mandela statue was unveiled at Groot Drakenstein Correctional Centre, formerly Victor Verster Prison, near Cape Town, standing on the spot where Mandela was released from the prison.

He has also received international acclaim. In 1993, he received the joint Nobel Peace Prize with de Klerk. In November 2009, the United Nations General Assembly proclaimed Mandela's birthday, 18 July, as "Mandela Day", marking his contribution to the anti-apartheid struggle. It called on individuals to donate 67 minutes to doing something for others, commemorating the 67 years that Mandela had been a part of the movement.

Awarded the US Presidential Medal of Freedom, and the Order of Canada, he was the first living person to be made an honorary Canadian citizen. The last recipient of the Soviet Union's Lenin Peace Prize from the Soviet Union, and first recipient of the Al-Gaddafi International Prize for Human Rights, in 1990 he received the Bharat Ratna Award from the government of India, and in 1992 received Pakistan's Nishan-e-Pakistan. In 1992 he was awarded the Atatürk Peace Award by Turkey. He refused the award, citing human rights violations committed by Turkey at the time, but later accepted the award in 1999. Elizabeth II awarded him the Bailiff Grand Cross of the Order of St. John and the Order of Merit.

## Tributes by musicians

Many artists have dedicated songs to Mandela. One of the most popular was from The Special AKA who recorded the song "Free Nelson Mandela" in 1983, which Elvis Costello also recorded and had a hit with. Stevie Wonder dedicated his 1985 Oscar for the song "I Just Called to Say I Love You" to Mandela, resulting in his music being banned by the South African Broadcasting Corporation. In 1985, Youssou N'Dour's album *Nelson Mandela* was the Senegalese artist's first US release. Other artists who released songs or videos honouring Mandela include Johnny Clegg, Hugh Masekela, Brenda Fassie, Beyond, Nickelback, Raffi, and Ampie du Preez and AB de Villiers. South African songstress Zahara, who happens to be an ambassador of the Nelson Mandela Children's Hospital, released *Nelson Mandela*, an extended play that pays tribute to Mandela whilst celebrating his lifetime accomplishments. The EP's lead single titled "Nelson Mandela" was released at a time when Mandela was critically ill but stable at the Medi-Clinic Heart Hospital in Pretoria.



Nelson Mandela Bridge in Johannesburg



Nelson Mandela graffiti by Thierry Ehrmann in the Abode of Chaos museum, France

## Cinema and television

Mandela has been depicted in cinema and television on multiple occasions. He was portrayed by Danny Glover in the 1987 HBO telefilm *Mandela*. The 1997 film *Mandela and de Klerk* starred Sidney Poitier as Mandela, and Dennis Haysbert played him in *Goodbye Bafana* (2007). In the 2009 BBC telefilm *Mrs Mandela*, Mandela was portrayed by David Harewood, and Morgan Freeman portrayed him in *Invictus* (2009). Terrence Howard portrayed him in the 2011 film *Winnie Mandela*.<sup>[221]</sup> He is portrayed by Idris Elba in the 2013 film *Mandela: Long Walk to Freedom*.

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- Works by or about Nelson Mandela (<http://worldcat.org/identities/lccn-n85-153068>) in libraries (WorldCat catalog)
- Nelson Mandela ([http://www.dmoz.org/Regional/Africa/South\\_Africa/Society\\_and\\_Culture/History/Nelson\\_Mandela/](http://www.dmoz.org/Regional/Africa/South_Africa/Society_and_Culture/History/Nelson_Mandela/)) at the Open Directory Project

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| <b>Political offices</b>                     |  |                                    |
| Preceded by<br><b>F. W. de Klerk</b>         | <b>President of South Africa</b><br>1994–1999                  | Succeeded by<br><b>Thabo Mbeki</b> |
| <b>Party political offices</b>               |  |                                    |
| Preceded by<br><b>Oliver Tambo</b>           | <b>President of the African National Congress</b><br>1991–1997 | Succeeded by<br><b>Thabo Mbeki</b> |
| <b>Diplomatic posts</b>                      |  |                                    |
| Preceded by<br><b>Andrés Pastrana Arango</b> | <b>Secretary General of Non-Aligned Movement</b><br>1998–1999  | Succeeded by<br><b>Thabo Mbeki</b> |



