

**NELSON MANDELA'S LIFE AS THE REPRESENTATION OF POST-COLONIALISM DURING COLONIALISM AND APARTHEID SYSTEM IN SOUTH AFRICA**

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**T.C.  
NAMIK KEMAL UNIVERSITY  
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE  
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES  
MASTER OF ARTS**

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YÜKSEK LİSANS Tezinin Sınavı, Namık Kemal Üniversitesi Lisansüstü Eğitim  
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## ABSTRACT

This paper aims to study Nelson Mandela as a silenced/speaking colonial subject that speaks against imperialism and apartheid despite his imprisonment and that leads to shattering S/subject relationship within the oppressed society of South Africa. For sure, South Africa has walked a long way to freedom, suffering a lot through colonialism and segregation. Through such a path, it is due to the hegemony of the racism that the native becomes subject to poverty and illiteracy, and consequently submits himself to 'subalternity' and 'marginalization' in his own land. The discourse is applied on the indigenous people of South Africa by preventing them from recognizing and retaining their own collective identity, by means of giving them new colonial subjectivity through religion, schooling and economy in order to keep West as the 'Subject' and the non-Western as the 'subject,' or in other words to 'mute' the native. To smash such S/subject relationship, or to attain a 'voice', the 'silenced' needs to challenge the hegemony of the oppressor by reclaiming his/her collective identity, which is not possible through the knowledge discourse provided by the oppressor's power since it cannot be innocent, but by his/her own indigenous understanding of the local as well as the subjectivity and the culture which have been stolen. It is by this transformation that the oppressed indigenous will be 'heard' since by this shift he/she gets emancipated from 'subalternity' imposed by apartheid.

### **Key Words:**

Colonial Subject, Discourse, South Africa and Apartheid, Subalternity, the Oppressor and the Oppressed

## ÖZET

Bu çalışma, Nelson Mandela'yı Güney Afrika'nın ezilen halkı içerisinde "Birey" olmakla "birey" olmak arasındaki ilişkiyi yok etmeyi amaçlayan baskılara ve hapsedilmesine rağmen Irkçılığa (Apartheid), emperyalizme karşı konuşan susturulmuş / susturulamamış bir "Birey" olarak incelemeyi amaç edinmiştir. Elbette, Güney Afrika halkı sömürgecilikten ve ırkçı ayrımcılıktan çok acı çekerek uzun bir yol kat etti. Böylesi bir yolda ırkçılığın hegemonyasına bağlı olarak yerli halk cahilliğe ve yoksulluğa itildi, sonunda kendi öz ülkesinde ötekileştirilmeyi ve ezilmişliği, maduniyeti kabullendi. Bu söylem, Güney Afrika'nın yerli halkına, onların ortak kişiliklerini tanımaları ve bu kişiliği edinmeleri engellenerek, ekonomi, eğitim ve din yoluyla yeni, koloniye ait bir kimlik verilerek tatbik edildi. Bunun yapılmasındaki amaç batılıyı "Birey" batılı olmayı bastırılmış, susturulmuş, kişiliği olmayan, "birey" olarak tanıtmaktı. Başka bir deyişle yerlileri susturmak, sessizleştirmek, ezmektir.

Böylesi adil olmayan bir "Birey" "birey" ilişkisini yok etmek bir sese sahip olmak için ezilenler kendi ortak kişiliklerini geri kazanarak ezenin hegemonyasına baş kaldırmalı, meydan okumalıdır. Bunu yapmak ezen güç tarafından sağlanan bilgi söylemiyle olanaksızdır. Çünkü bu söylem masum olamaz. Bunu yapmak ancak çalınmış bir tarihi ve kişiliği red edip, yerlinin kendisini öz anlamlandırmasıyla mümkün olabilir.

Yalnızca böyle bir dönüşümle ezilen yerli duyulabilecek, yine ancak böylesi bir dönüşümle ırkçılık tarafından ona empoze edilen ezilmişliğinden, mağduriyetinden kurtulabilecektir.

### **Anahtar Kelimeler:**

Ezen, Ezilen, Ezilmişlik, Güney Afrika ve Irkçılık, Koloniye Ait Kişilik, Maduniyet, Söylem

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I also owe to my lecturers who have broadened my vision with their valuable ideas during my graduate study at Fatih University and Namık Kemal University, in English Language and Literature Department.

I dedicate this study to my dear wife, for her unceasing love, affection, patience and endurance. If not her constant support and belief in me, I would have never been able to accomplish my thesis.

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## INTRODUCTION

In the world there are very few leaders who will be commemorated with love and respect either by their own society or international societies. To become a lovable and respected leader for the whole world societies is even more difficult; to be a leader of this kind requires great endurance and unbelievable devotion to his or her case.

Nelson Mandela, whose real name was Rolihlahla which means “troublemaker”, is one of the significant leaders of 20<sup>th</sup> century who has been able to gain the respect and love of the peoples of the world. How did he gain so much love and respect of people? How could he be one of the greatest leaders of the world? This paper aims to find the answers of these questions by dissecting his life story which is in fact a story of lifetime struggle against Colonialism and Apartheid System.

This thesis also aims to examine Nelson Mandela as a silenced/speaking colonial subject that speaks against imperialism and apartheid despite his imprisonment and that eventually leads to shattering S/subject relationship within the oppressed society of South Africa. For sure, South Africa has walked a long way to freedom, suffering a lot through colonialism and segregation. It is due to the hegemony of the racism that the native becomes subject to poverty and illiteracy, and consequently submit himself to ‘subalternity’ and ‘marginalization’ in his/her own land. The discourse is applied on the indigenous people of South Africa by preventing them from recognizing and retaining their own collective identity, by means of giving them new colonial subjectivity through religion, schooling and economy in order to keep West as the ‘Subject’ and the non-Western as the ‘subject,’ or in other words to ‘mute’ the native. To smash such S/subject relationship, or to attain a ‘voice’, the ‘silenced’ needs to challenge the hegemony of the oppressor by reclaiming his/her collective identity, which is not possible through the knowledge discourse provided by the oppressor’s power since it cannot be innocent, but by

his/her own indigenous understanding of the local as well as the subjectivity and the culture which have been stolen. It is by this transformation that the oppressed indigenous will be 'heard' since by this shift he/she gets emancipated from 'subalternity' imposed by apartheid.

## CHAPTER ONE

### **1. The Two Main Stages of Domination over South Africa: Apartheid System and Colonialism**

#### **1. 1. Apartheid System**

One of the ways to understand how a person's character is shaped, one needs to know the circumstances he/she lived under. These circumstances shape the person's character combining with the heritage he/she brings in his/her genes. Here it is not going to be discussed either the circumstances he/she lived under or the heritage he/she brings in his/her genes. Rather, there will be an effort to understand Mandela's becoming one of the greatest leaders of the 20th century who is believed to be "an inspiration for the world"<sup>1</sup> and the circumstances lay behind his character. Two political systems shaped his character: Apartheid System and Colonialism. He shaped his character under the oppression caused by these two systems, and then he devoted his whole life to fighting with these brutal, diabolical systems.

A quick look at the history of South Africa will clearly show that it is one of the most brutally and violently exploited territories in the history of the world. The history of exploitation that can be considered as the tragedy starting in 1652 when a group of workers and their bosses of the Dutch East India Company arrived in the Cape of Good Hope to construct a station for trading ships that carried labor force and commodities from the colonized lands. The fossilized European way of seeing the others only as enemies, lower races, apelike creatures operated in South Africa as well. Although Bantus, another name for the indigenous black peoples of South Africa, had welcomed them as they did not have cynical concept of 'othering' – the term used to identify the person who is not one's self - in their cultures, the Dutch,

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<sup>1</sup><http://www.southafrica.info/mandela/un-180713.htm#.UpzsFdJdV8E> secretary-general Ban Ki-moon said as the UN marked Nelson Mandela International Day 2013

who later called themselves Afrikaners, waged war on Bantus to get their land by force. In the epistemological systems of Bantus, there was hospitability, equivalence, mutual respect and mutual enmity between the rival nations but they did not have a concept of othering as in the colonial discourse of Europeans, who considered the others inferior and only worth dominating.

Bantus and other nations of South Africa continued to fight against Afrikaners and English, who settled in South Africa after the Dutch, for centuries but had no chance to triumph against the modern weaponry of Europeans. As time elapsed, they lost most of their lands and were obliged to live in certain territories. The white settlers who won the wars over indigenous peoples founded a tyranny taking its force from slavery and forced labor of Africans and Asians. Asians were brought to South Africa after the British abolished slavery in 1834. Just as it happened in the Caribbean, after the abolishment of slavery, new labor force was needed, and the white settlers transported Asians from their homelands to South Africa as indentured laborers.

Here the important point not to miss is that wars did not only occur between the colonizers and colonized, but also between the two colonizing forces, namely, the Dutch and the British. Not to go so far back in history, the British vanquished Boers (another name for the Dutch) in the famous Anglo-Boer War between 1899 and 1902. In 1910, the territory took the name the Union of South Africa, a white-settler country belonging to the British Empire. In 1961, it separated from the British Commonwealth and renamed itself as an independent republic.

In the meantime, persecution, suppression, and segregation against the African majority continued. They were forced to live only on 10 per cent of their own land. Naturally, all these injustices fuelled the inextinguishable fire of resistance and rebellion against the persecutors. In 1912, an organization called African Native National Congress was established by a band of influential South African leaders and intelligentsia. It later became the well-known African National Congress (ANC). ANC did its best to resist the strict policy of racial segregation based on the

privileged position of a minority of white-settlers and the humiliating situation of the non-white majority. The government put into practice every kind of violence ranging from arrests, detentions, and torture to murder, to demolish ANC along with all the other protest organizations. But these movements continued their opposition against injustices through boycotts, demonstrations, protests, and strikes incessantly. In 1948, Afrikaners' Nationalist Party came to power and promulgated the official apartheid system through laws. Although apartheid, which means "apartness" in Afrikaans, the language the seventeenth century Dutch settlers developed in South Africa, was fully in power with all its afflictions, it became official only after 1948. Apartheid, which was also frequently defined as "separate development"<sup>2</sup> was a system that segregated the diverse ethnic elements from each other racially, economically, and politically, enthroning a very small group of whites and emasculating all the others living in the same country. Similar to the racial segregation in the United States against blacks once, Africans were not allowed to white residences, businesses, political and social organizations, restaurants, markets, schools, and so on, in South Africa. Within the country, non-whites could only travel with pass documents. They could not go to the side of whites without these passes. They were doomed to live in slums and shantytowns while whites lived in the most modern areas and buildings. Being stricken by plagues like poverty, hunger, unemployment, briefly, by lack of basic human needs, and most important of all, by the nonstop psychological propaganda of the supremacy of whites and inferiority of non-whites, Africans were immensely self-alienated to the point of hating themselves. The following quotation gives us a vivid picture of South Africa under apartheid:

Racial segregation, sanctioned by law, was widely practiced in South Africa before 1948, but the National Party, which gained office that year, extended the policy and gave it the name "apartheid". The Group Areas Act of 1950 established residential and business sections in urban areas for each race, and members of other races were barred from living, operating businesses, or owning land in them. In practice this act and two others (1954,1955), which became known collectively as the Land Acts, completed a process that had

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<sup>2</sup>[http://www.britannica.com/bcom/eb/article/6/0,5716,8086+1\\_+7978,00.html](http://www.britannica.com/bcom/eb/article/6/0,5716,8086+1_+7978,00.html)



begun with similar Land Acts adopted in 1913 and 1936; the end result was to set aside more than 80 percent of South Africa's land for the White minority. To help enforce the segregation of the races and prevent blacks from encroaching on white areas, the government strengthened the existing "pass" laws, which required nonwhites to carry documents authorizing their presence in restricted areas. Other laws forbade most social contacts between the races, authorized segregated public facilities, established separate educational standards, restricted each race to certain types of jobs, curtailed nonwhite labour unions, and denied nonwhite participation (through white representatives) in the national government.<sup>3</sup>

In such a country and under the perpetual persecution of such a regime, even any tiny democratic protest was brutally dealt with. But injustices could not be eternally existent, and they could never kill desire, which is eternal in human soul. Thus the desire to obliterate apartheid in South Africa never ceased to breathe into the souls of Africans the hope of having a country free of any racist insanity, inequality, and injustice. In a peaceful and democratic protest against the pass laws in Sharpeville in 1960, sixty-nine people were brutally murdered by police. This event led to ANC's subsequent promulgation and commencement of armed struggle, which was to be carried out by a branch called the "Umkhonto we Sizwe" (Spear of the Nation). In 1962, Nelson Mandela and other members of ANC were arrested and two years later, they were sentenced to life imprisonment. After another massacre in Soweto in 1976 of a group of schoolchildren protesting a regulation that prescribed the education to be done in Afrikaans language, the armed struggle proportionately gained more momentum. In 1977, the founder of the South African Students' Organization and the theoretician of the Black Consciousness movement, Steve Biko, died under the systematic torture of police. The struggle continued ceaselessly until Nelson Mandela, after his 28-year prison life, was released in 1990. In 1993, both Mandela and President de Klerk won the Nobel Peace Prize, and in 1994, the first democratic non-racial elections were held in South Africa. The elections resulted in Mandela's victorious presidency. Finally, in 1997, a non-racial constitution was accepted as the social contract of the country. However, despite the eventual emancipation of South

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<sup>3</sup><http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/29332/apartheid>

Africans from the rusty chains of apartheid, its negative effects still continue to haunt their lives especially in the economic sphere.

