

# Endnotes

## ABBREVIATIONS

ANCLH: ANC Luthuli House  
 AP: Associated Press  
 NASA: National Archives of South Africa  
 NCOP: National Council of Provinces  
 NEC: National Executive Committee (of the ANC)  
 NM: Nelson Mandela  
 NMF: Nelson Mandela Foundation  
 NMPP: Nelson Mandela's Private Papers  
 SABC: South African Broadcasting Corporation  
 SAPA: South African Press Association  
 TRC: Truth and Reconciliation Commission

## PREFACE

- <sup>1</sup> All quotations from NM's speech to the Fiftieth National Conference of the ANC, Mafikeng, 16 December 1997.

## CHAPTER ONE: THE CHALLENGE OF FREEDOM

- <sup>1</sup> Ralph Waldo Emerson, 'Self-Reliance', in *Essays* (Boston: 1841). Republished in 1847 as *Essays: First Series*.  
<sup>2</sup> 'SA is Rendered Lawless and Ungovernable', *City Press*, 18 April 2015.  
<sup>3</sup> NM, *Long Walk to Freedom: The Autobiography of Nelson Mandela* (London: Abacus, 1994; citations from 2013 edition), p. 626.  
<sup>4</sup> C. L. R James, preface to *The Black Jacobins* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1938).  
<sup>5</sup> NM, 'The Presidential Years', p.1, NMF, Johannesburg, 1998.  
<sup>6</sup> NM, 'The Presidential Years', p. 1.  
<sup>7</sup> Niël Barnard, *Secret Revolution* (Cape Town: Tafelberg, 2015), p. 245.  
<sup>8</sup> NMF, press release, 'Ahmed Kathrada Remembers Reuniting With Madiba After His Release', 13 February 2015.

- <sup>9</sup> NM, 'The Presidential Years', p. 1.  
<sup>10</sup> NM, *Long Walk to Freedom*, p. 651.  
<sup>11</sup> NM, 'The Presidential Years', p. 1.  
<sup>12</sup> NM, 'The Presidential Years', pp. 1–2.  
<sup>13</sup> NM in conversation with Richard Stengel, Johannesburg, c. April/May 1993, CD 61, NMF, Johannesburg.  
<sup>14</sup> Valli Moosa, interview by Tony Trew, Cape Town, 8 September 2014.  
<sup>15</sup> NM, *Long Walk to Freedom*, p. 751.  
<sup>16</sup> Václav Havel, source unknown.  
<sup>17</sup> Barbara Masekela, interview by Tony Trew, Cape Town, 28 August 2014.  
<sup>18</sup> NM, 'The Presidential Years', p. 7.  
<sup>19</sup> NM, 'The Presidential Years', pp. 7–8.  
<sup>20</sup> Hugh Macmillan, *The Lusaka Years: The ANC in Exile in Zambia 1963–1994* (Johannesburg: Jacana Media, 2013), p. 258.

## CHAPTER TWO: NEGOTIATING DEMOCRACY

- <sup>1</sup> Robin Denselow, *When the Music's Over: The Story of Political Pop* (London: Faber and Faber, 1990), p. 276.  
<sup>2</sup> NM, address to a rally in Cape Town on his release from prison, Cape Town City Hall, Cape Town, 11 February 1990.  
<sup>3</sup> Zoë Wicomb, 'Nelson Mandela', *New Yorker*, 16 December 2013.  
<sup>4</sup> NM, *Long Walk to Freedom*, p. 690.  
<sup>5</sup> Scott Kraft, 'ANC President Tambo Returns to SA After a 30-Year Exile', *Los Angeles Times*, 14 December 1990.  
<sup>6</sup> NM, interview by James Lorimer and Des Latham, Mandela's home, Vilakazi Street, Orlando West, Soweto, 15 February 1990, Paddi Clay collection.  
<sup>7</sup> NM, *Long Walk to Freedom*, p. 706.  
<sup>8</sup> NM, 'The Presidential Years', p. 2.  
<sup>9</sup> NM, 'The Presidential Years', p. 3.

- <sup>10</sup> Sydney Mufamadi, interview by Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 29 May 2015.  
<sup>11</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>12</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>13</sup> NM in conversation with Richard Stengel, Johannesburg, c. April/May 1993, CD 61, NMF, Johannesburg.  
<sup>14</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>15</sup> Ferdi Hartzenberg, interview by Padraig O'Malley, 25 August 1992, O'Malley Archive, Nelson Mandela Foundation.  
<sup>16</sup> Jessie Duarte interviewed by John Carlin, *Frontline*, PBS Frontline website.  
<sup>17</sup> NM, 'The Presidential Years', p. 3.  
<sup>18</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>19</sup> NM, televised address to the nation on the murder of Chris Hani, 13 April 1993.  
<sup>20</sup> Wilson Ngqose, interview by Mandla Langa, Johannesburg, 17 December 2016.  
<sup>21</sup> Agostinho Neto, 'Haste', *Sacred Hope*, translated by Marga Holness (Dar es Salaam: Tanzania Publishing House, 1974).  
<sup>22</sup> NM, speech to the Angolan National Assembly, Luanda, 29 April 1998.  
<sup>23</sup> Chris Hani, in *They Shaped Our Century: The Most Influential South Africans of the Twentieth Century* (Cape Town: Human & Rousseau, 1999), in NM, 'The Presidential Years', p. 3.  
<sup>24</sup> One such poll was Markinor's November 1992 survey sampling African, coloured and Indian communities in metropolitan areas and whites nationally.  
<sup>25</sup> NM, 'The Presidential Years', p. 4.  
<sup>26</sup> NM, 'The Presidential Years', p. 8.  
<sup>27</sup> *Weekly Mail*, 30 April 1993.  
<sup>28</sup> NM, 'The Presidential Years', p. 9.  
<sup>29</sup> Hermann Giliomee, *The Afrikaners: Biography of a People* (London: C. Hurst & Co, 2003), p. 646.  
<sup>30</sup> Georg Meiring, interview with Hermann Giliomee, 11 November 2002, in Hermann Giliomee, *The Afrikaners: Biography of a People*, p. 646.  
<sup>31</sup> Martin Luther King, Jr, 'Nobel Lecture: The Quest for Peace and Justice', 11 December 1964.  
<sup>32</sup> NM, 'The Presidential Years', p. 9.  
<sup>33</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>34</sup> Joseph R. Gregory, 'P. W. Botha, Defender of Apartheid, is Dead at 90', *New York Times*, 1 November 2006.  
<sup>35</sup> Hugh Robertson, 'Intrigue Over "New" Offer to the Alliance', *Daily News*, 2 March 1994.  
<sup>36</sup> NM, 'The Presidential Years', p. 9.  
<sup>37</sup> Scott MacLeod, 'Nelson Mandela: I Am No Prophet', *TIME*, 26 February 1990.  
<sup>38</sup> NM, 'The Presidential Years', pp. 8–9.  
<sup>39</sup> NM, 'The Presidential Years', p. 9.  
<sup>40</sup> NM, 'The Presidential Years', pp. 9–10.  
<sup>41</sup> NM to Winnie Mandela in Kroonstad Prison, 1 February 1975, in *Conversations With Myself* (London: Macmillan, 2010), p. 212.  
<sup>42</sup> Niël Barnard, *Secret Revolution*, pp. 24–5.  
<sup>43</sup> NM, 'The Presidential Years', p.10.  
<sup>44</sup> Carl von Clausewitz, *On War* (Berlin, 1832).  
<sup>45</sup> Jonathan Hyslop, 'Mandela on War', in *The Cambridge Companion to Nelson Mandela*, edited by Rita Barnard (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 179.  
<sup>46</sup> NM, 'The Presidential Years', p. 10.  
<sup>47</sup> Constand Viljoen, interview by Tony Trew, Pretoria, 19 September 2015.  
<sup>48</sup> Martin Challenor, 'Victory for Alliance', *Daily News*, 22 February 1994.  
<sup>49</sup> Princeton Lyman, *Partner to History: The US Role in South Africa's Transition* (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace, 2002) pp. 171–9; Accord on Afrikaner Self-Determination, 23 April 1994, O'Malley Archive.  
<sup>50</sup> NM, 'The Presidential Years', p. 10.  
<sup>51</sup> Bill Keller, 'The South African Vote: The Overview; More Bombings Rattle South Africans', *New York Times*, 26 April 1994.  
<sup>52</sup> James Baldwin, *No Name in the Street*, (London: Michael Joseph, 1972), p. 82.

## CHAPTER THREE: A FREE AND FAIR ELECTION

- <sup>1</sup> David Yutar, 'No-show Troopies may face prosecution', *The Argus*, 12 May 1994.  
<sup>2</sup> Johann Kriegler, interview by Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 2 February 2016.  
<sup>3</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>4</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>5</sup> S. Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophy* (London: Heinemann, 1969).  
<sup>6</sup> NM, 'The Presidential Years', pp. 12–13.  
<sup>7</sup> Robert Mattes, Hermann Giliomee and Wilmot James, *Launching Democracy in South Africa: The First Open Election, April 1994*, edited by R. W. Johnson and Lawrence Schlemmer, April 1994 (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996), p. 129.  
<sup>8</sup> Johannes Rantete, *The African National Congress and Negotiated Settlement in South Africa* (Pretoria: J. L. Van Schaik, 1998), p. 243.

