

CHARACTER
COMRADE
LEADER
PRISONER
NEGOTIATOR
STATESMAN

On 10 May 1994, after three and a half centuries of colonialism and apartheid, tens of thousands of people gathered at the Union Buildings in Pretoria to witness the inauguration of Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela as South Africa's first democratically elected president.

How did Nelson Mandela proceed from this historic day? How did he carry the heavy mantle of building a new nation? How did he become the beloved father of all South Africans? And, how did he move beyond being a president of a country on the southern tip of Africa, to being recognised as one of the greatest statesmen of modern times?

Addressing the jubilant crowd at his inauguration, Mandela said that a new society would be born from the ashes of the past. South Africans had won their political freedom, but now faced a new struggle to free people from poverty, suffering and all forms of discrimination.

"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. Let freedom reign. The sun shall never set on so glorious a human achievement! God bless Africa!" *Nelson Mandela*

Mandela later wrote that he was overcome by a sense of history at his inauguration. He knew that the day had dawned because of the sacrifices of thousands of people. His own role in the freedom struggle was just one contribution among many.

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CRITICAL CHALLENGES



One of the first meetings between the apartheid government and the ANC was held in May 1991 at the Groote Schuur estate. It was a significant step on the bumpy road to a negotiated settlement which paved the way to a democratic South Africa.

"The Groote Schuur meeting was a watershed—the first time we were sitting down with the apartheid regime. Madiba was completely central—tough as nails and charming as a prince. He led us through a minefield. And by the end of the meeting, the basis for a new society had emerged." © AP/WIDEWORLD



By the time he became president in 1994, Mandela was 75 years old. He had already led South Africa through a long struggle and a difficult negotiation process. How much further could he lead the country?

He faced three main tasks: to establish a working democracy in the country, and to ensure that political liberation was matched by social and economic progress.



The process of addressing these challenges was beset by the magnitude of Mandela's task, his magnanimous commitment and leadership. From an icon of freedom, Mandela had to become a trusted statesman capable of rebuilding the nation.

"I've rarely seen Mandela jump into things—he thinks things out first. His strategies are worked out in his mind—and he's willing to adapt them in the face of the reality of the circumstances." AP/WIDEWORLD

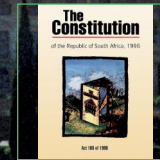
LAYING A NEW FOUNDATION



South Africa's Constitution, negotiated over several years during Mandela's presidency, lies at the heart of South Africa's new democracy. It is hailed as among the most progressive constitutions in the world.

During the drafting of the Constitution, Advocate George Bizos, one of the writers, recalled Mandela's involvement in the process:

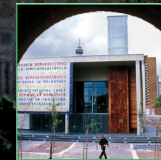
"He came to the small city hotel, where we were meeting. He would say, 'Try and write a Constitution that's good for South Africa and not just for the ANC.'" © George Bizos



Human rights are given prominence in the Constitution with the stated intention of establishing a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights.

"The state may not unfairly discriminate against anyone on the grounds of race, gender, sex, pregnancy, marital status, ethnic or social origin, colour, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, language and birth."

Section 29 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa



The Constitutional Court, the highest court in the land, was established by the Constitution, was formally opened by President Mandela in February 1995. Sydney Kheke, one of Mandela's defence lawyers in the Treason Trial, remembers the day well:

"I still remember his exact words: 'The last time I entered a court it was to find out whether I was going to be sentenced to death.' There was a sort of hush when he said that. Everyone was obviously thinking, 'Supposing the Judge had sentenced Nelson to death? I was thinking, 'Aren't we lucky?'" © Sydney Kheke

BUILDING A WORKING DEMOCRACY



Mandela knew that laws alone were insufficient to entrench democratic practices. He exhibited a profound respect for an independent judiciary and a free press.

In an unprecedented moment, Mandela agreed to appear in court in 1996 when the Chairman of the Rugby Union, Louis Luyt, tried to use the courts to block a government inquiry into allegations of racism and mismanagement in rugby.