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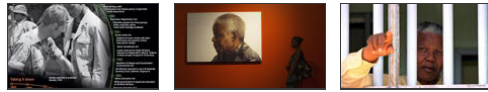
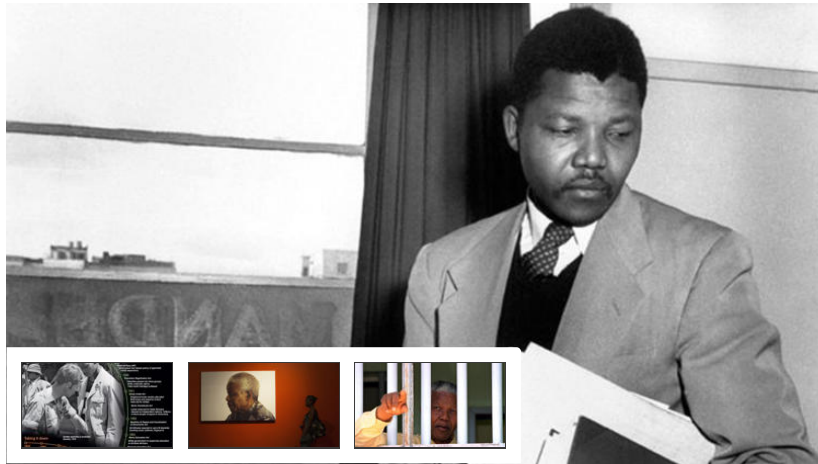
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# Mandela, the man once branded a 'terrorist' by the US

By Jo Biddle  
December 6, 2013 5:41 AM



Washington (AFP) - In 2008 just before his 90th birthday, the United States gave Nelson Mandela a special present, striking him from a decades-old terror watch list and ending what US officials called "a rather embarrassing matter."

By then the anti-apartheid icon had long left behind the jail cells where he was incarcerated for 27 years, and was already enjoying retirement and his status as one of the most revered statesmen of the 20th century after becoming South Africa's first black president.

In past years, US officials have beaten a path to his door in his family village hoping some of his almost saint-like aura would rub off on them.

On Thursday, when Mandela died at age 95, President Barack Obama hailed him as belonging "to the ages" and ordered that flags on US government buildings be flown at half-mast -- a rare tribute to a foreign leader.

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bad. And eventually they fall, and eventually there is dreadful resentment."

The lessons of the apartheid era are still applicable today, Dooley says, as "only the fact that Congress overrode the veto saved the US reputation."

Until five years ago, Mandela and other members of the ANC remained on the US terror watch list because of their armed struggle against the apartheid regime, which yielded to majority rule in the mid-1990s.

The designation meant that the US State Department had to issue them with a waiver to enter the country for meetings such as the UN General Assembly, something former secretary of state Condoleezza Rice said she found "embarrassing."

When Mandela was finally removed from the list in 2008, then senator and current Secretary of State John Kerry, said: "He had no place on our government's terror watch list, and I'm pleased to see this bill finally become law."



African National Congress (ANC) president Nelson Mandela stares out of the window of the prison cell ...

In a televised address from the White House on Thursday, Obama said Mandela was "a man who took history in his hands and bent the arc of the moral universe towards justice."

"A free South Africa, at peace with itself, that's an example to the world, and that's Madiba's legacy to the nation that he loved," Obama said, referring to Mandela by his clan name.

J. Peter Pham, director of the Africa Center at the Atlantic Council, called Mandela "one of the rare international statesmen that captured the imagination of Americans across the political spectrum."

"Even those who are not normally interested in Africa found him a very compelling individual," said Pham, who was awarded the 2008 Nelson Mandela International Prize for African Security and Development.

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**Obama shakes hands with Cuba's Castro at Mandela memorial**

Soweto (South Africa) (AFP) - President Barack Obama on Tuesday shook hands with Raul Castro, leader of America's Cold War foe Cuba, in AFP 15 mins ago



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### Single Dad Struggles To Find More Time To Spend With Son

DEAR ABBY: I am a single 25-year-old man with a 15-month-old son. (Shipping and handling are included in the price.)

Dear Abby



### 18 LA sheriff's deputies face federal charges

LOS ANGELES (AP) — Federal officials said 18 current and former Los Angeles County sheriff's deputies saw themselves as being "above the law" when they engaged in crimes that included beating inmates and jail

Associated Press



### Conservative groups line up against emerging U.S. budget deal

By Richard Cowan and David Lawder WASHINGTON (Reuters) - As budget negotiators in the U.S. Congress tried to close a deal on Tuesday that

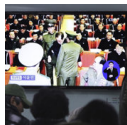
Reuters



### Man wakes up on an empty, locked plane

Somehow, all of the passengers and the ExpressJet flight staff exited the plane, and no one thought to wake the man up before leaving the plane.