- <sup>9</sup> NM, 'The Presidential Years', pp. 13–14.
- <sup>10</sup> "'Dirty Tricks" Election Row', *The Argus*, 8 April 1994.
- <sup>11</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>12</sup> Thabo Mbeki, interview by Joel Netshitenzhe and Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 17 December 2014.
- <sup>13</sup> NM, 'The Presidential Years', pp. 14–15.
- <sup>14</sup> NM, 'The Presidential Years', p. 15.
- <sup>15</sup> Charles Oulton, 'South African Elections: Huddleston Casts His Vote and Rejoices', *Independent*, 26 April 1994.
- <sup>16</sup> Paul Taylor, 'Historic Election Begins in South Africa,' *Washington Post*, 27 April 1994.
- <sup>17</sup> NM, *Long Walk to Freedom*, p. 742.
- <sup>18</sup> NM, 'The Presidential Years', pp. 15–16.
- <sup>19</sup> NM, 'The Presidential Years', p. 15.
- <sup>20</sup> This was said by Judge Johann Krieger as chair of the Independent Electoral Commission; Peter Harris, *Birth: The Conspiracy to Stop the '94 Election* (Cape Town: Umuzi, 2010), pp. 267–75.
- <sup>21</sup> F. W. de Klerk, *The Last Trek – A New Beginning: The Autobiography* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1999), p. 336.
- <sup>22</sup> NM, victory speech upon the ANC winning the 1994 election, Carlton Hotel, Johannesburg, 2 May 1994.
- <sup>23</sup> NM, addressing guests during celebrations following the ANC election victory, Carlton Hotel, Johannesburg, 2 May 1994.
- <sup>24</sup> Jessie Duarte, interview by Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 15 July 2014.
- <sup>25</sup> Chris Streeter, interview by Tony Trew, Pretoria, 21 January 2015.
- <sup>26</sup> 'Time Now to Begin Anew: Mandela Joins Peace Prayers', *Cape Times*, 9 May 1994.
- <sup>27</sup> Jessie Duarte, interview by Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 15 July 2014.
- <sup>28</sup> NM, *Long Walk to Freedom*, pp. 401–2.
- <sup>29</sup> Walter Sisulu, 'We Shall Overcome!', *Reflections in Prison*, edited by Mac Maharaj (Cape Town: Zebra Press and Robben Island Museum, 2001), p. 85.
- <sup>30</sup> Pixley ka Isaka Seme, 'Native Union', *Imvo Zabantsundu*, 24 October 1911, in Sheridan Johns III, *Protest and Hope 1882–1934*, vol. 1 of *From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa 1882–1964*, edited by Thomas Karis and Gwendolen M. Carter (Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press, 1972), p. 71.
- <sup>31</sup> NM, 'The Presidential Years', p. 40.
- <sup>32</sup> Sydney Mufamadi, interview by Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 30 April 2015.
- <sup>33</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>34</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>35</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>36</sup> Barbara Masekela, interview by Tony Trew, Cape Town, 28 August 2014.
- <sup>37</sup> NM, address to the people of Cape Town on his election as president of South Africa, City Hall, Cape Town, 9 May 1994.
- <sup>38</sup> Jessie Duarte, interview by Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 15 July 2014.
- <sup>39</sup> NM, statement at his inauguration as president of the democratic Republic of South Africa, Union Buildings, Pretoria, 10 May 1994.
- <sup>40</sup> Adrian Hadland, 'Let's Build a Great SA', *Business Day*, Wednesday, 11 May 1994.
- <sup>41</sup> 'F. W. de Klerk: Mandela Held My Hand for All to See', *City Press*, 6 December 2013.
- <sup>42</sup> Adrian Hadland, 'Let's Build a Great SA', *Business Day*, Wednesday, 11 May 1994.
- <sup>43</sup> NM, speech at the luncheon following his inauguration, Cape Town, 10 May 1994, SABC, SABC Archive, SABC Information Library, Johannesburg.

#### CHAPTER FOUR: GETTING INTO THE UNION BUILDINGS

- <sup>1</sup> Jessie Duarte, interview by Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 15 July 2014.
- <sup>2</sup> Fanie Pretorius, interview by Tony Trew, Pretoria, 11 July 2014.
- <sup>3</sup> President's office staff, interviews by Sahn Venter, October 1994.
- <sup>4</sup> William Ernest Henley, 'Invictus', *A Book of Verses* (London, 1888).
- <sup>5</sup> NM, 'The Presidential Years', pp. 27–9.
- <sup>6</sup> NM, 'The Presidential Years', pp. 22–3.
- <sup>7</sup> Barbara Masekela, interview by Tony Trew, Cape Town, 28 August 2014.
- <sup>8</sup> Ahmed Kathrada in conversation with Tony Trew and Joel Netshitenzhe, Johannesburg, 2 December 2014.
- <sup>9</sup> Jakes Gerwel, president's office submission to the Presidential Review Commission, 25 September 1997.
- <sup>10</sup> NM, 'The Presidential Years', p. 19.
- <sup>11</sup> NM, 'The Presidential Years', pp. 19–20.
- <sup>12</sup> Jakes Gerwel, interview by Aziz Pahad, 21 July 2010.
- <sup>13</sup> Memo from director general, Office of the President, state expenditure, November 1997, Gerwel Papers (private collection).
- <sup>14</sup> Jan-Jan Joubert, 'He Could See the Essential Core', *City Press*, 8 December 2013.

- <sup>15</sup> Walter Sisulu, interview by Sahn Venter, Cape Town, October 1994.
- <sup>16</sup> Trevor Manuel, interview by Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 10 September 2014.
- <sup>17</sup> Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma, interview by Tony Trew, Durban, 26 February 2016.
- <sup>18</sup> Mary Mxadana, interview by Sahn Venter, Cape Town, October 1994.
- <sup>19</sup> NM, interview by Charlayne Hunter-Gault, *MacNeill/Lehrer NewsHour*, PBS, 6 May 1994, from 'South Africa: Pres Elect Interview', AP Archive, story no. W066632.
- <sup>20</sup> NM, 'The Presidential Years', pp. 4–5.
- <sup>21</sup> Neal Chapman and Peter Wrighton, 'Civil society: The Role of Business and the Churches in Facilitating Transition', in *South Africa at 10: Perspectives by Political, Business and Civil Leaders* (Cape Town: Human & Rousseau, 2004), p. 29.
- <sup>22</sup> Tito Mboweni, interview by Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 12 September 2014.
- <sup>23</sup> NM, 'The Presidential Years', pp. 17–18.
- <sup>24</sup> NM, 'The Presidential Years', p. 18.
- <sup>25</sup> Thabo Mbeki, interview by Tony Trew and Joel Netshitenzhe, Johannesburg, 17 December 2014.
- <sup>26</sup> NM, 'The Presidential Years', p. 18.
- <sup>27</sup> F. W. de Klerk, *The Last Trek*, in NM, 'The Presidential Years', p. 238.
- <sup>28</sup> NM, 'The Presidential Years', pp. 18–19.
- <sup>29</sup> Trevor Manuel, interview by Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 10 September 2014.
- <sup>30</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>31</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>32</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>33</sup> F.W. de Klerk, email interview by Tony Trew, 13 March 2015.
- <sup>34</sup> Valli Moosa, interview by Tony Trew, Cape Town, 8 September 2014; Jessie Duarte, interview by Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 15 July 2014; Trevor Manuel, interview with Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 10 September 2014.
- <sup>35</sup> F.W. de Klerk, *The Last Trek*, pp. 342–4; David Welsh, 'Coalition Government, An Unwilling Marriage', in *State of the Nation*, 1997/98, Bertus De Villiers (editor) (Pretoria: HSRC), pp. 37.
- <sup>36</sup> Tim Cohen, 'Mandela's Sainly Reign a Case of Hit or Myth', *Business Day*, 11 May 1994.
- <sup>37</sup> Kader Asmal and Adrian Hadland with Moira Levy, *Politics in my Blood: A Memoir* (Johannesburg: Jacana Media, 2011), p.193.
- <sup>38</sup> NM, 'The Presidential Years', p. 23.

#### CHAPTER FIVE: NATIONAL UNITY

- <sup>1</sup> Andries Nel, notes made on the day, 9 May 1994, private collection.
- <sup>2</sup> Trevor Manuel, interview by Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 10 September 2014.
- <sup>3</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>4</sup> Tito Mboweni, interview by Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 12 September 2014.
- <sup>5</sup> *Rapport*, 31 July 1994, in David Welsh, 'Coalition Government', in *State of the Nation*, p. 46.
- <sup>6</sup> Nelson Mandela, interview by BBC, October 1993, NMF tapes, BBC Tape M8, NMF, Johannesburg.
- <sup>7</sup> Padraig O'Malley, *Shades of Difference: Mac Maharaj and the Struggle for South Africa* (New York: Viking Penguin, 2007), pp. 400–402.
- <sup>8</sup> Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996, chapter six: The National Executive, clause 89 (2).
- <sup>9</sup> Jakes Gerwel, interview by Padraig O'Malley, 8 November 1994, O'Malley Archive.
- <sup>10</sup> Kader Asmal and Adrian Hadland with Moira Levy, *Politics in my Blood*, p. 197.
- <sup>11</sup> Mangosuthu Buthelezi, interview by Padraig O'Malley, 3 October 1995, O'Malley Archive.
- <sup>12</sup> NM, interview by Patti Waldmeier, Union Buildings, Pretoria, 1 July 1994, Patti Waldmeier interviews, Historical Papers Research Archive, William Cullen Library, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.
- <sup>13</sup> Thabo Mbeki, interview by Joel Netshitenzhe and Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 17 December 2014.
- <sup>14</sup> SAPA, 'NP to Fare Worse than in 1994 Poll, Says Mandela', *The Citizen*, 26 June 1995.
- <sup>15</sup> F. W. de Klerk, *The Last Trek*, p. 357.
- <sup>16</sup> F. W. de Klerk, email interview by Tony Trew, 13 March 2015.
- <sup>17</sup> Tony Leon, *Opposite Mandela: Encounters with South Africa's Icon* (Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 2014), p. 97.
- <sup>18</sup> AP Archive, 'South Africa – de Klerk and Mandela Make Up', story no. W019071, 20 January 1995.
- <sup>19</sup> AP Archive, 'Mandela Denies Rumours of de Klerk's Resignation', story no. 15992, 13 October 1995.
- <sup>20</sup> F. W. de Klerk, *The Last Trek*, p. 353.
- <sup>21</sup> NM to F. W. de Klerk, 26 September 1995, Gerwel Papers (private collection).