What were the motives behind apartheid and the previous unnamed racial segregation against other human beings who just did not have the same skin color as their white brethren? One of the causes was whites' reluctance to share the rich mineral resources (gold, diamonds, gems, etc.) and hence, land with the other cohabitants. However, the most important cause was the discourse and ideology that had occupied a permanent place in whites' minds. According to that discourse and ideology, which has been tried to be dissected throughout my whole work, any non-European human being was an 'other', an enemy, primitive, uncivilized, irrational, apelike, and urgently in need of European civilization, domination, patronage, and imposition. The remarks of an apartheid supporter, who gave a speech to the Rotary Club in London in 1953, materialize my comment:

...every millimetre of progress in all that vast area is due entirely to the White Man. May I point out that African colonies are of comparatively recent date. Before that time Black Africa did have independence for a thousand years and more and what did she make of it? One problem, I admit, she did solve most effectively. There was no over population. Interminable savage intertribal wars, witchcraft, disease, famine, and even cannibalism saw to that<sup>4</sup>.

The question is: where is the evidence? Who can prove that without the presence of white man there would be no development or progress in Africa? Can it not be that Africa would be much more developed than it is now if no intrusion by white man had occurred? And after all, the idea that there has been progress in Africa is a big lie when we see so many problems like hunger, poverty, malnutrition, unemployment, civil wars, and unbearable foreign debts in the continent. As a result, no scrupulous man can deny that the underdevelopment of the peoples of Africa was something carried out by Europeans. Anyway, this man, at the end of his speech, claims that apartheid is the best system for all the races in South Africa, because it would give all the races the chance to achieve their development in accordance with their own

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<sup>4</sup> [http://search.britannica.com/frm\\_redir.jsp?query&redir](http://search.britannica.com/frm_redir.jsp?query&redir)

pace. However, in a country where the best of everything and its control is in the hands of a privileged minority, and the majority is only in a subordinate position who can survive only by serving white men, then such a ridiculous claim becomes doubly ridiculous. His idea that separate development is essential for South African peoples is something that has been put in his mind through apartheid's nationalist education and brainwashing, but that idea is not something created by apartheid. It belongs to the ages-old orientalist, colonialist, and imperialist discourses which had always imposed upon Europeans' minds the idea that they were the most perfect form of humanity because of their wisdom, rationality, technology, and many other things, whereas the others were not as much evolved as they were. And the main perversion behind such discourses is seeing difference as a source of threat.

From these observations, one can easily infer that before colonialists arrived in a territory to colonize it, the idea of others' inferiority and readiness for being subordinated was ingrained in Europeans' culture. This perception has been influential up until this day. It has been so pervasive that even many great European philosophers have been contaminated by it. Hegel, who is one of these philosophers, argued:

Africa is not interesting from the point view of its own history...  
 Man [in Africa] is in a state of barbarism and savagery which is preventing him from being an integral part of civilizations.... [Africa] is the country of gold which closed in on itself, the country of infancy, beyond the daylight of conscious history, wrapped in the blackness of night. (Abdi, 1999:147)

These clichés were undoubtedly produced and put in the Western consumer's use by orientalist and others who did the same job. When one reads the words above, one would feel that the same question I asked above would go perfect. Where is the evidence? Everything Hegel says is assertion; there are no proofs, examples, or facts. If his words are analyzed, the Word "history" immediately brings to mind the European notion of history, which deterministically prescribes that there are primitive societies (which are closer to nature), semi-developed societies, and developed societies (European civilization), and therefore Africa is still primitive because it is different, and it has not followed the same pattern of progression. The

expression "civilizations" obviously refers to Europe only, and the phrases like "infancy" and "blackness of night" again directly refer to the legacy of the colonialist discourse which, even before encountering the others, used to convict them to childishness and primitiveness. The message is as if without the magical touch of Europe's so-called 'civilizing mission' on Africa, Africa would never become civilized, and as if there is only one way of achieving development and progression.

As well known, the greatest evil for human beings is to be imposed upon without their own will. This causes damages in the mental and spiritual realms of human beings forcing the limits of their stamina. In South Africa, where human beings were "imprisoned and controlled both physically and mentally, it was quite normal for them to experience self-alienation and identity crises. One either becomes a rebel or a slave in such conditions. In a comment on life in apartheid South Africa, Rich Mkhondo presents us a picture of these horrible conditions by describing a memoir of his childhood:

Apartheid convinced my parents that whites were God-like creatures, and they urged me to believe the same. As a young boy, I did not know what apartheid meant; I knew vaguely that there was something wrong with my country when I wanted to play in a park reserved for white children, and my mother spanked me for insisting.... [Later,] when I was arrested in 1975 and was found not carrying the compulsory pass for blacks, apartheid and its ravages began to dawn on me fully. The passbook, or, as white people called it, the *dompas* (pass for stupid people) literally controlled every aspect of our lives. (Abdi, 1999: 147)

### **1.1.1. A Brief Historical Background of Apartheid System in South Africa**

Within the framework of this study, it is a good idea to put the important dates and events in the history of Apartheid system, so that the system and the grievances the system brought to South Africans can be understood better.

- 1652 - Jan Van Riebeeck, representing the Dutch East India Co. establishes the Cape Colony at Cape Town. He soon issues land grants for

the interior. Slaves from West Africa, Malaysia, and India are imported into the colony, establishing the dominance of whites over non-whites in this region<sup>5</sup>.

- 1700s - Dutch Farmers (Boers) migrate across South Africa and seize land use by indigenous people for cattle and sheep grazing (basis of their economy). Battles and smallpox push back the indigenous populations of the San and Khoikhoi. Europeans dominate the western half of the area by 1800. (ibid.)
- 1806 - British seize and eventually annex the Cape Colony. In 1809, the British decree that the San and Khoikhoi must work for white employers and place restrictions on their travel. 1810s - British missionaries arrive and criticize the racist practices of the Boers. They urge the Boers to treat the Africans more fairly, but the Boers believe that they are superior to the indigenous Africans. (ibid.)
- 1830s - In the hopes of escaping British rule, thousands of Boers leave the Cape Colony in the "Great Trek" and establish the Orange Free State and the Transvaal. The interior consisted of British colonies and protectorates, Boer republics, and tribal nations until 1867. (ibid.)
- 1867 - Diamonds are discovered at Kimberley and mining begins. Africans are given the most dangerous jobs, are paid less than white workers, and are housed in fenced, patrolled barracks. Africans were prevented from organizing for better wages and working conditions due to the oppressive conditions and constant surveillance. Mid-1880s, gold is discovered in the Transvaal, triggering the gold rush. (ibid.)
- 1899-1902 - The Anglo-Boer War. (Quayson, 2002: xvii )
- 1903 - African Native Affairs Commission appointed by Lord Milner, Governor of the Transvaal and Orange River Colony; strict laws restricting access of African and Colored people to power. (Quayson, 2002: xvii )
- 1906 - Zulu Rebellion –initially connected to a refusal to pay the poll tax, later spreading and becoming more violent. Harsh reprisals by Colonial Government with estimates of death toll at three thousand Blacks. (Quayson, 2002: xvii )
- 1908 - A constitutional convention is held to establish South African independence from Britain. The all-white government decides that non-whites can vote but cannot hold office. A few people in the government object, believing that South Africa would be more stable if Africans were treated better. (ibid.)

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<sup>5</sup><http://www.ncpublicschools.org/docs/curriculum/socialstudies/middlegrades/africa/southafricanlesson2.pdf>

- 1909 - Native Convention called in Bloemfontein to express concern about the exclusion of African and Coloured peoples from new arrangements. (Quayson, 2002: xvii )
- 1910 - The Union of South Africa is born under the British Commonwealth. It bands together the British colonies of Natal and the Cape with the Boer republics of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. The South Africa Act is also passed which takes away all political rights of Africans in three of the country's four states. (ibid.)
- 1912 - The Native National Congress is founded which later becomes the African National Congress (ANC). This political party organized Africans in the struggle for civil rights. (ibid.)
- 1913 - The Native Lands Act is introduced to prevent blacks, except those living in Cape Province, from buying land outside their region (reserves). Africans were only allowed to be on white land if they were working for whites. This act gave 7,3 % of the country's land to Africans, who make up 80 % of the population. (ibid.)
- 1914 - The all-white Afrikaner National Party was founded. (ibid.)
- 1918 - Secret Broederbond (brotherhood) is established to advance the Afrikaner cause. (ibid.)
- 1918 - Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela born near Umtata, Transkei. (Quayson, 2002: xvii )
- 1911 - 23 Under Louis Botha and later Jan Smuths, the leaders of the South African Party, various Acts passed serving to segregate Whites and non-Whites in matters of labour, land ownership and urban dwelling These included The Mines and Works Act 1911, The Native land Act 1913, The Native Affairs Act 1920 and the Natives (Urban Areas) Act 1923 (Quayson, 2002: xviii )
- 1921 - Squatters on a piece of land near bulhock in Queenstown are brutally dispersed by government forces. 200 killed or injured. (Quayson, 2002: xviii )
- 1923 - Formation of the South African Indian Congress. (Quayson, 2002: xviii )
- 1924 - Elections won by a Nationalist-Labour coalition; more controversial segregationist laws such as the Colour Bar Act 1926. the Native Administration Act of 1927, stiff amendments to the Riotous Assembly Act and to the Natives (Urban Areas) Act in 1930. (Quayson, 2002: xviii )
- 1920s - Blacks are fired from jobs which are given to whites. (ibid.)

- 1925-27 - New constitution for the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union in 1925 followed by various strikes and demonstrations protesting against some of the unjust labour laws introduced by the government. Rapid expansion of membership. (Quayson, 2002: xviii )
- 1929 - All-White general elections, won by the Nationalist Party (Quayson, 2002: xviii )
- 1910s -1930s - Africans educated at missionary schools attempt to organize to resist white rule and gain political power. Their efforts are weakened because few Africans are literate, communication is poor, and access to money or other resources is limited.

By 1939 - Fewer than 30 % of Africans are receiving any formal education, and whites are earning over five times as much as Africans. (ibid.)

- 1934 - Formation of the United South African Nationalist Party (the United Party); more controversial Acts introduced, including the Native Representations Act 1936 and the Native Laws Amendment Act 1937. (Quayson, 2002: xviii )
- 1936 - Representation of Voters Act is passed. This law weakens the political rights for Africans in some regions and allows them to vote only for white representatives. (ibid.)
- 1938-41 Mandela enrolls at the University College of Fort Hare in 1938; joins the Student Representative Council and is suspended from college for joining boycott protest in 1940; completes BA degree from the University of South Africa by correspondence in 1941; is an articled clerk in a legal firm in 1940. (Quayson, 2002: xviii)
- 1939-45 - Second World War. (Quayson, 2002: xviii )
- 1941 - Formation of the African Mineworkers' Union, by 1944 over 25,000 members. (Quayson, 2002: xix )
- 1942 - Mandela joins the ANC. (Quayson, 2002: xix )
- 1943 - New ANC constitution, among other fundamental changes allowing the inclusion of people of other races. (Quayson, 2002: xix )
- 1944 Mandela, with Anton Lembede, Oliver Tambo, Walter Sisulu and others form the African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL) Elected Secretary in 1947. (Quayson, 2002: xix )
- 1946 - Mineworkers strike; over 70,000 participate in strike action. (Quayson, 2002: xix )
- 1948 - Urbanization and economic growth during World War II fuels white fears that South Africa's racial barriers would collapse. The National

Party introduces apartheid measures against blacks, Indian immigrants and those of mixed race. (ibid.)

