Hacettepe University Graduate School of Social Sciences

Department of International Relations

**THE ROLE OF LEADERSHIP IN NATIONAL RECONCILIATION PROCESS:
THE CASE OF SOUTH AFRICA**

Yunus Turhan

Master's Thesis

Ankara, 2013

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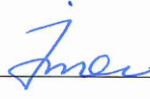CASE OF SOUTH AFRICA

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Yunus TURHAN

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ÖZET

TURHAN, Yunus. Ulusal Uzlaşma Sürecinde Liderliğin Rolü: Güney Afrika Örneği, Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Ankara, 2013

Bu tezin amacı Güney Afrika'daki apartheid'in son evresinde ve sonrasında gerçekleştirilen ulusal uzlaşma sürecinde liderlerin rolünü Nelson Mandela ve F.W. De Klerk örneğinde incelemektir (1989-1999). Bu minvalden hareketle, çalışmanın odaklandığı temel araştırma sorusu ise şu şekilde ifade edilebilir: çatışma ortamından barışa uzanan süreçte uygulanan ulusal uzlaşı'da liderlerin rolü nedir? Şüphesiz ki çatışmayı yapıcı bir kuvvete dönüştürecek ve ulusal uzlaşıda tarafları ortak paydada birleştirecek unsurlarından biri de liderlerdir. Liderler çatışmayı yıkıcı ve bölücü olabilecek bir kuvvet olmaktan çıkartıp yaraları sarıcı ve bağlantı kurucu bir kuvvete dönüştürürler. Bu sebeple, tez boyunca ulusal uzlaşmaya liderlerin katkısı olmadan sürecin eksik ve başarıya ulaşmada yetersiz kalacağını argümanı savunulmaktadır. Güney Afrika'daki ulusal uzlaşma sürecindeki liderlik örneği, Mandela ve de Klerk özelinden incelenmiş ve her iki liderlerin ulusal uzlaşma sürecine katkıları gösterilmiştir. Lakin her iki liderin yapmış oldukları katkıların Güney Afrika'daki taraflar üzerindeki sonuçları çalışmanın kapsamı dışında tutulmuştur, çünkü sonuçların hakkıyla ölçülebilmesi için en az birkaç nesil geçmesi gerekmektedir.

Bu bağlamda çalışma üç bölümden oluşmaktadır. Birinci bölüm literatür taraması olup, ulusal uzlaşma'nın metodolojik tanımlaması ve kavramın içerisinde barındırdığı eylemler olan özür, af, tazminat ve Galtung'un çatışma üçgeni incelenmektedir. Ayrıca liderlik kavramı ve özellikleri birinci kısım dâhilinde incelenmiştir. Çalışmanın ikinci kısmında, Güney Afrika'nın tarihsel geçmişine yolculuk edip sorunların köklerini incelenmektedir. Üçüncü kısımda ise, Nelson Mandela ve F.W. De Klerk'in ulusal uzlaşma sürecinde üstlendikleri roller ve uygulamaya koydukları faaliyetler Galtun'un çatışma üçgeni teorisi çerçevesinde normatif ifadeler, sembolik eylemler ve yargı eylemleri başlığı altında incelenmektedir.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Ulusal Uzlaşma, Liderlik, Çatışma Üçgeni, Genel Af, Özür, Tazminat, Sembolik Eylemler, Normatif İfadeler, Adalet ve Uzlaşma Komisyonu, Nelson Mandela, F.W. De Klerk.

ABSTRACT

TURHAN, Yunus. The Role of Leadership in National Reconciliation Process: The Case of South Africa, Master's Thesis, Ankara, 2013

The main aim of this thesis is to investigate the national reconciliation process of South Africa and the role of Nelson Mandela and F.W. De Klerk in the final years of Apartheid and the Mandela era. (1989-1999). Within this framework, the basic research question that this study focused on can be expressed as follows: what is the role of leaders in the process of national reconciliation in which the parties involved applied to move from conflict to peace? During the national reconciliation process, one of the elements which undoubtedly transformed the conflict into a constructive nation-building exercise and united conflicting parties is the common denominator of effective leadership. Leaders have transformed conflicts from being a destructive and divisive force into a constructive way forward. Therefore, the thesis advocates that without the contribution of leaders, the national reconciliation process will be incomplete and would not achieve success. This thesis displays Mandela and de Klerk's contributions to the national reconciliation process of South Africa and also both leaders' initiatives are shown.

In this context the thesis consists of three parts. The first part is a literature review which explains the methodological analysis and basic traits of national reconciliation that contain apology, forgiveness, reparation and Galtung's conflict triangles. In short, the first part undergoes an extensive literature review of the concept of national reconciliation and leadership. In the second part, there is a historical journey into the background of South Africa which examines the historic roots of the problem. The third section discusses the role of Nelson Mandela and F. W. De Klerk in the national reconciliation process, also their implementations and initiatives are examined with the methodology of Galtung's conflict triangle under the heading of normative statements, symbolic acts and judicial actions.

Key Words: National Reconciliation, Leadership, Conflict Triangle, Amnesty, Apology, Reparation, Symbolic acts, Normative Statements, Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Nelson Mandela, F.W. De Klerk

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANC: African National Party

ANCYL: African National Party Youth League

CODESA: Democratic South Africa

F.W.:   Frederic Willem de Klerk

HRVC: Human Rights Violation Committee

OED: Oxford English Dictionary

IFP: Inkatha Freedom Party

MK: Umkonto we Sizwe

NP: National Party

R&R Committee: Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee

SANNC: South Africa Native Congress

TRC: Truth and Reconciliation Commission

VOC: Dutch East India Company

INTRODUCTION

Over the past 30 years, civil wars and internal fighting have replaced interstate wars as the paramount form of worldwide conflict. Traditional conflict management strategies such as mediation, arbitration and adjudication have proven less than adequate when dealing with the contemporary localised nature of global conflict. Therefore, since the end of the Cold War, various legal techniques for dispute settlement have become increasingly prevalent elements to rebuild their civil societies. One of the striking techniques which represent a different focus in conflict resolution is *reconciliation*, which aims to implement 'transitional justice' in order to unite society under the flag of peace, in which society moves from internal war to lasting peace or from a repressive tyrant regime to a more democratic order. Thus, the notion of reconciliation has become a prominent topic for consideration in the contemporary field of conflict resolution

As of the 1960s, the effort to operationalise reconciliation has occurred both on national and international levels, with varying degrees of success. More recently, however, reconciliation has emerged as a societal conflict resolution strategy employed by individual national leaders to bring about healing in their societies ravaged by various forms of internal violence and conflict. To this extent, though there are many tools and strategies to constitute a peaceful reconciliation, the role of leadership role can be assumed to be essential so as to set a national reconciliation process in motion. Weak leadership contributes to government failure, whereas strong leaders maintain a successful and peaceful society. In this regard, leaders known as peacemakers such as Mahatma Ghandi, Martin Luther King, Nelson Mandela, Rosa Parks, Peace Pilgrim, F. W. De Klerk and Nelson Mandela have left an indelible mark on the people they have led and potentially on history, moreover, peace and prosperity was secured in the long run. On the other hand, leaders such as Hitler, Stalin, and Lenin brought about a catastrophe not only in the society they led but also to the world at large.[1] Therefore, it can easily be claimed that leader's role is vital to direct society in either the right or wrong direction. This fact is the same in the case of national reconciliation processes,

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[1] Adolf Hitler, Lenin and Stain were responsible of nearly 45 million peoples' lives in 20th century, see more, Zbigniew Brzezinski, "*Kontrolden Çıkmış Dünya"*, tr Haluk Menemencioğlu, İş Bankası Yayınları, 1993, p.10

for instance in the case of South Africa, Nelson Mandela and F.W. De Klerk were towering figures during the institutions of reconciliation as were Ratil Alfonsin in Argentina, Patricio Aylwin in Chile and Aniceto Longuinhos Guterres Lopes in East Timor who have constructed their respective societies by means of peaceful initiatives.

Within this framework, the main purpose of this study is to analyze the national reconciliation in South Africa and investigate the role of leadership in this peace-building process. In other words, this study searches the contributions of Mandela and De Klerk towards the national reconciliation process. While doing this, the public statements and behaviour exhibited by Mandela and De Klerk will be investigated in the context of Galtung's conflict triangle. To analyse national reconciliation attempts in post-conflict transitional settings, the role of leadership is seen as a major contributing factor due to the power of influence on society, therefore, this study will outline the effectiveness of peace means (negotiation, non-violent movement, empathy ect) that Mandela and de Klerk wisely utilised to prevent racial conflict in the post-apartheid period with varying degrees of success. Indeed, South Africa has ushered in a well-established democracy at the end of the Apartheid period as a result of these political leaders's endeavours. After suffering psychological and material injuries for a long time due to the policy of the apartheid regime, South Africa was born as one of the newly democratic states where participatory democracy has been established ending decades of discrimination including those of race, religion, culture and ethnicity. With its remarkably successful transition, the country has set an example to all countries involved in deep-seated conflicts and has inspired hope in the developing world as well. Although there were several tools utilized that led to a peaceful reconciliation in South Africa, the role of political leaders' (Nelson Mandela & F.W.de Klerk) were substantial in this process of national reconciliation after the demise of Apartheid.

The research question to be answered around which this thesis will be built is the following: to what extent leaders (Mandela and De Klerk) influenced the reconciliation process and to what degree their personal motives are significant in the national reconciliation process of South Africa? In fact, n other words, the thesis does not take into account the post-reconciliation process that evaluates the effects of Mandela and De Klerk's initiatives on South African people, it rather considers the initiatives,

measurements and actions which paved this national reconciliation process. In order to measure the actual effects of the initiatives' of Mandela and De Klerk after the reconciliation process, at least after the few generation the actual result can be measured.

The thesis handles the case of South African from a national reconciliation perspective. Arguably, there are different levels of reconciliations, yet for Hoglund, Sundber and Brouneus, empirical research of reconciliation is confined at three levels. The first one is the individual level, for example, how victims experience participating in a truth-telling process for reconciliation during trauma; the second one is the social level which focuses on how former enemy groups perceive each other before, during and after this process; the third one is the national level which focus on how governments (political leaders) and rebel groups act for reconciliation.[2] However, due to the framework of this thesis, only national reconciliation and its elements will be examined in the case of South Africa.

The theoretical framework of this thesis is based on the '*Conflict Triangle'* which was coined by Galtung's three corners, 'conflict attitudes, conflict behaviour and the conflict issue itself' as is applicable to the case of South Africa. To investigate national attempts for reconciliation in the case of South Africa, I use the term of national reconciliation measurement. National reconciliation is the formulation or demonstration of either *attitude* or *behaviour* by national political leaders. Therefore, in order to search the operationalization of national reconciliation in South Africa, Galtung's formulation of the ABC Conflict Triangle in which he describes the key aspects within a conflict as: (A) attitudes, (B) behaviours and (C) contradictions are logical and compatible with the empirical reality. Therefore Galtung's conflict triangle (known also as the violence triangle) will be applied to the initiatives of Mandela and De Klerk under the rubric of normative statements, symbolic acts, and judicial acts. In other words, all actions, related to reconciliation, taken by Mandela and De Klerk are seen as national reconciliation initiatives, so their attitudes and behaviours will be identified by two indicators: normative statements (measuring attitudes), symbolic and judicial acts (measuring behaviours).

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[2] Karen Brounéus, "*Analyzing Reconciliation: A Structured Method for Measuring National Reconciliation Initiatives",* Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology, 2008, 14:3, p. 294.

This thesis is organized in three chapters. Chapter I constitutes a literature review which provides an extensive conceptual analysis of reconciliation. In this chapter the definitions of reconciliations, types of reconciliation and acts of reconciliation are identified. To this extent, a broad understanding of the term of reconciliation is explained (from historical understanding to today). The acts of reconciliation which are apology, forgiveness and reparations will be briefly but sufficiently explained. In addition, leadership in reconciliation, types of leadership and traits of leadership are investigated throughout this chapter as well. Therefore, conceptual understanding of reconciliation and leadership, as well as leadership in reconciliation are sufficiently handled within chapter I. Briefly, this chapter covers a wide range of understanding of the term reconciliation and leadership with theirs traits, elements and definitions.

Chapter II aims to provide information about the historical background of the South African conflict, because, in order to analyse reconciliation initiatives, roots of conflict must be known otherwise initiatives cannot be comprehended accurately. Furthermore, if the seeds of conflict are known, such as how South African society has been divided before and during apartheid years, then reconciliation efforts can be worked out effectively, otherwise reconciliation initiatives remain insufficient. Therefore, this chapter covers a considerable span of time, which starts in the pre-colonial period, colonial period, apartheid years and a new democratic phase in South Africa. All these time periods are turning points in the history of South Africa. The questions to be responded to within this chapter are: what are the main breaking points of South African history? What are the significant hindrances that divided the society? Also, how South African people should learn lessons from the past and what can be done to move forward together?

Chapter III, which is the final chapter, functions as operationalization of national reconciliation in the case of South Africa. Proceeding with conceptual explanation of reconciliation, leadership and historical background of South Africa, the third chapter examines the implementation of national reconciliation initiatives by Mandela and De Klerk. The major objectives of this chapter are to determine how political leaders' personal characteristics and their endeavours influence national reconciliation within the case of South Africa. Therefore, this chapter highlights de Klerk' and Mandela's

reconciliation-oriented leadership and also considers how their personalities affected their promotion of intergroup reconciliation. Galtung's conflict triangle will be applied to the initiatives of Mandela and Klerk's under the rubric of normative statements, symbolic acts and judicial acts. So, judicial and symbolic acts that have been implemented by both leaders to run national reconciliation will be focused on. Rightly or wrongly, at the helm of this reconciliation mission, both leaders' endeavours were seen as bacon lights that enlightened future generations. Due to radical steps taken by both leaders, a new phase has been opened in the history of South Africa. Thus, this chapter answers the research question of this thesis: 'to what degree a leader can contribute to national reconciliation? By this reason, this chapter contains several arguments and counter-arguments towards national initiatives taken by leaders and weather initiatives should be seen as failure or success.

The conclusion covers a general overview and major outcomes that are derived from this thesis. So the conclusion sums up the account given in the thesis in addition to the points presented throughout the study.

CHAPTER I

1. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: ANALYSIS OF RECONCILIATION IN CONFLICT RESOLUTION

South Africa's peaceful transition from apartheid to a multiracial democracy is one of the hallmarks of 21th century that has been the subject of intense scholarly interest. After an intensive racial and ethnic division period, South Africa has emerged as a model for democracy not only in Africa but also for the world at large. Particularly, in this transitional process the role of Nelson Mandela and De Klerk were crucial to transcend the Apartheid regime and to construct a peaceful society where everyone would live in harmony, thus the role played by leadership in the case of South Africa was quite substantial.

The main objective of this chapter is to give an overview of the definitions and types of reconciliation and leadership. Thus, this chapter identifies leadership in reconciliation, the concept of leadership and reconciliation together with its meaning, traits and types. In this regard, several scholars' notions regarding definitions of reconciliation and leadership are going to be reflected upon throughout the first chapter. Briefly, the first chapter illustrates the theoretical framework of this thesis; therefore this chapter is a literature review which provides an extensive methodological analysis of reconciliation and leadership. Also, the analytical framework of this thesis is explained in this chapter that contains the conflict triangle which was founded by Galtung's three corners, 'conflict attitudes, conflict behaviour and the conflict issue itself.

Chapter I includes main elements of reconciliation as personal healing known as 'the acts of reconciliation', because there is a need to set up individual and social reconciliation processes in order to run a national reconciliation. Under this rubric, apology, forgiveness and reparation will be extensively explained so as to shed light on what true reconciliation contains in itself as conflict resolution.