- <sup>22</sup> Graça Machel, interview by Mandla Langa, Johannesburg, 22 September 2016.
- <sup>23</sup> F. W. de Klerk, *The Last Trek*, p. 353.
- <sup>24</sup> F. W. de Klerk, email interview by Tony Trew, 13 March 2015.
- <sup>25</sup> Thabo Mbeki, interview by Joel Netshitenzhe and Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 17 December 2014.
- <sup>26</sup> NM, address on the occasion of the President's Budget Debate in the Senate, Houses of Parliament, Cape Town, 18 June 1996.
- <sup>27</sup> Jeremy Seekings, 'Partisan Realignment in Cape Town, 1994–2004', CSIR Working Paper, no. 111, December 2005.
- <sup>28</sup> Mangosuthu Buthelezi, interview by Tony Trew, Durban, 28 November 2014.
- <sup>29</sup> Jakes Gerwel, interview by Jan-Jan Joubert drawing on a 2010 interview, 'Jakes Gerwel: Mandela Could See the Essential Core', *City Press*, 10 December 2013.
- <sup>30</sup> Mangosuthu Buthelezi, interview by Pdraig O'Malley, 3 October 1995, O'Malley Archive.
- <sup>31</sup> Mangosuthu Buthelezi, interview by Tony Trew, Durban, 28 November 2014.
- <sup>32</sup> Mangosuthu Buthelezi, interview with Tony Trew, Durban, 28 November 2014; NM to Irene Buthelezi, 3 August 1979, in NM, *Conversations with Myself*, pp. 170–2; NM to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, 3 February 1989, in NM, *Conversations with Myself*, p. 255.
- <sup>33</sup> Anthony Lewis, 'Mandela the Pol', *New York Times Magazine*, 23 March 1997.
- <sup>34</sup> NM, 'The Presidential Years', p. 36.
- <sup>35</sup> Mangosuthu Buthelezi, interview by Pdraig O'Malley, 3 October 1995, O'Malley Archive.
- <sup>36</sup> Statement by President Nelson Mandela on the NP's withdrawal from the Government of National Unity (GNU), 9 May 1996.
- <sup>37</sup> SAPA, 'Government Failed SA Says Winnie', *Citizen*, 6 February 1995.
- <sup>38</sup> Statement on Deputy Minister Winnie Mandela's apology, issued by the President's Office, 14 February 1995.
- <sup>39</sup> Statement by President Nelson Mandela on changes in the Ministry of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, 27 March 1995.
- <sup>40</sup> AP Archive, 'South Africa: Winnie Mandela Resigns From Government', story no. 6108, APTV, 17 April 1995.
- <sup>41</sup> Statement on the reinstatement of Mrs Winnie Mandela, issued by the acting president, 12 April 1995.
- <sup>42</sup> Statement by President Nelson Mandela on changes in the Ministry of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, 14 April 1995.
- <sup>43</sup> Bob Drogin, 'Winnie Mandela Quits Post, Criticizes Estranged Husband', *Los Angeles Times*, 18 April 1995.
- <sup>44</sup> *Sunday Telegraph*, 1 May 1994.
- <sup>45</sup> NM, 'The Presidential Years', pp. 23–4.
- <sup>46</sup> Khulu Sibiyi, 'Truly, Truly Unforgettable', *City Press*, 15 May 1994, in NM, 'The Presidential Years', p. 24.
- <sup>47</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>48</sup> Jerry Zremski, 'Mandela Inauguration, Spirit of Reconciliation Thrills Houghton', *Buffalo News*, 11 May 1994.
- <sup>49</sup> Marga Ley, 'Wit, Swart Neem Mekaar as Gesinslede aan' [White and Black Accept Each Other as Family], *Beeld*, 11 May 1994, in NM, 'The Presidential Years', p. 31.
- <sup>50</sup> Sarel van der Walt, 'Goeie SA "kan kom uit wittebroodstyd"' [Good South Africa "can emerge from the honeymoon period"], *Beeld*, 11 May 1994, in NM, 'The Presidential Years', p. 31.
- <sup>51</sup> Themba Khumalo, 'Madiba's World Coup: Leaders Flock to Pretoria', *City Press*, 15 May 1994, in NM, 'The Presidential Years', p. 31.
- <sup>52</sup> 'Sowetan Comment', *The Sowetan*, 11 May 1994.
- <sup>53</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>54</sup> Ken Owen, 'To Our Rainbow Nation Finally United in Peace', *Sunday Times*, 15 May 1994, in NM, 'The Presidential Years', p. 32.
- <sup>55</sup> NM, 'The Presidential Years', pp. 31–3.
- <sup>56</sup> NM, note, NMPP 2009/8, Box 7, file 11, p. 48, NMF, Johannesburg.
- <sup>57</sup> NM, notes for opening remarks at NEC meeting, box 4, folder 38, ANCLH, Johannesburg.
- <sup>58</sup> Yusuf Mohamed Dadoo, 'Why the South Africa United Front Failed: Disruptive Role of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania', March 1962, in *South Africa's Freedom Struggle: Statements, Speeches and Articles Including Correspondence with Mahatma Gandhi* (London: Kliptown Books, 1990).
- <sup>59</sup> NM, *Long Walk to Freedom*, p. 580.
- <sup>60</sup> Graça Machel, interview by Mandla Langa, Johannesburg, 22 September 2016.
- <sup>61</sup> NM, address at birthday celebration for veterans, Pretoria, 20 July 1996.
- <sup>62</sup> NM, address to veterans at banquet, State House, Pretoria, 23 July 1994.
- <sup>63</sup> Jay Naidoo, *Fighting for Justice: A Lifetime of Political and Social Activism* (Johannesburg: Picador Africa, 2010), p. 227.
- <sup>64</sup> Sydney Mufamadi, interview by Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 30 April 2015.
- <sup>65</sup> Jay Naidoo, interview by Pdraig O'Malley, 14 April 2003, O'Malley Archive.
- <sup>66</sup> NM, address to veterans at banquet, State House, Pretoria, 23 July 1994.
- <sup>67</sup> NM, statement in the National Assembly, Houses of Parliament, Cape Town, 28 March 1996.
- <sup>68</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>69</sup> Chris Liebenberg, interview by Tony Trew, Somerset West, 1 December 2015.
- <sup>70</sup> Alan Hirsch, *Season of Hope: Economic Reform Under Mandela and Mbeki* (Scottsville: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press jointly with Ottawa: International Development Research Centre, 2005), p. 93.
- <sup>71</sup> Trevor Manuel, interview by Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 10 September 2014.
- <sup>72</sup> Graça Machel, interview by Mandla Langa, 22 September 2016.
- <sup>73</sup> NM, reply to the NCOP debate on the President's Budget, Houses of Parliament, Cape Town, 29 August 1997, Hansard, cols. 1551–2.
- <sup>74</sup> Sue van der Merwe, interview by Tony Trew, Cape Town, 8 April 2015.
- <sup>75</sup> NM, notes prepared for a meeting of the NEC, 19 February 1996, NMPP 2009/8, box 7, file 11, African Bank 1995, pp. 1–7, NMF, Johannesburg.
- <sup>76</sup> NM, reply to the NCOP debate on the President's Budget, 7 August 1998, Debates of the National Council of Provinces, Hansard, 3 March to 12 November 1998, cols. 1807–15.
- <sup>77</sup> Trevor Manuel, interview by Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 10 September 2014.
- <sup>78</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>79</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>80</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>81</sup> Ahmed Kathrada in conversation with Joel Netshitenzhe and Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 2 December 2014.
- <sup>82</sup> Sydney Mufamadi, interview with Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 30 April 2015.
- <sup>83</sup> John Higgins, 'Living out our differences: Reflections on Mandela, Marx and My Country: An interview with Jakes Gerwel', *Thesis Eleven*, vol. 115, no.1, Sage Publications, 2013.
- <sup>84</sup> "'Unpredictable" Madiba Kept Bodyguards on Their Toes', *City Press*, 8 December 2013.
- <sup>85</sup> Toine Eggenhuizen, interview by Mandla Langa, Johannesburg, 10 February 2017.