- 1948 - Nationalist Party victory under D. F. Malan on the platform of apartheid in all-White elections. (Quayson, 2002: xix )
- 1949 - Inspired by the Youth League the ANC adopts a Programme of Action at their annual convention. Among demands were ones for freedom from White domination and the right of Africans to self-determination, with the urge of the use of boycotts, civil disobedience and non-cooperation, thus marking a significant change in ANC policy. (Quayson, 2002: xix )
- 1950 - The Population Registration Act is passed into law. This law classifies people into three racial groups: white (European), colored (mixed race or Asian), and native (African/black). Marriages between races are outlawed in order to maintain racial purity. (ibid.)
- 1951 - The Group Areas Act is passed to segregate the different races. Specific communities were set aside for each of the races (white, colored, mixed race or Indian) and native (African/black). The best areas and the majority of the land was reserved for whites. Non-whites were relocated into "reserves". Mixed-race families were forced to live separately. (ibid.)
- 1951 - The Bantu Homelands Act was passed. Through this law, the white government declares that the lands reserved for black Africans were independent nations. In this way, the government stripped millions of blacks of their South African citizenship and forced them to become residents of their new "homelands." Blacks were now considered foreigners in white-controlled South Africa, and needed passports to enter. Blacks only entered to serve whites in menial jobs. The homelands are too small to support the many people in them. In Soweto, for example, seventeen to twenty people live in a four-room house. (ibid.)
- 1951 - Under the leadership of Albert Lutuli and Johannesburg law partners Oliver Tambo and Nelson Mandela, the African National Congress (ANC) organized a passive resistance campaign against apartheid and issued the Freedom Charter. The charter stated "South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justify claim authority unless it is based on the will of the people." The government reacted by arresting people and passing more repressive laws. (ibid.)
- 1952 - Abolition of Passes and Coordination of Documents Act was enacted. This misleadingly-named law required all Africans to carry identification booklets with their names, addresses, fingerprints, and other information. Africans were frequently stopped and harassed for their passes. From 1948-1973, over ten million Africans were arrested because their passes were "not in order". Burning pass books became a common form of protest. (ibid.)
- 1952 - Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo open the first African legal practice, in Johannesburg. Launch of Campaign for the Defiance of Unjust



Laws; Mandela elected as National Volunteer-in-Chief to coordinate the Campaign; elected President of the Youth League. Estimated 8500 volunteers detained; boost to ANC membership, with numbers topping 100,000 following the Campaign. (Quayson, 2002: xx)

- 1953 - The Preservation of Separate Amenities Act was passed. It established "separate but not necessarily equal" parks, beaches, post offices, and other public places for whites and non-whites. 1953 - Like the previous laws, the Bantu Education Act passed by the all-white National Party. Through this law, the white government supervises the education of all blacks. Schools condition blacks to accept white domination. Non-whites cannot attend white universities. African people were taught only in Afrikaans. (ibid.)
- 1953 - Liberal Party formed in May in response to the demands asserted by Blacks in the Defiance Campaign. Was forced to disband fifteen years later when the National Party passed the Prohibition of Improper Interference Act, which made non-racial political parties illegal. (Quayson, 2002: xx)
- 1955 - Congress of the People meeting in Kliptown, near Johannesburg; some 3,000 delegates attend and issue the Freedom Charter. South African Congress of Trade Unions formed in March, bringing together thirty-four unions under one umbrella. (Quayson, 2002: xx)
- 1956 - Peaceful anti-pass march on 9 August by over 20,000 women. Several anti-apartheid leaders arrested and detained, including Nelson Mandela; start of first of the major political trials in South Africa; accused, acquitted and discharged in March 1961. (Quayson, 2002: xx)
- 1958 - H. F. Verwoerd, considered one of the main architects of apartheid, takes over as Prime Minister on death of incumbent. (Quayson, 2002: xx)
- 1959 - Due to a policy dispute with the ANC, the Pan-Africanist Congress formed, promoting a Black-only policy for South Africa. (Quayson, 2002: xx)
- 1960 - Nobel Peace Prize awarded to Chief Albert Luthuli, President of the ANC from 1952-1967.

March: Sharpeville Massacre; several thousand killed or injured with 20,000 detained without trial.

Result of anti-pass demonstrations called by the PAC.

ANC and The Pan-African Congress were banned.

Nelson Mandela goes underground but continues activities; success in avoiding arrest gives him the nickname of the Black Pimpernel. (Quayson, 2002: xx)

- 1960 - A large group of blacks in the town of Sharpeville refused to carry their passes. The government declares a state of emergency and responds with fines, imprisonment, and whippings. Seventy black demonstrators are killed. One hundred eighty-seven people were wounded. (ibid.)
- 1961 - South Africa leaves the British Commonwealth and becomes an independent republic. Mandela heads the ANC's new military wing, which launched a sabotage campaign. International pressure against the South African government begins and South Africa is excluded from the Olympic Games. (ibid.)
- 1961 - South Africa declared a Republic; in the lead-up to the Republican celebrations in May, mass boycotts called by Africans and Coloureds to protest their exclusion from power. Republican celebrations marked amidst growing tension. All-in-African Conference, Pietermaritzburg in March. Mandela comes out of hiding to deliver the keynote address. Elected leader of the National Action Council.

In December, Umkonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), the armed wing of the ANC was formed. Umkonto was formed in response to the clear escalation in the South African government's use of violence against the ANC and other anti-apartheid organizations. (Quayson, 2002: xxi)

- 1962 - The United Nations established the Special Committee Against Apartheid to support a political process of peaceful change. The Special Committee observes the International Day Against Racism that marked the anniversary of the people who died in the Sharpeville protest. (ibid.)
- 1962 - Mandela is smuggled outside South Africa; addresses the Pan-African Freedom Movement of East and Central Africa in Addis Ababa. On his return, betrayed by an informer and arrested; Treason Trial of Mandela and other political activists; Mandela sentenced to three years imprisonment for incitement to strike and two years for leaving South Africa without a valid permit or passport; begins to serve his five-year sentence in Pretoria Central Prison, where twenty-three hours of each day are spent in solitary confinement. (Quayson, 2002: xxi)
- 1963 - Following a police raid on the underground headquarters of the ANC in Rivonia, a Johannesburg suburb, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Raymond Mhlaba, Ahmed Kathrada, Dennis Goldberg, Lionel Bernsteinand, and some others are arrested and put on trial. Mandela is back in court again, facing trial with the others on charges of sabotage and conspiracy to overthrow the government by revolution. Mandela opens the defense case; the trial runs from October 1963 to April 1964 after which Mandela is sentenced to life imprisonment and sent to Robben Island. (Quayson,2002: xxi)
- 1970s - Resistance to apartheid increases. Organizing by churches and workers increased. Whites join blacks in demonstrations. (ibid.)

- 1970s - More than 3 million people are forcibly resettled into black "homelands". (ibid.)
- 1970s - The all-black South African Students Organization, under the leadership of Steven Bantu Biko, helps unify students through the Black Consciousness movement. (ibid.)
- 1976 - Thousands of students in the black township of Soweto stage protests to demand they be taught in English rather than the Afrikaans. Police fire on the demonstrators, banning nationwide riots and putting more repression. Police kill more than 500 protesters within a year, including leading activist Steven Biko. (ibid.)
- 1980s - People and governments around the world launch an international campaign to boycott South Africa. Some countries ban the import of South African products and citizens of many countries pressure major companies to pull out of South Africa. These actions have a crippling effect on the South African economy and weaken the government. (ibid.)
- 1980s - Hundreds of thousands of Africans who are banned from white-controlled areas ignore the laws and pour into forbidden regions in search of work. Civil disobedience, demonstrations, and other acts of protest increase. (ibid.)
- Late 1980s - Countries around the world increasingly pressure South Africa to end its system of apartheid. As a result, some of the segregationist laws are repealed. For example, the laws separating whites and non-whites in public places are relaxed or repealed. (ibid.)
- 1990 - South African President F.W. de Klerk and the National party lift the ban on the ANC and its leader, Nelson Mandela is released from prison after 27 years. (ibid.)
- 1991 - President F.W. de Klerk repeals the rest of the apartheid laws and calls for the drafting of a new constitution. (ibid.)
- 1993 - A multiracial, multiparty transitional government is approved. (ibid.)
- 1994 - Elections are held. The United Nations sends 2,120 international observers to ensure the fairness of the elections. Mandela's ANC wins 63 percent of the vote in April elections. World leaders gather on May 10 as Mandela is sworn in as president of the new South Africa. (ibid.)

### 1.1.2. Colonialism

“In all we do”, writes Mandela, “we have to ensure the healing of the wounds inflicted on all our people across the great dividing line imposed on our society by centuries of colonialism and apartheid. We must ensure that color, race and gender become only a God-given gift to each one of us and not an indelible mark or attribute that accords a special status to any”.<sup>6</sup>

As Mandela mentions in his speech, two systems – Apartheid System and Colonialism – really wounded South African people economically, politically, socially, psychologically for ages. It is a good idea to shed a light on what “Colonialism” is and how it wounded African people in so many ways so as to understand Colonialism’s effects on the people who were affected by it. For that reason, in this section, colonialism will be briefly defined, and then its effects on the people will be explained.

Colonialism is the extension of a nation's sovereignty over territory beyond its borders by the establishment of either settler colonies or administrative dependencies in which indigenous populations are directly ruled or displaced. Colonizing nations generally dominate the resources, labor, and markets of the colonial territory, and may also impose socio-cultural, religious and linguistic structures on the conquered population<sup>7</sup>

European colonialism began as early as in the fifteenth century with the Portuguese and Spanish exploration of the Americas, the coasts of Africa and India. However, it was not until the 17th century that Britain, France and Holland established their overseas colonies. In the Berlin Conference of 1884 the issue of which European countries would get which territories in Africa was resolved. This led to the most rapid form of European expansion called the ‘Scramble for Africa’

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<sup>6</sup> Nelson Mandela in his words “excerpts from speeches 1961-2008

<sup>7</sup> <http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/colonialism>

which took place between 1886 and 1914. The countries involved in the 'Scramble for Africa' were Britain, France, Portugal, Spain, Belgium, Germany and Italy.

A key economic feature of colonialism was producing and exporting raw materials either agricultural or mineral, precious metals such as gold, silver and copper. Tropical products for luxury consumption such as coffee, sugar, spices, timber and fabrics like cotton. Later when Britain, France and Germany were competing against each other for colonies in Africa in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the international market had changed rapidly with a huge demand for raw materials for manufacturing such as jute, cotton, rubber and sisal (Bernstein, 1992: 48). Mass consumption demand such as tea, sugar and vegetable oils (1992). In the colonies with mineral resources, colonial governments started policies that forced some African farmers to leave their homes to become mine workers. Colonies in East and Southern Africa had climates attractive to agricultural production. With production comes labor, and therefore to meet these needs, the colonial governments started policies that removed good farm land from the local population and forced some men to work as laborers on European controlled farms. A lot of African colonies had no efficient amount of minerals or the environment for large scale agricultural production, and therefore colonial governments made farmers grow special cash crops that would be exported to raise revenues. These cash crops include peanuts, coffee, cocoa, cotton, bananas and tobacco. One of the most important factors of economic production and growth is people. All means of production depends on human labor. As a result, many Africans were forced into slavery or indentured labor. African countries had under-developed means of transportation and communication infrastructures and therefore railways, roads and river transportation were developed to facilitate a more efficient movement of goods, services, and people.

Another key political feature of colonialism was the Europeans' having a technological advantage where the use of firearms such as muskets and machine guns ensured dominance over the Africans (Bernstein, 1992: 60). The discovery of quinine (prevention against malaria) reduced huge amounts of death rate among the

Europeans especially in West Africa (1992). Two other technological advantages which were of importance to the industrialization of Western Europe were the telegraph cables and railroads which made it more efficient for Europeans 'to control their newly acquired colonies efficiently.' The telegraph could be used to alert superiors the happenings in the colony especially if there was a revolt which the superiors could then in turn send troops to crush the resistance via railroads or riverboats. Railroads and steamships were also used to transport the minerals efficiently back to the mother country (1992: 61). Therefore, we can see that the technological advantages helped in the struggle to maintain colonial rule. Another political feature of colonialism was the use of traditional authority figures such as kings, princes and chiefs who the Europeans could rely on for political support and often bribed these traditional authority figures to help maintain peace with his people and therefore control over the colonies. Another political feature was the authoritarian and statist systems where authoritarianism meant that the local inhabitants had little or no say in government issues (1992: 56-57). The statist system meant that the colonial government had control over all the sources and income being produced in the colonial states (1992: 57-58).