The questions to be answered throughout the first chapter are, what is (or is not) the true understanding of the concept of reconciliation and leadership? What is the leadership types that best fit the South African case, also, which leadership prototype is aligned to Mandela and De Klerk', and finally what clarification is being made between political leaders, transformational leaders and charismatic non-constituted leaders? The chapter, thus, seeks to foreground the important issue of reconciliation and leadership.

1.1. THE CONCEPT OF RECONCILIATION: AN OVERVIEW

Since the demise of the Soviet Union and end of the bipolar system, several legal techniques for dispute settlement have become remarkably important for those nations who demand to rebuild their civil societies after bloodied conflict ensued. Tentatively, in the last three decades, the notion of reconciliation has become a prominent issue for consideration in the contemporary field of conflict resolution. Hence, since 1980, more than 17 national reconciliation commissions have been established to promote peace, stability and to foster the national reconciliation process.[3]

On 20 November 2006, the United Nations General Assembly voted to declare 2009 as the International Year of Reconciliation. Furthermore, on 23 January 2007, the General Assembly officially adopted General Assembly Resolution 61/17 which says: "*reconciliation process are particularly necessary and urgent in countries and regions of the world which have suffered, or are suffering, situations of conflict that have affected and divided societies in their various internal, national and international facets*".[4] Therefore reconciliation has exponentially become the hub of conflict resolution in the last three decades.

There are several reasons why efforts to achieve reconciliation have become an almost routine element of post-conflict peace building. One of the striking ones is that nearly all conflicts today are intrastate.[5] After peace, former enemies, perpetrators, and victims must continue living side-by-side. Another important reason is the number of human

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[3] Christopher C. Joyner, "*Reconciliation As Conflict Resolution*", 17th ANZSIL Conference Paper, Wellington, 2009, p. 44.
[4] Ibid., UNGA, ANZSIL Conference presentation, 56th plenary meeting, 20 November 2006,
[5] Brounéus, op. cit. p.294.

casualties during war due to the advanced change in weapon industry. Only during the 20th century, nearly 85 million people have died due to wars and conflicts. In addition to that war crimes, mass atrocities, human right violations and internal conflict have increased in the second half of 20th century. Thus, reconciliation initiatives have been felt necessary to construct a peaceful society and reconcile parties after a period of enmity. However, empiric and methodological studies regarding the concept of reconciliation has remained insufficient. Although the usage of reconciliation has been expanded upon in the last three decades, there is however less consensus regarding the concept of reconciliation, thus at the onset of this section, the concept of reconciliation will be extensively analysed from a historical scope through to today's understanding.

The concept of reconciliation, with regard to literature, has been a less critical discussion concerning its definition, so the concept of reconciliation is vague. Also, it is a complex term and there is little agreement on its definition. Bloomfield says, it is mainly because reconciliation is both a *goal* - something to achieve - and a *process* - a means to achieve that goal.[6] The goal of reconciliation is to create a permanent solution, a common future, perhaps even an ideal state to hope for. But the process is very much a presentence way of dealing with how things are, building a reconciliation process is the means to work, effectively and practically to access those goals.[7] Besides, according to Hegel, the word reconciliation, as it is ordinary used, is systematically ambiguous as between the *process* of reconciliation and the *state* that is its results.[8] The process could be described as a process of overcoming conflict, division, enmity and alienation, the result is restoration of unity, love, harmony, friendship, peace or love. What's more, the word reconciliation is being used regularly in many contexts that makes the concept more vague such as between wife and husband, between offender and victim, between family and friends who have argued or between nations and communities that have fought. Therefore the daily usage of reconciliation is vast, however, in this chapter, the reconciliation between offender and victim in the case of South Africa's post- conflict situation will be taken into account.

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[6] David Bloomfield and et. al. "*Reconciliation After Violent Conflict, A Handbook*", Stockholm, International IDEA publications, 2003, p. 12
[7]Ibid., p.12.
[8] Michael O. Hardimon, "*Hegel's Social Philosophy: The Project of Reconciliation",* USA, Cambridge Uni. Press., 1994, p. 85.

In addition, according to Meierhenrich, reconciliation means different things to different people.[9] What's more, Hamber and Kelly point out that the concept of reconciliation has differed from person to person because each bring their own ideological bias to the subject. For example, Hamber and Kelly say, a religious ideology often emphasises the re-discovering of a new conscience of individuals and healing the sin, repentance, confession and rebirth.[10] Therefore, all these various identifications and use of area prevents to reach a common definition of reconciliation.

Even today, there is discussion in literature regarding the main tenets of reconciliation and possible risks of reconciliation such as truth telling which are as the result of reconciliation initiatives. According to Ross, for instance, *'the evidence for or against reconciliation is thin' and cautioned that may significantly inhibit rather than advance peace process*.[11] Besides, several writers such as Bar-Tal, Bennink and Kriesberg, point out that there are many methods for reconciliation that are proposed but it is still ambiguous if, when, or why reconciliation works.[12]

Although, there are different conceptual definitions of reconciliation, there are still general acceptances by certain observers about main tenets and the certain substance of reconciliation. In this sense, Lederach, Rajeev Bhargava, Crocker and Johan Galtungs' definitions are worthy to take into account. Before detailing these scholars' notions on reconciliation, it would fruitful to remark briefly on the origin of reconciliation.

The background of conciliation goes back as far as the eighteenth century that was formalized in different parts of European conciliation boards and was introduced as a first instance in civil suits.[13] For instance, in Norway 'boards of conciliation' were established by royal decrees in 1795 and 1797 and whose task was to mediate between the contending parties and to seek solutions by consensus.. Since that time, several other cases have helped to broaden the usage of reconciliation, especially with increasing of the idea of to access justice for all which became a preoccupation of many activists and

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[9]Brounéus, op. cit., p. 295.
[10]Brandon Hamber and Gráinne Kelly, *"Reconciliation: A working Definition"*, Democratic Dialogue, 2004, p.6. www.democraticdialogue.org
[11] Meierhenrich, op. cit., p. 203.
[12] Brounéus, op. cit., p. 297. (cited in Ross 2004, Freeman and Hayner 2003)
[13] Meierhenrich, op. cit., p. 200. (cited in Aubert, 1989)

scholars in 1960s and 1970s.[14] Most notably after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the concept of Human Rights approach and Conflict Management by regulating social interaction through the rule of law and 'transition justice' became one of the important agendas in academic circles. In fact, the process of reconciliation is seen as being about bridging the divides between different cultures and identity groups.[15] Thus, after the cold war, literature studies on reconciliation has increased and the definition of reconciliation has been studied by many scholars but much more critical discussion is left to be done.

As it is mentioned previously, the definition of reconciliation is changeable in accord with situations and persons. However, some certain facts, or elements are valid in all reconciliation contexts. At its simplest meaning defined by Bloomfield, reconciliation: '*it is finding a way to live alongside former enemies – not necessarily to love them, or forgive them, or forget the past in any way, but to coexist with them, to develop the degree of cooperation necessary to share our society with them, so that we all have better lives together than we have had separately*'.[16] From this point, Johan Galtung also made a similar definition and he formulates reconciliation as: *Reconciliation = Closure + Healing*, closure is not reopening hostilities, healing in the sense of being rehabilitated.[17] Another simple definition was coined by Danish peace researchers Jan Öberg, '*reconciliation is synonymous with saying goodbye to revenge*'.[18] Briefly, the simple explanation of the concepts reconciliation is to seek a peaceful solution in conflict and create a society in which people coexist together.

Besides, the general definition of reconciliation was available in the Oxford English Dictionary (OED)'s second edition of 1989 that defines reconciliation as the '*action of reconciling persons, or the result of this; the fact of being reconciled*'. In fact, the first usage of reconciliation refers to the reunion of a person with church; therefore, the former meaning was characterized as a religious interpretation. In this sense, Hegel mentions the religious background in the conception of reconciliation that Christ

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[14] Ibid., p. 201.

[15] Hamber & Kelly, op. cit., p. 4.

[16] Bloomfield and et. al. op. cit., p.12.

[17] Johan Galtung, "*After Violence: 3R, Reconstruction, Reconciliation, Resolution, Coping With Visible and Invisible Effects of War and Violence*", A Peace Development Network, 1998, p. 64.

[18] Johan Galtung, "*Transcend and Transform*": An Introduction to Conflict Work, London, Pluto Press, 2004, p. 114.

reconciles man to God. According to this doctrine man had, through sinfulness became estranged from God.[19]

When we look at OED today, the meaning of reconciliation has three points, '*the restoration of friendly relations', 'the action of making one view or belief compatible with another'* and *'the action of making financial accounts consistent; harmonization'*[20] All these three points of reconciliation are addressing the individual level as a friendly relation, national level which could be operationalised through a commission process that creates domestic legislation or executive decree. The last one is economical and is also related to the individual and national level.

The verb of reconcile, according to Meierhenrich, has seen wider usage over centuries and it contains the meaning from bringing a person *'again into friendly relations to or with (oneself or another) after an estrangement',* to bring *'back into concord to reunite in harmony'.*[21] Likewise, Karen Brounéus's works are of substantial studies that he has broadened the concept of reconciliation. According to Karen, there are three common denominators in various definitions of reconciliation:

  --*Reconciliation involves mutual acknowledgment of past suffering (between former enemies).*
   --*Reconciliation involves the changing of destructive patterns of interaction between former enemies into constructive relationships, in attitudes, and behaviours.*
   ---*Reconciliation is a process toward sustainable peace.*[22]

Under the light of these three common denominators, Karen made the definition of reconciliation as: "*Reconciliation is a societal process that involves mutual acknowledgment of past suffering and the changing of destructive attitudes and behaviours into constructive relationships toward sustainable peace.*"[23] The strength of this definition lies in the centrality of these components: changes in emotion (mutual acknowledgment of suffering), attitude, and behaviour. In this context, the focus of

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[19] Hardimon, op. cit., p. 85.
[20] Oxford Dictionary, http://oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/reconciliation?q=reconciliation (accessed on 29.11.2012)
[21] Meierhenrich, op. cit., p. 203.
[22] Brounéus, op. cit., p.294.
[23] Ibid., p. 294

reconciliation is a process, not a remote goal to be achieved, when conflict has ended. This definition is in line with others that see reconciliation as a pragmatic process in which relationships are rebuilt to enable sustainable coexistence.[24] In addition to that, Johan Borneman express that reconciliation requires acknowledging personal loss, through witnessing, listening and truth telling which create a society that can overcome the ethnisization and revenge cycle.[25] However, as has been previously asserted, it has a potential risk of truth telling as Ross and Brouneus remarked, because it holds the risk of retraumatization and insecurity for witnesses as the result of truth telling.

Another outcome of the concept of reconciliation is justice, because firstly justice must be located and then reconciliation can be maintained, thus John Hatch says *'justice equals reconciliation'*.[26] In this vein, reconciliation that refers to restoration of social bonds of trust is one of the striking peace tools which require 'retributive justice', because retributive justice helps legitimise judicial institutions, but it should be distinguished from restorative justice. Retributive justice is based on the principle that people who caused human rights violations or mass killing should be punished before a court of law or at least they must publicly confess and ask forgiveness. Restorative justice strives to heal the psychological breach between the parties and in that way, draw that society closer together.[27] Thus, restorative justice does not focus on punishment for crimes, but rather induces repairing the damage done and offering restitution. Briefly, the goals of restorative justice includes four important points: resolving the original conflict, integrating all affected parties, healing the pain of victims through apologies and restitution and preventing future wrongdoings through community building measures.[28] Truth telling, meeting of victims and perpetrators are important in restorative and retribution justice so both are addressing the significance of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission which will be analyzed in the third chapter of this thesis.

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[24] Ibid.,293
[25] Steven Sampson, "*From Reconciliation to Coexistence*", Duke University Press, Public Culture 15(1): 2003, p. 181-186.
[26] John B. Hatch, "*Reconciliation: Building a Bridge from Complicity to Coherence in the Rhetoric of Race Relations*", Michigan State University Press, Volume 6 Number-4, 737-764, 2003, p. 749.
[27] Joyner., op. cit., p. 42.
[28] Sana Naraghi Anderlini and et al, "*Transitional Justice and Reconciliation*", Governance Resource Center http://internationalalert.org/sites/default/files/library/TKTransitionalJustice.pdf (accessed on 27.02.2013)

On the other hand, Sampson replaces the word *reconciliation* with *coexistence* and simply says that reconciliation is *'the absence of violence'* as Borneman calls '*a departure from violence'*.[29] In fact, coexistence means only being obvious to the other, unlike Borneman's state of reconciliation which requires voice, and coexistence is a social order that requires no listening.[30]

At the same time, Lederach who has developed one of the rare theoretical conceptualisations of reconciliation suggests that the peacemaking paradigm of reconciliation involves the creation of social space where truth, justice, mercy and forgiveness are validated and joined together.[31] Even though the reconciliation process contains paradoxes and contradiction, Lederach writes most eloquently about it. He says reconciliation can be seen as dealing with three specific paradoxes. The first one is*, 'reconciliation promotes an encounter between the open expression of the painful past, on the one hand, and the search for the articulation of a long-term, interdependent future, on the other hand'.* The second one is*, 'reconciliation provides a place for truth and mercy to meet, where concerns for exposing what has happened and for letting go in favour of renewed relationships are validated and embraced'.* In this sense, he addresses the importance of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). The last one is*, 'reconciliation recognises the need to give time and place to both justice and peace, where redressing the wrong is held together with the envisioning of a common, connected future''.* As can be understood that in order to set a deep and stable national reconciliation, it requires a commission where people can reveal the bitterness and mercy, also a political will that would promote the involvement of the reconciliation process rather than forget about everything that had happened in the past.

Overall, reconciliation should involve all three processes: it brings people together, enabling them to grow beyond the past to re-establish normalized, peaceful, and trusting relationships in the present. To this extent, according to Hamber and Kelly, a reconciliation process involves five interwoven strands.[32] The first one is *developing a shared vision of an interdependent and fair society* which refers to sharing a future

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[29]Sampson, op. cit., p. 182.
[30] Ibid., p. 182.
[31] Damien Short, "*Reconciliation and the Problem of Internal Colonialism'*, Journal of Intercultural studies, , 26:3, 2005, p. 267-285
[32]Hamber and Kelly, op. cit., p. 5

involved by the entire society at all levels. In this vision, it contains the return of political exiles, amnesties and commutation of prison sentences and the creation of a new political coalition.[33]

The second is *acknowledging and dealing with the past.* Acknowledging the hurt, losses, truths and suffering of the past. It provides the mechanisms for justice, healing, restitution or reparation, and restoration. All these factors contribute to victims' healing that facilitates dialogue.[34] In order to deal with the past, it requires forgiveness, mercy and apology to enable a sustainable reconciliation process. However, it does not mean to forget and do away with everything what has happened in the past but rather to take into consideration what happened in the past. For instance, national reconciliation initiatives such as the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) in South Africa are one of the examples that reveal the truth in the case of the South African national reconciliation.

The third one is *building positive relationships.* Relationship building is a core element to redress prejudice and intolerance. The main objective is creating a social environment where commonalities and differences are welcomed and embracing those who are different from us.

The fourth one is *significant cultural and attitudinal change.* Changing attitude is one of the foremost tools to transcend conflict and set up reconciliation. As Galtung notes that, conflict which is deeply rooted in culture and consciousness has its own affective dynamics that cause militarism and the 'glory' of killing the 'other'.[35] Therefore, the culture of suspicion, fear, mistrust and violence is broken down and opportunities and space opened up in which people can hear their feeling by the institutions stablished during reconciliation process, as a result, citizen becomes an active participant in society and feel a sense of belonging. In this sense, Galtung and Kelly refer to the importance of national reconciliation initiatives such as the TRC.