Zelda J. Grange, Mandela's personal assistant, remembers the time of the court case and how Mandela conducted himself:

"He used to go every morning and greet Luyt's legal representatives. I could never talk to those people. I was so angry at them. He said, 'No, no, no, no. We need to do that, we need to greet them, we need to be friendly with them and in that way you've already won half the battle.'" © AP/WIDEWORLD



Mandela was equally steadfast on the issue of press freedom. He considered the press to be key in holding government accountable to the electorate. He believed that the press should act as a mirror through which the society could see itself.

Mandela was committed to other institutions of democracy. His government established a series of permanent commissions dedicated to the protection of democracy—the Human Rights Commission, the Commission for Gender Equity and the Office of the Public Protector.



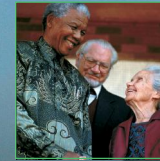
GENEROSITY AND FORGIVENESS



Another key task facing Mandela was to create a single nation from the fragments left by apartheid. He took to this task with relish.

"The mark of Mandela's statesmanship lay in a creation of his collective imagination, an expression of national identity deeply desired in a bitterly divided country." © Newsweek

To make his commitment to reconciliation clearly visible, Mandela visited remote San villages, Dutch townships, mosques, synagogues and Dutch Reformed Churches.



Mandela even went to the Afrikaner enclave of Orania, where he visited Bessie Verwoerd, the widow of Hendrik Verwoerd, the chief architect of apartheid, as well as former President P.W. Botha, in the Western Cape.

"One of the greatest things he was able to do was in the affirmation of others. Making people feel good about who they were. He could enter into the heart of General Constand Viljoen and say, 'What are the things that made him tick? What threatens him? And what can I do to enable him?'" © AP/WIDEWORLD



Mandela moved the world with his generosity and capacity for forgiveness. During his presidency, people spoke about his "Madiba magic." After coming to power, there were no longer posters of the world's fiercest enemies. For blacks, freedom also brought liberation from anger.

"I was transformed from a sceptic to one of his biggest fans. I imagine that's what the 'Madiba magic' means—the readiness to embrace those outside of one's frame. It is that generosity of spirit that has made Nelson Mandela the greatest political icon of the 20th century." © AP/WIDEWORLD

"ONE TEAM, ONE COUNTRY"

In one of the defining moments of his presidency, Mandela appeared at the final of the 1995 Rugby World Cup at Ellis Park in Johannesburg, in which South Africa triumphed against their old rivals, New Zealand.

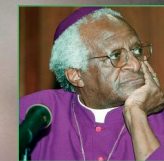
Rugby was traditionally a white sport, much favoured by the apartheid regime. The team representing South Africa was almost entirely white. But on that day, Mandela made rugby into a sport of all the people. Wearing the No 6 shirt of the South African captain, François Pienaar, he walked onto the field before the match.

"For a moment, Ellis Park Stadium, 95 per cent white on the day, stood in dumb, disbelieving silence. Then someone took up a cry that others followed, ending in a thundering roar: 'Nelson! Nelson! Nelson!' White South Africa had crowned Mandela king with the fervour black South Africa had done five years earlier at a stadium in Soweto, in the week after his release." John Gail

Getty Images/SCOTT HANCOCK



TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION



More difficult tasks awaited Mandela in the field of reconciliation. How were those who committed crimes under apartheid to be brought to justice without dividing the country further? Mandela's answer was the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC).

The TRC was established in 1995 and chaired by Archbishop Desmond Tutu. Its role was to discover the truth about South Africa's past.

"One of Mandela's lasting gifts to South Africa and the world will surely be the TRC where the victors did not run salt into the wounds of their vanquished foe, but decided to walk the path of forgiveness and reconciliation."

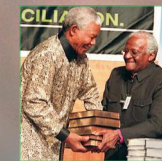
Archbishop Desmond Tutu



Public hearings were held between 1996 and 1998 and victims were invited to tell their stories. The TRC took statements from 22,000 victims of apartheid and received applications for amnesty from 7,100 perpetrators. Amnesty was granted to 1,146 of them.