Colonialism also meant the use of hegemonic ideology which imposed ideas that the colonies were actually helping the local inhabitants by developing the country economically, socially and culturally. The second hegemonic ideology was the belief that the Europeans were invincible to ensure that any thought of a resistance or uprising would be futile and crushed easily (1992: 61-62). These ideas were important to the colony to maintain their rule and continued work effort as well as peace from the local inhabitants. The Europeans introduced Western education and religion to the local inhabitants so that they would be able to use the educated locals to administer the country at a lower wage or effort. The Europeans also felt that it was their duty to civilize the 'barbarians' by introducing them to Western education and religion as well as to justify European domination. Another social feature of colonialism was the use of racist ideologies where whites were more superior and civilized than Africans.

When it comes to the psychological effects of colonialism, it is impossible to talk about these effects without recalling Albert Memmi who portrays colonizer and

colonized as living in the grip of a “colonial relationship” that chains them “into an implacable dependence, which molded their respective characters and dictated their culture” (1991: ix).

Reaffirming his belief that colonialism is primarily an economic enterprise,<sup>8</sup> with no “moral or cultural mission” whatsoever (Memmi, 1991: xii), he stresses that the ‘colonial system’ determines and controls their mental attitudes. Even the “colonizer who refuses”, on moral or political grounds, to endorse the exploitation of the colonized population and tries to do something about it, is dominated by the system, for “[i]t is not easy to escape mentally from a concrete situation, to refuse its ideology while continuing to live with its actual relationships” (1991: 20). This is a situation in which his “humanitarian romanticism” is viewed by the “colonizer who accepts” as a serious illness and his “moralism” is condemned as intolerable (1991: 21). Under these circumstances, the well-intentioned colonizer soon finds himself sharing his companion oppressors’ derogatory image of the colonized: “How can one deny that they are under-developed, that their customs are oddly changeable and their culture outdated?”, even though one is aware of the fact that this is due not to the colonized “but to decades of colonization” (1991: 24).

The colonizers, whatever their persuasion, inexorably develop a distorted portrait of the colonized that explains and justifies the roles of both in the ‘colonial system’ as ‘civilizer’ and ‘civilized’. “Nothing could better justify the colonizer’s privileged position than his industry, and nothing could better justify the colonized’s destitution than his indolence.” (1991: 79)

The myth of laziness and incompetence is elaborated and expanded into an essential inferiority and its alleged effects.<sup>9</sup> The incongruity thus generated inevitably leads, “by obvious logic” (1991: 121), concludes Memmi, to a “fundamental need for

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<sup>8</sup> “[T]he best possible definition of a colony: a place where one earns more and spends less. You go to a colony because jobs are guaranteed, wages high, careers more rapid and business more profitable” (Memmi 1967: 4).

<sup>9</sup> “The ideological aggression which tends to dehumanize and then deceive the colonized finally corresponds to concrete situations which lead to the same result” (ibid.: 91).

change”,<sup>10</sup> which will necessarily bring about the destruction of the ‘colonial system’: “The colonial situation, by its own internal inevitability, brings on revolt” (1991: 128). While revolt is for him clearly the preferred and necessary alternative, he does not overlook the other of “the two historically possible solutions”, which the colonized tries to put into practice, and with top priority: “The first attempt of the colonized is to change his condition by changing his skin”(1991: 120). And this changing of skin consists mainly in a change of mind, i.e. in the adoption of the forms of thinking and behaving of the colonizer, in the hope that this will carry with it the corresponding privileges.<sup>11</sup> Nevertheless, Memmi argues, imitation and compromise are ruled out as real possibilities. “[R]evolt is the only way out of the colonial situation, and the colonized realize it soon or later. His condition is absolute and cries for an absolute solution; a break and not a compromise” (1991: 127). This was what Mandela did as a colonized subject. He expresses the colonized’s right of revolting in one of his speeches, *To Anniversary of the Soweto Uprising on 16 June 1976* on Thursday, June 16, 1994:

That is what those who arrogated to themselves the status of slave-master sought to achieve. In the false comfort of their ill-gotten power, they convinced themselves that the answer to South Africa's problems was to murder, to maim and to persecute. But they had typically closed their eyes to the historical truth that it is a God-given right that the slave should revolt<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> “How can one believe that he [the colonized] can ever be resigned to the colonial relationship; that face of suffering and disdain allotted to him? In all of the colonized there is a fundamental need for change” (ibid.: 119).

<sup>11</sup> “There is a tempting model very close at hand – the colonizer. The latter suffers from none of his deficiencies, has all rights, enjoys every possession and benefits from every prestige. ... The first ambition of the colonized is to become equal to that splendid model and to resemble him to the point of disappearing in him” (ibid.: 120).

<sup>12</sup> [http://db.nelsonmandela.org/speeches/pub\\_view.asp?pg=item&ItemID=NMS184&txtstr=revolt](http://db.nelsonmandela.org/speeches/pub_view.asp?pg=item&ItemID=NMS184&txtstr=revolt)



## 1.2. Post-colonial Discourse and Theory As a Cure to Colonialism and Apartheid System

In order to understand how post-colonial movement will act as a cure to colonialism and apartheid system, it should be understood first what Post-colonialism is and how it acted to remove the residual discourses and understandings of colonialism.

It is obvious that the post-colonial movement came out as a response to the colonization in the ex-colonized Asiatic, African and Latin American countries after they achieved independence. In other words as post colonialist theorists point out post colonialism is now.

The historian Arif Dirlik claims that the post-colonial exactly began when the third world intellectuals have arrived in first world academia. (1994: 329). Gayatri Spivak goes even further declaring that they live “in a postcolonial neocolonized world.” (1993: 59)

Post colonialism is the main stream of literature in the Third World countries against the colonizers or the so-called Western First World countries, but people of any area became part of it. The Diaspora and some Second World writers works are relevant for the post-colonialist theory, too.

Although the post-colonial writers are many in number, rich in ideas and most of the times have diverse approaches they are all standing under the same umbrella: they make use of other literary theories of the 20<sup>th</sup> century such as deconstruction, Marxism, Feminism, psychoanalysis; and are concerned with the social and cultural effect of colonization and the ways of minimizing them. In *What is Post(-) colonialism?* Mishra and Hodge write:

Postcolonialism, we have stressed, is not a homogenous category, either across all post-colonial societies or even within a single one. Rather, it refers

to a typical configuration which is always in the process of change, never consistent with itself. (1994: 289)

In order to understand the post-colonial theory, we first should focus on colonization. Colonization is the imperialistic motion of generally the European countries toward new lands. Colonization bore different scopes in itself such as: the enlargement of territorial empires; the need for constantly expanding markets for their goods; the search for low cost labor force.

Although the colonizers at the time, claimed their target to be a socio-cultural one in order to help these undeveloped countries because the natives posed dangerous threat to themselves and to the civilized world if left alone, and thus it was in the interest of the civilized world to have the colonized under control. So as:

- a) The colonized are savages in need of education and rehabilitation.
- b) The culture of the colonized is not up to the standard of the colonizer, and it's a moral duty to do something about polishing it.
- c) The colonized nation is unable to manage and run itself properly, so they should be helped.
- d) The colonized nation religious beliefs are wrong and disagreeing with that of the colonizer (Christianity) so it is a duty toward God to bring those people to the right path.

According to Homi Bhabha, Ngugi wa Thiong'o and later Gayatri Spivak were the responses of the colonized communities toward colonialism – the white settlers in Africa and India–; complicity with the colonizers; their total rejection; and a sort of accommodation with their laws.

It is pointless to claim that even after the fall of colonization the wounds in the ex-colonized societies were huge. Beside the uncountable loss in people, the ex-colonized nations/communities had to face several still on-going problems, such as the partial or total erosion of the colonized culture – language, religion, tradition–; the identity and subjectivity of the colonized; the categorization of the world into ranks, such as first world, third world, the West and the East, 'othering'; the issues of race and gender.

To form a better idea about the path post-colonialism as a movement followed since the very first years of the twentieth century, to become later one of the leading theories in the world is essential to have an idea about the pioneers of this movement such as Frantz Fanon, Edward Said, H. Bhabha, Ngugi, and Spivak.

In different countries there were different sorts of resistance. During the pacifist movement led by Mahatma Gandhi in India, the natives disagreed in collaborating with the colonizers. The political movement of the Caribbean's – the black Atlantic – was mainly led by W.E.B. Du Bois. Nobody can negate the enormous contribution of other activists such as E. Glissant who is concerned with the Creole language, C.L.R. James concerned with the history of colonization, and W. Harris as a novelist and historian, but surely the most famous theorist of the resistance period is Frantz Fanon.

Frantz Fanon is the Algerian writer who wrote "the handbook of the black revolution", *The Wretched of the Earth*. In the book written during and about the Algerian war against France, Fanon coins the idea that the only response to colonialism is 'violence'. Fanon affected by the French humanistic existentialist Sartre who defines colonialism as a physical and a psychological disease that can be cured only by violence. In his previous book *Black Skins, White Masks*, Fanon tries to show the European evil toward the colonized countries based on historical facts. In his book, Fanon defines the black that behaves like whites enemies that should be fight violently as well. Concluding *The Wretched of the Earth*, Fanon stresses the importance of the non-European scholars in order to recreate/remake the world, by using Europe's system of work but not following its oppressing strategy: "Fanon is perhaps the name which above all the others is associated with both the theorizing and the implementation of anti-colonial and post-colonial resistance- 'the founding father of anti-colonial theory'" (Young, 1995: 161).

Edward Said, the Palestinian scholar whose name is associated with *Orientalism*, more than a post-colonial active theory producer was a provoker of theoretical analyses. *Orientalism's* attempt is to deconstruct the established rapport

between orient and occident. The book focuses on how the West have perceived the East in centuries and how their relationship is based on 'power'. According to Said, orientalism – the East's perception– was shaped in the post-enlightenment era. The knowledge of west about east was deficient, so they chose the way of simplification, 'essentialisation' of the complex eastern societies. Still according to Said, this is what led to the view of the eastern as 'other' bringing together the desire and attempt of representation and hegemony that led to colonization.

In *Culture and Imperialism*, Said focuses on the importance of culture in dominating the colonized. He is of the idea that the institutional, political and economic operations of imperialism are nothing without the power of culture that maintains them. In this book of his, Said cites some famous western writers' work, such as J. Conrad, M. Arnold, T. S. Eliot, Thompson, J. Austin, to emphasize the importance of culture – arts and language– in order to effect and rule a society.

In *For Lust of Knowing*, R. Irwin defining Said as an impulsive non-expert, charges him for being the reason of the western stagnation of the 20<sup>th</sup> century about the oriental studies. Further, other critics have criticized Edward Said's work for being too political, non-rehabilitant and filled with historical mistakes, too, but even today not many critics or scholars have discussed his influence as the synthesizer of all the approaches of the century in order to build a path followed by post-colonial theorists.

Two other post-colonialist scholars' work, *Occidentalism* by Ian Buruma and Avishai Margalit, although not as famous as *Orientalism*, is another attempt similar to Edward Said's target in order to reflect the relationship between the West and the East; the symbols these words bare in themselves, the misperception of the West by the East and vice versa. This book emphasizes the idea that the view of West about the East is what led to the wild eastern response (i.e. the attack of September 11, 2001.)

Homi B. Bhabha, often accused for being too complex, confusing, and impenetrable is one of the best post-colonial theorists, but why not one of the most realistic ones? His work concerns mainly with post-colonial identity. According to Bhabha, Said's work is over-simplifying the reality of today's world. The issues are much more complicated than the heavy boundaries between the West and the East, the colonizer and the colonized which Said depicts in *Orientalism*.

Basing his analyses on deconstruction and psychoanalysis, Bhabha's starting point in *The Location of Culture* is the relationship between the colonizer and the colonized. For Bhabha, the issue of colonialism should not be faced as the discrimination of the other as an alien. It is a discrimination of the 'doubles' of a certain 'self'; 'a mother culture versus its bastards' (1994:159).

Speaking about the identity in *The Location of Culture*, Homi Bhabha stresses that colonial discourse is marked by ambivalence, the Freudian term that stands for the co-existence of the 'two classes of instinct' such as love and hate. Ambivalence is a process of identification and disavowal, both fear from his/her difference and desire for the other. This can be noticed at both the colonized and the colonizer.