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[33]Lous Bickford, "*Truth and Reconciliation*", ed. David L. Phillips, International Reconciliation Models, Istanbul, Istanbul Policy Centre Pres, 2010, p. 16.
[34]Charles Lerche and Ho-Won Jeong, "*Reconciliation: Contexts and Consequences*", (eds). Ho-Won Jeong, Approaches to Peace building, New York, Palgrave Macmillan press, 2002, p. 106.
[35] Ibid., p. 105(cited in Galtung, 1998)

The fifth and final strand remarked by Kelly and Hamber is *substantial social, economic and political change.* They underline the importance of economic and political structures which gave rise to the conflict and estrangement which are identified, reconstructed or addressed, and transformed.[36]

As we can clearly see, reconciliation is a societal process that involves mutual acknowledgment of past suffering (emotion) and the changing of destructive attitudes and behaviour into constructive relationships. Therefore Reconciliation can be delineated into three parts: emotions, attitudes, and behaviours.[37] In this sense, Crocker makes three broad explanations of reconciliation that range from thinner to thicker conceptions.[38] The first one is that reconciliation does little more than simple coexistence in which include a peaceful coexistence based on acknowledgement of harm. The second conception refers to building on the area of common concern so as to create a space in which victims and perpetrators can hear each other such as the case of the TRC. The final conception is a shared comprehensive vision of mutual healing, restoration, and mutual forgiveness.[39]

Now that we have identified the basic definitions and element of reconciliation, varying types of reconciliation should be pointed out because the main purpose of this thesis is to analyse the case of South Africa from the perspective of national reconciliation. Arguably, there are different levels of reconciliation, yet for Hoglund, Sundber and Brouneus, empirical research of reconciliation is confined at three levels. The first one individual level, for example, be on trauma and how victims experience participating in a truth-telling process for reconciliation; the second level is a social level which focus on how former enemy groups perceive each other before, during and after this process; the third one is the national level which focus on how governments and rebel groups act during reconciliation.[40] In addition, Jens Meierhenrich's distinguishes varieties of reconciliation and he organizes these varieties into types and subtypes. According to him, reconciliation is divided into two components; the first one is 'Individual Reconciliation' which consists of four subtypes: local, regional, national and

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[36] Hamber & Kelly, op. cit., p. 5.
[37] Brounéus, op. cit., p. 294-297
[38] Short, op. cit. p.270
[39] Ibid., p. 270.
[40] Brounéus, op. cit., p. 294

international. The second one is 'Collective Reconciliation' which has four subtypes: local, regional, national and international.[41] Moreover, Susan Dwyer approaches reconciliation in a micro-macro degree and asserts that there are micro and macro level reconciliations, the former typically involves local, face to face interaction between two friends, the latter concerns more global interactions between religious, political or community groups acting together at the national level.[42] As can be seen national reconciliation refers to a broader understanding and its concepts are changeable in terms of situation and case.

Before the acts of reconciliation that are apology, forgiveness and reparation, are discussed it would be useful at this point to understand the true meaning of national reconciliation. In the previous paragraphs, the basic definitions of reconciliation and major types of reconciliation have respectively been explained, thus, the concept of national reconciliation will now be outlined.

1.2. THE CONCEPT OF NATIONAL RECONCILIATION

The concept of national reconciliation is a part of macro level interpretation which involves reconciliation at the level of individuals, political parties, ethnic and religious communities coexisting or seeking to coexist in the larger national community. National reconciliation is deemed as a key goal for societies emerging from a past of violent conflict and/or conditions of repressive and authoritarian rule. It is a substantially remarkable factor in preventing the recurrence of violence and ensuring continued democratisation after conflict has ceased. In this sense, national reconciliation is the ultimate goal of transitional justice, trust, equality with social and political order.[43] Without achieving these factors, national reconciliation would remain insufficient.

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[41] Jens Meierhenrich, "*Varieties of Reconciliation*", Law & Social Inquiry, Volume 33, Issue 1, 195-231, 2008

[42] Trudy Govier and Wilhelm Verwoerd, '*Trust and the Problem of National Reconciliation'*, Philosophy of the Social Sciences, Sage pub. 32:178-205, 2002, p. 187

[43] Emmanuel Gyimah-Boadi, *"Reconciliation Comparative Perspective"*, Public Forum On Reconciling The Nation, British Council Hall, Accra, ISBN: 9988 - 572 - 89 – 1, 2005, p. 10

Simply put a national reconciliation is the formulation of an attitude or behaviour by national political leaders that is consistent with reconciliation.[44] Therefore National Reconciliation refers to a political form of concession and interaction among parties and leaders. Dwyer suggests that national reconciliation be defined as '*bringing apparently incompatible descriptions of events into narrative equilibrium*'.[45]According to Chapman, reconciliation initiatives consist of top-down and bottom up processess. The national level are top-down approaches which include truth commissions, legal processes and reform, national reparation programmes, public apologies, etc. These initiatives can only take place once there is a recognised state-wide system of governance with sufficiently broad legitimacy. On the contrary, the bottom-up process include individual healing work which can occur outside, or in the absence of, such state-wide legitimacy. Thus, he asserts the primacy of the top-down approach in a process of national reconciliation, and he says "*without the national framework none of these bottom-up processes are likely to be effective and sustainable*,"[46]

As can be understood from definitions, national reconciliation initiatives are the formulations or demonstrations of either an attitude or behaviour by national political leaders (government and/or opposition). Galtung emphasises the attitudes and behaviours which are identified by two indicators: measuring attitudes (normative and strategic policy statements) and measuring behaviour (symbolic and judicial acts). In this chapter measuring behaviour, which contain symbolic acts and judicial acts, and measuring attitudes in the form of normative statements will be displayed in the case of South Africa's national reconciliation. Before dealing with Galtung's conflict triangle which is also one of the way of reconciliation, the basic acts of reconciliation ought to be accurately understood.

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[44] Meierhenrich, op. cit. p., 215
[45] Trudy Govier and Wilhelm Verwoerd, op. cit. p. 183. (cited in Susan Dwyer,1999)
[46]David Bloomfield, "*On Good Term: Clarifying Reconciliation*", Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management, Berghof Report No. 14, Berlin, 2006, p. 27.

1.3. THE ACTS OF RECONCILIATION

According to Johan Galtung, there are three problems that can only be solved by turning the vicious cycle into a virtuous cycle the "re": again, again, again. These are: the problem of reconstruction after direct violence, the problem of reconciliation of conflict parties and the problem of resolving the underlying roots of conflict. He notes that, doing any of these three without the other two; you will not get that one.[47] Therefore reconciliation can only take place when the parties cooperate in resolution and reconstruction to applying all those elements. In fact, the fundamental issue of reconciliation is willingness. Parties must acknowledge several factors willingly because the essence of reconciliation is the unforced willingness that parties admit their responsibility. In this sense, reconciliation contains several ingredients such as apology, commitment and healing. In addition to that, parties must fulfil several factors following; the admittion of inflicting harm or injury to the other part, also the other party must regret their actions, apologise for their role in inflicting the said injury or harm. Furthermore they must release the anger caused by conflict and both sides must honestly commit to enter into a new mutually beneficial relationship.[48]According to Hatch, there are three 'Acts of Reconciliation' which are *forgiveness, apology and reparation*.[49] Also Montville illustrates three steps in order to establish true healing: *Acknowledgement, Contrition and Forgiveness.*[50]

However, Galtung has expanded the act of reconcilie as twelve approaches. As he remarks, reconciliation is a theme with deep psychological, sociological, theological, philosophical and human roots. Galtung's twelve approaches are: The exculpatory nature-structure-culture approach, The reparation/restitution approach, The apology/forgiveness approach, The theological/penitence approach, The juridical/punishment approach, The co-dependent origination approach, historical/truth commission approach, The theatrical/reliving approach, The joint sorrow/healing

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[47] Johan Galtung, op. cit., 1998, p. 7
[48] Joyner op. cit. p. 42
[49] Hatch, op. cit., 2003, p. 749.
[50] Lerche and Jeong, op. cit. p.106

approach, The joint reconstruction approach, The joint conflict resolution approach and the last one is, The ho'o ponopono approach.[51]

As it is noticed from these three scholars' statements about various acts of reconciliation, there are three common elements that are valid in all the acts of reconciliation which are forgiveness, apology and reparation. Thus, this part will briefly outline what those three elements contain regarding reconciliation as personal healing.

1.3.1 Apology

One of the striking elements to reuniting and harmonizing the society after conflict is apology. Some observers, reflecting on reconciliatory steps have emphasised the importance of apologies. When perpetrators acknowledge what they have done, they must accept responsibility and express regret to the victims. Tavuchis express that apology in history referred to a defence, justification or excuse but the modern meaning of apology has shifted, to declare voluntarily that one has no excuse, defence, justification for an action that has insulted, failed, injured or wronged another.[52] In this sense, According to Murphy, '*apology as an exercise in recognition and memorialization is simultaneously an important means of paying respect to the victims of past injustice (both the living and the deceased) and to those who carry with them the difficult memories of the injustices perpetrated against their ancestors'.*[53] As can be clearly seen, apology is one of the several image restoration strategies and it reaffirms the equal moral status quo.

However, the context of apology still remains questionable. Some scholars discuss that apologies without admitting responsibility to the victims will not lead to genuine reconciliation. Hence, saying 'Sorry' will not be enough. For instance, in the case of South Africa, former president of SA F.W. de Klerk expressed his apology in appearance before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. He stated that: "*Apartheid was wrong. I apologize in my capacity as leader of the National Party to the millions of*

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[51] Johan Galtung,, op. cit., 1998, p. 64
[52] Hatch, op. cit. p. 751(cited in Tavuchis, Mea Culpa)
[53] Michael A Murphy, "*Memory, Apology and Reconciliation*", Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, Canada, Final Report, 2003, p. 371

South Africans who suffered the wretched disruption of forced removals in respect of their homes, businesses and land. Who over the years suffered the shame of being arrested for pass law offences. Who over the decades and indeed centuries suffered the indignities and humiliation of racial discrimination". But he also told the TRC that he did not feel responsible as he remarked: *"I have not been involved in anything which can…constitute any form of credible charge that I have been guilty of any crime".*[54] As it is seen, apology can indeed contribute to the reconciliation process in either a positive or negative way, because many victims could find incomplete apologies insulting which can create a deep obstacle to reconciliation.

1.3.2 Forgiveness

Unlike apology which is related to oppressor/aggressor, forgiveness is to prepare the ground for victims who voluntarily forgive past injures. Forgiveness is one of the constitutive elements of reconciliation. Without achieving real forgiveness, national reconciliation will remain vulnerable and insufficient. The term of forgiveness represents the conflation of two ideas, the first one is, an internal process of coming to terms with the psychological effects of violation and the second, a social/rhetorical act of releasing the offender from blame.[55] According to Jeffrie Murphy, forgiveness is a moral virtue that is essentially a matter of heart which requires a change to inner feelings rather than change in external action.[56] The meaning of inner change is overcoming negative reactive attitudes that are occasioned when one has been wronged by another mainly through anger, hatred and the desire for revenge. So naturally, a person who has been forgiven has overcome those vindictive attitudes.[57] But it should be distinguished that forgiveness does not mean condoning the act of perpetrators. In this sense, Desmond Tutu clarifies the distinction; *forgiveness means taking what happened seriously and not minimizing. It is drawing out the sting in the memory that threatens to poison entire existence. It contains to have empathy and trying to*

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[54] David Bloomfield, et. al. *"Reconciliation After Violent Conflict*, A Handbook"*, Stockholm, International IDEA publications, 2003, p. 74.
[55] Hatch, op. cit. p. 750.
[56] Meierhenrich, op. cit. p. 207.
[57] Ibid., 207

understand perpetrators, try to in stand their shoes and appreciate the sort of pressures and influences that might have conditioned them. [58]

Following the definition of the concept of forgiveness and the explanation of what forgiveness is not, now the nexus between reconciliation and forgiveness will be underlined. Eventhough forgiveness is a necessary element of reconciliation, according to some scholars; it is not a sufficient condition. In this regard Meierhenrich remarks, unlike forgiveness which involves unilateral action, reconciliation necessitates bilateral action. Even the epistemological concept of reconciliation makes necessary the mobilization of multilateral action. As Dwyer notes, reconciliation is an epistemological task that makes involvement of third parties, both legitimate and potentially fruitful, so reconciliation and forgiveness are conceptually interdependent. [59]

There are two concepts which are also confused with each other – those are forgiveness and mercy. Mercy is a form of charity towards perpetrators that justifies punishing them less harshly than they deserve according to justice. [60] In this sense, forgiveness is more personal than mercy or mercy is more social than forgiveness. Mercy has a public behavioural dimension not necessarily present in forgiveness. Somebody can forgive a person in his/her heart of hearts but he/she cannot show mercy in their heart of hearts. [61] In a nutshell, mercy is the suspension and mitigation of a punishment that would be deserved as retribution which is granted out of compassion for the wrongdoer, whereas, forgiveness is a change of heart towards perpetrators to see them morally decent rather than bad. [62]

As it is mentioned, genuine forgiveness is one of the core elements for the national reconciliation process. In order to challenge anger and resentment, true forgiveness is compulsory, even if it takes time to maintain, because this element is essential for the victimised group to be reassured that they will not suffer the same abuse in future.

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[58] Hatch, op. cit. 750(cited in Tutu, 'No Future Without Forgiveness')
[59] Meierhenrich, op. cit. p. 207. (cited in Susan Dwyer, 1999)
[60] Ibid., p. 210
[61] Ibid., p. 209
[62] Ibid., p. 210

1.3.3 Reparation

Reparation is another act of reconciliation and it has significant influence on real transitional justice and the reconciliation process. Reconciliation requires reform of norms, institutions and procedures in order to eliminate discrimination and imbalance in which the protection of individual rights and freedom is involved. In international or national norms and in political literature, reparation is used with the concepts of restitution, compensation, rehabilitation, satisfaction and redress. Transitional justice has reshaped the notion of reparation; therefore the concept has broadened which today includes important symbolic measure

In international law, restitution was the main form of reparation so it was often considered synonymous with reparation. It contains several remedy outcomes and it relates to essential "belongings", such as the return of property, the restoration of liberty, citizenship and other legal rights, the return to place of residence and the restoration of employment.[63]

According to Johan Galtung, reparation is a transaction to which both parties must agree, but transaction is a two way actions so there has to be balance and symmetry. He emphasises the importance of symbolic acts and the instruments to ensure reconciliations as contracting signs between perpetrators and victims.[64] To this extent, according to Brookes, reparation involves *"agreeing to a fair and mutual acceptable form of restitution or compensation"*, besides, Augsburgers writes that restitution is the re-establishing of mutual justice and a responsive work between the parties.[65] For example, symbolic reparation may lead to restoration between parties such as monuments, museums, holidays, new names for old places and so on. In this sense, national reconciliation requires those symbolic reparation measures to maintain peace and stability.

Most observers accept that public repentance is completed only when a good faith offer or attempt to make reparation occurs. Without reparation, true reconciliation will not be apparent in social relations between victim and perpetrators. Shrivers says, in this

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[63] Bloomfield and et al., op. cit. p. 145
[64] Johan Galtung, op. cit., 1998, p. 68
[65] Hatch, op. cit. 752

regard, *"When politically sourced evil still lingers in its social effects collective apologies will ring hollow if unaccompanied by collective tangible attempts to remedy those effects. And, apologies set the record straight; restitution sets out to make a new record.* [66] In order to restore justice and reconciliation or justice of reparation, the dialogic process must often be applied between victimizer and victim.