## CHAPTER SIX: THE PRESIDENCY AND THE CONSTITUTION

- <sup>1</sup> NM, speech from the dock at the opening of the defence case, Rivonia Trial, Pretoria Supreme Court, Pretoria, 20 April 1964.
- <sup>2</sup> NM, 'The Presidential Years', p. 30.
- <sup>3</sup> Johann Kriegler, interview by Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 2 February 2016; NM interviewed by David Dumbleby, Oxford, 2002, NMF Tapes, NMF, Johannesburg.
- <sup>4</sup> NM, 'The Presidential Years', p. 29.
- <sup>5</sup> Frene Ginwala, interview by Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 12 September 2014.
- <sup>6</sup> AP Archive, 'South Africa: Constitutional Court Ruling on Election Boundaries', story no. 14965, 22 September 1995.
- <sup>7</sup> Statement by the President's Office on the Browde Commission into South African Rugby Union, 26 September 1997.
- <sup>8</sup> AP Archive, 'South Africa: Mandela Testifies in Court', 19 March 1998.
- <sup>9</sup> NM, 'The Presidential Years', pp. 29–30.
- <sup>10</sup> Statement by the Office of the President on the SARFU Case, 17 April 1998.
- <sup>11</sup> NM, opening address in the President's Budget Debate in the National Assembly, Houses of Parliament, Cape Town, 21 April 1998.
- <sup>12</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>13</sup> Andy Capostagno, 'Black President for Rugby', *Mail & Guardian*, 22 May 1988.
- <sup>14</sup> NM, Bram Fischer Memorial Lecture, 9 June 1995.
- <sup>15</sup> Kader Asmal and Adrian Hadland with Moira Levy, *Politics in my Blood*, pp. 108–9.
- <sup>16</sup> Ibid, pp. 110, 125.
- <sup>17</sup> George Bizos, *Odyssey to Freedom* (Houghton: Random House, 2007), p. 487.
- <sup>18</sup> Nicholas Haysom, 'Negotiating a Sustainable Political Settlement: Part 2 Legitimation – Lessons from the South African Transition' (paper presented at Toward Inclusive and Participatory Constitution Making, 3–5 August, 2004, Kathmandu (Nagarkot)), p.9; Hassen Ebrahim, *The Soul of a Nation: Constitution-making in South Africa* (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 134ff.
- <sup>19</sup> Valli Moosa, interview by Tony Trew, Cape Town, 8 September 2014.
- <sup>20</sup> Thabo Mbeki, interview by Joel Netshitenzhe and Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 17 December 2014.
- <sup>21</sup> Cyril Ramaphosa, interview by Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 6 October 2014.

- <sup>22</sup> George Bizos, *Odyssey to Freedom*, p. 508.
- <sup>23</sup> NM, notes for an address to the NEC, 23 February 1995, box 3, folder 29, ANCLH, Johannesburg.
- <sup>24</sup> NM, reply to the debate on the State of the Nation Address, 24 February 1995.
- <sup>25</sup> Hassen Ebrahim, *The Soul of a Nation*, p. 132; *Cape Times*, 29 April 1996; *Mail & Guardian*, 4 April 1996 and 10 May 1996.
- <sup>26</sup> NM, address to the Constitutional Assembly on the adoption of the new Constitution, Houses of Parliament, Cape Town, 8 May 1996, Hansard, cols. 452–62.
- <sup>27</sup> George Bizos, *Odyssey to Freedom*, p. 518.
- <sup>28</sup> Langston Hughes, 'Justice', *The Panther and the Lash* (New York: Knopf, 1967).
- <sup>29</sup> George Bizos, *Odyssey to Freedom*, p. 518.
- <sup>30</sup> Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996, chapter 8: Courts and the Administration of Justice, clause 174 (2).
- <sup>31</sup> George Bizos, *Odyssey to Freedom*, p. 519.
- <sup>32</sup> NM, speech at the inauguration of the Constitutional Court, 14 February 1995.
- <sup>33</sup> NM, speech at a state banquet in honour of Chief Justice Corbett, 11 December 1996.
- <sup>34</sup> NM, speech delivered on his behalf by the minister of justice at the Johannesburg Bar Council dinner in honour of Chief Justice Mohamed, 25 June 1997.
- <sup>35</sup> NM, 'The Presidential Years', p. 29.
- <sup>36</sup> NM, speech at a banquet of the General Council of the Bar of South Africa, 28 July 2000.
- <sup>37</sup> Albie Sachs, *We, the People: Insights of an Activist Judge* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2016), p. 303.
- CHAPTER SEVEN: PARLIAMENT**
- <sup>1</sup> Ingrid Jonker, 'The Child Who Was Shot Dead by Soldiers in Nyanga', *The Heinemann Book of African Women's Poetry*, edited by Stella and Frank Chipasula (London: Heinemann, 1995), p. 151, quoted by NM, during his State of the Nation Address, Houses of Parliament, Cape Town, 24 May 1994.
- <sup>2</sup> NM, State of the Nation Address, Houses of Parliament, Cape Town, 24 May 1994.
- <sup>3</sup> Frene Ginwala, interview by Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 12 September 2014.
- <sup>4</sup> Essop Pahad, interview by Joel Netshitenzhe and Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 11 September 2014.
- <sup>5</sup> NM, 'The Presidential Years', pp. 20–1.
- <sup>6</sup> NM, address on the occasion of the opening of the second session of the democratic Parliament, Houses of Parliament, Cape Town, 17 February 1995.
- <sup>7</sup> Statement by President Nelson Mandela on portraits and works of art in Parliament, 30 January 1996.
- <sup>8</sup> Graça Machel, interview by Mandla Langa, Johannesburg, 22 September 2016.
- <sup>9</sup> Frene Ginwala, interview by Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 12 September 2014.
- <sup>10</sup> Max Sisulu, interview by Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 15 April 2015.
- <sup>11</sup> Frene Ginwala, interview by Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 12 September 2014.
- <sup>12</sup> Ibid; Max Sisulu, interview by Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 15 April 2015.
- <sup>13</sup> Max Sisulu, interview by Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 15 April 2015; Ben Turok, interview by Tony Trew, Cape Town, 17 March 2015; Sue van der Merwe, interview by Tony Trew, Cape Town, 8 April 2015.
- <sup>14</sup> NEC Minutes, 24 April 1995, box 5, folder 23, ANCLH, Johannesburg.
- <sup>15</sup> Mangosuthu Buthelezi, interview by Padraig O'Malley, 27 November 1996, O'Malley Archive.
- <sup>16</sup> NM, notes for a meeting with the ANC Caucus, NMPP 2009/8, box 3, notebook 12, pp. 20–1, NMF, Johannesburg.
- <sup>17</sup> NM, personal note, NMPP, box 4, file 2, 011–12, NMF, Johannesburg.
- <sup>18</sup> NM, notes for a meeting with caucus, 18 August 1996, NMPP 2009/8, box 4, file 2, pp. 1–2, NMF, Johannesburg.
- <sup>19</sup> Richard Calland, *Anatomy of South Africa: Who Holds the Power?* (Cape Town, Zebra Press, 2006), p. 89.
- <sup>20</sup> Andries Nel, interview by Tony Trew, Cape Town, 28 March 2015; SAPA, 'Decision on Afrikaans in Army Slated', *Star*, 1 February 1996.
- <sup>21</sup> Sophocles, *Fragments*, edited and translated by Hugh Lloyd Jones (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996), p. 37.
- <sup>22</sup> André Brink, 'Mandela a Tiger for Our Time,' *The Guardian*, 22 May 1999.
- <sup>23</sup> 'The Day the Truth Hit Home', *Sunday Times* Heritage Project.
- <sup>24</sup> George Bizos, interview by Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 30 April 2015.
- <sup>25</sup> NM, reply to the Senate Debate on the President's Budget, 1 June 1995, Hansard, col. 1341.
- <sup>26</sup> Sydney Mufamadi, interview by Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 30 April 2015.
- <sup>27</sup> NM, notes for a meeting with ANC officials after his remarks on Shell House in the Senate, NMPP 2009/8, box 4, folder 1, NMF, Johannesburg.
- <sup>28</sup> NM, opening the National Assembly snap debate on events surrounding the shooting at Shell House, Houses of Parliament, Cape Town, 7 June 1995.
- <sup>29</sup> NM, closing address to the National Assembly in the snap debate on the Shell House incident, Houses of Parliament, Cape Town, 7 June 1995.
- <sup>30</sup> NM, speech at the final sitting of the first democratically elected parliament, Houses of Parliament, Cape Town, 26 March 1999.
- <sup>31</sup> Joseph Chiole, Second Reading Debate on the Commission on the Remuneration of Representatives Bill, 14 November 1994, Hansard, cols. 4256 and 4259.
- <sup>32</sup> NM, speech at the final sitting of the first democratically elected parliament, Houses of Parliament, Cape Town, 26 March 1999.
- CHAPTER EIGHT: TRADITIONAL LEADERSHIP AND DEMOCRACY**
- <sup>1</sup> Pixley ka Isaka Seme, speech at the founding conference of the ANC, Bloemfontein, 8 January 1912.
- <sup>2</sup> NM, 'Clear the Obstacles and Confront the Enemy', *Reflections in Prison*, p. 12.
- <sup>3</sup> Christopher S. Wren, 'Foes of Apartheid Hold Unity Talks', *New York Times*, 10 December 1989.
- <sup>4</sup> NM, note to Walter Sisulu, NMPP 2009/8, box 5, file 5, NMF, Johannesburg.
- <sup>5</sup> NM, Participation of Traditional Leaders at CODESA, statement issued by the ANC, 17 December 1991.
- <sup>6</sup> NM, address to the youth, KaNyamazane Stadium, Mpumalanga, 13 April 1994
- <sup>7</sup> NM, 'The Presidential Years', pp. 34–8.
- <sup>8</sup> Allister Sparks, *Beyond the Miracle: Inside the New South Africa* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2003), p. 18.
- <sup>9</sup> Local Elections Task Group, *Local Government Elections in South Africa 1995/1996* (Pretoria: ABC Press, 1997).
- <sup>10</sup> Valli Moosa, interview by Tony Trew, Cape Town, 8 September 2014.
- <sup>11</sup> NM, 'The Presidential Years', pp. 38–9.
- <sup>12</sup> NM, address to rally in Durban, 25 February 1990.
- <sup>13</sup> South African Institute of Race Relations, *Fast Facts*, March 1997.
- <sup>14</sup> See the evidence to the TRC by Daluxolo Luthuli, a former member of MK who became a commander of Inkatha hit squads in KwaZulu-Natal after being trained by apartheid security forces, in *TRC Final Report*, vol. 6, section 3, chapter 3, p. 351, presented to President Nelson Mandela, 29 October 1998: Thula Bophela and Daluxolo Luthuli, *Umkhonto weSizwe: Fighting for a Divided People* (Johannesburg: Galago, 2005); see also Eugene de Kock's submission to the TRC, Amnesty Hearings, Port Elizabeth, 29 September–3 October 1997; and *TRC Final Report*, vol. 6, section 4, appendix, p. 583, presented to President Nelson Mandela, 29 October 1998.
- <sup>15</sup> Sydney Mufamadi, interview by Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 29 May 2015.
- <sup>16</sup> NM, 'The Presidential Years', pp. 36–7.
- <sup>17</sup> NM, address to rally in Durban, 25 February 1990.
- <sup>18</sup> NM, in conversation with Richard Stengel, Johannesburg, c. 26 April and 3 May 1993, CD 61, NMF, Johannesburg.
- <sup>19</sup> John Nkadameng, Radio Freedom broadcast from Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 18 November 1986.
- <sup>20</sup> Mzala, *Gatsha Buthelezi: Chief with A Double Agenda* (London: Zed Press, 1988), p. 64.
- <sup>21</sup> NM, in conversation with Richard Stengel, Johannesburg, c. 26 April and 3 May 1993, CD 61, NMF, Johannesburg.
- <sup>22</sup> NM, address at the launch of the South African Democratic Teachers Union, 6 October 1990, Shareworld, Shaft 17, Johannesburg.
- <sup>23</sup> NM, notes for an address to the NEC meeting, 21 January 1995, NMPP 2009/8, box 4, file 2, pp. 174–5, NMF, Johannesburg.
- <sup>24</sup> NM, *Long Walk to Freedom*, p. 689.
- <sup>25</sup> Walter Sisulu, interviewed on the sidelines of an Albertina Sisulu Foundation function, NMF Tapes, BBC TV Collection, M18A, NMF, Johannesburg.
- <sup>26</sup> 'Under Fire in an Inkatha Stronghold', *Mail & Guardian*, 5 May 1995.
- <sup>27</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>28</sup> NM, closing address in the National Assembly Debate on the President's Budget, Houses of Parliament, Cape Town, 3 May 1995, Hansard, cols. 818–20.
- <sup>29</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>30</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>31</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>32</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>33</sup> NM, Senate debate on the President's Budget, Houses of Parliament, Cape Town, 1 June 1995, Hansard, cols. 1139–42.