South Africans bore witness to the real history of South Africa under apartheid. Night after night national news broadcasts presented viewers with the incredible suffering of so many South Africans. And they saw perpetrators admitting their roles in the apartheid system, and in many cases, asking their victims for forgiveness.

The TRC was an example to the rest of the world – similar institutions were later used in other countries.

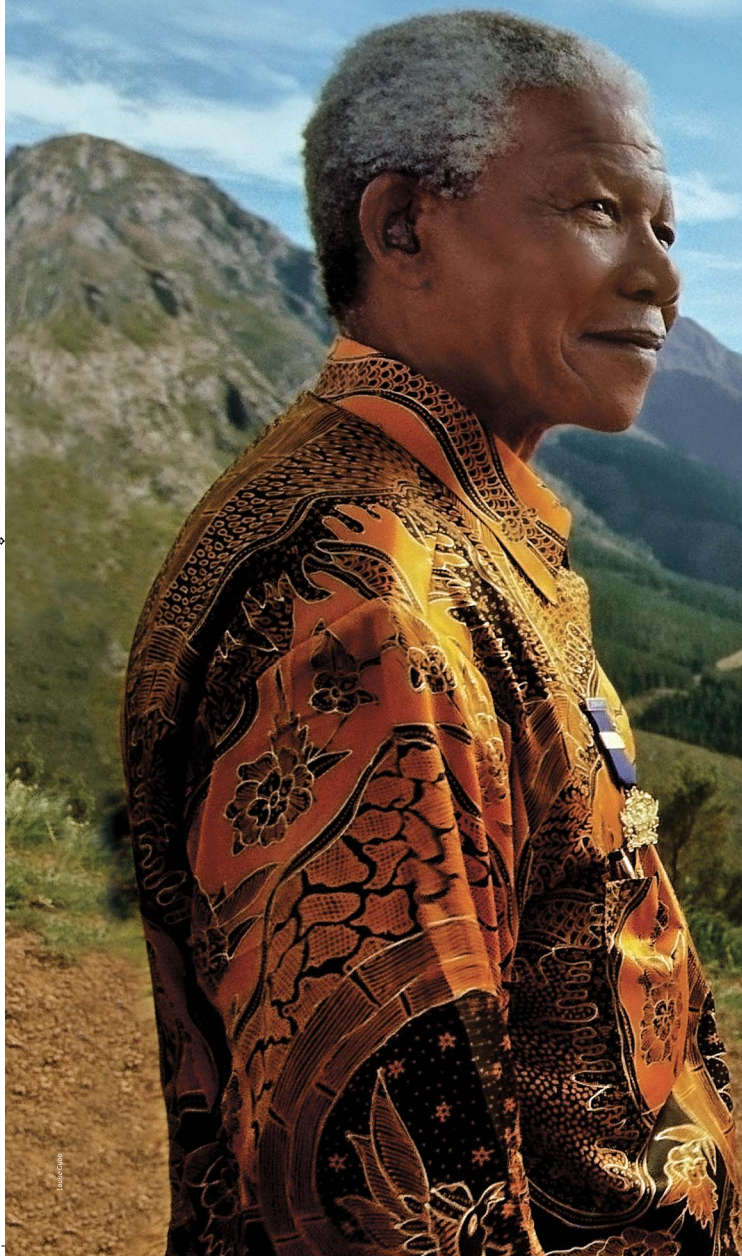


The TRC had a number of shortcomings. It was only able to hear the voices of a relatively small percentage of victims. Many felt excluded from the process. Some families, like the Bikos and the Ribeiros, would have preferred to see justice being done in a more conventional manner. Many believe that by trading amnesty for truth, perpetrators got off lightly.

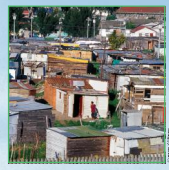
Some senior ANC leaders were not happy with the final TRC report. They felt it excused apartheid's crimes against humanity with human rights violations in the ANC camps in exile. But Mandela insisted that the TRC's mandate be respected and its findings published.