The terminological and conceptual clarification has displayed that reparation is an evolving concept. In this vein, several NGOs, policy makers and victim support groups are designing a reparation programme in different types of reparation measures. These types are combined under four rubrics: 1- reparation rights and reparation politics; 2- individual and collective measures; 3-financial and non-financial measures; and 4-commemorative and reform measures.[67]

1.3.4. Galtung's Conflict Triangle

The term "Conflict Triangle" or "the violence triangle" refers to a theoretical model developed by the Norwegian researcher Johan Galtung. Galtung formulated the ABC Conflict Triangle in which he describes the key aspects within a conflict as: (A) attitudes, (B) behaviours and (C) contradictions. Also, Galtung analyzed the cause of violence in three phases before violence, during violence, and after violence. In fact, the conflict triangle model was originally meant to be applied to war situations, in which there are distinct conflicting parties. But it has been used to transcend other conflicts, such as family violence, racial discrimination, children's human rights abuses and in the reconciliation process.[68] In general, the method is used to deal with destructive or violent conflicts and it reflects the normative aim of preventing, managing, limiting and overcoming violence. He described the figure:

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[66] Ibid,, p.. 752 (cited in Shrivers, '*An Ethic for Enemies*')
[67] Stef Vandeginste , "*Reconciliation After Violent Conflict*", A Handbook , (eds) David Bloomfield and et al., op. cit. p. 147
[68] Magdalena Anna Czyz, "*Applying the ABC Conflict Triangle to the Protection of Children's Human Rights and the Fulfilment of Their Basic needs: A Case Study Approach*", Master Thesis, Austria, 2006. p. 6

Box 1: The conflict triangle
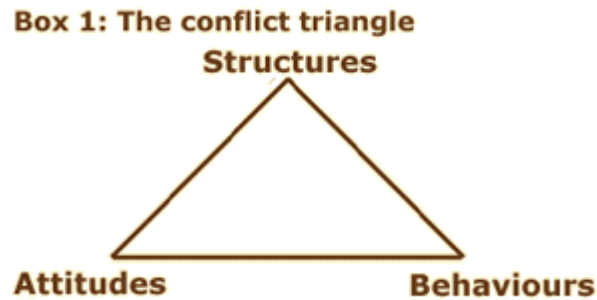
Figure-1 - The Galtung Conflict Triangle[69]

According to Galtung, various types of violence that could roughly be classified in three categories: direct violence (behavioural), cultural violence (attitudes) and structural violence (contradiction, context). Each of these categories represents individual angles of the violence triangle, which Galtung argues has "built-in vicious cycles."[70]

The first conflict triangle of Galtung's is *attitudes* which refer to assumptions, cognitions and emotions that one party may have about the other. A common attitude in conflicts is one of superiority and self-righteousness, simply put, it is failing to make an effort to take the other parties' views into account. The attitudes, unlike behaviour which is visible, reflects invisible category which contributes to the growing rift in the relationship. According to Galtung, "*The visible effects of direct violence are known: the killed, the wounded, the displaced, the material damage, all increasingly hitting the civilians. But the invisible effects may be even more vicious: direct violence reinforces structural and cultural violence.*[71] This entails encouraging the different "sides" to take on an attitude of empathy by creating constructive dialogue between them.

The second conflict triangle is *behaviours* which refer to the mental, verbal or physical expressions put forth in a conflict. In other terms, they are the thoughts, words and actions demonstrated when a conflict occurs, so this may arise in the form of verbal insults, physical abuse or the outright denial of people's basic human rights. As it has been said, behaviour is the only feature of the triangle that is visible. This is not to say that behaviour cannot be covert as well, for example, in the case of implicit racism. The

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[69] Source: Polylog: Forum for Intercultural Philosophy. Available online at http://them.polylog.org/5/fgj-en.htm (accessed on 07.05.2013)

[70] Taleh Ziyadov, "*The Galtung Triangle and Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict*", Caucasian Journal of European Affairs, Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 2.

[71] Ibid., p. 3

main focus of the peaceful approach of behaviours is to stop violence by creating nonviolent thoughts, words and actions in order to achieve a lasting solution to the conflict.[72]

The third conflict triangle is *contradictions* which are the perceived incompatibility or clashing of goals between two or more parties. In fact, contradiction is the main question of conflict which is causing violent attitudes and behaviours[73]. A conflict of interests (both within oneself and between parties) can cause repression of feelings, leading to frustration, stress, and other violent outcomes. Therefore, there must be extensive and peaceful approaches to contradictions including taking a step back and figuring out what the conflict is actually about. Handling the conflict on a deeper level, parties can ultimately proceed to come up with creative solutions to transcend it.

As briefly demonstrated in the above basic definitions of Galtung's conflict triangle, each of the features triggering a conflict (attitudes, behaviours and contradictions) can serve as possible gateways to influence the conflict peacefully. As illustrated by Galtung, attitudes and contradictions can hardly be examined separately from each other. The latter determines the root causes of conflict which can either derive from or lead to certain attitudes. Therefore efficient conflict transformation has to embrace methods which are able to change those attitudes. We may observe that the direct violence (behaviours) of the first level, the structural violence (contradiction) as the second level and cultural violence (attitudes) at the bottom. According to Galtung "*direct violence is an event; structural violence is a process with ups and downs; cultural violence is an invariant, a permanent, remaining essentially the same for long periods, given the slow transformations of basic culture.*"[74] Although successful peace-building must target all three aspects of conflicts, the process of reconciliation enabling change of attitudes has been neglected because of its perception as apolitical, too theological and unachievably idealistic.[75] Galtung has developed what is known as the

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[72] Czyz, op. cit., p. 5.

[73] Nicole A. Hofmann, "*Reconciliation in the Transformation of Conflict*", CCS Working Papers, No:11, 2010, p. 8.

[74] Ashley Hsu-liang Wu, "*To Live With Conflicts: Conflicts in Human Rights and Social Movement*", Panel: Peace and Conflict, The 4th International Conference on Human Rights & Human Development Critical Connections: Human Rights, Human Development and Human Security, p. 3 (cited in Curle, Adam. 1995. Another Way in Carpenter, Jhon (eds). *Violence Part.* Oxford. p.8-21.

[75] Hofmann, op. cit., p. 8

three 're', a counter-approach by assigning concrete measures to every aspect of the causes of conflict allowing reconciliation to enter the political sphere as a feasible method. He highlights *reconstruction* to address the behavioural aspects, *reconciliation* to change attitudes and *resolution* to overcome incompatibilities shaping the contradictions.[76] Although conflict transformation relies on the combination of these methods, the role of reconciliation is depicted as substantial in this theoretical approach.

Effective reconciliation is the best guarantee that the violence of the past will not return. If a society can build a new relationship among eachother that is built on respect and a real understanding of each other's needs, fears and aspirations that they develop are the best safeguard against a return to ethnic division. Without achieving those elements mentioned above, the society would remain with the same hatreds, fears and anxieties that would lead to the rise of conflict whenever it finds an occasion.

In a nutshell, methodological analysis of reconciliation, types and traits of reconciliation have been examined in previous paragraphs. The preceding title is handling the leadership role in reconciliation with several titles such as definitions of leaders and leadership, traits of leadership and in the last part types of leadership will be explained. The questions to be responded to throughout this part are: which leadership types are best suited for the initiatives run by Mandela and de Klerk's? Also what clarification is being made between political leader, transformational leader and charismatic non-constituted leaders? Thus, the main purpose of this part is to identify the concept of leadership with its meaning, features, traits and types.

1.4. LEADERSHIP IN RECONCILIATION

Although there are many tools and strategies to constitute a peaceful reconciliation, leaders and leadership are some of the fundamental factors in peace-building, national reconciliation and democratisation. For instance, leaders such as Mahatma Ghandi, Martin Luther King, Nelson Mandela, Rosa Parks, Peace Pilgrim, Hendrick W. Van der Merwe have substantially contributed in the creation of a more peaceful world. These

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[76] Ibid., p. 8 (cited in Galtung, 1998)

peace heroes have lit a candle as new role models for young people seeking to build a more just and peaceful world, and they provide a good place to start for anyone who wishes to make a difference in creating a more peaceful world. In the same token Africa's statesman have promoted democracy, human rights and civil society. Unlike those who brought about ethnic division among their people, leaders such as Felix Houphouet-Boigny in Ivory Coast, Omar Bango in Gabon, Amadou Ahidjo in Cameroon, Kwame Nkrumah in Ghana, Leopold Sedar Senghor in Senegal and Nelson Mandela in South Africa have made tremendous contributions to freedom, transition and democratisation of their respective countries, they have also constructed a new identity for Africa so as to get rid of the so-called 'hopeless continent' descriptions.[77] Thus, leaders and leadership role in the national reconciliation process is a vital element in the long-term peace process.

1.4.1. Definitions of Leader and Leadership

Leadership has become in recent years a major focus for a variety of different fields and writers. Much of the current literature on leadership has been initiated by studies undertaken by academic researchers and relevant institutions.[78] By contrast, the uncertainties over the place of leadership in political life still reflects deep ambiguity and confusion. According to J. M. Burns, the confusion regarding the complex definition of leadership will continue as long as we fail to distinguish leadership from brute power, leadership from propaganda, leadership from manipulation, leadership from pandering and leadership from coercion.[79] Likewise, Fragkou says, there are many long and complex definitions of these words since researchers have argued throughout history over minor points in such definitions. Mostly the discussion revolves around

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[77] Ahmet Kavas, "*İç Savaşlardan Bütünleşme Hareketlerine ve Kalkınma Hamlelerine Afrika'nın Yeniden Dönüşümü*", TİKA Avrasya Etütleri Afrika Özel Sayısı, Sayı 40, ISSN 1300-1604, Ankara, 2012, p. 23
[78] G. Coates, "*Leadership and Authority: Power, Charisma and Institutional Abuse*" Routledge Pub. 133:1, 5-19, London,1997, p. 6.
[79] James Macgregor Burns, "*Leadership*", Barbara Kellerman (eds), "*Political Leadership, A Source Book*", Uni. of Pittsburgh Press., London, 1986, p. 419.

what a leader is and is not,[80] therefore, definition of leadership and different types of leadership will be pointed out throughout this part.

The issue of leader and leadership is as old as civilisation. However, for Stogdill, the word *leader* did not appear until around 1300 AD with 'leadership' turning up in 1300 AD. Although the word leadership is involved in literature since the 14th century, it has been utilised in the last two centuries constantly.[81] To this extent, it raises questions as to what are the reasons behind the emergence of leaders who lead many societies and civilisations. In this regard, Budak says, humans are social creatures living in a social circle, thus they require leaders to direct their mind, decisions and aims.[82] Leaders, however, are nothing unique to humans; even some animals are known for dominating and leading their flock. But, in most cases leaders and leadership refers the *men* due to the 'great man theory'. According to this theory, leadership is seen as an aggressive tendency so most early studies saw men as leaders.[83] Therefore, we should clarify what the understanding of leaders is?

1.4.1.1 Leader

Leaders and the role of leaders in national reconciliation have significantly increased in the last two centuries, thus the function of leaders became the hub of governance and the executive. Weak leaders contribute to government failure, however strong leaders maintain a successful and peaceful society. Wise leaders such as Nelson Mandela, Martin Luther King, Mahatma Gandhi, and Winston Churchill leave an indelible mark on the people they lead and potentially on history, and have secured prosperity and

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[80] H.D. Fragkou, "*Leadership Across Differences: The Leader of the 21th century*", Adel Safty and et al (eds), "*Value Leaderhsip*", Bahcesehir Universitesi Yayınları, Istanbul, 2003, p. 399.
[81] Coates, op. cit., p. 6.
[82] Gülay Budak, "*Liderlik ve Liderlik Kuramlarına Bütünleşik Bir Yaklaşım*", Dokuz Eylül Üni. Yay., İzmir, 2003, p. 11
[83] Coates, op. cit., p. 6

peace in the long run. On the other hand, leaders such as Hitler, Stalin, and Lenin brought about a catastrophe.[84]

There are many long and complex definitions of the word leader. The simple meaning of a *Leader* is of a person who leads a society, a group and country. The origin of leader is derived from 'to lead' that means cause (a person or animal) to go with one by drawing them along, show someone the way to a direction preceding or accompanying them.[85] Indeed, the ancient linguistic root of the English verb 'to lead' means 'to go forth, die'. [86]As for official definition in the Oxford English Dictionary defines a leader as *a person who leads or commands a group, organization, or country.*[87] As can be seen a leader has the capacity of influence and power, also power being defined as the means to potentially influence others in a way that results in change based on values, ideals, vision, symbols, and emotional exchange. From this perspective, L.Perry defines a leader as one who holds some position of power to influence change in others based on one's value, ideals and character.[88] Chet Marshall believes that being a Leader means *"being able to communicate and manage time as well as possible and that they are visible so that they can raise a person's performance to a higher level and build a personality beyond its normal limitation"*. According to Kotsikis, the world 'leader' *'is referring to the person who is situated in a high position by a higher authority to promote its general will by organizing and administering institutions which have specific aims'.*[89]A leader says Kellerman, *'chooses a particular course of action and then in some way gets others to go along; or more subtly, the leader encourages the led to choose the course that the group will follow'.*[90]

In this point, it is important to make the distinction between leader and manager. Briefly a leader creates the culture of an organisation by helping their group so as to acquire and maintain a set of behaviour patterns, values, norms and actions. To this ground, Schein

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[84] Joseph Masciulli and et al., "*Political Leadership in Context*", Ashgate Research Companion, 3-27, 2009, p. 4
[85] Ibid., p. 3
[86] Ibid., p. 5
[87] Oxford Dictionaries, www.oxforddictionaries.com (accessed on 23.03.2013)
[88] Lara Perry, "*Leadership as Harmonization*", Asian Philosophy Vol.21, No.3, 291-301, London, 2011, p. 296
[89] Fragkou., op. cit., p. 399.
[90] Masciulli and et al. op. cit., p. 5

says '*A leader is one who organises relationships among the members of the group so that the group can cope with challenges and survive*'.[91]

Managers, in contrast, are not able to do this; they can manage the behaviour but not create it. Thus, managing has connotations of handling a job under constraints, leading is to bring one's subordinates to a better state of being, enabling them to be more productive, efficient, satisfied and involved in their job. In this sense, managers are seen to be dealing with the present, by contrast, leaders deal with the future, so leaders help subordinates move from one state of mind to another.[92]

1.4.1.2 Leadership

Leadership, furthermore, is a historically concrete phenomenon that's structure and methods change with the passage of time. More recently the pace of change in globalisation creates the demand for new forms of international leadership due to the package of transnational flows of people, production, investment, information and authority.[93] In addition, the role of leadership in a peace process and national reconciliation became core elements to construct long-term coexistence in society. That's why, understanding the value of leadership is a significant path involved in the peace process. However, the definition and types of leadership is an extensive issue.

The definition and features of leadership has been described as one of the least understood concepts and complex terms used across all cultures and civilizations. Throughout history, many writers have stressed the prevalence of this misunderstanding, stating the existence of several flawed assumptions or myths, concerning leadership related with individuals' conception of what leadership is all about. To this regard Fiedler says, '*there are almost as many definitions of leadership as there are leadership theories, and there are almost as many theories of leadership as*

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[91] Coates, op. cit., p. 6
[92] Ibid., p. 5 (see also H.D. Fragkou, "*Leadership Across Differences: The Leader of the 21th century*", edit Adel Safty and et al, "*Value Leaderhsip*", Bahcesehir Universitesi Yayınları, Istanbul, 2003, p. 400)
[93] J Masciulli and et al, op. cit. p. 3.

there are psychologists working in the field[94]. For instance, Weber, Hempfill & Cons, Weschler & Massarşk, Stogdill, Dubrin, Katz & Khan, Rauch & Behling and Kellerman are some of those who took into account the term of leadership in the broader sense and they have tremendously contributed to the available literature.

The simplest definition of leadership is "*the ability to persuade others to comply voluntarily with one's wish and also organizing a group of people to achieve a common goal*"[95] Gill says, leadership is a social process that uses personal power to win the heart and minds of people to work together towards a common goal. Hooper and Potter say, leadership means "*developing a vision of future, crafting strategies to bring that vision into reality and ensuring everybody to the same goals*".[96] Some other definitions are, Stogdill says leadership is moving forward with a group by unanimous and mutual cooperation. By the same token, Rauch & Behling express that leadership is shaping and directing an organised group's behaviours in order to maintain a common goal.[97] And Bennis remarks "*leadership looks like 'beauty', it is difficult to describe it but you could immediately recognise when you see*".[98] Shortly leadership is the process of influencing others to mobilize and direct their efforts towards specific goals and attain these goals through them.