Mimicry is another concept of Bhabha. It means 'not white/ not quite'? It is the term that defines the status and desire for an acceptable – developed– 'other'. The mimic man is the one who is black outside, but white inside. He acts like a white, he has the white's values but he is still 'other' because of his skin color. In Bhabha's eyes, mimicry is a camouflage, not a real assimilation. He defines mimicry to be a sort of reaction and a sort of threat toward the colonizer because the colonizer knows how to control the 'other'– colonized– not himself. "Mimicry can be defined as a sameness, which slips into otherness" (1994: 86).

Bhabha also talks about hybridity or hybridization. It is the condition of the Diaspora identities formed under exile. These hybridized identities are the combination of an inherited tradition and the one learned in a foreign land. According to Bhabha, – 'the ambivalent, mimic man, hybrid'– the hybridity is the

effect of mimicry and in order to express hybridity, he gives the example of attic and boiler. The attic represents white people, while the boiler room represents blacks. Between attic and boiler room there is the stairwell, which stands for cultural hybridity. This part accepts and entertains difference without an imposed hierarchy.

At this point, it is necessary to remark the fact that the post-colonial communities are considered as ‘others’ even if they basically are an internal part of the western culture. This ‘othering’ toward the hybridized continues even when they turn back to their homeland. Both Said and Bhabha have stressed the importance of these ‘in-betweens’ as symbols of the colonial oppression, and as significant individuals – the Diaspora scholars– in anti-colonial struggle.

Language’s power in anti-colonial struggle is discussed by the Kenyan writer of great influence in post-colonial discourse, Ngugi wa Thiong’o, in *Decolonizing the Mind*. His book marks the importance of cultural colonization:

Colonialism imposed its control of the social production of wealth through military conquest and subsequent political dictatorship. But its most important area of domination was the mental universe of the colonised, the control, through culture, of how people perceived themselves and their relation to the world. (1986: 16)

Ngugi, in his attempt to decolonize the mind of the ex-colonized, stresses the importance of language as a vivid component of culture. At the same time, he emphasizes language’s importance as a carrier of both culture and literature, where the last one marks the position of a nation/community in the world. Now, faced with a significant loss of their culture-language and literature-the African struggle has been unsuccessful in decolonizing their mind-culture - the way they decolonized their territory, politics and economy. According to Ngugi now, only the African scholars’ determination can change this fact. Ngugi, influenced by Paulo Frere, writer of *The Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, proposes the two paths he personally followed: First, the use of the western languages – the dominant languages in Africa such as English, French, and Portuguese– as a weapon toward the imperialistic

colonization – a strategy successfully applied by the Irish writers; second, the return to the lost roots of their languages in order to rebuild their own language and literature – an essential method of rationalization of Africa.

Another important name in post-colonial world is Gayatri Ch. Spivak. The term ‘subaltern’ introduced by him is used to define the voiceless, ‘primitive’, ‘uncivilized’ individual of the lower class in the third world. The subaltern is an individual with no subjectivity, whose oppression is still continuing- now by the ex-oppressed-, who himself is ‘othered’ by ‘the other’.

Spivak, as a Marxist feminist, has been concerned with the issue of the subaltern; the colonized women, migrants, homeless, peasants, refugees and displaced tribes’ members. According to Spivak, the subaltern though is no minority has been the real victim of colonization, hegemony and simplification (Nelson and Grossberg, 1998: 278)

Accusing post-colonialism for being the ghetto movement that completes and serves globalization as a new form of colonialism, Spivak, in her article “Can the Subaltern Speak?”, charges the post-colonialist scholars for imitating the European white philosophers of the 19<sup>th</sup> century in theorizing the world not showing any attempt to change it. (1998: xi) Warning the post-colonial scholars for the danger they represent toward the subaltern as an alternative form of colonizer and oppressor, Spivak recommends the Marxist socio-economical movement as an adequate path to be followed. He believes that the intellectual response of the anti-colonizing struggle passes through the deconstruction of western literature – including philosophy, history, geopolitics, and epistemology– and its rewriting from the anti-colonial perspective. Agreeing with Said that the third world is first world’s creation, Spivak’s suggestion is to give up seeing ourselves as ‘other’. She suggests that if there is any sort of ‘othering’ or ‘marginalization’ the post-colonialist should apply, it has to be against the first world, not Europe and its ‘others’ but Europe as an ‘other’.

Chinua Achebe in *Things Fall Apart* and Ngugi in *The River Between* depict the first years of colonizer's settlement in Africa the way they were perceived and later their violent behavior under the name of religion and civilization.

Negaib Mahfouz in his Nobel Rewarded *Cairo Trilogy* depicts the struggle between the traditional and modern in terms of identity and culture-religion, tradition and womanhood- in the post-colonial Egypt.

In Naipoul's *A House for Mr Biswasan*, an autobiography of the author, the same hybrid identity, language and tradition issues are discussed. Even if the events happen in a different geography-Trinidad and Tobago-from that of Mahfouz, the wounds and the changes provoked by colonization are equally huge, difficult to solve impossible to prevent.

*The Lonely Londoners* by Sam Selvon and *Brick Lane* by Monica Ali are the review of the emigrants' stories in Europe- West India and Bangladesh- respectively. In these books we notice the formation of the hybrid identity and the 'other' perception that doesn't change; the essentialized and simplified figure of the 'margin'.

Jamaica Kincaid's *Lucy* is the story of the black woman in the metropolitan cities. From a feministic perspective, Kincaid in this autobiography narrates the problems of womanhood, family, lost roots, language and identity. Jamaica Kincaid is one of those women, such as Fatima Mernassi, Sara Suleri, Chandra Mohanty, Alicia Walker, Mahasweta Devi and Helen Tiffin-, whose attempt was to become the voice of the woman oppressed for her race and womanhood.

As stressed at the beginning of this overview, the umbrella of post-colonialism includes an enormous number of scholars from different geographies of all over the world, with different perspectives changing and being renewed persistently. They have succeeded in making their voice heard and entering the mainstream of western literature. Although Nelson Mandela has no wish to be a post-colonial writer, his



autobiography *A Long Walk to Freedom* depicts the sufferings and wishes of “an oppressed boy” under the influence of colonialism and apartheid, and it also depicts the changing process of Mandela’s thoughts during his life.

To conclude, after having attempted to point out the main aspects of post-colonialism as a post-structuralist movement against colonialism, it is crucial to state that post-colonialism deals with two main aspects postmodernism had been silent about: racism and imperialism.

Racism has existed throughout human history. It may be defined as the hatred of one person by another – or the belief that another person is less than human – because of skin color, language, customs, the place of birth or any factor that supposedly reveals the basic nature of that person. It has influenced wars, slavery, the formation of nations, and legal codes.

During the past 500-1000 years, racism on the part of Western powers toward non-Westerners has had a far more significant impact on history than any other form of racism (such as racism among Western groups or among Easterners, such as Asians, Africans, and others). The most notorious example of racism by the West has been slavery, particularly the enslavement of Africans in the New World (slavery itself dates back thousands of years). This enslavement was accomplished because of the racist belief that Black Africans were less fully human than white Europeans and their descendants.

This belief was not "automatic": that is, Africans were not originally considered inferior. When Portuguese sailors first explored Africa in the 15th and 16th centuries, they came upon empires and cities as advanced as their own, and they considered Africans to be serious rivals. Over time, though, as African civilizations failed to match the technological advances of Europe, and the major European powers began to plunder the continent and forcibly remove its inhabitants to work as slave laborers in new colonies across the Atlantic, Africans came to be seen as a deficient "species," as "savages." To an important extent, this view was necessary to

justify the slave trade at a time when Western culture had begun to promote individual rights and human equality. The willingness of some Africans to sell other Africans to European slave traders also led to claims of savagery, based on the false belief that the "dark people" were all kinsmen, all part of one society - as opposed to many different, sometimes warring nations.

One important feature of racism, especially toward Blacks and immigrant groups, is clear in attitudes regarding slaves and slavery. Jews are usually seen by anti-Semites as subhuman but also superhuman: devilishly cunning, skilled, and powerful. Blacks and others are seen by racists as merely subhuman, more like beasts than men. If the focus of anti-Semitism is evil, the focus of racism is inferiority -- directed toward those who have sometimes been considered to lack even the ability to be evil (though in the 20th century, especially, victims of racism are often considered morally degraded).

In the second half of the 19th century, Darwinism, the decline of Christian belief, and growing immigration were all perceived by many white Westerners as a threat to their cultural control. European and, to a lesser degree, American scientists and philosophers devised a false racial "science" to "prove" the supremacy of non-Jewish whites. While the Nazi annihilation of Jews discredited most of these supposedly scientific efforts to elevate one race over another, small numbers of scientists and social scientists have continued throughout the 20th century to argue the inborn shortcomings of certain races, especially Blacks. At the same time, some public figures in the American Black community have championed the supremacy of their own race and the inferiority of whites - using nearly the identical language of white racists.

All of these arguments are based on a false understanding of race; in fact, contemporary scientists are not agreed on whether race is a valid way to classify people. What may seem to be significant "racial" differences to some people - skin color, hair, facial shape - are not of much scientific significance. In fact, genetic differences within a so-called race may be greater than those between races. One

philosopher writes: "There are few genetic characteristics to be found in the population of England that are not found in similar proportions in Zaire or in China...those differences that most deeply affect us in our dealings with each other are not to any significant degree biologically determined." <sup>13</sup>

When it comes to imperialism it can be defined as "The policy of extending a nation's authority by territorial acquisition or by the establishment of economic and political hegemony over other nations."<sup>14</sup>

In essence, what post-colonialism as a movement does is to expose to both the ex-colonizer and ex-colonized the falsity or validity of their assumptions, even if its target is a rather 'utopian' one – the change of a 'mistaken' order dominant all over the world– which has been realized by Nelson Mandela.

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<sup>13</sup> [http://archive.adl.org/hate-patrol/racism.html#UwJ8aWJ\\_t8E](http://archive.adl.org/hate-patrol/racism.html#UwJ8aWJ_t8E)

<sup>14</sup> <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/imperialism>

## CHAPTER TWO

### 2.1. A South African Country Child: Nelson Mandela

Rolihlahla was born into the Madiba clan in Mvezo, Transkei, on July 18, 1918, to Nonqaphi Nosekeni and Nkosi Mphakanyiswa Gadla Mandela, principal counsellor to the Acting King of the Thembu people, Jongintaba Dalindyebo<sup>15</sup>.

When he was born, he was as pure as all other children; he was not born with a sign of God or he was not a freedom fighter. He even considered the English, and generally the whites, as superiors; “The educated Englishman was our model; what we were aspired to be were ‘Black Englishmen,’ as we were sometimes derisively called. We were taught and believed that the best ideas were English ideas, the best government was English government, and the best men were English men” (Mandela, 1994-1995: 37). Through this education and colonialism’s practice of power, the young generation of the oppressed South African society saw the whites as the supporters and sponsors of the community, as Mandela notes: “I looked on the white man not as an oppressor but as a benefactor” (1994-1995: 32).

After playing in the open areas of his village described as “their playground” (1994-1995: 23), he started school, meanwhile Colonialism’s practice of power was in progress, and he was given the name “Mandela”. In his autobiography, he describes the event:

On the first day of school, my teacher, Miss Mdingane, gave each of us an English name and said that from thenceforth that was the name we would answer to in school. This was the custom among Africans in those days and was undoubtedly due to the British bias of our education. The education I received was a British education, in which British ideas, British culture, British institutions, were automatically assumed to be superior. There was no such thing as African culture.

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<sup>15</sup> <http://www.nelsonmandela.org/content/page/biography>

Africans of my generation — and even today — generally have both English and an African name. Whites were either unable or unwilling to pronounce an African name, and considered it uncivilized to have one. That day, Miss Mdingane told me that my new name was Nelson. Why she bestowed this particular name upon me I have no idea. Perhaps it had something to do with the great British sea captain Lord Nelson. (1994-1995: 24)

His father died when he was 12 years old (1930), and the young Rolihlahla became a ward of Jongintaba at the Great Place in Mqhekezweni where he studied English, Xhosa, history, and geography. Hearing the elder's stories of his ancestor's valor during the wars of resistance, he dreamed also of making his own contribution to the freedom struggle of his people<sup>16</sup>.