"...I have discovered the secret that after climbing a great hill, one only finds there are many more hills to climb." Nelson Mandela



RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT



In 1994, most black South Africans were poor, unemployment was desperately high and millions of people lived without clean water, decent housing or proper education. Mandela and his government had to expand the economy and deliver tangible benefits to the majority.

Prior to the elections the ANC and its allies had adopted the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) — setting out strategies and targets for the economy and for the delivery of services.



Once in power, Mandela established a Ministry of Reconstruction and Development. He was keen to reach out to the poorest of the poor as soon as possible.

All women and children were treated free of charge at all state hospitals and clinics, and school feeding schemes tried to ensure that all children had access to a balanced meal at school.

Mandela also mobilised the private sector. He loved to co-opt captains of industry and coax them into donating a school, a set of computers, a clinic or hospital wing. A fascinated and applauding world watched the progress of the Mandela presidency.



But it became apparent that the struggle for reconstruction and development would be more difficult than was anticipated. The economy grew slowly and the government faced a large national debt. Delivering basic services was also very challenging.

"The Reconstruction and Development Programme soon proved over-ambitious. The target of a million houses in five years could not be reached, and the promises of more jobs proved hollow." *Andrew Ross*

To the dismay of the South African Communist Party and COSATU, the Reconstruction and Development Ministry programme was dismantled without consultation two years after it was established.



But there were important successes. During Mandela's presidency, 700 000 new houses were delivered to the poorest families free of charge. There were major successes in the delivery of water and electricity. Access to schooling improved. The social security system, including old-age pensions and grants to poor families with small children, was massively expanded.

Economic growth improved — albeit slowly — and government debt was reduced, leading to a reduction in inflation. A foundation had been established, but it was more modest than many had hoped.

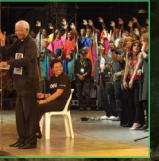
MISTAKES AND CONTRADICTIONS



"Mandela's 'Miracle' did not come without contradictions and mistakes. Mandela himself would be the first to admit that he was not perfect."

The way in which the RDP was dropped and replaced with Growth, Employment and Reconstruction Strategy, without consulting properly, pointed to Mandela's tendency to act autocratically at times.

"The president made the most of his easy access to the media, sounding off with strong views and sometimes forgetting he was part of a cabinet collective." *Anthony Sampson*



Another blemish on Mandela's presidency was the slowness with which he reacted to the one major threat that haunts South Africa and the world: the scourge of HIV and Aids.

"Mandela's administration failed to develop an effective HIV and Aids strategy. He explained his reluctance to speak about the disease on reluctance with respect to public discussion of issues related to sex." *Tom Lodge*

After his presidency, Mandela launched his own organisation, 46664, to raise money and spread awareness about HIV and Aids.



In January 2005, Nelson Mandela announced that his only surviving son, Makgatho Mandela, 54, had died of Aids. Mandela said he was disclosing the cause of his son's death to focus attention on Aids, which is still a taboo topic among many South Africans.

"I'm announcing that my son has died of Aids. Let us give publicity to HIV/Aids and not hide it, because the only way to make it appear like a normal illness like TB, like cancer, is always to come out and say somebody has died of HIV/Aids." *Tom Lodge*



According to some, Mandela is too trusting, and loyal to a fault. Some also believe that he was too quick to delegate to Thabo Mbeki and others, assuming that they would emulate his approach.

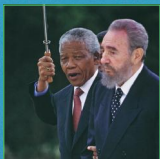
"The Bongo, Jiyal, magnanimous attitude was an integral part of the statesmanship for which Mandela is so admired. But it was also his Achilles heel. How much did he engage with the decision to replace the RDP economic policy with GEAR? How much did he scrutinise the early stages of the arms deal?" *Anthony Sampson*

INTERNATIONAL STATESMANSHIP



In addition to his work in rebuilding South Africa, Mandela came to play an enormous role on the world stage. After his release from prison in February 1990, Mandela was almost immediately accepted as an international statesman, drawing respect from every corner of the globe.