Although there are various definitions of leadership, however, there are some common traits that leaders have and they are accepted by many scholars. These are: having a common aim and social environment with people, existence of leaders who govern these people, involves voluntary compliance and clearly wins support from followers. In this vein, we should distinguish between leader and leadership. While there are close links between leader and leadership, it is not the same in that not all leaders exercise leadership. It is quite possible for a leader to obtain some compliance with his/her wishes through force rather than leadership. There is also an inherent tension between the role of leader and the exercise of leadership, because a leader can use force as well

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[94] Perry, op. cit., p. 295 (cited in Antonakis et al., 2004)
[95] J. Cartwright, "*Political Leadership in Africa*", St.Martin's Press, New York, 1983, p. 19.
[96] Roger Gill, "*Change Management or Change Leadership?*", Journal of Change Management, Vol.3, 4, 307-318, p. 310
[97] Uğur Zel, "*Kişilik ve Liderlik, Evrensel Boyutlarıyle Yönetsel Açıdan Araştırmalar, Teoriler ve Yorumlar*", Seçkin Yay. Ankara, 2001, p., 91 (cited in Stogdill, 1974; Rauch & Behling, 1984)
[98] Budak, op. cit., p. 13

persuasion to get his way.[99] Therefore, in order to clarify the major features of leadership, traits of leaders and leadership should be observed.

1.4.2. Traits of Leaders

It is a fact that leaders possess certain characteristics which differentiate them from others. Successful, charismatic, effective and revolutionary leaders' skills make other people awestruck to his presence. But, to this ground there is a dilemma as to whether traits of leaders are inborn or being acquired with experience. Thus, before discussing the main features of leadership, it would certainly be necessary to mention whether their skills are inborn or acquired by experience. Malvolio points to the variegated ways in which leaders acquire power or skills into three categories and says, "*some men are born great, some achieve greatness and some have greatness thrust upon them*". To put it simply, some acquire power as a result of some hereditary principle of rule, others by election or appointment, and others yet again through some irregular, unconstitutional proceeding such as a coup or a revolution.[100] Similar to Malvolio, Perry says the art of leadership is the art of discovering, being and expression of one's inborn nature.[101] However, unlike Perry, Sternberg contradicts them and he claims that one is not born a leader, rather, wisdom, intelligence and creativity are, to some extent forms of developing expertise that one can decide to use and develop.[102]

From these perspectives, leadership involves both skill and attitudes. The skills are developing competencies and expertise based on how well one can implement precise functions of leadership. The attitudes are developing expertise based on how one thinks about these functions so the attitudes are as significant as skills.[103] To this angle, successful leaders must have certain skills and attitudes.

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[99] J. Cartwright., op. cit., p. 22.
[100] Geoffrey Stern, "*Leaders and Leadership*", BBC World Service Series, London, 1993, p. 5
[101] Perry, op. cit., p. 300.
[102] Robert J. Sternberg, "*A Model of Educational Leadership: Wisdom, Intelligence, and Creativity, Synthesized*", International Journal of Leadership in Education, Vol. 8, No.4, 347-364, 2005, p. 348.
[103] Robert J. Sternberg, "*WICS: A Model of Leadership*", The Psychologist Manager Journal, 29-43, 2005, p. 29

A successful leader is one who knows how effectively to formulate, make and implement decisions. In fact Stenberg constrains the key components of leadership into categories: wisdom, intelligence and creativity, synthesized (WICS). To this regard, Sternberg expresses that "*an effective leader needs creative skills and attitudes to generate powerful ideas; analytical intelligence to determine whether they are good ideas; practical intelligence to implement the ideas effectively and to persuade others to listen to and follow the ideas; and wisdom to ensure that the ideas represent a common good for all stakeholders, not just for some of them*".[104] Before considering each of these aspects of effective leadership, we should look at other scholars' remarks regarding effective leadership traits.

According to Miller, for leadership to be effective, five elements are essential: *Authority* that moral strength and firmness of vision, *Confidence* that courage of conviction and political will to act in support of a national commitment, *Credibility* that commitments made will be commitments kept, *Capabilities* that forces and expertise necessary to defend national interest and finally fiscal, diplomatic, economic and military *Resources* needed to maintain national commitments.[105] Roger Gill categorizes the dimension of being an effective leader into four points: cognitive or rational process (cognitive intelligence), the need for meaning and worth in people's work and lives (spiritual intelligence), emotions or feeling (emotional intelligence) and volitional action or behavior (behavioral skills).[106] These four categories are worked with the practice of the following elements: vision, values, strategy, empowerment, motivation and inspiration.

Notwithstanding, Stogdill supplemented a 'trait theory' and those traits are: *Achievement* (knowledge and athletic ability), *Responsibility* (aggressiveness and dependability), *Status* (Popularity), *Capacity* (intelligence and originality), *Participation* (sociability and adaptability), *Situation* (skills, achieving objectives).[107] By the same token, Chandakesaran mentions six characteristics for a leader to be effective: Social and emotional maturity, Good mental health, Technical skills, Respect

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[104] Sternberg , op. cit., 2005, p. 348

[105] Paul David Miller, "*Leadership in a Transnational World, The Challenge of Keeping the Peace*", Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, Washington, 1993, p. 61.

[106] Gill, op. cit., p. 312.

[107] Coates, op. cit., p. 6 (See more about Adel Safty and et al, "*Value Leadership*", Bahcesehir Universitesi Yayınları, Istanbul, 2003)

the power of education, Inspire respect and serve as an example to emulate and Encourage people to volunteer.[108]

As clearly demonstrated in previous paragraphs, leaders or rather effective leaders, are people who must possess precise traits and superior characters which differentiate them from others. Although there are different remarks on features of leadership, some common characteristic skills are valid for all leadership traits. Sternberg categorizes them as WICS- wisdom, intelligence, and creativity. Now, it would be fruitful to open it up briefly.

1.4.2.1. Creativity

An effective leader needs creative skills and attitudes to generate powerful ideas. Creativity is important for leadership because it is the component whereby one generates the ideas that others follow. Thus, creativity refers to skills and attitude needed in generating ideas and products that are (a) relatively novel, (b) high in quality and (c) appropriate to the task at hand.[109] However, these characteristics do not represent innate abilities, rather, largely decisions. To this extent, Sternberg points out certain decisions that creative leaders make: Redefining problems, Analyzing solutions, Selling solutions, Recognizing the limits of expertise, Taking sensible risks, Surmounting obstacles, Tolerating ambiguity and Life-long learning.[110]

From this angle, Sternberg describes Nelson Mandela as one of the best examples of a life-long learner.[111] Mandela never said 'enough', even though he spent 27 years in prison. Most of his life spent imprisoned, he could be bitter, vengeful and unbalanced but he constantly enhanced his knowledge base so he went on to become one of the great leaders of the 21th century.

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[108] D. Fragkou, "*Leadership Across Differences: The Leader of the 21th century"*, Adel Safty and et al (eds), "*Value Leadership"*, Bahcesehir Universitesi Yayınları, Istanbul, 2003, p. 402 (cited in Chandakesaran, 1994)
[109] Sternberg, op. cit., 2005, p. 348.
[110] Ibid., 350.
[111] Ibid., p. 352.

Briefly, there are some certain conclusions regarding creativity said Lubart and Sternberg. Creativity often involves defying the crowd, creative leaders are good investors, and creativity is weakly related to academic intelligence.[112]

1.4.2.2. Intelligence

Intelligence is another significant ingredient of successful leadership. However, in this regard, intelligence, as conceived of here, is not just intelligence in its conventional narrow sense, rather it is seen in terms of the theory of successful intelligence. Thus, successful intelligence is explained as the ability to succeed in life, given one's own conception of success, within one's socio-cultural environment.[113]

Two particular aspects of the theory are relevant; those are academic and practical intelligence. *Academic intelligence* which mostly refers to the memory and analytical abilities that in combination largely constitute the conventional notion of intelligence— the abilities needed to recall and recognise but also to analyse, evaluate, and judge information.[114] According to Fiedler, there is modest coloration between intelligence abilities and leadership effectiveness such as stress. For instance, Fielder and his colleagues resulted that in times of low stress, high intelligence facilitates successful leadership, but in times of high stress, it may actually interfere with it.[115]

However, *practical intelligence* refers to the implementation of knowledge which is the ability to solve everyday problems by utilizing knowledge gained from experience. Therefore, it involves changing oneself to suit the environment (adaptation), changing the environment to suit oneself (shaping), or finding a new environment within which to work (selection). One uses these skills to (a) manage oneself, (b) manage others, and (c) manage tasks.[116]

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[112] Ibid. p. 354 (cited in Lubart and Sternberg, 1995)
[113] Sternberg, op. cit., 2005, p. 348.
[114] Ibid., p. 355.
[115] Ibid., p. 355.
[116] Ibid., p. 356.

From this information, we could say, leaders vary in their memory skills, analytical skills and practical skills. However, we should emphasize that one might not apply academic and practical intelligence while he/she is leading. One may good at one of this skill and he/she could have a deficit on others. It does not mean he/she is not a leader, rather, these traits of leadership classifies the greatness of leaders.

1.4.2.3. Wisdom:

Arguably, one of the most significant elements of being an effective leader is wisdom. Leaders need wisdom to lead, so through successful experience and knowledge gained over time, wisdom is created. The definition of wisdom, according to the English oxford Dictionary, "*the quality of having experience, knowledge, and good judgement; the quality of being wise*". From this explanation, there are two outcomes of acquiring wisdom:, *the fact of being based on sensible or wise thinking,* and *the body of knowledge and experience that develops within a specified society or period.*[117]

Smith and Baltes put forward a five-component model that reflects wisdom. These five components: (a) rich factual knowledge which refers to general and specific knowledge about the conditions of life, (b) rich procedural knowledge that is related to general and specific knowledge about strategies of judgment and advice concerning matters of life, (c) life span contextualism which relates to the contexts of life, (d) relativism which contains knowledge about differences in values, goals, and priorities, and finally (e) uncertainty which refers to knowledge about the relative indeterminacy and unpredictability of life and ways to manage it.[118] From this point, effectual leaders such as Nelson Mandela, Martin Luther King, Mahatma Gandhi and Winston Churchill have those five components that reflect wisdom. However, it should be notified that wise leaders are usually charismatic, but charismatic leaders are not necessarily wise, as was the case with Hitler and Stalin.[119]

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[117] www.oxforddictionaries.com https://oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/wisdom (accessed on 25.03.2013)
[118] Sternberg, op. cit., 2005, p. 358.
[119] Ibid., p. 358.

In a nutshell, characteristics and traits of leadership are vast and probably no model of leadership totally captures all these features. However, the ones who posses several of those traits are being called an effective leaders. Particularly the WICS model represents the key traits which are inevitable for all leadership types to win people's minds, souls and hearts. Now, looking at types of leaders and leadership will clarify where Nelson Mandela and de Klerk fit as political leaders of national reconciliation in South Africa.

1.4.3. Types of Leadership: The Case of Nelson Mandela and De Klerk

As leadership occurs in social situations and contexts which permit leaders to utilize certain personal characteristics that include inherent qualities, socialized habits and learned skills. In this section, different types of leaders will be explored. However, there is some confusion about what exactly typologies of leaders are. Some are based on differences intrinsic to the leadership process, others on differences in the source of power and others on differences in the outcomes of process.

The research regarding types of leaders proceeds with constructing various kinds of typologies that usually connect two or more variables together; for example, leadership style and social functions, or leader's goals and leadership outcomes. Masciulli constrains typologies into different categories: Normative typologies, Empirical typologies, Dichotomous typologies, Trichotomous typologies. For instance, Dichotomous typologies which refers to leaders' individual qualities such as good or bad, effective or ineffective, strong or weak, formal (constituted) versus informal (non-constituted) leaders. In addition, Trichotomous typologies, especially during the Cold War, stressed differences among pragmatic (Western democratic, first world), ideological (Communist, second world) and revolutionary (independent third world states) leaders.[120]

Moreover, social psychologist Kurt Lewin distinguished three different types of leaders: Autocratic leader who gives order and discouraged criticism, Democratic leader who make suggestions, listens to others and work for consensus and Laissiz-Faire leader who

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[120] Masciulli and et al., op. cit., p. 15.

gives no order and makes no suggestions unless specifically asked.[121] To this extent, one of the best studies was made by Barbara Kellerman who highlights six different types of leaders. These are: Democratic, Totalitarian, Revolutionary, Legal-Traditional-Charismatic, Entrepreneurial and Non-constituted leaders.[122] By the same token, Hay and Mcber identified six different leadership styles; coercive, authoritative, pace-setting, democratic, affiliative and coaching.[123]

In addition, the most important work regarding ideal types of authority was done by Weber (1947) and he described three ideal types of authority which were based upon: (a)the ruler's charisma based on the pronouncements of great leaders invested with magical qualities, (b) the rule of tradition and (c) the rule of rational legal precepts.[124] The rational ground that knows as legal authority, resting on a belief in the 'legality' of patterns of normative rules. The traditional ground resting on an established belief in the sanctity of immemorial traditions and the legitimacy of the status of those exercising authority under them. Finally, charismatic grounds, which resting on devotion to the specific and exceptional sanctity, heroism and exceptional character of an individual person.[125]

However, in a broad sense, as related to the context of this thesis, there are two types of leaders; these are leaders as war makers and peacemakers[126]. These differences are based on a macro level classification which is related to good and bad leadership that is also handled by Aristotle. Therefore, types of leaders are changeable from case to case and place to place. For instance, Mark Gerzon emphasises three main types of leadership in conflict-prone situations. These are, Demagogue leader, Manager leader and Mediator leaders.[127]

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[121] Stern., op. cit., p. 11
[122] Barbara Kellerman (eds), "*Political Leadership, A Source Book*", University of Pittsburgh Press, 1986, p. 193.
[123] Sameer Limbare, *"Leadership Styles & Conflict Management Styles of Executives"*, The Indian Journal of Industrial Relations, Vol. 48, No. 1, 2012, p. 175.
[124] Coates, op. cit., p. 15.
[125] Kellerman., op. cit., p. 232.
[126] John Kane, *"Leaders As Peacemakers"*, Adel Safty and et al, (eds) *"Value Leaderhsip"*, Bahcesehir Universitesi Yayınları, Istanbul, 2003,
[127] Mark Gerzon,*"Çatışmalı Ortamlarda Liderlik, Başarılı Liderler Farklılıkları Nasıl Fırsatlara Dönüştürüyor",* Harvard Business School Press, Çev. Ahmet Kardam, Istanbul, 2006, p. 35.

Briefly the most common leadership types are: Autocratic leadership, Bureaucratic leadership, Charismatic leadership, Democratic leadership or participative leadership, Laissez-faire leadership, People-oriented leadership or relations-oriented leadership, Servant leadership, Task-oriented leadership, Transactional leadership, Transformational leadership and Political leadership.

Due to the main tenant of this thesis that is political leaders' role in South Africa's national reconciliation, three types of leadership which is directly related to the role of Mandela and De Klerk will be focused on. While, some observers claim that the role of Nelson Mandela and de Klerk in the peace process should be categorized as charismatic leadership's traits, but others put forward that they must be categorized as non-constituted and transformational leadership, or they possess three of those leadership traits together within themselves. Thus, I will analyze the leadership of Mandela and de Klerk in the context of political leadership, charismatic leadership and transformational leadership.