- <sup>34</sup> 7 June 1995, NMPP 2009/8, box 5, folder 4; ‘Can 1000 Troops Stop the Carnage?’, *Mail & Guardian*, 25 August 1995.
- <sup>35</sup> Sydney Mufamadi, interview by Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 29 May 2015.
- <sup>36</sup> NM, Two and a half years of democratic government: prepared by President Nelson Mandela for the NEC, November 1996, box 6, folder 58, ANCLH, Johannesburg.
- CHAPTER NINE: TRANSFORMATION OF THE STATE**
- <sup>1</sup> One example of NM saying he had been on ‘a long holiday for twenty-seven years’ was when he revisited the site of his 5 August 1962 arrest in Howick on 15 November 1993.
- <sup>2</sup> Howard Fast, *Spartacus* (self-published, 1951); Leo Tolstoy, *War and Peace* (1869); Dee Brown, *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee: An Indian History of the American West* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1970); Edgar Snow, *Red Star Over China* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1937).
- <sup>3</sup> Luis Taruc, *Born of the People* (New York: International Publishers, 1953).
- <sup>4</sup> Allister Sparks, *Beyond the Miracle*, p. 18.
- <sup>5</sup> NM interviewed by the BBC, October 1993, NMF Tapes, BBC M8, NMF, Johannesburg.
- <sup>6</sup> Zola Skweyiya, interviewed by Pdraig O’Malley, 30 November 1995, O’Malley Archive.
- <sup>7</sup> NM, note regarding an interview with Nomavenda Mathiane, NMPP 2009/8, box 7, file 11, p. 39, NMF, Johannesburg.
- <sup>8</sup> Transitional Executive Council Act, 1993; Barry Gilder, *Songs and Secrets: South Africa from Liberation to Governance* (New York, NY: Colombia University Press, 2012), pp. 156–7; Sydney Mufamadi, interview with Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 30 April 2015; Barry Gilder, interview by Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 24 November 2015; Sipihiwe Nyanda, interview by Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 5 November 2015.
- <sup>9</sup> Graça Machel, interview by Mandla Langa, Johannesburg, 22 September 2016.
- <sup>10</sup> NM, notes edited for a speech prior to a meeting with SAPS generals, NMPP 2009/8, box 3, notebook 12, pp. 25–30, NMF, Johannesburg.
- <sup>11</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>12</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>13</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>14</sup> Sydney Mufamadi, interview by Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 30 April 2015.
- <sup>15</sup> NM, notes for a meeting with SAPS officers, 30 November 1996, NMPP/8, box 7, file 11, African Bank 1995, pp. 89–93, NMF, Johannesburg.
- <sup>16</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>17</sup> NM, ‘The Presidential Years’, p. 40.
- <sup>18</sup> Stephane Botha, ‘Commissioner of Police to Retire’, *Business Day*, 11 January 1995; Sydney Mufamadi, interview by Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 30 April 2015.
- <sup>19</sup> NM, ‘The Presidential Years’, pp. 40–2.
- <sup>20</sup> Research staff, South African Institute of Race Relations, *Race Relations Survey 1993/1994*, South African Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg, 1994, in NM, ‘The Presidential Years’, p. 42.
- <sup>21</sup> NM, ‘The Presidential Years’, pp. 40–3.
- <sup>22</sup> NM, ‘The Presidential Years’, p. 45.
- <sup>23</sup> Ian van der Waag, *A Military History of Modern South Africa* (Johannesburg and Cape Town: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 2015), p. 287; Princeton Lyman, *Partner to History*, p. 163.
- <sup>24</sup> Sipihiwe Nyanda, interview by Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 25 November 2015.
- <sup>25</sup> Greg Mills, ‘The South African National Defence Force: Between Downsizing and New Capabilities’, *Naval War College Review*, vol. 52, no. 1, winter 1999, pp. 79–98.
- <sup>26</sup> Sipihiwe Nyanda, interview by Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 25 November 2015.
- <sup>27</sup> AP Archive, 11 September 1994; Beeld archive, 10 September to 4 November 1994.
- <sup>28</sup> NM, NMPP 2009/8, box 3, notebook 12, NMF, Johannesburg.
- <sup>29</sup> NM, NMPP 2009/8, box 3, notebook 12, NMF, Johannesburg; AP Archive, 11 September 1994; Beeld Archive, 10 September to 4 November 1994.
- <sup>30</sup> Telex to Parks Mankahlana, Office of the President, from Amrit Manga of the *New Nation* containing his transcript of an interview with President Mandela, Speeches: Youth Day 1996, President Mandela Communication, NASA, Pretoria.
- <sup>31</sup> NM, note for a meeting of the NEC, 8–9 December 1995, NMPP 2009/8, box 4, file 1, pp. 159ff, NMF, Johannesburg.
- <sup>32</sup> Sipihiwe Nyanda, interview by Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 25 November 2015.
- <sup>33</sup> Gert van der Westhuizen, ‘Mandela kap voorstel teen Afrikaans’, [Mandela refuses proposal against Afrikaans] *Beeld*, 1 February 1996.
- <sup>34</sup> *Defence in a Democracy: White Paper on National Defence for the Republic of South Africa*, May 1996, section 51.
- <sup>35</sup> Louise Flanagan and Chandre Gould, ‘What Modise Didn’t Know About DCC’, *Weekly Mail*, 17 June 1994.
- <sup>36</sup> NM, opening address in the President’s Budget Debate in the National Assembly, Cape Town, 21 April 1998.
- <sup>37</sup> ‘Mandela Speaks to the Nation’, *The Sowetan*, 11 November 1996.
- <sup>38</sup> AP Archive, ‘South Africa: President Mandela Praises Outgoing Military Chief’, story no. 76476, 7 April 1998.
- <sup>39</sup> Trevor Manuel, interview by Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 10 September 2014.
- <sup>40</sup> Thabo Mbeki, interview by Joel Netshitenzhe and Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 17 December 2014.
- <sup>41</sup> NM, State of the Nation Address, Houses of Parliament, Cape Town, 9 February 1996.
- <sup>42</sup> Defence Review Committee, *South African Defence Review 1998* (Pretoria: Department of Defence, 1998); Public protector, auditor general and national director of public prosecutions, *Report to Parliament on the Joint Investigation into the Strategic Defence Procurement Packages Undertaken by the Public Protector, Auditor-General and National Director of Public Prosecutions*, 13 November 2001.
- <sup>43</sup> South African Department of Defence, *Department of Defence Annual Report 2001/2002* (Pretoria: Department of Defence, 2002), p. 62.
- <sup>44</sup> Yvonne Muthien, ‘Democratic Consolidation in South Africa, 1994–1999’, *Democracy South Africa: Evaluating the 1999 Election* (Pretoria: HSRC Publishers, 1999).
- <sup>45</sup> Charles Baudelaire, ‘The Generous Gambler’, *Figaro*, 1864.
- <sup>46</sup> NM, the text at the beginning of the note reads: ‘The President and two Deputy-Presidents, the Ministers of Defence and of Safety and Security, Generals Georg Meiring and Van der Merwe should be briefed by the National Intelligence Service at the earliest possible convenience on the following issues.’ NMPP 2009/8, NMF, Johannesburg.
- <sup>47</sup> Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996, chapter 11: Security Services, clause 198 (a).
- <sup>48</sup> Sandy Africa, ‘The Policy Evolution of the South African Civilian Intelligence Services: 1994–2009 and Beyond’, *Strategic Review for Southern Africa*, vol. 34, no. 1, May 2012, p. 103.
- <sup>49</sup> Barry Gilder, interview by Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 24 November 2015.
- <sup>50</sup> A former staff member of Jakes Gerwel’s office, in conversation with Tony Trew, Cape Town, 8 August 2015.
- <sup>51</sup> Barry Gilder, *Songs and Secrets*, p. 177.
- <sup>52</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>53</sup> Sipihiwe Nyanda, interview by Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 25 November 2015.
- <sup>54</sup> Lansana Gberie, ‘Mandela’s Struggles for Peace and Justice in Africa’, *Africa Renewal Online*, December 2013.
- <sup>55</sup> Barry Gilder, interview by Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 24 November 2015.
- <sup>56</sup> NM, speech at the official opening of Intelligence headquarters, 5 December 1997.
- <sup>57</sup> Zola Skweyiya, interviewed by Pdraig O’Malley, 30 November 1995, O’Malley Archive.
- <sup>58</sup> Niël Barnard, interview by Tony Trew, Overberg, 17 November 2015.
- <sup>59</sup> Jessie Duarte, interview by Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 15 July 2014.
- <sup>60</sup> Allister Sparks, *Beyond the Miracle*, p. 37.
- <sup>61</sup> Zola Skweyiya, O’Malley interview, 30 November 1995.
- <sup>62</sup> National Planning Commission, *Institutions and Governance Diagnostic* (Pretoria: National Planning Commission, 2015), p. 11; and Geraldine Fraser-Molekei, telephone interview by Tony True, 29 July 2016.
- <sup>63</sup> Public Service Commission, *State of Representivity in the Public Service – Findings*; Department of Public Service and Administration, *A Strategic Framework for Gender Equality Within the Public Service (2006–2015): Consultation Document* (Pretoria: Department of Public Service and Administration, 24 November 2006).
- <sup>64</sup> NM to Thabo Mbeki, 6 June 1994, DP Pres Mbeki, box 002, folder 11/1/1 – President, closed, NASA, Pretoria.
- <sup>65</sup> Zola Skweyiya, O’Malley interview, 30 November 1995.
- <sup>66</sup> National Planning Commission, *Institutions and Governance Diagnostic*, pp. 22–3.
- <sup>67</sup> NM, State of the Nation Address, Houses of Parliament, Cape Town, 24 May 1994; NM, debate on the President’s Budget (‘100 Days Speech’), Houses of Parliament, Cape Town, South Africa, 18 August 1994.
- <sup>68</sup> NM, State of the Nation Address, Houses of Parliament, Cape Town, 17 February 1995.
- <sup>69</sup> NM, State of the Nation Address, Houses of Parliament, Cape Town, 9 February 1996.