It is important to mention his childhood because he never lost the spirit he gained when he was a child. The seeds of loving freedom and fighting for freedom were planted in his spirit in those years. This spirit became one of the most important instruments of his being a freedom fighter. Even while he was living in the city, he used to visit his village and countryside; it was something like turning back to his childhood for him. He really loved to be a child, and it was very difficult for him to leave his childhood. After the circumcision feast, they set everything left from the circumcision feast on fire and this was very painful for him, He tells this in his autobiography:

After the ceremony, I walked back to the river and watched it meander on its way to where, many miles distant, it emptied into the Indian Ocean. I had never crossed that river, and I knew little or nothing of the world beyond it, a world that beckoned me that day. It was almost sunset and I hurried on to where our seclusion lodges had been. Though it was forbidden to look back while the lodges were burning, I could not resist. When I reached the area, all that remained were two pyramids of ashes by a large mimosa tree. In these ash heaps lay a lost and delightful world, the world of my childhood, the world of sweet and irresponsible days at Qunu and Mqhekezweni. Now I was a man, and I would never again play thinti, or steal maize, or drink milk from a cow's udder. I was already in mourning for my own youth. Looking back, I know that I was not a man that day and would not truly become one for many years. (1994-1995: 32)

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<sup>16</sup> <http://www.nelsonmandela.org/content/page/biography>

## 2.2. A Freedom Fighter is coming into Existence

Coming from an oppressed society means being politicized from the time when you were born because every individual is seen as a potential threat for the hegemony of the government ruled by the oppressor or the colonizer, although the colonial silenced subject might be unaware of this: “An African child is born in an Africans Only hospital, taken home in an Africans Only bus, lives in an Africans Only area, and attends Africans Only schools, if he attends school at all” (Mandela 64). However, Mandela was quite different from the time of his birth. First of all, he was born into a royal family, and he was a great observer. He used to observe everything and had very critical approach. Therefore, the events he lived and the people he met shaped his political career and his struggle for freedom. He mentions a number of ‘critical events’ and “people” in his biography one of which is the mine workers’ strike of 1946 (Mandela, 1994-1995: 67). Mandela utters this in his autobiography:

In one of the largest such actions in South African history, the miners went on strike for a week and maintained their solidarity. The state’s retaliation was ruthless. The leaders were arrested, the compounds surrounded by police, repulsed by police; twelve miners died. The Natives representative Council adjourned in protest. I had a number of relations who were mineworkers, and during the week of the strike I visited them, discussed the issues and expressed my support.

J.B Marks, a longtime member of the ANC and the Communist Party, was then president of the African Mine workers Union. Born in the Transvaal, of mixed parentage, Marks was a charismatic figure with a distinctive sense of humor. He was a tall man with a light complexion. During the strike I sometimes went with him from mine to mine, talking to workers and planning strategy. From morning to night, he displayed cool and reasoned leadership, with his humor leavening even the most difficult crisis. I was impressed by the organization of the Union and its ability to control its members, even in the face of such savage position ... (1994-1995: 23)

As Mandela uttered above, he had learned lots of things from the mine workers’ strike of 1946 and J.B Marks, and it can even be said that Mandela took J.B Marks as

a model because he “displayed cool and reasoned leadership” in the later years when he was in the prison, or when ANC was in very difficult positions.

Asiatic Land Tenure Act (Mandela, 1994-1995: 67), and Malan’s platform is known as *Apartheid* (1994-1995:71). Here one could say that the prophecy of W.E.B. Du Bois came true as he claimed that “The problem of the Twentieth Century is the problem of the color line” (*The Souls of Black Folk*, 2006-2014:16). Undoubtedly through its historical, economic and cultural background, Du Bois’s prophecy is applicable in South Africa as the natives became ‘colonial subjects’ in their own land, in their own continent due to their skin color. However, as claimed by Jenny Sharpe, colonial subject is a contradictory figure who simultaneously reinforces colonial authority and disturbs it (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin, 2003: 99). Thus, every subject under oppression has a double-edge quality by which he/she can be a potential menace for the supremacy of the oppressor. Mandela, a colonial subject who carries an English name, baptized and grown up through the power discourse of the racism, and someone who called the whites benefactors, transforms into a resisting subject by his ‘psychological emancipation’. The term ‘psychological emancipation’ is the term publicized by “Steve Biko, a political prisoner who died at the hands of South African police in September 1977<sup>17</sup>. Biko, a charismatic speaker who helped awaken the black consciousness, advocated “psychological emancipation” for blacks in South Africa (Cotterell and Morgan, 1975: 105). Mandela’s membership and his leading presence in ANC party, in spite of the government’s pressure on him to resign, suggests his ‘psychological emancipation’ in Biko’s sense, by reclaiming not only his land but also the suppressed African identity. Facing with more pressure and violence from the government inspires him to form MK or *Umkhonto we Sizwe*, the militant branch of ANC, which means ‘Spear of the Nation’. The symbolic choice of the name suggests Mandela’s quest for the return to the collective cultural identity, as he asserts: “The symbol of the spear was chosen because with this simple weapon Africans had resisted the incursions of

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<sup>17</sup> <http://africanhistory.about.com/od/stevebiko/a/bio-Biko.htm>

whites for centuries” (Mandela, 1994-1995: 167). By this quest, he indeed shatters the concept of being a ‘colonial subject’ since he does not consider himself a ‘subaltern’ anymore. However, through this quest and because of his political activities, he gets arrested for several times and was finally sentenced to life imprisonment. Generally known, the imprisoned is someone who has challenged the ‘discipline’ of society in a way of its kinds, and as Sara Mills cites from Foucault, “Discipline consists of a concern with control which is internalized by each individual” (2003: 43). While there can be many kinds of offences to the rules established by the power discourse of any society, Mandela’s resistance to the hegemony of apartheid seems to be a ‘high treason’ in the eyes of the government. The fact that he did not get sentenced to death can signify his meaningful and outstanding presence among people in their struggle toward freedom; in other words, this signifies his ‘voice’ and presence as a threat whose death even would make greater upheavals and awaken more subjects of apartheid. On the other hand, to send him to prison among other criminal prisoners in order to get him to undergo the gaze of power shows the government’s efforts to ‘mute’ his ‘voice’; or in other words, to restore him as a ‘silenced colonial subject’. In this way, Mandela describes that “apartheid regulations extended even to clothing. All of us, except Kathy (Indian), received short trousers, a substantial jersey, and a canvas jacket. Short trousers for Africans were meant to remind us that we were ‘boys’” (1994-1995: 226). However, in prison not only did Mandela not become subject to silence but he also opened another page for his political activities in spite of the presence of segregation in prison as well. The policy against these anti-racist prisoners was reminding the discourse of the ‘big brother’ and the hegemony of master/slave. As Mandela asserts, “The warders were white and overwhelmingly Afrikaans-speaking, and they demanded a master-servant relationship. They ordered us to call them ‘*baas*’ which we refused. The racial divide on Robben Island was absolute: there were no black warders, and no white prisoners” (1994-1995: 227).

To persist on his resistance and to maintain his emancipation, he continues his studies of laws, goes on hunger strikes or forms an internal organization of ANC in prison, which he names as ‘High Command’. He even manages to smuggle massages



to inside and outside of prison and keeps in touch with his comrades. The apartheid could not turn him back to subalternity. Instead, he could make his voice heard inside the prison, *and* outside of the penal complex, which was heard in his society and also internationally as he becomes the president of Students' Union of London University in absentia (Mandela, 1994-1995: 293). However, the amazing fact is that he calls the Robben Island as a university since he and other political inmates manage to form a faculty of their own. This seems significant because their secret faculty educates and provides the young non-white prisoners with the knowledge far from the discourse dictated by the apartheid, as the courses are on issues of black identity and politics, history of the Indian struggle, history of colored people, Marxism, political economy, aims as well as history of ANC and the liberation struggle:

In the struggle, Robben Island was known as the University. This is not because of what we learned from books, or because prisoners studied English, Afrikaans, art, geography and mathematics, or because so many of our men, such as Billy Nair, Ahmed Kathrada, Mike Dingake, and Eddie Daniels earned multiple degrees. Robben Island was known as the university because of what we learned from each other. We became our own faculty, with our own professors, our own curriculum, and our own courses. We made a distinction between academic studies, which were official, and political studies, which were not. (Mandela, 1994-1995: 278)

Indeed it is through his resistance and his smart tactics and leadership that he manages his voice to be heard not only by the people of his society but also by the government, and in a broader sense, it makes the apartheid talk with him internationally and consequently. He proves that it is by the resistance against the hegemony of the oppressor along with cultural and psychological emancipation that the oppressor will not be able to suppress the subjectivity of the oppressed even if he/she has been imprisoned to be 'silenced'. The fact that the apartheid governments tries to talk to Mandela to reach an agreement proves that Mandela has attained a voice different from the voice of the government. On the other hand, his freedom from the prison, clash of apartheid and formation of an anti-racist political system signifies the restoration of black identity and native collective culture in South Africa. The book he started to write from a time during imprisonment and its

completion, suggests Mandela's speaking subjectivity representing the struggle of a nation for freedom.

### **2.3. The Freedom Charter and the Nationalist Government's Attitude**

In the history of South Africa and Mandela's struggle for freedom, the most important milestone of this period is "The Freedom Charter" that was the statement of core principles of the South African Congress Alliance, which consisted of the African National Congress and its allies the South African Indian Congress, the South African Congress of Democrats and the Coloured People's Congress. It is characterized by its opening demand: The People Shall Govern!

In 1955, the ANC sent out fifty thousand volunteers countrywide to collect 'freedom demands' from the people of South Africa. After collecting the demands of people all around the country the ANC leaders and their allies put the demands into a system. This system was designed to give all South Africans equal rights. Demands such as "Land to be given to all landless people", "Living wages and shorter hours of work", "Free and compulsory education, irrespective of colour, race or nationality" were synthesized into the final document by ANC leaders including Z.K. Mathews and Lionel 'Rusty' Bernstein<sup>18</sup>.

The Charter was officially adopted on June 26, 1955 at a Congress of the People in Kliptown. The meeting was attended by roughly three thousand delegates but was broken up by police on the second day, although by then the charter had been read in full. The crowd had shouted its approval of each section with cries of 'Afrika!' and 'Mayibuye!'

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<sup>18</sup><http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=72>

The document is notable for its demand for and commitment to a non-racial South Africa, this remains the platform of the ANC. The charter also calls for democracy and human rights, land reform, labour rights, and nationalization. After the congress was denounced as treason by the South African government, the ANC was banned and 156 activists were arrested, including Nelson Mandela who was first imprisoned in 1962. However, the charter continued to circulate in the underground and inspired a generations of young militants. For that reason, it is essential to know the demands of the organizations which signed the “The Freedom Charter”. Here is the original document:

#### The Freedom Charter

As adopted at the Congress of the People, Kliptown, on 26 June 1955

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

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

that our people have been robbed of their birthright to land, liberty and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality;

that our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood, enjoying equal rights and opportunities;

that only a democratic state, based on the will of all the people, can secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief;

And therefore, we, the people of South Africa, black and white together equals, countrymen and brothers adopt this Freedom Charter;

And we pledge ourselves to strive together, sparing neither strength nor courage, until the democratic changes here set out have been won.

**The People Shall Govern<sup>19</sup>!**

Every man and woman shall have the right to vote for and to stand as a candidate for all bodies which make laws;

All people shall be entitled to take part in the administration of the country;

The rights of the people shall be the same, regardless of race, colour or sex;

All bodies of minority rule, advisory boards, councils and authorities shall be replaced by democratic organs of self-government.

**All National Groups Shall have Equal Rights!**

There shall be equal status in the bodies of state, in the courts and in the schools for all national groups and races;

All people shall have equal right to use their own languages, and to develop their own folk culture and customs;

All national groups shall be protected by law against insults to their race and national pride;

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<sup>19</sup> <http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=72>

The preaching and practice of national, race or colour discrimination and contempt shall be a punishable crime;

All apartheid laws and practices shall be set aside.

The People Shall Share in the Country's Wealth!

The national wealth of our country, the heritage of South Africans, shall be restored to the people;

The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the Banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole;

All other industry and trade shall be controlled to assist the wellbeing of the people;

All people shall have equal rights to trade where they choose, to manufacture and to enter all trades, crafts and professions.

The Land Shall be Shared Among Those Who Work It!

Restrictions of land ownership on a racial basis shall be ended, and all the land re-divided amongst those who work it to banish famine and land hunger;

The state shall help the peasants with implements, seed, tractors and dams to save the soil and assist the tillers;

Freedom of movement shall be guaranteed to all who work on the land;

All shall have the right to occupy land wherever they choose;

People shall not be robbed of their cattle, and forced labour and farm prisons shall be abolished.

All Shall be Equal Before the Law!

No-one shall be imprisoned, deported or restricted without a fair trial; No-one shall be condemned by the order of any Government official;

The courts shall be representative of all the people;

Imprisonment shall be only for serious crimes against the people, and shall aim at re-education, not vengeance;

The police force and army shall be open to all on an equal basis and shall be the helpers and protectors of the people;

All laws which discriminate on grounds of race, colour or belief shall be repealed.