1.4.3.1 Political Leadership

Political leaders defined as a person who involves politics to influence public policy and decision making. In the literature, political leadership from local to national and global level is mostly seen as a subtype of human social leadership. However, the concept of political leadership is difficult to define essentially due to its dependence on institutional, cultural and historical contexts and situations. In order to understand and predict patterns of a political leader, it needs to analyze the beliefs, values, characters, power relational, ethical values, attitudes and actions of leaders and followers, and also historical situation and cultural institutional context.[128]

Silmply, as Tucker, Nye and Heifetz defined political leadership it implies followership as well as group tanks to be accomplished through innovative adaption in a specific situation and institutional cultural context.[129] One should note that, political leadership

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[128] Masciulli and et al., op. cit., p.4.
[129] Ibid., p. 6

overlaps significantly with the higher levels of military, legal, organizational, religious and ideological leaders, therefore, it is clearly said that it is a special part of 'social leadership' in general. Thus, social leadership and political leadership manifest themselves in formal positions. Scholars who stress that political leadership is a special part of social leadership also affirm that leadership is related to power.[130] By the same token, Gorbachev presents fundamental characteristics of political leadership, and precisely it represents a type of power. However, power is based predominantly on intellectual and moral authority rather than authority of the leader's throne or chair.[131] Gorbachev also distinguishes between operational and strategic leadership under political leadership. By definition, the former involves the solution of daily and on-going managerial task, while the latter call for paving society's way to the future.[132]

Finally, we have seen that the role of Mandela and de Klerk in the South African case is quite fit to the political leadership model which refers to make followership in a specific situation that is located in South Africa in post-apartheid era. Furthermore, strategic leadership model which refers to paving the society's way to the future is fit to the role of Mandela and de Klerk, because strategic leadership mostly grows during transitional periods.

1.4.3.2. Charismatic Leadership

The word charisma is Greek in origin. The historical background of this term is earlier than Weber's implies, which primarily were used for religious context. The term of 'charisma' was used by St. Paul to describe the gifts of divine grace which manifest themselves in forms such as prophecy and healing. In the late nineteenth century, it was picked up by Rudolf Sohm as part of his historical analysis of the way by which inspired individuals transformed Christianity into the charismatic Catholic Church.[133] However, the term got reputation since the early twentieth century when the German

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[130] Ibid., p. 6
[131] Mikhail Gorbachev, "*On Nonviolent Leadership, Essays on Leadership, Perspectives on Prevention*", Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict, New York, 1998, p. 39.
[132] Ibid., p. 39
[133] Roger Eatwell, "*The Concept of Theory of Charismatic Leadership*", Totalitarian Movement and Political Religious, Vol.7, No.2, 141-156, 2006, p. 141.

sociologist Max Weber made broad studies into a threefold 'ideal typical' classification of legitimacy and power.

According to Weber, a Charismatic leader has magical abilities, heroism and the power of the mind and speech. They also exude a transcendent vision and/or ideology, an ability to inspire and build confidence, the expression of hazardous or revolutionary ideals and a powerful aura.[134] To this sense, those leaders have power of change (willingly or coercion) to his/her subordinates and could mobilize them to do whatever they want them to do.

Most of charismatic leaders are born in conflict situations. Actually we should ask why do people 'create' such charismatic leaders? From the point of many observers, the subordinates' anxiety and fear are compounded by their sense of inadequacy and insecurity. These make them *look* for charismatic leaders.[135] Alongside a charismatic leader's skill, they are seen to be able to take their followers out of a crisis or catastrophe solves intractable problems and provides them with a focus. This means the leader must be distant, unavailable for day-to-day scrutiny and even *untouchable,* thus, many charismatic leaders are mostly created in political, industrial and military fields.[136]

Briefly, charismatic leaders are those who inspire people with their skills and these leaders have strong power centralized in their own two hands. They are the icons to subordinates whose actions are to be followed unquestioningly; hence, their doctrine or words are the rules. A reference to charismatic leaders such as Hitler, Mussolini, Ghandi, Roosevelt, Mao and Castro made the followers in effect abdicate their own individual powers of choice with devotion, awe, reverence and blind faith.[137] Similar to Stem's perspective that accepts Nelson Mandela as a charismatic leader, Sternberg also classifies Mandela as a charismatic, wise and creative leader.[138] By contrast, Kellerman classifies four main types of leaders as: Wilson as a democrat, Hitler a totalitarian, Lenin a revolutionary and Ghandi a charismatic non-constituted leader.[139] In this vein,

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[134] Coates, op. cit., p. 9.
[135] Ibid., p. 10
[136] Budak, op. cit., p. 96. (cited in Bass, 1990)
[137] Stern, op. cit., p. 10.
[138] Sternberg, op. cit., p. 37.
[139] Kellerman, op. cit., p. 425.

there is correlation between the charismatic leader and the wise leader. Wise leaders are usually charismatic but charismatic leaders are not necessarily wise as Hitler, Stalin.[140]

1.4.3.2. Transformational Leadership

One of the unique types of leadership is transformational (known as transactional) which is characterized by the special qualities that make reconciliation initiatives possible. This leadership is also related to charismatic leadership and visionary leadership. The term of transformational leadership was firstly coined by Buns in 1978 who defined the word of transformational leadership: '*such leadership occurs when one or more person engage with others in such a way that leaders and followers raise one another to a higher level of motivation and morality...Power bases are linked not as counter-weights but as mutual support for a common purpose.*'[141] The notion of transformational leadership is anchored in empirical research conducted among business executives and agency administrators. According to Bass, there are four substantial components which make up transformational leadership behaviour: idealized influence, inspirational motivation, intellectual stimulation and individualized consideration.[142] On the other hand, transformational leadership requires a number of different skills that are also closely associated with two other leadership styles: charismatic and visionary leadership. A Transformational leader is a true leader who inspires his /her followers with a shared vision of the future. Moreover, these leaders are highly visible, and spend a lot of time communicating; interacting and they primarily focus to make chance happen in themselves, others, groups and organisations. One of the best examples is Ghandi and Mandela who have spent plenty of time communicating and interacting between parties.

Another leadership type, which has a link with transformational leadership, is visionary leadership that has many different elements in itself. Clearly, people with vision are highly motivated and they have four prominent traits. These are: *One direction* to put

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[140] Sternberg, op. cit., p. 37.
[141] Yacoov Bar and et al (Edit), "*From Conflict Resolution to Reconciliation*", Oxford University Press., USA, 2004, p. 131
[142] Ibid., p. 132

forward a desired future and moves followers toward it, *Foresight,* typically considered a part of wisdom and a great leader knows something before others do, *Must be right* or received to be right as is the case in spiritual matters and *It must motivate,* such as Mother Teresa and Gandhi to name but a few examples of visionary leaders.[143]

Briefly, the first chapter has searched conceptual understanding of reconciliation and leadership. Regarding reconciliation, as it's mentioned in previous parts, reaching a common definition about reconciliation is difficult due to the wide usage of the term. Even though there is lack of compromise exhibited in available explanations; there are certain factors that must exist in all reconciliation processes. These are: literal meeting of opponents/divided groups, dissolution of conflicting identities, mutual coexistence, moral issue (confess-forgive-repent), regulate social behaviour through legislation or common objects and community building via state level dimensions.[144]In addition, the definition, traits and the types of leadership have been briefly analyzed throughout this chapter as well. As discussed above, there is no model of leadership that will totally capture all facts or traits, both internal and external that makes for successful leaders. However, a successful leader such as Nelson Mandela has effective skills and attitude to deal with novel and difficult situations in South Africa by carrying synthesize wisdom, intelligence and creativity. These notions are core elements of being an effective leader because leaders constantly confront novel tasks and situations, thus without holding those three elements, one cannot truly be a successful leader. As indicated in previous paragraphs, a leader lacking in creativity will be unable to cope with tough situations such as new and unexpected sources of hostility. Furthermore, a leader lacking in academic and practical intelligence will be unable to implement his/her ideas effectively. Besides, an unwise leader could end up maintaining ideas that are contrary to the best interests of the people who are subordinate to him. In this regard, the wisdom, creativity and intelligence model is of course related to many leadership models such as visionary leadership, transformational leadership, charismatic leadership and emotionally intelligent leadership. In this vein, implementation of Nelson Mandela and de Klerk are being conceptualized under the theoretical umbrella of these three

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[143] 19 Types of Leadership Styles You Must Know,
http://www.legacee.com/Info/Leadership/LeadershipStyles.html (accessed on 28.03.2013)
[144] Anderlini and et al, op. cit. p. 3(accessed on 27.02.2013)

elements. Thus, I categorise Mandela and de Klerk's initiatives as befitting the political, charismatic and transformational leadership model.

In a nutshell, this chapter has analyzed the methodological understanding of the term of reconciliation and leadership in an extensive degree. However, in the preceding chapter main breaking points of South African history will be demonstrated. In preceding chapter, an attempt was made to uncover the root cause because analysing the problem at its roots is obligatory. In order to understand the development of the reconciliation process of South Africa, background of conflict and the root of the problem must be addressed. The main turning points of South African history and the roots of Apartheid will now be displayed, the operationalisation of national reconciliation will then be taken into account respectively.

CHAPTER II

2. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND: THE ROOTS OF CONFLICT IN SOUTH AFRICA

The aim of this chapter is to outline the main historical turning points of South Africa so as to understand the national reconciliation process of South Africa precisely. Without doubt, the seeds of South African conflict lie in history so it should be noted that understanding the roots of conflicts will help us to analyse why reconciliation initiatives were necessary. If it is known how and by which means South African society have been divided before and during the Apartheid years then national reconciliation would work out, so without analysing the history, national reconciliation initiatives will remain insufficient.

The questions to be responded to in this chapter are: what are the main breaking points of South African history? What had happened in the past that a society felt the urge to run national reconciliation after 1994? Also, what and how South African society can learn lessons from the past and what can be done to move forward together? All these questions will be answered in this chapter. Furthermore, this chapter covers a considerable span of time, which starts in the pre-colonial period, colonial period, Apartheid years and a new phase of the democratic republic of South Africa. Each time period is taken into account under their own titles.

2.1. History of South Africa

Before we proceed to the history of South Africa, the history of African continent should basically be known. The African continent covers a vast territory, the second largest continent in the world after Asia, and she holds 54 different countries in it. The continent hosts more than 100 different ethnicities and more than 1000 different languages. The colonization of Africa goes back to the 15th century. Portuguese sailors have reached the Cape of Good Hope so as to supply equipment while going to India.

Portuguese leader Preens Henry, known as the 'great sailor', was often dealing with Africa with the aim of two reasons[145] ne of the important purposes for him were religious in nature as he aimed to establish a 'Christian Union' with Ethiopia. He believed that Ethiopia was a Christian kingdom so by supporting Ethiopia, the expansion of Islam in the region could be prevented; therefore Henry's first voyage took place around the African Horn region. Thus it can be stated that basic occupation of Africa was aimed at religious reasons. Henry's second objective was economic, in that he desired to gain more valuable materials to get richer and utilise Africa as a halting point en route to India. Portugal, then Spain, followed by Holland and the other imperial states focused their attention towards Africa respectively. Henry and Diego Cam arrived at the Congo in 1484 and Bartholomew Diaz arrived at the Cape of Good Hope in 1497-98. From that time, an intensive colonization process ensued.

The colonization process which began in the 15th century had reached its apex in the 19th century following the Berlin Conference in 1885.[146] As a result of Industrialisation, the European countries have flocked into African continent in order to supply raw material. These radical initiatives have induced to conflict among eachother, however in the last quarter of 19th century, they have gathered to share Africa in a conceiving manner. A proposal had been given by Portugal through the mediation of Otto von Bismarck. 14 different countries had gathered in Berlin to decide which portion of land in Africa would be allocated to each European country represented at the conference. Therefore Imperial states have established a colonial regime that spanned across 75 years only ending in 1960.

Most African states obtained their sovereignty after the Second World War. During 1960, known as African Year, 17 countries out of 53 had achieved sovereignty that year.[147] In this vein, Ethiopia, Liberia, Egypt and South Africa[148] had never colonial

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[145] Türkkaya Ataöv, "*Afrika Ulusal Kurtuluş Mücadeleleri*", A.Ü SBF yay. Ankara, 1975, p, 12

[146] Ibid. p. 22, The participant states: England, France, Germany, Portugal, Belgium, Austria, Italia, Russia, Spain, USA, Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Ottoman Empire.

[147] Crawford Youhg, "*The End of the Post-colonial State in Africa, Reflections on Changing African Political Dynamics*", African Affairs, 2004, 103, 23-49 p. 23, see more about: Ali A. Mazrui, 'Independent African States and the Struggle for Southern Africa', The Unisco Press, 'The Decolonization of Africa: Southern Africa and Horn of Africa', Paris: The United Nations,1981,

[148]The Situation of South Africa's independence is debatable. According to some scholars, South Africa had never colonial history due to her ethnic structure. In this point, in South Africa there were white inhabitants who were seen as a part of local residence therefore the country has been ruled by their own

past, Botswana and Mauritius have always enjoyed the democratic governance. Ghana was the first African country to gain independence in 1957. Today, including South Sudan which held a referendum on 11 July 2011, the number of African countries has reached 54. While in 1970 the population of the continent was 364 million, in 1990 the number reached 800 million, today the continent has a population estimated at 1 billion in which 40 % of the total number are under the age of 15.[149] The worlds' most diverse and even the most complex region is sub-Saharan Africa, 48 African countries out of 54 are located in this region.

One of the most significant Sub-Saharan states is the Republic of South Africa; she only emerged as a state a century ago. South African societies were hunter gatherers, known today as Khoikhoi, San or collectively Khoisan who had inhabited the west and northwest since around 1000 B.C. One of the many myths perpetuated in South African history held that indigenous pastoralist and cultivators had moved into South Africa from the North. People did enter the region from the north but the historical process was much more complex. Although there is widespread acceptance about the process that brought pastoralism and arable farming to South Africa, there are still many gaps about the knowledge of it. Historian Richard Elphicks' publication in 1977 contains evidence that pastoralism begun in northern Botswana.[150] Therefore, the ancestor of South Africa was the Bantu-speaking people who had moved from the north, starting many years before the arrival of the Europeans.

In fact, according to Ali Mazrui, the history of external conceptualization of Africa has had five phases.[151] Mazrui emphasises these phases from pre-colonial era to Greek and Rome, from the birth of Islam to the impact of the West and globalisation of Africa. Likewise, Butler, puts the history of South Africa into four phases. South Africa before

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indigenous not such as French colonial in Senegal. See more about, Ufuk Tepetaş, '*1990 Sonrası Afrika:Mücadele Alanı'*, Istanbul, Yük. Lis. Tezi, 2009, p.1

[149]Zahra Nuru, "*Afrika'nın Kalkınmasında Dış Yardımların Rolü ve Etkinliği (Sorunlar ve Çözüm Önerileri)",*Tasam Afican Institute, www.tasamafrika.org (Accessed on 17.12.2011)

[150] Leonard Thompson, "*A History of South Africa"*, Yale Uni. Press, USA, 2001, p. 11.
[151] Ali Mazrui, "*The Re-invention of Africa: Edward Said, V.Y. Mudimbe, and Beyond",* Research in African Literatures, Vol.36, No. 3, 2005, p. 70.