- <sup>70</sup> Marion Edmunds, 'Skills Crisis Knocks Public Service', *Mail & Guardian*, 15 August 1997.
- <sup>71</sup> NM, opening address to the third session of Parliament, Houses of Parliament, Cape Town, 9 February 1996.
- CHAPTER TEN: RECONCILIATION**
- <sup>1</sup> NMF tapes, BBC Collection M2, NMF, Johannesburg.
- <sup>2</sup> James Baldwin, *No Name in the Street*, p. 130.
- <sup>3</sup> Indres Naidoo, *Island in Chains: Ten Years on Robben Island* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Group, 1982).
- <sup>4</sup> Michael Dingake, 'Comrade Madiba', *Nelson Mandela: The Struggle is My Life* (London: International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, 1978), p. 223.
- <sup>5</sup> Mac Maharaj, 'Profile', *Reflections in Prison*, p. 5.
- <sup>6</sup> Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma describes how 'After the rendition by the ANC choir with Tambo conducting, there was a tumultuous standing ovation with Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda insisting on an encore', in *ANC Today*, vol. 6, no. 43, 3 November 2006.
- <sup>7</sup> 'Mandela: The Man, the Image, the Brand', *City Press*, 18 July 2012.
- <sup>8</sup> 'What Mandela's Critics Could Learn From Him', by Obadiah Ndaba, *Huffington Post*, December 2013.
- <sup>9</sup> George Bizos, *Odyssey to Freedom*, p. 278.
- <sup>10</sup> NM, *Long Walk to Freedom*, p. 441.
- <sup>11</sup> NM, meeting with the Afrikaner community in Pretoria, 15 April 1999.
- <sup>12</sup> The Freedom Charter, adopted at the Congress of the People, Kliptown, Johannesburg, 25–6 June 1955.
- <sup>13</sup> Zanele Mbeki in conversation with Mandla Langa, c. 1996.
- <sup>14</sup> NM, interview by Oprah Winfrey, *The Oprah Winfrey Show*, Harpo Productions, 2000.
- <sup>15</sup> NM, address on the Senate President's Budget debate, Houses of Parliament, Cape Town, 1 June 1995.
- <sup>16</sup> NM, closing address in the Senate Debate on the President's Budget, 1 June 1995, Hansard, col. 1279.
- <sup>17</sup> AP Archive, 'South Africa: President Mandela Issues Stern Warning to Leaders', story no. 23868, 8 March 1996.
- <sup>18</sup> Alex Marshall, *Republic or Death! Travels in Search of National Anthems* (London: Windmill Books, 2015), pp. 259–60.
- <sup>19</sup> Minutes of extended NWC, 7 September 1995, ANCLHM, box 14, folder 111, NMF, Johannesburg.
- <sup>20</sup> NM, address to a rally in Cape Town on his release from prison, Cape Town City Hall, Cape Town, 11 February 1990.
- <sup>21</sup> Saths Cooper, 'The Mandela I Knew: Prof. Saths Cooper', Tributes for Madiba, Nelson Mandela Foundation, 12 September 2013.
- <sup>22</sup> NM, Reply in Senate Debate on the President's Budget, 14 September 1994, Houses of Parliament, Cape Town.
- <sup>23</sup> NM, *Toespraak van president by geleentheid van 'n onthaal deur die Burgemeester van Pretoria* [Speech by the president at the occasion of a reception by the mayor of Pretoria], 26 August 1994.
- <sup>24</sup> Gert van der Westhuizen, 'Mandela praat met Afrikaners "Om kommunikasie oop te hou"' [Mandela talks to Afrikaners to 'keep communications open'], *Beeld*, 29 June 1995; Kevin O'Grady, 'Volk Meet Mandela', *Business Day*, 29 June 1995.
- <sup>25</sup> NM, *Tydens 'n besoek aan die Afrikaanse Taal en Kultuur Vereniging (ATKV)* [During a visit to the Afrikaans Language and Cultural Union], 17 August 1995; *Beeld*, 18 August 1995.
- <sup>26</sup> NM, *Tydens 'n besoek aan die Ruiterswag-Saamtrek vir jong Afrikaner-Leiers* [During a visit to the Ruiterswag rally for young Afrikaner leaders], 13 January 1996; Willem Pretorius, 'Kies SA óf Afrikaner-Nelson', *Beeld*, 15 January 1996.
- <sup>27</sup> NM, opening remarks at a meeting with Afrikaner organisations, 29 March 1996.
- <sup>28</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>29</sup> Constand Viljoen, interview by Tony Trew, Pretoria, 19 September 2015.
- <sup>30</sup> Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996, chapter 14, schedule 6: Transitional Arrangements, section 20, clause 5.
- <sup>31</sup> Peet Kruger, 'Geheime gesprek lei tot deurbraak Onderhandelinge oor nuwe grondwet op koers' [Secret talks lead to a breakthrough. Negotiations about new constitution on course], *Beeld*, 20 April 1996; Peet Kruger, 'NP en VF se pogings het saam tot toeweging oor kultuurkommissie gelei' [NP and VF's attempts have led to concessions over culture commission], 24 April 1996.
- <sup>32</sup> Thabo Mbeki, discussions with Afrikaner community, National Assembly, Houses of Parliament, Cape Town, 24 March 1999.
- <sup>33</sup> NM, 'Clear the Obstacles and Confront the Enemy', *Reflections in Prison*, p. 17.
- <sup>34</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>35</sup> Mandla Langa in conversation with Antjie Krog during the writers' conference Cité de Livre, Aix-en-Provence, 1997.
- <sup>36</sup> *SA Times*, London, 19 July 1995.
- <sup>37</sup> Constand Viljoen, interview by Tony Trew, Pretoria, 19 September 2015.
- <sup>38</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>39</sup> SAPA, 13 December 1996.
- <sup>40</sup> Niël Barnard, interview by Tony Trew, Overberg, 17 November 2015.
- <sup>41</sup> NM, televised interview on *Face the Media*, 14 December 1997, SABC, tape 66676MT, SABC Archive, SABC Information Library, Johannesburg.
- <sup>42</sup> Niël Barnard, interview by Tony Trew, Overberg, 17 November 2015.
- <sup>43</sup> *TRC Final Report*, volume 2, chapter 1, preface, presented to President Nelson Mandela, 29 October 1998.
- <sup>44</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>45</sup> NM, opening address in the Special Debate on the Report of the TRC, Houses of Parliament, Cape Town, 25 February 1999.
- <sup>46</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>47</sup> Human Sciences Research Council, *Public Opinion on National Priority Issues* (Pretoria, May 1999), p. 55.
- <sup>48</sup> NM, opening address in the President's Budget Debate in the National Assembly, Houses of Parliament, Cape Town, 15 April 1997.
- CHAPTER ELEVEN: SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION**
- <sup>1</sup> The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), 'Building the Economy', clause 4.1.1, 1994.
- <sup>2</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>3</sup> Layashi Yaker, *Preliminary Assessment on the Performance of the African Economy in 1994 and Prospects for 1995 – End of Year Statement*, presented to the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, Addis Ababa, 15 December 1994.
- <sup>4</sup> Cabinet minutes, 11 May 1994.
- <sup>5</sup> ANC National Conference, *Ready to Govern: ANC Policy Guidelines for a Democratic South Africa Adopted at the National Conference, 28–31 May, 1992* (Johannesburg: Policy Unit of the ANC, 1992).
- <sup>6</sup> NM, address at the seventy-fifth anniversary of the South African Communist Party, 28 July 1996, SABC, SABC Archive, SABC Information Library, Johannesburg.
- <sup>7</sup> ANC National Working Committee discussion document: TEC Sub-council on Finance, 27 April 1993, box 14, 112, ANCLH, Johannesburg.
- <sup>8</sup> William Smith, interview by Tony Trew, Pretoria, 11 July 2014.
- <sup>9</sup> NM, address at the National Assembly, Cape Town, 28 March 1996.
- <sup>10</sup> NM, State of the Nation Address, Houses of Parliament, Cape Town, 24 May 1994.
- <sup>11</sup> NM, 'The Presidential Years', p. 52.
- <sup>12</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>13</sup> *Native Life in South Africa Before and Since the European War and the Boer Rebellion* (1916) (Johannesburg: Raven's Press, 1982), p. 21.
- <sup>14</sup> NM, 'The Presidential Years', p. 52.
- <sup>15</sup> NM, preamble to the *White Paper on Reconstruction and Development, Government Gazette*, notice no. 1954 of 1994, 23 November 1994.
- <sup>16</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>17</sup> NM, address to Parliament, Houses of Parliament, Cape Town, May 1994.
- <sup>18</sup> Trevor Manuel, 'Twenty Years of Economic Policymaking – Putting People First', *The Oxford Companion to the Economics of South Africa*, edited by Haroon Borhat, Alan Hirsch, Ravi Kanbur and Mthuli Ncube (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 29; Alan Hirsch, *Season of Hope*, p. 69.
- <sup>19</sup> NM, interview by the BBC, NMF tapes, Iqbal Meer Collection, #1, NMF, Johannesburg.
- <sup>20</sup> Cabinet minutes, 26 October 1994, Transforming the Public Sector: The GNU's Contribution to the RDP, minute 7.4.2, item 1.3
- <sup>21</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>22</sup> NM, preamble to the *White Paper on Reconstruction and Development, Government Gazette*, notice no. 1954 of 1994, 23 November 1994.
- <sup>23</sup> Patti Waldmeir, *Anatomy of a Miracle: The End of Apartheid and the Birth of the New South Africa* (New York and London: W. W. Norton and Company, 1997), p. 213.
- <sup>24</sup> NM, election campaign, Lenasia, 19 April 1999, tape 66772MT, SABC, SABC Archive, SABC Information Library, Johannesburg.
- <sup>25</sup> Cabinet minutes, 26 October 1994, Transforming the Public Sector: The GNU's Contribution to the RDP, minute 7.4.2.
- <sup>26</sup> Christo Volschenk, 'Nuwe komitee kom vandeeweek byeën oor mandate vir groeiplan'