Tribune



### Purge sends chilling message to NKorea's elite

SEOUL, South Korea (AP) — While the rest of North Korea's top brass leaped to their feet before Kim Jong Un, clapping wildly in a requisite show of respect at high-level meetings, his uncle, Jang Song Thaek, of-

Associated Press

### Julie Andrews Missed NBC's Live 'Sound of Music'

Julie Andrews missed 'The Sound of Music Live!' but plans to watch a recording of it

ABC News 36 mins ago



### Google bus blocked in San Francisco gentrification protest

By Sarah McBride SAN FRANCISCO (Reuters) - A Google Inc commuter bus was blocked in San Francisco's Mission district for about a half hour

Reuters

### Snow blankets U.S. East; Washington offices, many schools closed

The East Coast's first significant snowfall of the season was expected to dump up to 8

Reuters 20 mins ago



### Uruguay to become first country to legalize marijuana trade

By Malena Castaldi MONTEVIDEO (Reuters) - Uruguay's Senate is expected to pass a law on Tuesday making the small South American na-

Reuters

### Weigh Pros, Cons of Attending a U.S. Community College First

Going all the way to the U.S. in order to study at a community college might seem odd at first. However, international students looking to gain a different experience should consid-

U.S.News & World Report LP



### Gadget spam or just trolling? Samsung preps ninth version of Galaxy S4

The Galaxy S4 is Samsung's flagship smartphone and the company seems hell-bent on making sure we don't forget it. We have questioned in

BGR News



### No hope for LG or HTC

The shockingly weak sales of LG's flagship G2 smartphone have wider industry implications. The company moved only 2.3 million units of its flagship model during its launch quarter, missing its already lowballed 3

BGR News

### Clever Joint Solution

AdChoices

Surprisingly simple solution to help your joints. See why these ingredients are flying off shelves



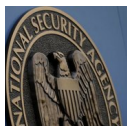
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### Ukraine's Yanukovich sees no alternative to close trade ties with Moscow

Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovich, speaking on television after more than two weeks  
[Reuters](#)

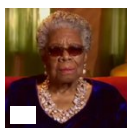
### Mormon church explains past ban on black priests

SALT LAKE CITY (AP) — After Mormon church leaders lifted the ban on blacks in the priesthood in 1978, church leaders offered little official explanation for the reasons behind  
[Associated Press](#)



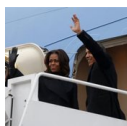
### NSA morale reportedly hits rock bottom after Snowden revelations

Employees at the National Security Agency aren't happy that we now know to look out for their trash-talking elves that they've created in World  
[BGR News](#)



### Maya Angelou's Tribute to Nelson Mandela

Maya Angelou's poem "His Day Is Done" honors Mandela's life and passion for human rights.  
[ABC News Videos](#)

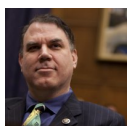


### Obama, Bush fly together to memorial for Mandela

By Steve Holland ON BOARD AIR FORCE ONE (Reuters) - President Barack Obama brought former President George W. Bush with him to Africa on Monday to attend a memorial for Nelson Mandela in a high-pro-  
[Reuters](#)

### Runner hit by airborne deer

In a truly bizarre case of being in the wrong place at the wrong time, a runner in Loudoun County, Virginia was struck by a deer that went airborne.  
[Odd News](#)



### APNewsBreak: Fla. congressman lost \$18M in scheme

McLEAN, Va. (AP) — U.S. Rep. Alan Grayson of Florida lost \$18 million in a scheme that cheated him and about 120 other investors out of more  
[Associated Press](#)

### Democrats using new power to tilt appeals court

WASHINGTON (AP) — Senate Democrats are demonstrating their new ability to thwart Republican filibusters with a vote that would make judges appointed by Democratic pres-  
[Associated Press](#)



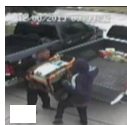
### Paul Walker memorial in California draws thousands

SANTA CLARITA, Calif. (AP) — The sounds of high-performance car engines filled the air Sunday as thousands of fans, friends and car enthusiasts headed to the Los Angeles suburb of Santa Clarita to pay tribute to  
[Associated Press](#)