1870, the creation of the State from 1870 to 1910, Segregation and early apartheid 1910-60 and the fall of the apartheid regime and transition into democracy.[152]

One of the turning points in the history of South Africa was the date of 1652, which is etched into white South African historical tradition as the date of the 'beginning of South Africa'. In that year, Jan Van Riebeck and his 90 sailors who landed with him at the Cape of Good Hope under the instruction of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) as a part of its expanding network of trade in the Indian Ocean.[153] Van Riebeck and VOC constructed a fort and developed a vegetable garden for the benefit of ships on the Eastern trade route. The Cape proved to be a perfect location, halfway between Europe and the East. Although Van Riebeck left the country in 1662, 250 white people remained there in what was the beginning of developing a colony. The white population increased slowly but steadily, as company employees-Dutch, Germans, Scandinavians and other Europeans took their retirement at the Cape.[154] In the early seventeenth century, the Boers (farmers) primarily descended from the Dutch whose main functions had been to supply the passing of the Dutch East India Company. These white settlers have increased exponentially. According to Butler, there were four factors that Boer settlers achieved advances in South Africa through: exploitation of divisions in African society, co-operation between whites, the technological superiority of firearms, and the ability to store wealth in a more sophisticated economic system.[155]

The other milestone for the history of South Africa was in the late eighteen century, as a result of development in Europe the British soldiers took the Cape over from the Dutch in 1795 and they introduced cultural and legal changes in accord with their interests. Even though the British captured the Cape in 1795, the full control came in 1806 just after the Napoleonic war, because of its strategic location on the trade route to India. The influence of the ideas in the French Revolution and the evangelical anti-slavery campaigns in England threatened the Boers' customary practices of quasi-slavery,

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[152] Anthony Butler, "*Contemporary South Africa*", New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2009, p. 5, See more about, R. Ross, 'A concise History of South Africa, Cambridge, 1999.
[153] Nigel Worden, "*The Making of Modern South Africa: Conquest, Apartheid, Democracy*", Hong Kong, Wiley-Blackwell pub., 2007, p. 10.
[154] Roger B. Beck, "*The History of South Africa*", , Greenwood Press, London, 2000, p. 27, see more about: T. Keegan, 'Colonial South Africa and the Origins of the Racial Order', Charlottesville Press.(1996), and N. Worden, 'Slavery in Dutch South Africa', Cambridge, 1985
[155] Butler, op. cit., p. 7

which means that many Boers would be suffering from slave absence if it's abrogated. Thus nearly 12.000 discontent Afrikaaners farmers (or Boers), half of whom were Khoi servants and former slaves emigrating to the North, firstly Natal and then the Highveld further north.[156] These migrations are also known as the 'Great Trek' that took place in the late 1830s.

2.2. Creation of the State: British Imperial Age, Gold and Diamonds

For over three hundred years, the white European powers had little interest in South Africa apart from its strategic value and service to passing fleets. But, post-1870 South Africa was marked by a new speed and magnitude of social changes with unprecedented pace. In 1867, two children playing along the banks of the Orange River found a shiny pebble. The pebble was a diamond which attracted foreign investment initiating modern capitalism in South Africa.[157] Soon after, in 1886, the mining of diamonds was overtaken by the mining of gold which was discovered on the Witwatersrand. These two developments soon attracted over 10.000 diggers from Southern Africa, Europe and the USA, also demands in manpower attracted many black workers to the region. In fact, the discovery of South Africa's enormous mineral wealth came just after heavy colonization endeavours were established during the Berlin Conference of 1885. After this time, the demand for stability and for labour led the imperial powers to break the resistance of Africa polities through military force.

In fact, before gold and diamond exploration, the British officials attempted to unite all of South Africa into a confederation in 1870. Until that time South Africa was divided into four parts: Cape and Natal (British domain), and the Orange Free State and Transvaal (Dutch domain). But, the discovery and exploitation of gold and diamonds by the British and Dutch made two powers for war which was later called the '*Anglo-Boer War*' in 1899-1903. During the fighting between the Dutch and British soldiers, many local South African people have died According to Peter Warwick, he says: 'at least 10.000 and possibly as many as 30.000 Blacks fought with the British army and

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[156] Butler, op. cit. p. 8, also see N. Worden, '*Slavery in Dutch South Africa*', Cambridge ,1985
[157] Beck, op. cit. p. 77.

thousands for the Dutch army.[158] Thus, South African people were suffering harshly economically, militarily and of course politically.

Finally, discovering diamonds and gold had an influence on local people's life style and economic conditions because the country's rich minerals transformed South Africa from an agriculture state to an industrial country.[159] This transition saw the migration of peasants to the big cities, mainly gold and diamond regions where social segregation between white and black was just beginning. This economic transformation has led to the change of South African history, since then many local South Africans have moved to big towns where economic, political and institutional segregation has located.

2.3. Roots of Racial Segregation and The concept of Apartheid

As gold and diamonds was discovered in the nineteenth century, tens of thousands of the local African indigenous population had flocked into the big towns which made a complex situation in living area where white and black were living side by side. Thus, in order to understand reconciliation of South Africa, it should be deeply entrenched in the roots of segregation and how did South Africa become a society in which racial discrimination was designed so deeply. In this context, there are two significant dates from 1910-1948 which is known as *white union and black segregation*, also in preparation of the Apartheid years. And, from 1948 to 1990 (it is also accepted until 1994) is known as the Apartheid years.

The date of 1910 was a key turning point in the history of South Africa with 'The Act of Union' that created a single nation with a population of 1,275.000 whites, 150.000 Indians, 500.000 coloureds and 4 million Africans but only white South Africans were truly citizens.[160] Nearly four decades of successive white governments passed laws creating a segregated society which was the first steps leading to the harsh Apartheid years. In 1910 South African party leader Louis Botha and Jan Smuts won the 1910

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[158] Thompson, op. cit. p. 143 (cited in Warwick, 'Black People and South African War,1899-1902', Cambridge, 1983, p. 4-5)
[159] Hüner Tuncer, *"Irkçılıktan Özgürlüğe: Güney Africa",* Istanbul, Çağdaş Yay, 1997, p. 41,and more detail about: S.Mark and A.Atmore *'Economy and Society in Pre-Industrial South Africa'* ,London ,1980
[160] Beck, op. cit. p. 101.

general elections. Soon after they agreed to a South African dominion status within the British Empire although they sought far greater autonomy.

After The Act of Union (1910), there were several acts passed which deepened the segregation and discrimination among people living in South Africa. The Native Act of 1913 allocated 87 per cent of land to Whites and moved to prohibit native land purchase. Notwithstanding, between 1910 and 1924, Botha and Smuts instituted racial segregation through a series of laws knows as the 'bedrock legislation'.[161] Some of them were: 'The mines and Works Act' (1911) established white job reservations in the mines, 'The Defence Act' (1911) established a White Active Citizen Force, 'The Native Affairs Act' (1920) created a separate and segregated administrative and legal system for the reserves, 'The 1923 Urban Areas Act' created legal tools to further entrench the practices of segregation, the coercive management of migration to work in the cities and regulation of 'pass laws' that regulated the movement of Africans in designated Europeans areas.[162]

Segregation legislations of the early Union government, notably the Mines and Works Act and the Natives Land Bill showed that local South African people's interest have not been taken into account by white politicians. Thus , thousands of black people had gathered in Bloemfontein to form the South Africa Native Congress (SANNC) which was later renamed the African National Congress (ANC). The SANNC had declared in the first constitution that: *"To encourage mutual understanding and to bring together common actions as one political people all tribes and clans of various tribes or races and by means of combined efforts and united political organization to defend their freedom, rights and privileges"*[163] The main aim of the ANC was to tackle those racist acts and combine the power of black people to struggle for their freedom. Since 1912, several political (negotiation), military (armed struggle) and economic measures have been launched by black societies against the repressive white government. However, rather than change taking place , white leaders have escalated the oppression after 1948.

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[161] Beck, op. cit. p. 113.
[162] See more detail: S. Dubow '*Racial Segregation and the Origins of Apartheid in South Africa, 1910-1936*',London(1989), and P. Bonner and et all, '*Apartheid's Genesis*', Johannesburg,(1993)
[163] Worden, op. cit. p. 90 (cited in Karis and Carter, 1973)

2.3.1. The Apartheid Years

The date of 1948 was a significant year in modern South African history, in that year white Afrikaaner 'National Party (NP) won the election under the slogan of '*Apartheid*'. The NP remained in power until the first democratic election which took place in 1994. According to Roger B. Back, the Apartheid era could be divided into three phases. The first began in 1948 with the NP election victory and ended in 1959 when the government introduced separate developments. The second phase which was utilised until 1970, which witnessed the implementation of separate development. The last phase started in 1970 which witnessed a shift away from complete racial segregation simply because there was heavy economic and political pressure to change both from within South African borders and internationally.[164]

The concept of Apartheid was first initiated after the 1948 election and continued on until 1994.[165] Apartheid in Afrikaans means 'apart-ness' or 'separate-ness' which refers to the system of racial discrimination and white political domination adopted by the NP while in power from 1948 to 1994. According to the oxford dictionary, the simple meaning is: *'a policy or system of segregation or discrimination on grounds of race'*. However, from the point of Roger B. Beck, there are distinctions between 'petty' Apartheid and 'grand' Apartheid. Petty Apartheid refers to racist law beginning with the birth of racial segregation and ending in burial. Segregation was deeply implemented in society by the Apartheid regime such restrictions in work, offices, business, schools, restrooms, park benches, restaurants, theatres and football fields. Grand apartheid related to land and political rights in which government had extended the 1913 and 1936 Land Acts.[166] In fact, when the concept of Apartheid first utilised by the NP throughout the 1950's, 'Apartheid' was understood to be a 'progressive' definition rather than an oppressive state ideology, they even proclaimed that Apartheid implemented the '*maintenance and protection of the indigenous racial groups as separate communities within their own areas and the stimulation of national pride, mutual respect and self-respect among the different races*'[167]. To this extent,

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[164] Ibid., p. 126.
[165] Butler., op. cit., p. 16.
[166] Beck, op. cit., p. 125.
[167] H. Anka Şahin, "*Change and Continuity in the Foreign Policy of South Africa in The Post-Apartheid Period*" Ankara, Yül. Lis. Tez., 2003, p. 2

compartmentalization of the population had deepened in 1950, and the 'Population Registration Act' enforced the classification of the people into four racial categories: White, Coloured, Asiatic (Indian), and Native (later Bantu or African).[168] Throughout the Apartheid years, there were several other racial separate acts such as the: 'Immorality Act' which prohibits mixed marriages, 'Group Areas Act' (1950) applying residential segregation, 'Separate Amenities Act' (1953) segregated transport, cinema, restaurant and sporting facilities.

2.3.2. Fall of Apartheid: The External Role and Inevitable Transition

The late 1970s and beginning of 1980, there was a signal that the Verwoerdian[169] model which developed during the heyday of Apartheid began to break down. Even though the National party had adopted several reforms to change economic and social circumstance while still holding a monopoly of political power, but on the other hand, the fire of incursions had already caught on all over the country. In fact, the winds of freedom that started in 1957 with the independence of Ghana and continued until 1960 with 17 new African states gaining their independence, was forcing South Africa to take measures against the Aparheid rule. Even British Prime Minister Harold MacMillan expressed that *winds of freedom were stirring the continent*.[170] However, while African nations were obtaining their rights step by step after 1960, South Africa was going in opposite direction. South African government policy during the heyday of Apartheid became known as the 'Total Strategy' designed to counter a 'total onslaught' on the sate.

After 1970 an inevitable change was compulsory after international condemnation grew and economic sanctions began to bite South Africa harshly. According to Worden there were a number of factors that led to a change in the policy of South African States.[171] Firstly, highly capitalized manufacturing were requiring semi-skilled permanent workers instead of unskilled and migrant labourers which were no longer appropriate to

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[168] Worden, op. cit. p. 105.
[169] He was 7th Prime Minister of South Africa (1958-66)
[170] Şahin, op. cit. p. 21 (cited in National Geographic, Vol. 118, No.3, September 1960)
[171] Worden, op. cit. p.135

the needs of South African capitalism. Besides, the strikes and boycotts imposed a direct cost on South African companies due to lowered productivity and less revenue.

Starting from 1970, there were a number of economic measurements instituted against the Apartheid regime. For instance, companies in the United States rid themselves of SA affiliates, reduced their investment in South Africa and U.S. consumers cut their purchases of products, particularly diamonds.[172] These economic sanctions imposed pressure on governments and companies increased in the 1980s and contributed to disinvestment, private financial sanctions by banks had negative consequences on the economy, it also impacted on the 1987 elections.[173] Economic disaffection from class based policy harmed government therefore Mr. De Klerk's government forged a new strategy.

The second factor that induced the South African government to increase measure against protost were the labour and urban resistance of Sharpeville and the Soweto uprising were important breaking points, because until the Sharpeville shooting which caused the death of 69 protestors, who employed large non-violent means of resistance, the ANC declared to give up its policy of non-violence and they embraced violent means via the establishment of the military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe. The conflict between South African forces and South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) had resulted in more bloodshed after the Soweto shooting. From that time, the ANC applied a number of attacks on strategic targets in various parts of South Africa with the assistance of neighbour state's military means.

The other factor which was the breaking point in the fall of Apartheid was launched by Britain in 1963 which urged the compliance with the United Nation (UN) Security Councils' imposition of a voluntary arms embargo on South Africa. A year later, the U.S. followed suit. In 1977 the International community took concerted economic action against South Africa with the passage of UN Security Council Resolution 418 which prohibited all members of nations to supply the South African government with

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[172] Timothy M. Bairstow, "*Amnesty, Reintegration, and Reconciliation South Africa*", U.S., Military Review, March-April 2009, p. 91.
[173] John Barratt, "*Transition in South Africa: The Global Context and The International Role*", Lisbon, Occasional Paper, 1992, p.7

arms and related material of all types.[174] Following this, several other UN resolutions had been accepted such as: Resolution 772(1992) and 765 (1992) which set in motion the new direct involvement of the UN in South African's domestic transition process.

One of the foremost breaking points in the transition of South Africa from Apartheid to a democratic regime was in August 1989, when Botha was forced to step down and de Klerk replaced him. After de Klerk's takeover of power, police attacks on protestors were significantly toned down. In September and October a number of peaceful marches were allowed to take place in the centre of major cities with white and black marching together. On the 2nd February 1990, de Klerk announced the unbanning of the ANC and in following weeks released many political prisoners including Nelson Mandela. In 1991, key apartheid legislation was repealed such as the Group Areas Act, the Land Act and the Population Registration Act. After a year, de Klerk's government entered into formal negotiation with the ANC and the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA).[175] From 1989 to 1993, the government and the ANC conducted a serious of negotiations that culminated in the Interim Constitution of 1993. In 1994 the NP led by de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela agreed upon procedures for granting amnesty which would be essential for both sides therefore Mandela made reconciliation the focus of his first term as President of South Africa. When the new constitution was agreed upon by all sides, it was the cornerstone in the history of South Africa that ended 341 years of white domination which started in 1652.[176]

Transformation of South Africa from Apartheid to democracy was called a 'small miracle' by Nelson Mandela. White dominance was overthrown by peaceful means thanks to the common sense of political figures. The consensus on the part of the international community regarding the case of the Apartheid regime was one of the first and most important contributions of Western countries to international morality. They committed themselves to a concerted effort to ensure that the transition process lead to a peaceful political settlement. Alongside the role of the UN and the international

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[174] Bairstow, op. cit., 91.
[175] Worden, op. cit., p. 148.
[176] See, R.W. Johnson and L.Schlemmer, "*Launching Democracy in South Africa",* Yale University Press,1999, and more about, A. Johnston et al, '*Constitution-Making in the New South Africa'*, London, Leicester University Press, 1994

community, the other changes that took place around the same time of SA transition such as the fall of Berlin Wall, the end of Cold War and the disintegration of the USSR which added a positive contribution to the peaceful transition of South Africa.[177]

In conclusion, as it is explained in previous paragraphs, the peaceful transition of South Africa from undemocratic regimes to democratic governance was a milestone not only for South Africa but also for all African states who had suffered from heavy colonialism. This chapter has tried to illustrate the roots of the ethnic problems in South Africa. Furthermore the role of external factors on the process of transition has also been mentioned. So now we can look at the internal initiatives instituted to run and implement the national reconciliation process. Of course the end of Apartheid was just the first step but the most important factor was how to conduct a national reconciliation process that could unite all South Africans so as not to suffer again. After Apartheid was overthrown, anger was at the apex among the black society against white people and the sense of revenge had to be prevented to avoid a fight between them. Thus, after Apartheid ended in 1993, much was waiting to be done. Therefore, the next chapter will be about how Mandela and De Klerk coped with the ashes of apartheid rules. In this vein, the role of the new constitution and the role of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission will be also pointed out.