All Shall Enjoy Equal Human Rights!

The law shall guarantee to all their right to speak, to organise, to meet together, to publish, to preach, to worship and to educate their children;

The privacy of the house from police raids shall be protected by law;

All shall be free to travel without restriction from countryside to town, from province to province, and from South Africa abroad;

Pass Laws, permits and all other laws restricting these freedoms shall be abolished.

There Shall be Work and Security!

All who work shall be free to form trade unions, to elect their officers and to make wage agreements with their employers;

The state shall recognise the right and duty of all to work, and to draw full unemployment benefits;

Men and women of all races shall receive equal pay for equal work;

There shall be a forty-hour working week, a national minimum wage, paid annual leave, and sick leave for all workers, and maternity leave on full pay for all working mothers;

Miners, domestic workers, farm workers and civil servants shall have the same rights as all others who work;

Child labour, compound labour, the tot system and contract labour shall be abolished.

The Doors of Learning and Culture Shall be Opened!

The government shall discover, develop and encourage national talent for the enhancement of our cultural life;

All the cultural treasures of mankind shall be open to all, by free exchange of books, ideas and contact with other lands;

The aim of education shall be to teach the youth to love their people and their culture, to honour human brotherhood, liberty and peace;

Education shall be free, compulsory, universal and equal for all children;

Higher education and technical training shall be opened to all by means of state allowances and scholarships awarded on the basis of merit;

Adult illiteracy shall be ended by a mass state education plan;

Teachers shall have all the rights of other citizens;

The colour bar in cultural life, in sport and in education shall be abolished.

There Shall be Houses, Security and Comfort!

All people shall have the right to live where they choose, be decently housed, and to bring up their families in comfort and security;

Unused housing space to be made available to the people;

Rent and prices shall be lowered, food plentiful and no-one shall go hungry;

A preventive health scheme shall be run by the state;

Free medical care and hospitalisation shall be provided for all, with special care for mothers and young children;

Slums shall be demolished, and new suburbs built where all have transport, roads, lighting, playing fields, creches and social centres;

The aged, the orphans, the disabled and the sick shall be cared for by the state;

Rest, leisure and recreation shall be the right of all:

Fenced locations and ghettos shall be abolished, and laws which break up families shall be repealed.

There Shall be Peace and Friendship!

South Africa shall be a fully independent state which respects the rights and sovereignty of all nations;

South Africa shall strive to maintain world peace and the settlement of all international disputes by negotiation - not war;

Peace and friendship amongst all our people shall be secured by upholding the equal rights, opportunities and status of all;

The people of the protectorates Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland shall be free to decide for themselves their own future;

The right of all peoples of Africa to independence and self-government shall be recognised, and shall be the basis of close co-operation.

Let all people who love their people and their country now say, as we say here:

**THESE FREEDOMS WE WILL FIGHT FOR, SIDE BY SIDE,  
THROUGHOUT OUR LIVES, UNTIL WE HAVE WON OUR LIBERTY.**

On 5 December 1956, in response to the adoption of the Freedom Charter at the Congress of the People, the Apartheid government in South Africa arrested a

total 156 people, including Chief Albert Luthuli (president of the ANC) and Nelson Mandela. This was almost the entire executive of the African National Congress (ANC), Congress of Democrats, South African Indian Congress, Coloured People's Congress, and the South African Congress of Trade Unions (collectively known as the Congress Alliance). They were charged with "high treason and a countrywide conspiracy to use violence to overthrow the present government and replace it with a communist state." The punishment for high treason was death. The Treason Trial dragged on, until Mandela and his 29 remaining co-accused were finally acquitted in March 1961. Days before the end of the Treason Trial Nelson Mandela travelled to Pietermaritzburg to speak at the All-in Africa Conference, which resolved that he should write to Prime Minister Verwoerd requesting a non-racial national convention, and to warn that should he not agree there would be a national strike against South Africa becoming a republic. As soon as he and his colleagues were acquitted in the Treason Trial Nelson Mandela went underground and began planning a national strike for 29, 30 and 31 March. In the face of massive mobilization of state security the strike was called off early. In June 1961 he was asked to lead the armed struggle and helped to establish Umkhontowe Sizwe (Spear of the Nation).<sup>20</sup>

On 11 January 1962, using the adopted name David Motsamayi, Nelson Mandela secretly left South Africa. He travelled around Africa and visited England to gain support for the armed struggle. He received military training in Morocco and Ethiopia and returned to South Africa in July 1962. He was arrested in a police roadblock outside Howick on 5 August while returning from KwaZulu-Natal where he briefed ANC President Chief Albert Luthuli about his trip.

He was charged with leaving the country illegally and inciting workers to strike. He was convicted and sentenced to five years' imprisonment during which he began serving in the Pretoria Local Prison. On 27 May 1963, he was transferred to Robben Island and returned to Pretoria on 12 June. Within a month, police raided a

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<sup>20</sup> <http://www.nelsonmandela.org/content/page/biography>

secret hide-out in Rivonia used by ANC and Communist Party activists, and several of his comrades were arrested.

On 9 October 1963, Nelson Mandela joined ten others on trial for sabotage in what became known as the Rivonia Trial. While facing the death penalty his words to the court at the end of his famous “Speech from the Dock” on 20 April 1964 became immortalised:

I have fought against white domination, and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die. (1964)

On 11 June 1964, Nelson Mandela and seven other accused, Walter Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada, Govan Mbeki, Raymond Mhlaba, Denis Goldberg, Elias Motsoaledi and Andrew Mlangeni, were convicted, and the next day they were sentenced to life imprisonment. Denis Goldberg was sent to Pretoria Prison because he was white, while the others went to Robben Island.

Nelson Mandela’s mother died in 1968 and his eldest son Thembi in 1969. He was not allowed to attend their funerals.

On 31 March 1982, Nelson Mandela was transferred to Pollsmoor Prison in Cape Town with Sisulu, Mhlaba and Mlangeni. Kathrada joined them in October. When he returned to the prison in November 1985 after prostate surgery, Nelson Mandela was held alone. Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee visited him in hospital. Later Nelson Mandela initiated talks about an ultimate meeting between the apartheid government and the ANC.

On 12 August 1988 he was taken to hospital where he was diagnosed with tuberculosis. After staying more than three months in two hospitals, he was transferred on 7 December 1988 to a house at Victor Verster Prison near Paarl where

he spent his last 14 months of imprisonment. He was released from its gates on Sunday 11 February 1990, nine days after the unbanning of the ANC and the PAC and nearly four months after the release of his remaining Rivonia comrades. Throughout his imprisonment, he had rejected at least three conditional offers of release.

Nelson Mandela immersed himself in official talks to end white minority rule, and in 1991 he was elected as the president of ANC to replace his ailing friend Oliver Tambo. In 1993, he and the President FW de Klerk jointly won the Nobel Peace Prize, and on 27 April 1994 he voted for the first time in his life.

On 10 May 1994, he was inaugurated South Africa's first democratically elected president. On his 80th birthday in 1998, he married Graça Machel, his third wife. True to his promise, Nelson Mandela stepped down in 1999 after one term as president. He continued to work with the Nelson Mandela Children's Fund he set up in 1995 and established the Nelson Mandela Foundation and The Mandela Rhodes Foundation.

In April 2007, his grandson Mandla Mandela became head of the Mvezo Traditional Council at a ceremony at the Mvezo Great Place.

Nelson Mandela never wavered in his devotion to democracy, equality and learning. Despite terrible provocation, he never answered racism with racism. His life has been an inspiration to all who are oppressed and deprived; to all who are opposed to oppression and deprivation.

He died at his home in Johannesburg on 5 December 2013. Nelson Mandela's father died in 1930 when Mr. Mandela was 12, and his mother died in 1968 when he was in prison. While his autobiography *Long Walk to Freedom* places Madiba's father's death in 1927, historical evidence shows it must have been later and most



likely 1930. In fact, the original *Long Walk to Freedom* manuscript (written on Robben Island) states the year as 1930<sup>21</sup>.

#### **2.4. Mandela as a Peacemaker**

Nelson Mandela had really a varied and full career as an activist and politician during his political life. In every phases of his life he had significant influences on the people, and he accomplished many things as a child, a student, a nationalist leader, a revolutionary, a prisoner, a South African president, and a global peacemaker. Although his personal characteristics and political philosophies evolved considerably during his life, one principle remained the same, which was “the struggle towards the inequality” in all phases of his life. While he was fighting with the inequality, he always tried to improve the distinctive aspects of his personality which were strong sense of self-efficacy, self-confidence, self-discipline and his tendency to trust others, consensus orientation, his democratic and aristocratic instincts which he got since his birth. These distinctive aspects of his personality were all rooted in his childhood years as mentioned before.

Mandela was born July 18, 1918, in a rural village in South Africa’s Transkei region, an eldest child and the only boy among his mother’s four children. His extended family conveyed their high expectations for him and imparted a sense of destiny for leadership. His upbringing was strict but quite supportive, and Mandela learned self-control and acquired a sense of agency which he would quote later in life: “I am the master of my fate; I am the captain of my soul<sup>22</sup>.” When he was still a child, he used to listen to oral stories of the tribes heroic figures, from the oral histories of tribal elders, Mandela absorbed a vivid sense of Xhosa nationalism, the glories of the pre-colonial African past and the supposedly democratic and

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<sup>21</sup> [http://africanhistory.about.com/od/mandelanelson/a/bio\\_mandela\\_2.htm](http://africanhistory.about.com/od/mandelanelson/a/bio_mandela_2.htm)

<sup>22</sup> <http://www.therhouse.com/nelson-mandela-quotes-i-am-the-captain-of-my-soul/>

uncorrupted tribal society whose unity, peace, and autonomy which had been undermined by the nineteenth-century British imperial conquests. According to the elders, the white occupation was a recent, most probably a temporary setback, and it was not an acceptable fact.

Although He considered British rule an illegitimate usurpation, Mandela had to steep in British culture and religion via the Methodist missionary schools to which he was sent by the king regent of the Tembu branch of the Xhosa, who adopted him after his father died. Indeed, he was assigned the name “Nelson,” after the heroic British admiral, by a teacher at his first mission school.

The education Mandela got in missionary schools imbued Mandela with an affinity for Britain’s liberal constitutionalist and legalist political culture and sharpened his skills in reasoned argument and debate. Making friends from different tribes at school helped Mandela shed ethnocentric prejudices and led him toward a broader nationalism, rather than Xhosa or Tembu nationalism. In secondary school, Mandela gained his first significant exposure to the African National Congress. The ANC which was politically stable at that time was African, rather than tribal. Although Mandela had everything to be a politician, he wanted to pursue a career in civil service, not in politics.

When Mandela was at university over a conflict with the university president about the student representative’s election, he made a fateful decision not to compromise in a confrontation with the university president and he was expelled from the university. He then broke with the regent over an arranged marriage, and in 1941 Mandela and his cousin Justice escaped to Johannesburg. During the Second World War, a great number of South Africans had to move to the cities due to lack of livelihood in the country, this urbanization had started to threaten the status and welfare of Afrikaners (whites of mainly Dutch descent), and they tried to find a way to protect their status and welfare so they planted the apartheid system, an

extensively codified policy of segregation and white supremacy<sup>23</sup>. Mandela, who had been raised as a member of the royal household, was subjected to the great and petty humiliation imposed on blacks in a segregated city. At a time Mandela considered the most difficult of his life, he met Walter Sisulu – about whom he says: “the first white man who treated me as a human being” (1994-1995: 51) – who arranged for him a job in the office of a Jewish attorney, a determined African nationalist of mixed racial parentage, recognized in Mandela a leader of outstanding potential and became Mandela’s political mentor and closest comrade.

Through his legal work, Mandela met Gaur Radebe, a union organizer and member of the ANC and Communist Party, who in 1943 recruited him into his first organized political action– a bus boycott. Mandela, Sisulu, Oliver Tambo, and others formed the ANC’s Youth League, ousted the organization’s less-than activist president, and according to the political scientist Tom Lodge he became the “first substantial cohort of African middle-class professionals to make political activism the central focus of their lives” (Aikman, 2003: 4).