- [New committee will meet over the mandate on growth], *Beeld*, 3 August 1995.
- <sup>27</sup> Cabinet minutes, 6 December 1995, Towards a National Growth and Development Strategy, 7.1.
- <sup>28</sup> Sagie Narsiah, 'Neoliberalism and Privatisation in South Africa', *GeoJournal*, vol. 57, no. 1, May 2002, p. 3.
- <sup>29</sup> ANC, Fiftieth National Conference: Resolutions, Economic Transformation, Mafikeng, December 16–20 1997, clause 3.2.2.
- <sup>30</sup> NM, *Southern Africa Into the Next Century*, Sixteenth Singapore Lecture, 6 March 1997, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore, 1997.
- <sup>31</sup> NM, 'The Presidential Years', pp. 47–9.
- <sup>32</sup> Richard Calland (editor), *The First Five Years: A Review of South Africa's Democratic Parliament* (Cape Town: IDASA, 1999).
- <sup>33</sup> NM, 'The Presidential Years', pp. 52–3.
- <sup>34</sup> NM, 'The Presidential Years', pp. 50–1.
- <sup>35</sup> *South Africa in Transition, Findings Regarding Households*, figure 6.1: 'Changes in type of housing in which households live between October 1995 and October 1999' (Pretoria: Statistics South Africa, 2001).
- <sup>36</sup> Jessie Duarte, interview by Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 15 July 2014.
- <sup>37</sup> Mandla Langa in conversation with Stephen Laufer, Johannesburg, 16 July 2016.
- <sup>38</sup> John Carlin, 'ANC Boards the Gravy Train: John Carlin in Johannesburg on the Underdogs Who Have Become Fat Cats in a Few Months', *Independent*, 27 August 1994.
- <sup>39</sup> NM, address on the anniversary of the Soweto Uprising, 16 June 1994.
- <sup>40</sup> NM, speech at the official opening of The Mandela Rhodes Foundation's offices, Oxford, 13 April 2000, NMF Tapes, Iqbal Meer Collection, Oxford 1 and 2, NMF, Johannesburg.
- <sup>41</sup> NM, address at AIDS conference, Barcelona, 12 July 2002, NMF Tapes, Iqbal Meer Collection #8, NMF, Johannesburg.
- <sup>42</sup> NM, briefing editors, 9 May 1999, NMF Tapes, BBC collection, NMF, Johannesburg.
- <sup>43</sup> President Mbeki used the phrase in a funeral oration for the late Alfred Nzo, 22 January 2000.
- <sup>44</sup> NM, State of the Nation Address, National Assembly, Houses of Parliament, Cape Town, 5 February 1999.
- <sup>45</sup> Anne Kriegler and Mark Shaw, 'Facts Show South Africa Has Not Become More Violent Since Democracy', *The Conversation*, 22 July 2016.
- <sup>46</sup> Francois Lötter, '“Wit koerante” ignore misdaadstatistieke – president' [“White newspapers” ignoring the crime statistics – president], *Beeld*, 14 September 1998.
- <sup>47</sup> NM, 'The Presidential Years', p. 62.
- <sup>48</sup> NM, opening the Morals Summit called by the National Religious Leaders Forum, 23 October 1998.
- <sup>49</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>50</sup> Allister Sparks, *Beyond the Miracle*, p. 16.
- <sup>51</sup> NM, addressing the fifth national congress of COSATU, 7 September 1994, SABC, SABC Archive, SABC Information Library, Johannesburg.
- <sup>52</sup> NM, State of the Nation Address, National Assembly, Cape Town, 5 February 1999.
- <sup>53</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>54</sup> NM, speech at the final sitting of the first democratically elected parliament, Houses of Parliament, Cape Town, 26 March 1999.

#### CHAPTER TWELVE: NEGOTIATING THE MEDIA

- <sup>1</sup> Cameron J, *Holomisa v. Argus Newspapers Ltd.* 1996 (2) S.A. 588 (W).
- <sup>2</sup> NM, NMPP 2009/8, box 1, notebook 5, p. 17, NMF, Johannesburg.
- <sup>3</sup> Thami Mazwai, interview by Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 7 October 2015.
- <sup>4</sup> André Odendaal, *The Founders: The Origins of the African National Congress and the Struggle for Democracy* (Johannesburg: Jacana Media, 2012), p. 147.
- <sup>5</sup> NM, *Long Walk to Freedom*, p. 208.
- <sup>6</sup> Ibid, p. 316.
- <sup>7</sup> Anthony Sampson, *Mandela: The Authorised Biography* (London: HarperCollins, 1999), p. 147.
- <sup>8</sup> NM, *Long Walk to Freedom*, p. 492 and p. 502.
- <sup>9</sup> NM, briefing editors and opinion makers, Pretoria, 10 May 1999, NMF Tapes, BBC, NMF, Johannesburg.
- <sup>10</sup> NM, address to the International Press Institute Congress, Cape Town, 14 February 1994.
- <sup>11</sup> Rehana Rossouw, 'Everyone Wants a Piece of the President', *Mail & Guardian*, 15 March 1996.
- <sup>12</sup> NM, notes for a meeting with editors of KwaZulu-Natal newspapers, Cape Town, 2 March 1995, South Africa National Archive, Nelson Mandela Communication/Speeches: March, April, May 1995, NASA,