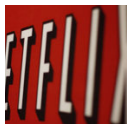
### Mother of Missing Teen Abigail Hernandez Sees Daughter in Her Sleep

Zenya Hernandez Says Lack of Bad News Is Her Only Good News  
[Good Morning America](#)



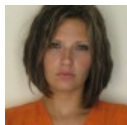
### Theft of 200lb generator caught on camera

A Kingwood man is hoping surveillance video will help him get justice -- and get his property back  
[KTRK - Houston](#)



### Netflix data paints U.S. as land of broadband mediocrity

We Americans like to think of ourselves as No. 1 at everything but there's at least one area where multiple studies have shown that we're lagging far behind: In broadband speeds. The newest numbers from Netflix once again paint the United States as a land of [BGR News](#)



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Did you know that public records are posted online and can be viewed by anyone in seconds? Marriages, divorces, bankruptcies, etc. Search any-one.

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### U.S. hearing to probe autopilot reliance in Asiana crash

At a two-day hearing that starts on Tuesday, the National Transportation Safety Board will examine if cockpit complacency caused an Asiana Airlines Inc's jetliner with 307 people [Reuters](#)



### New Johnny Cash album to be released next spring

NASHVILLE, Tenn. (AP) — There's new never-before-heard music coming from Johnny Cash.

[Associated Press](#)



### The latest round of Obamacare lawsuits: A primer

National Constitution Center CEO Jeffrey Rosen says although the Supreme Court upheld the centerpiece of the Affordable Care Act more than a year ago, last week the second round of legal challenges to Oba-

[National Constitution Center](#)



### Mystery 'Tips for Jesus' tipper identified in NYC

The generous mystery tipper who has been leaving waiters and waitresses across the country thousands of dollars in "Tips for Jesus" was identified by a New York City waiter as Jack Selby, former PayPal vice presi-

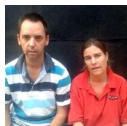
[Yahoo News](#)



### Colin Powell Pitches Single-Payer Health Care in US

Former Secretary of State Colin Powell has waded into the health care debate with a broad endorsement of the kind of universal health plan found in Europe, Canada and South Korea. "I am not an expert in health

[ABC News](#)



### Yemen kidnappers free Dutch couple

A Dutch couple kidnapped in Yemen six months ago have been freed in the capital Sanaa, the two countries announced on Tuesday. "Dutch journalist Judith Spiegel and her partner Boudewijn Berendsen, abducted

[AFP](#)

### Danica Patrick Revs up for ACAs Hosting Gig

New country fan Danica Patrick revs up for American Country Awards host gig with Trace Adkins

[ABC News](#)



### California seeks to send water south via tunnel, restore depleted delta

By Sharon Bernstein SACRAMENTO, California (Reuters) - California pledged on Monday to restore 80,000 acres of the depleted Sacramento- [Reuters](#)



### Justin Bieber visits Typhoon Haiyan victims in the Philippines (22 photos)

Teen heartthrob Justin Bieber visited young victims of Typhoon Haiyan on Tuesday, traveling to the Philippines after launching a worldwide cam-

[Yahoo News](#)



### Kansas Salt Safari Unveils Glittering Underground World

For some people it's a mountaintop, for others it's a lapping seashore, but for Gayle Ferrell, the most serene place on Earth is 650 feet (198 meters) underground. Ferrell works as the director of operations at a museum called Strataca, set in the abandoned tunnels of [LiveScience.com](http://LiveScience.com)



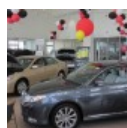
### Snowball Fight at Univ. of Oregon Could Lead to Criminal Charges

Snowball fights can be great fun — as long as you're a willing participant. Students at the University of Oregon may have picked the wrong target [ABC News](http://ABC News)



### Surviving your office holiday party: A guide for introverts

The holiday season — with the crowded shopping, the long list of parties, the relentless merriment — seems like it was created with extroverts in [The Week](http://The Week)



### Auto Dealers Cut Prices for December 2013

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Local auto dealers are cutting their prices for December. If you're looking for a new car this month, buy now and save as much as you can. [Auto-Price-Finder.com](http://Auto-Price-Finder.com) Sponsored



### New American Airlines emerges as world's top carrier

American Airlines emerged as the world's largest airline Monday, combining with US Airways after a hard-fought battle to overcome US competi- [AFP](http://AFP)

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