During the mid-1940s, Mandela began working closely with South Africans of Indian background who were engaged in Gandhian mass-action campaigns. Indian passive resisters inspired the prospect of interracial cooperation against apartheid. Yet Mandela, during his early years as an ANC activist, was aggressively hostile to Indian and white Communists. Once converted to a non-racial South African nationalism in the 1950s, however, he remained dedicated to it even as hard-line African nationalists split from the ANC to form the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) in 1959. Mandela also considered the ANC his greatest priority, over any individual, and after ten years of activism he emerged as the ANC’s second-ranking leader.

Police violence had a radicalizing effect on Mandela. In particular, during the May Day protest of 1950 in which police massacred a group of peaceful demonstrators, Mandela was forced to take refuge in a dormitory where he could

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<sup>23</sup> [http://www.southafrica.info/about/history/history.htm#.UsrytNJdX\\_M](http://www.southafrica.info/about/history/history.htm#.UsrytNJdX_M)

hear bullets hitting the walls. He was instrumental in leading the ANC into a more confrontational posture toward the government, becoming the chief organizer for the ANC's 1952 Defiance Campaign, an innovative attempt at mass defiance of apartheid laws. Although the protest was quieted after six months, Mandela noted that it had freed him "from any lingering doubt or inferiority (he) might still have felt ... (he) could walk upright like a man, and look everyone in the eye with the dignity that comes from not having succumbed to oppression and fear" (Aikman, 2003: 83).

Mandela viewed non-violence pragmatically, as a tactic rather than an inviolable principle. Government repression of peaceful protest and political activity in the mid- and late 1950s, culminating with the Sharpeville massacre and the official banning of the ANC in 1960, caused him to move away from non-violence toward sabotage and guerrilla warfare. His eventual decision to take a lead role in forming the ANC's guerrilla army was also influenced by the desire not to be outflanked politically by the PAC or other organizations. Mandela wrote: "Violence would begin whether we initiated it or not. If we did not take the lead now, we would soon be latecomers and followers in a movement we did not control" (1994-1995: 51). Mandela and others in the ANC were also over-optimistic about revolutionary insurrection at a time when revolutionary anti-imperialism was cresting. Mandela assiduously studied successful rebellions, and he was attentive to the ANC's need for international support. In 1962 he left the country secretly to seek funds and military support for the ANC from newly independent African countries.

Abandoning his law practice and going underground left Mandela financially ruined and without a normal family life with his wife or children. However, risky and daring his tactics, Mandela's goal of establishing a non-racial bourgeois democracy remained essentially conservative although radical in the South African context.

During his 17 months underground, disguised and continually hunted by the police, Mandela became the movement's leading spokesperson and a unifying symbol of resistance. His dramatic sightings and media statements conferred celebrity as "the black Pimpernel." Mandela's intense consciousness of his own

political symbolism was also evident in his trial for treason, when he appeared in “the white man’s court” wearing a traditional leopard-skin garment. He commented, “I felt myself to be the embodiment of African nationalism” (1994-1995: 195). After he and his colleagues were arrested in 1960, ending their premature hopes of revolution, Mandela drew on his considerable experience in courtroom argument and used cross-examination in his own trial as a platform to defend his commitment to equality of rights.

Facing a likely death sentence in his 1963 trial, Mandela delivered his best-known speech, a detailed defense of the ANC’s actions, which unflinchingly concluded that a democratic, non-racial South Africa was an “ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But, if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die” (1994-1995: 215). As Lodge notes, “The ultimate success of ... efforts to embody the ANC’s cause in a saga of individual heroism probably exceeded all expectations among ANC strategists in the early 1960s” (Lodge, 2003: 5). International diplomatic pressures probably contributed to the government’s decision to opt for a sentence of life imprisonment instead of death.

During the prime of his life, from 46 to 71 years of age, Mandela largely disappeared from public view, but his accomplishments as a prisoner were critical to the eventual outcome of the South African conflict. Nationally and internationally, he symbolized the imprisonment and enslavement of the majority in South Africa. In the political section of the Robben Island penal colony, Mandela deflected challenges to his leadership from Marxists while keeping the ANC unified. He also maintained good personal relations with the rival PAC and other liberation groups and dampened divisive struggles that could be exploited by the authorities.

Mandela had already experienced prison in the 1950s and early 1960s, and he had noted the possibilities of engaging Afrikaner warders, some of whom were violent racists unaccustomed to highly educated, politically committed members of other races. The prisoners’ survival and dignity necessitated educating and negotiating with the prison officials, and it led some warders to appreciate the ANC

cause. His success in negotiating with prison authorities gave Mandela confidence in his abilities to persuade Afrikaner political leaders. During the State of Emergency of the mid-1980s, he reached out to government representatives, eventually engaging them in “talks about talks” that led to the release of ANC prisoners and negotiations over a new political order. Mandela engaged in secret pre-negotiation dialogue with cabinet members, and ultimately Presidents P.W. Botha and F. W. de Klerk, impressing his interlocutors with his understanding of Afrikaans language and culture, as well as the historical parallels he drew between Afrikaner nationalism and his own people’s anti-imperial struggles. He noted the lesson that “one of our strongest weapons is dialogue: Sit down with a man [and] if you have prepared your case very well, that man ... will never be the same again” (Waldmeir, 1997: 17). In the 1970s, when younger radicals arrived at the prison during the Soweto Uprising, Mandela used his persuasive powers to convince them that accommodation with warders was preferable to confrontation and helped recruit them into the ANC. Prison also necessitated prolonged and intensive self-denial, given the years of heavy labor, poor diet, physically debilitating conditions (stone-breaking in a lime quarry left Mandela with permanent difficulty in reading), and racist oppression.

Mandela developed a high degree of control, mastering his anger and other emotions and developing a steely toughness in his dealings with adversaries which he later brought to negotiations over a new government. “It was a tragedy to lose the best days of your life,” he said, “but you learned a lot. You had time to think—to stand away from yourself, to look at yourself from a distance, to see the contradictions in yourself” (1994-1995: 225). Solidarity among ANC prisoners and faith in the eventual victory of the organization’s ideals sustained Mandela and his fellow inmates, but he also suffered when his mother and his first son died, and he was not permitted to bury them, and when the authorities arrested his wife and placed her in solitary confinement for 13 months.

Mandela was aware of the authorities’ attempts to exacerbate his personal anguish, and he felt that he could not allow it to be used against him. He repeatedly

refused the authorities' conditional offers of release and insisted on waiting until his colleagues were freed before agreeing to leave prison himself.

Mandela's initiative in starting talks with the government, and his government-imposed isolation during his last years in prison alarmed some in the ANC, and on his release from prison in 1990 he sought to assure the ANC's grassroots that he had not sold out. After initially affirming his militancy, organizational loyalty, and commitment to nationalization of private industry, Mandela prioritized a politics of forgiveness and magnanimity in which he himself personified post-apartheid South Africa. To those who were astonished at his apparent lack of bitterness, he responded, "If you were in our position you would never find the time to be bitter because you are looking at the problems" (1994-1995: 232).

Nevertheless, Mandela also felt responsible when Zulu gangs massacred ANC supporters with the assistance of elements of the regime's police and armed forces, who sought to derail the transition to democracy. Having called de Klerk "a man of integrity," Mandela felt betrayed that de Klerk was either unwilling or unable to stop the violence aimed at destabilizing opposition forces, and later he admitted to some naivety in this regard. Mandela's advocacy of a coalition government helped contain reactionary forces, as did his support for job guarantees for apartheid-era bureaucrats. He can also be credited with preventing mass violence in 1993 with his televised call for restraint after a white immigrant assassinated ANC hero Chris Hani in a bid to sabotage elections and drive the country into civil war.

Ultimately, Mandela's approach to the Afrikaner right wing paid off, since he won the trust of the leaders of the potentially militant Afrikaner Volksfront, ensuring a relatively peaceful transition to majority rule.

After becoming South Africa's first democratically elected president at the age of 75, Mandela continued to reach out to non-African groups, becoming the embodiment of democratic and inclusive principles. He performed an array of symbolic gestures, such as inviting his former jailers and prosecutors to official

meals, visiting the 94-year-old widow of apartheid's founding father, and addressing gatherings of Afrikaner business and cultural organizations.

These gestures were emblematic of Mandela's focus on changing the larger political culture, rather than on a detailed policy agenda. His efforts at property reduction were constrained by the imperatives of attracting foreign investment in an age of globalization and his acceptance of neo-liberal strictures on redistribution of wealth. Mandela also led the ANC's embrace of big business, dropping the long-held nationalization plank of the ANC's Freedom Charter and accepting political donations from white executives, including those of formerly pro-apartheid corporations.

While some leftists criticized Mandela for sacrificing ideals, he considered that ideals of social justice would be better served by his personally soliciting funds for the ANC and for social causes and seeking affirmative action for formerly excluded groups.

As president, Mandela had the unique stature to resist death-penalty proponents during an increase in violent crime, and he faced down the Communist Party during a late 1990s currency devaluation. He personally endured a grueling public break-up of his marriage after his wife was found complicit in a boys kidnapping and murder. On his eightieth birthday, he married Graca Machel, widow of the President of Mozambique and a major public figure in her own right.

After his term as a president concluded in 1999, Mandela remained a voice of conscience in South Africa, criticizing his successor, Thabo Mbeki's government for inaction toward both of the AIDS pandemic and ANC ally Robert Mugabe's misgovernment of neighboring Zimbabwe, and condemning corruption by some ANC officials. Mandela remained an international statesperson during his post-presidential career, dedicating himself to peacemaking in African civil wars and mediating the dispute over Libyan suspects in the Lockerbie airline bombing. Five years after his official retirement from politics, Mandela was still using his enormous



influence to speak out on global issues, condemning the Bush administration, for example, for invading Iraq without a UN mandate and for reports of the “terrible abuses against the dignity of human beings held captive by invading forces in their own country”(Lieberfeld, 2003: 229-250). However, Mandela also characteristically tempered his idealism with pragmatism and conciliation.

While the political culture of the ANC influenced Mandela as much as he influenced it, he was instrumental in leading the nationalist movement to actively confront the apartheid government, and he became a unique symbol of resistance, sacrifice, and endurance in face of racist injustice and repression. His outstanding ability to establish interpersonal trust and rapport kept anti-apartheid groups relatively unified during the years their leaders spent in prison. Alone, Mandela risked his own leadership position by initiating negotiations with government representatives. After walking out of prison, he made himself the embodiment of reconciliation in a severely divided society, headed off potential insurgencies against the new government from the white right wing and Zulu nationalists, and was a leading voice of conscience in South Africa and conflict zones around the world. His incorruptibility and evident lack of personal interest in power, along with the range and graceful presentation of his political styles, from stern and fatherly to charmingly self-deprecating, made him the world’s most widely admired leader in the latter half of the twentieth century.

## CONCLUSION

Describing his visit to the National Museum in Cairo, Mandela notes that it was “important for African nationalists to be armed with evidence to refute the fictitious claims of whites that Africans are without a civilized past that compares with that of the West. In a single morning, I discovered that Egyptians were creating great works of art and architecture when whites were still living in caves” (Mandela, 1994-1995: 408). The generally current postcolonial theme of the debate that ‘whether a colonial subject or a subaltern can have a voice’ seems to be palpable in Mandela’s autobiography. Spivak, in her article “Can the Subaltern Speak?”, questions the possibility of the voice of a margin while not only he/she has internalized the hegemony of the oppressor but also he/she is being studied through the language and discourse of the oppressor which is far from the subjectivity of the colonial subject. This can be feasible in South African’s struggle toward freedom suggesting that while the native perceives him/her self as an inferior, and the western S/subject binary is internalized, possessing a ‘voice of one’s own’ would not be possible. As Mandela asserts to overcome this discourse it was a need for Africans to be ‘armed with evidence’ to dispute the claims of apartheid that Africans are ‘without a civilized past’. Thus, the colonized subject cannot ‘speak’ until he/she has emancipated him/her self from hegemony of the oppressor ‘psychologically’ and ‘culturally’, and consequently, even if imprisoned physically, this subjectivity’s voice would not be muted, as it is the case about Mandela. Mandela’s voice has been heard globally through his activities not only outside the prison, but also through his imprisonment as he did not give up his resistance and persevered to smash the discipline of the colonizer/colonized. In fact, his book, *Long Walk to Freedom* is not only his voice but also the voice of a black nation, a black cultural collectivity condemning the segregation and apartheid in the South Africa. Mandela’s autobiography is not a narrative prepared by the non-black scholar about segregation and colonization of once oppressed nation by the whites, but is a text written by a black freedom fighter about his nation, his culture and the quest for freedom. It is a voice narrating the poverty, and the violence imposed on a nation by a different race

for materialistic goals. It is a narrative about families, mothers, wives and children, and his voice is heard globally while his book is being read.

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