- Pretoria; Wyndham Hartley, '“Crackdown” is No Idle Threat', *Natal Witness*, 3 March 1995.
- <sup>13</sup> Pamela Dube, 'It Takes Two to Tango and Government is Learning the Communication Steps', *Sunday Independent*, 8 July 2001.
- <sup>14</sup> Thami Mazwai, interview by Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 7 October 2015.
- <sup>15</sup> NM, note on an off-the-record conversation with the editor of *Die Burger*, NMPP 2009/8, box 4, folder 1, pp. 1–2, NMF, Johannesburg.
- <sup>16</sup> Mandla Langa in conversation with Khulu Sibiyi, June 2017.
- <sup>17</sup> Jakes Gerwel, 'The Day Mandela Was in Hustler', *Rapport*, 9 June 2012.
- <sup>18</sup> NM, speech at the launch of the Canadian Friends of the Nelson Mandela Children's Fund, SkyDome, Toronto, 25 September 1998.
- <sup>19</sup> NM, address to the International Press Institute Congress, Cape Town, 14 February 1994.
- <sup>20</sup> Khaba Mkhize, 'Breakfast with Nelson Mandela', *Natal Witness*, 19 August 1994; Ray Hartley, 'ANC BroadSides Against Press', *Sunday Times*, 4 September 1994; Thami Mazwai, interview by Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 7 October 2015.
- <sup>21</sup> The television interview is referenced in 'Some Black Newsmen Rapped for Secret Agenda', *Business Day*, 3 November 1996.
- <sup>22</sup> Guy Berger, 'Media and Racism in Mandela's Rainbow Nation', Prime Time for Tolerance: Journalism and the Challenge of Racism: International Federation of Journalists World Conference, Bilbao, Spain, 2–4 May 1997.
- <sup>23</sup> NM television interview, 11 November 1996, SABC, SABC Archive, SABC Information Library, Johannesburg; 'Some Black Newsmen Rapped for Secret Agenda', *Business Day*, 3 November 1996; 'Mandela Slams Some Black Journalists', *Citizen*, 13 November 1996.
- <sup>24</sup> NM, note, NMPP 2009/8, box 4, file 1, 128–9.
- <sup>25</sup> NM, speech to the Fiftieth National Conference of the ANC, Mafikeng, 16 December 1997.
- <sup>26</sup> NM, note, NMPP 2009/8, box 4, p. 4, NMF, Johannesburg.
- <sup>27</sup> NM, note on response to the political report to the Fiftieth ANC Congress, December 1997, NMPP 2009/8, box 4, folder 1, pp. 1–2, NMF, Johannesburg.
- <sup>28</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>29</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>30</sup> NM, address to the closing session of the Fiftieth National Conference of the ANC, 20 December 1997, Mafikeng.
- <sup>31</sup> *The Sowetan*, 20 November 1996; *Financial Mail*, 22 November 1996.
- <sup>32</sup> NM, 'The Presidential Years', p. 33.

#### CHAPTER THIRTEEN: ON THE AFRICAN AND WORLD STAGES

- <sup>1</sup> Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (Washington, DC, 1852); Booker T. Washington, *Up from Slavery: An Autobiography* (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1901).
- <sup>2</sup> OAU Assembly of Heads of State and Government, Declaration on the Political and Socio-economic Situation in Africa and the Fundamental Changes Taking Place in the World, 9–11 July 1990, Addis Ababa.
- <sup>3</sup> OAU, Assembly of Heads of State and Government, Declaration on the Establishment Within the OAU of a Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution, 28–30 June 1993.
- <sup>4</sup> NM, statement at the OAU meeting of heads of state and government, Tunis, 13 June 1994.
- <sup>5</sup> Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma, interview by Tony Trew, Durban, 26 February 2016.
- <sup>6</sup> NM, statement as chairperson of SADC at the official opening of the summit of SADC heads of state and government, Blantyre, 8 September 1997.
- <sup>7</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>8</sup> SADC Heads of State and Government, Summit, Gaborone, 28 June 1996.
- <sup>9</sup> NM, SADC Organ, 7 September 1997, NMPP notes, box 5, file 3, 074–86, NMF, Johannesburg.
- <sup>10</sup> NM, notes on SADC summit in Maputo, 2 March 1998, NMPP notes, box 4, file 2, 055–60, NMF, Johannesburg.
- <sup>11</sup> Quett Ketumile Joni Masire, *Very Brave or Very Foolish?: Memoirs of an African Democrat* (Botswana: Macmillan Botswana, 2006), p.279.
- <sup>12</sup> Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, statement to the National Assembly on the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Houses of Parliament, Cape Town, 21 May 1997.
- <sup>13</sup> Ibid; Aziz Pahad, interview by Tony Trew, Johannesburg, 1 February 2016.
- <sup>14</sup> NM, notes following a meeting with

- Comrade Kabila, Genadendal, 15 May 1997, NMPP 2009/8, box4, file2, pp.1–4, NMF, Johannesburg.
- <sup>15</sup> Acting President Buthelezi, Developments in Lesotho, Statements to the National Assembly, 22 September 1998, Hansard, cols. 6763–6778.
- <sup>16</sup> Cabinet minutes, 23 September 1998.
- <sup>17</sup> AP Archive, ‘South Africa: President Mandela Calms Concern Over his Health’, 27 September 1998, story no. 89970.
- <sup>18</sup> NM, State of the Nation Address, National Assembly, Houses of Parliament, Cape Town, 5 February 1999.
- <sup>19</sup> NM at the World Economic Forum Southern Africa Economic Summit, Harare, 21 May 1997, tape 71942MT, SABC, SABC Archive, SABC Information Library, Johannesburg.
- <sup>20</sup> NM, address to the Mercosur Heads of State Summit, Ushuaia, Argentina, 24 July 1998.
- <sup>21</sup> NM, address at the Forty-ninth Session of the General Assembly of the UN, New York, 10 October 1994.
- <sup>22</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>23</sup> NM, address at the inaugural session of the Twelfth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, Durban, 2 September 1998.
- <sup>24</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>25</sup> NM, address to the Joint Houses of Congress of the USA, Washington, DC, 6 October 1994.
- <sup>26</sup> NM, address to the Swedish Parliament, Stockholm, 18 March 1999.
- <sup>27</sup> ‘Mandela praises Gaddafi’, *Sunday Times* Foreign Desk, 20 May 1990; Fritz Joubert ‘Mense in VSA vies vir Mandela’ [People in the USA are angry with Mandela], *Beeld*, 24 May 1990.
- <sup>28</sup> Khalil I. Matar and Robert W. Thabit, *Lockerbie and Libya: A study in International Relations* (London: McFarland & Company, Inc, 2004).
- <sup>29</sup> NM, Statement on Lockerbie drafted and released in Tunis, NMPP 2009/8, box 6, file 8a, NMF, Johannesburg.
- <sup>30</sup> ‘SA Calls for Lifting of Sanctions on Libya’, *The Star*, 22 October 1997.
- <sup>31</sup> OAU, Declarations and Decisions adopted by the Thirty-Third OAU Assembly of Heads of State and Government, Harare, 2–4 June 1997.
- <sup>32</sup> NM visits Libya, October 1997, tape 66786, MT22, SABC, SABC TV Archive, SABC Information Library, Johannesburg.
- <sup>33</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>34</sup> Lyn Boyd-Judson, *Strategic Moral Diplomacy: Understanding the Enemy’s Moral Universe* (West Hartford, CT: Kumarian Press, 2011); Khalil I. Matar, Robert W. Thabit, *Lockerbie and Libya*.
- <sup>35</sup> Lyn Boyd-Judson, *Strategic Moral Diplomacy*.
- <sup>36</sup> NM, address to the Congress of the People, Libya, 19 March 1999.
- <sup>37</sup> Jakes Gerwel, interview by Aziz Pahad, 21 July 2010.
- <sup>38</sup> NM, statement on South Africa’s relations with the Greater Chinese Region, 27 November 1996, SABC, SABC TV Archive, tape 25459MT, SABC Information Library, Johannesburg.
- <sup>39</sup> ‘Taiwan’s Minister Fails with Mandela’, United Press International Archive, 4 December 1996.
- <sup>40</sup> NM, address at Beijing University, Beijing, 6 May 1999.
- <sup>41</sup> NM, interview by Phil Molefe and Antjie Krog, ‘Farewell Interview With the SABC’, broadcast live from Qunu, SABC, 20 May 1999.

## EPILOGUE

- <sup>1</sup> Graça Machel, interview by Mandla Langa, 22 September 2016.
- <sup>2</sup> NM to Winnie Mandela in Kroonstad Prison, 1 February 1975.
- <sup>3</sup> Zelda la Grange, *Good Morning Mr Mandela: A Memoir* (New York: Plume, 2015), p. 128.
- <sup>4</sup> While being interviewed by a panel, this was Mandela’s answer to a question by Phil Molefe who asks about his feelings as he prepares to step down as president of the ANC. NM, televised interview on *Face the Media*, 14 December 1997, SABC, tape 66676MT, SABC Archive, SABC Information Library, Johannesburg.
- <sup>5</sup> NM, closing the ANC’s Fiftieth National Conference, Mafikeng, 20 December 1997.
- <sup>6</sup> NM, election campaign, 31 May 1999, tape 66717MT, SABC, SABC Archive, SABC Information Library, Johannesburg.
- <sup>7</sup> NM, speech at the final sitting of the first democratically elected parliament, Houses of Parliament, Cape Town, 26 March 1999.