On 22 June 1990, Nelson Mandela addressed the General Assembly of the United Nations, thanking the United Nations for its efforts to secure his release and that of other South African political prisoners. Mandela was hailed as the moral conscience of the world.



Mandela played an important role in trying to resolve international questions. He told the US publication *Foreign Affairs* that human rights should be at the core of international relations.

Even when combined with a virtually unshakable loyalty to old supporters of the ANC in its battle against apartheid such as Fidel Castro, Muammar Gaddafi and Yasser Arafat, such policies won him the respect of the international community.

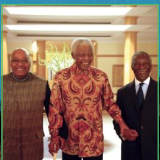
Mandela also paid attention to other international conflicts and visited numerous countries. He was to have a lasting impact on global ideas about conflict resolution.



As the fourth-headed pragmatic British Prime Minister Tony Blair observed with regard to the Qaddafi issue:

"It's probably true that if it had been anyone else I wouldn't have taken so much notice, but because it was Mandela you pay special attention. His judgement about Qaddafi turned out to be accurate which is that Qaddafi had seen the world changing and didn't want Libya becoming a focus for extremism. I think that showed Mandela's vision but also his practical grasp."¹⁰

A MORAL COMPASS



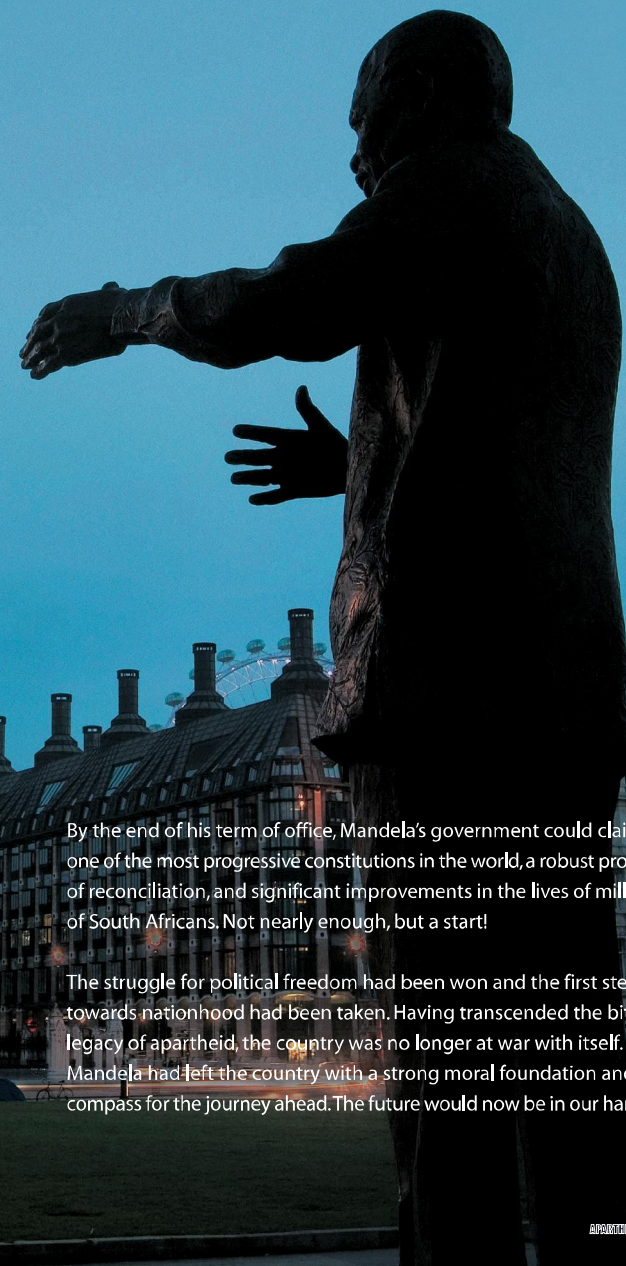
From the beginning, Mandela had made it clear that he would only serve one term as president. This was a powerful message to those leaders who stay in office for multiple terms, even for life.

"You need younger men who can shake and move this country. Many of my colleagues are head and shoulders above me in almost every respect. Rather than being an asset, I'm more of a decoration."¹¹



At the ANC Conference in Marikissa in 1997, Thabo Mbeki was elected president of the ANC unopposed. Effectively, he had been Mandela's prime minister, and was responsible for many of the government's policies. At the ANC conference, Mandela took his leave with some words of advice:

"One of the temptations of a leader is that he may use his powerful position to settle scores with his detractors... A leader must keep the forces together, but you can't do that unless you allow dissent. People should even be able to criticise the leader without fear or favour."¹²



By the end of his term of office, Mandela's government could claim one of the most progressive constitutions in the world, a robust process of reconciliation, and significant improvements in the lives of millions of South Africans. Not nearly enough, but a start!

The struggle for political freedom had been won and the first steps towards nationhood had been taken. Having transcended the bitter legacy of apartheid, the country was no longer at war with itself. Mandela had left the country with a strong moral foundation and a compass for the journey ahead. The future would now be in our hands.



After Mandela's tragic divorce from Winnie Madikizela-Mandela in 1996, he found happiness again with his third wife, Graça Machel, widow of the former President of Mozambique. Mandela and Machel celebrate their marriage at Mandela's 80th birthday banquet near Johannesburg in July 1998 (above).

"Aikona," says Mandela, "No, I am not an icon." But the rest of the world has no doubt about this.



Mandela was central to every stage of South Africa's epic struggle against apartheid – from formulating a new approach in the 1940s to leading the mass struggle of the 1950s, from the formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe in the early 1960s to imprisonment for 27 years. He initiated and led negotiations in the 1990s, and served as the first president of a democratic South Africa. He built a new nation from the fragments of conflict.

Nothing more could be asked from a single human being – except that he take time for himself.
Time to enjoy the fruits of a long and extraordinary labour.

LEGACY

Nelson Mandela's humanity has inspired millions of people around the world. Some of his qualities and beliefs are represented here by memorable things he has said.

Self-esteem

"If you are in harmony with yourself, you may meet a lion without fear because he respects anyone with self-confidence."
- Nelson Mandela

Justice

"Overcoming adversity is not a power of choice. It is the power of a free mind. Human rights are not a luxury, they are a necessity."
- Nelson Mandela

Resilience

"There are few misfortunes in the world that you cannot turn into a personal triumph if you have the iron will and the necessary skills."
- Nelson Mandela

Respect

"Fair to be free is not merely to cast off one's chains, but to live in a way that respects and enhances the freedom of others."
- Nelson Mandela

Nonviolence

"I believe that non-violence is the only way to win freedom from a white man. It is the only way."
- Nelson Mandela

Honesty

"The first thing is to be honest with yourself. You can never have an impact on society if you have not changed yourself."
- Nelson Mandela

Discipline

"Burning through the struggle like a golden thread was the indomitably human spirit and a capacity for self-sacrifice and discipline."
- Nelson Mandela

Courage

"I learned that courage was not the absence of fear, but the triumph over it. The brave man is not he who does not feel afraid, but he who conquers that fear."
- Nelson Mandela

Loyalty

"I will support my friend even if he has been deserted by the entire world."
- Nelson Mandela

Reconciliation

"I will pass through this world but once, and I do not want to divert from my task, which is to unite the nation."
- Nelson Mandela

Charm

"I can't help it if the ladies take note of me. I am not going to protest."
- Nelson Mandela

Humility

"None of us can be described as having virtues or qualities that raise him or her above others."
- Nelson Mandela

Leadership

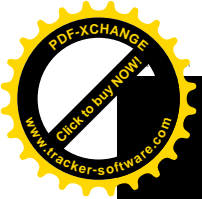
"As a leader, I have always endeavored to listen to who speak and every person's discussion had to say before venturing my own opinion."
- Nelson Mandela

Gender equality

"Freedom cannot be achieved unless the women have been emancipated from all forms of oppression."
- Nelson Mandela

Forgiveness

"I always knew that deep down in every human heart, there was mercy and generosity."
- Nelson Mandela



A WORLD MOURNS

Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela passed away peacefully on the evening of 5 December 2013. His long walk is finally over and it is time for him to rest.

It is hard to find the words to describe what Madiba has meant to the people of South Africa and to the world at large. He has been so deeply loved. He has been so universally admired. He has been so profoundly respected. He has been so devoutly revered.

He has been so many different things in his epic life. A simple rural boy. A curious teenager. An idealistic student. A generous and loyal friend. A militant and disciplined comrade. A husband and father and grandfather. A fearless freedom fighter. A brilliant and charismatic leader. A prisoner for 27 long years who never lost hope. A man who did not allow bitterness to poison his soul, who had the courage to find forgiveness in his heart. A skilful and inspired negotiator. A nation builder and the greatest of reconcilers. The first president of a democratic South Africa for whom one term was enough. An international and elder statesman.

A man like no other.

And yet, so fundamentally, a humble man. A man with simple tastes, who insisted, even when visiting kings and queens, on making his own bed. A man who could admit to making mistakes and remind us all that he was but a human. A man who, with a twinkle in his eye, liked to laugh and make jokes, nearly always at his own expense.

Now he is gone.

What do we do now? How do we honour him? How do we give thanks for him? How do we go on without him? These are questions for each of us to decide for ourselves.

The future is in our own hands.



Most international publications and television networks ran major features on the life of Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela at the time of his death in December 2013. Without exception, they paid tribute to one of the greatest and most inspiring leaders of the 20th century.



INTERNATIONAL MANDELA DAY

“NOT JUST AN EVENT BUT AN ON-GOING COMMITMENT”

“Mr Mandela gave 67 years of his life fighting for the rights of humanity. All we are asking is that everyone gives 67 minutes of their time, whether it’s supporting your chosen charity or serving your local community.” Nelson Mandela Centre of Memory at the Nelson Mandela Foundation

Four years after Nelson Mandela finally ‘retired from retirement’, he called on future generations to do their bit to change the world. “It’s in your hands”, was his message. His slogan emphasised the empowering value of agency and interaction for a functioning democracy. The South African people had sacrificed and organised during the years of the struggle for liberation; now, their dignity restored, they needed to join hands to tackle the challenges that still remained.

He first gave this message at a concert to celebrate his 90th birthday in 2008. International artists and musicians laid on a huge, exhilarating birthday concert in London’s Hyde Park, which Mandela attended. Picking up on his message, the Nelson Mandela Foundation decided “to celebrate Mr Mandela’s birthday each year with a day dedicated to his life’s work ... to ensure his legacy continues forever”.

The concept caught the world’s imagination. In 2009 the United Nations unanimously adopted Nelson Mandela International Day “as a catalyst for each and every person to realise that they have the ability to change the world through action”. In 2012, the Tour de France, celebrated 18 July as part of an international cycling event, beginning in Liège, Belgium, taking in Switzerland and finishing on the Champs-Élysées in Paris.

A move is now afoot in South Africa to declare 18 July a public holiday. But the day is not just a once-off event. It is an on-going commitment “from the United Nations Secretary-General to citizens everywhere to make the world a better place, one day at a time, every day”. South Africa’s former Minister of Arts and Culture, Mr Paul Mashatile, sees the day as “an opportunity to promote social cohesion, national healing and nation building”. He has urged people to “become agents of a caring society ... helping others, especially the poor”.

The interactive Mandela Day website gives further opportunities for people to share their ideas and activities, both globally and locally.

www.mandeladay.com/static/about-mandela-day

Top left — Lubyunka Square, Moscow, Russia

Bottom left — A policeman and a woman from Kenya Rugby Union planting trees at the Kilimani Primary School in Nairobi, Kenya on Mandela Day in 2013