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[177] Barrat, op. cit. p.15

CHAPTER III

3. OPERATIONALIZATION OF NATIONAL RECONCILIATION: THE CASE OF SOUTH AFRICA

> *"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",*

<div align="right">Freedom Charter, 1955</div>

Despite trajectories of colonial and post-colonial violence in South Africa before and during the Apartheid years, the struggle of South African people against the Apartheid regime won success with multi-party elections taking place in 1994. The end of Apartheid left South Africa more dramatically divided along racial and economic lines, because five decades of repressive Apartheid rule had left most of its citizens as victims of abuse and discrimination. Soon after the demise of the Apartheid regime, South Africa embraced democratic governance and put in place a *national reconciliation* process to deal with human right abuses and uncover the truth addressing the deep ethnic, racial, political and class-based divisions of the past. Thus, this chapter illustrates the national reconciliation initiatives that were implemented by the hands of Mandela and De Klerk from detente years to the end of the Mandela era under the title of normative statements, symbolic and judicial acts.

The main objective of this chapter is to discover how political leaders' personal characteristics and their endeavours had influenced national reconciliation in South Africa. Hence, this chapter highlights De Klerk and Mandela's reconciliation-oriented leadership in the South African conflict, and also considers how their personalities have affected their promotion of intergroup reconciliation initiatives. In addition to emphasizing both leaders' background and their leadership capacities, the chapter points out Mandela and De Klerk's contributions to the national reconciliation of South Africa. In the previous chapter, an extensive conceptualization of reconciliation has been

analysed that contained the explanation of various scholars' notions, therefore this chapter is about operationalization of that conceptual understanding in the case of South Africa. In other words, the first chapter explained the question of "what are we talking about?" and yet, this chapter will reply to the question of "How do we know it when we see it in the case of South Africa?" In this regard, the theoretical starting point of Galtung's conflict triangles which are conflict attitudes, conflict behaviour and the conflict issue itself will be applied to the case of South Africa. National reconciliation is the formulation or demonstration of either attitude or behaviour by national political leaders (be the government or opposition), hence Galtung's conflict triangle is compatible with analysing the role of Mandela and De Klerk in the national reconciliation process. Mandela and De Klerk's attitudes and behaviours are identified by two indicators each: normative statements and strategic policy statements (measuring), symbolic and judicial acts will be examined.

The questions that will be responded to within this chapter are: to what extent should these leaders' (Mandela and de Klerk) commitment to national reconciliation in the course of bitter civil conflicts be attributed to their personal characteristics as well as their endeavours? How did this negotiation miracle happen after Apartheid? How were these two very different men, for decades implacable enemies, as were the organizations which they headed, able to break the cycle of violence and find a mutually acceptable solution to the increasingly dire situation in South Africa, and be built on common ground? Therefore, this chapter seeks to understand how a leader could influence the fate of country with his/her personal characteristics and initiatives during and after the conflict.

To begin with, both leader's background, personal characteristics and their commitment to national reconciliation will be focused on briefly. Initially, Nelson Mandela is going to be analyzed with his traits, roles and contribution to nation-building, then de Klerk will be taken into account respectively.

3.1. NELSON MANDELA IN NATIONAL RECONCILIATION PROCESS

""During my lifetime I have dedicated myself to this struggle of the African people. I have fought against white domination, and I have fought against black domination. My ideal is a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunity. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and achieve, but, if need be, an ideal for which I am prepared to die"

Nelson Mandela, 1963 (Rivonia Trail)

The name of Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela is synonymous with the liberation struggle, freedom, peace and national reconciliation in South Africa. In addition to being one of the most revered and recognized leaders in history due to his ambitions for peace in South Africa, without Mandela, South African history would have taken a completely different turn.[178] After the demise of the Apartheid years in early 1990, the response to the nation-building challenge in South Africa was most visibly adopted through the metaphor of the 'rainbow nation' associated with Nelson Mandela, whose own mythology became intertwined with that of the 'new nation'.[179] Since Nelson Mandela is one of the contemporary figures of a peace hero, his life and deeds have been dwelt on as well as his heroic and symbolic qualities. Several academics have searched his life and some biographies have been written to sustain or augment this vision with an account of his lineage, notably through the writings of Fatima Meer, Tom Lodge, Martin Meredith and Anthony Sampson who have strived to understand the meaning of 'Mandela' and his power of influence.

The life of Mandela and his personal initiatives are quite significant which has inspired many youngsters who aimed to achieve a Rainbow Nation. In this sense, the importance of leadership can be understood. Unlike Mandela and Ghandi, many of the political

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[178] Daniel Lieberfeld, "*Lincolns, Mandela, and Qualities of Reconciliation-oriented Leadership*", Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology, 15:1, 27-47, 2009, p. 28
[179] Martha Evans, "*Mandela and the Televised Birth of the Rainbow Nation*", National Identities, Taylor and Francis Group, Vol. 12, No.3, September, 2010, p. 309-326

leaders in history have been warriors[180] rather than peacemakers, however, Gandhi taught us with his philosophy of civil disobedience and Mandela's phenomenally full and varied career as a politician invites us to examine his significant influence and accomplishments in each major period of his life. Thus, in order to examine his irrevocable achievement, we should look back on his life briefly.

3.1.1. Background of Nelson Mandela and His Motivation

Before demonstrating the role of Mandela during the reconciliation process, a brief history (from childhood to presidency), his personal traits and capacities that shaped the way of the reconciliation process will be shortly displayed. The objectives of these two rubrics are to identify the background of leaders who change the history of their country, thus understanding the personal background of leaders would certainly help to understand his/her implementation of nation-building.

3.1.1.1. Mandela's years from childhood to presidency

This time period contains Mandela's childhood and adolescent years (as being a youth leader in the ANC), his struggle years against the Apartheid regime and his remarkable speeches to transcend racial discrimination in the early years of his political career. The last rubric will be scrutinized his years of imprisonment in which Mandela had completely changed his vision and he determined a way that would unite South Africa in harmony for years to come.

Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela was born on July 18, 1918, in the tiny village of Mwezo in the Umtata district, capital of the Transkei as the eldest child and only boy among his mother's four children. He is a member of Xhosa tribe and grew up following Xhosa principles. His descended from the royal Tembu tribe and was being groomed for chieftainship. Although he had a high status within their own groups, his tribe had a low status in terms of empowerment and governance. Thus, he pointed out in his autobiography 'Long Walk to Freedom' that *'No matter how high a black man*

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[180] Safty, op. cit., p. 67.

advanced, he was still considered inferior to the lowest white man'.[181] Hence, even though he would most likely be Chief and thus leader of his tribe, he was not destined to rule one tribe, instead he would lead an entire nation into freedom and democracy.

Mandela's education years, which played a significant role in his future career, was quite challenging due to intensive Apartheid politics.[182] After receiving a primary education at a local mission school, he enrolled at Healdtown Methodist Boarding School. He later matriculated at the University College of Fort Hare, the only residential higher education campus open to blacks in South Africa, because at that time, the government was practicing a form of institutionalized racism. In the course of his education he claims to have developed a great admiration for British institutions, so his life vision was inspired by the British model.[183]

While he was studying he was not willing to work under white rule because he dedicated himself to be educated that he later explained in his autobiography: *"The regent had often told me, it is not for you to spend your life mining the white man's gold, never knowing how to write your name"*.[184] After a while, Mandela settled in Johannesburg in search of a liberated life for the oppressed and isolated black majority in the early 1940s at the age of twenty three.[185] When he arrived in Johannesburg (the largest city of South Africa), he met with Walter Sisulu who worked as a miner, and a factory worker, who then directed Mandela to become a fighter against injustice. According to some scholars, Walter is seen as the first teacher of Mandela who designed his political career. Lodge uses the term 'big man' to refer to Sisulu.[186] That is a derogatory term used on the African continent when referring to powerful individuals in a relationship of patronage. In this sense, Walter was a patron who played a

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[181] Nelson Mandela, *"Long Walk to Freedom"*, The Autobiography of Nelson Mandela, Little, Brown and Company, London, 1994, p. 30.

[182] Although apartheid rules existed de jure since 1948, and de facto from 1910, see more about Arvin Kumar Yadav, *"Nelson Mandela and the Process of Reconciliation in South Africa"*, India Quarterly: A Journal of International Affairs, 49-84, 2007, p. 69.

[183] Raymond Suttner, *"(Mis)Understanding Nelson Mandela"*, African Historical Review, 39:2, 107-130, 2008, p. 121.

[184] Nelson Mandela., op. cit., p. 30.

[185] According to some documents, when he aged 23, he was forced by his tribe to marry but he objected this therefore he moved to Johannesburg, (see more about , Danial Liberfield, *"Peace Profile: Nelson Mandela"*, Peace review, A Journal of Social Justice, 2006, p. 388, and , *"Türk ve Dünya Ünlüleri Encyclopaedia"*, Anadolu Yay, Cilt-7, Istanbul, pp, 3724)

[186] Suttner, op, cit., p. 112.

substantial role in facilitating Mandela's entry into law and politics. Therefore, we can clearly say that Sisulu is the man who made 'Mandela' into the man who would change the fate of the country.

Meanwhile, when he was living in black areas of Johannesburg, he witnessed the facts of life for urban Africans living under color bar poverty, exclusion from skilled work, over-crowded slums and constant harassment by police under the pass laws. During these years in Johannesburg he felt the agony, suffering and deep racial discrimination by the ruling party. He saw men of his colour fighting for equal rights and freedom of movement so he dedicated his life for the sake of his people to gain a fair deal.[187]

One of the substantial turning points in Mandela's life was at the age of twenty-five, when he joined the African National Congress (ANC)[188] together with Walter Sisulu, Oliver Tambo and Anton Lembede. When he joined the ANC, he wrote, '*the hunger for my own freedom became the greater hunger for the freedom of my people…the chains on all of my people were the chains on me.'[189]* 'To the ANC and its new young recruit, Nelson Mandela proclaimed that a new deal would only come with a true form of power sharing; that is, the principle of one person, one vote, so his new struggle motto become 'equal rights'.

Soon after joining the ANC, he actively took on a leading responsibility for the struggle against the Apartheid regime and he immediately became a recognized figure in the ANC Youth League (ANCYL). ANCYL was instrumental in getting the ANC to adopt a 'Programme of Action' in 1949 which proclaimed that the main content and the principal vehicle of the struggle against the racist regime must be "immediate and active boycott, strike, civil disobedience, non-cooperation and such other".[190]

Thus, at the onset, ANC actions were aimed at peaceful upheaval rather than military means. Mandela, also viewed non-violence pragmatically as a tactic rather than an inviolable principle, and government repression of peaceful protest and political activity

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[187] Arvin Kumar Yadav, "*Nelson Mandela and the Process of Reconciliation in South Africa*", India Quarterly: A Journal of International Affairs, 49-84, 2007, p. 53.
[188] African National Congress is an organization formed in 1912 in response to the Africans' exclusion from the British and Afrikaner dominated Union of South Africa,
[189] Roger Southall, "*Young Nelson Mandela, Conversations with myself*", Journal of Contemporary African Studies, 29:3, 352-358, 2011., p. 352.
[190] Yadav., op. cit., p. 53.

in the mid- and late 1950s, culminating with the Sharpeville massacre.[191]The official banning of the ANC in 1960 forced Mandela to move away from non-violence toward guerilla warfare. In fact, despite the Sharpeville tragedy, Mandela did not give up the path of non-violence at the beginning, but he did later join the military wing of the ANC, Umkonto we Sizwe (the Spear of the Nation). However, he explained the reason behind joining ungrounded activities and noted that: *'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'*.[192] Thus, he helped organise the military wing of the ANC: Umkonto we Sizwe, it was later simply abbreviated to MK. In 1962, Mandela left the country to receive military training in Algeria and to arrange training for other members of the MK. When describing these times he says: *"For the first time in my life, I was free man".*[193] On his return, he was arrested for incitement to strike and leaving the country without valid travel documents. After acting as his own defence in court, he was convicted and sentenced to five years in prison in November 1962.

When the Rivonia Trial opened in Pretoria on 9 October 1963, Nelson Mandela was charged with sabotage and claiming the overthrow the Apartheid regime by illegal movement. On 12 June 1964 the court pronounced two life sentences for Mandela and sent him to Robben Island maximum security prison. Despite facing a death sentence in this trail, he delivered his now well-known speech:

> *" 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."*[194]

His years of imprisonment begun in 1964 ending only in 1990 in Robben Island which become a centre for learning and political education during his peiod of incarceration. During his life in prison (nearly 27 years), he largely disappeared from public view, but his accomplishments as a prisoner were critical to the eventual end of the South African

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[191] 1960, there was the anti-pass protest, called by break away Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC), The peaceful gathering at Sharpeville, in which more than 200 unarmed Black protesters were fired upon by South African police and killing 69 and wounding 176 people.
[192] Lieberfeld., op. cit.,2006, p. 389
[193] Yadav., op. cit., p. 59.
[194] Martha Evans, *"Mandela and the Televised birth of the Rainbow Nation".,* National Identities, Cape Town , 12:3, 309-326, 2010, p. 314.

conflict. Unlike many prisoners, jail experiences are not interpreted negatively by Mandela. He believed that he was imprisoned because of his struggle for the people, so he saw these sentences as bearing witness to his dedication for the cause. In other words, although imprisonment is obviously a consequence of disobedience and for having challenged authority, Mandela did not report the jail experience as a punishment, nor as an unwanted incident in their life trajectories.[195] Rather, he interpreted his time in jail as an opportunity to reinforce their activities and their dedication to community goals.[196] Furthermore, the years spent imprisoned had a significant influence on the spirit of his remarkable persona. The banning of Mandela had an unintended outcome: it inadvertently increased his mythical status, making Mandela an unassailable icon of struggle against racial injustice.[197]

Although prison years were heavy labor, physically debilitating conditions and racist oppression, Mandela turned these years into a fruitful period in which he 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 the negotiation table for a new government. In his remarks he said: *"It was a tragedy to lose the best days of your life, 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"[198]*

During the state of emergency of the mid 1980s, he reached out to government representatives, eventually engaging them to negotiate. He believed in the merit of negotiation while in imprisoned and he noted 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.*"[199] But, this negotiation would only become possible after his release because he said: "*only a free man can negotiate, prisoners cannot enter into contract*". However, without talking, the apartheid would not be tacked, but rather the situation could be worst. Therefore, in the late 1980's, he engaged in secret pre-

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[195]Davide Morserlli & Stefano Passini, "*Avoiding Crimes of Obedience: A Comparative Study of the Autobiographies of M.K. Gandhi, Nelson Mandela, and Martin Luther King*", Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology, 16:3, 295-319, 2010., p. 308.

[196] Ibid., p. 308.

[197] B. J. De Klerk, "*Nelson Mandela and Desmond Tutu. Living Icons of Reconciliation.*", The Ecumenical Review, 323- 332, 2003, p. 323(see also more about Shawn O'fallon, "*Nelson Mandela and Unitive Leadership*",, Integral Leadership Review, 2012, 08-20)

[198] Lieberfeld., op. cit., 2006, p. 390

[199] Ibid., p. 390

negotiation dialogue with cabinet members and, ultimately, presidents P.W. Botha and F. W. de Klerk, who have both been impressed by Mandela's interlocutors with his understanding of the Afrikaans language and culture, as well as the historical parallels he drew between Afrikaner nationalism and his own people's anti-imperial struggles. His success was lying behind his negotiation with prison authorities that gave Mandela confidence in his abilities to persuade Afrikaner political leaders. Even though he had many opportunities to be released after talking with NP leaders, he repeatedly refused the authorities' conditional offers of release, and insisted on waiting until his colleagues were freed before agreeing to leave prison himself.

While the secret negotiations were ongoing in the late 1980s, several anti-apartheid protests took place in which Mandela was chosen as a symbol of 'justice, freedom and equality.' In 1988, on the day of Mandela's 70th birthday, many young people started pilgrimages from various part of the United Kingdom to London so as to celebrate his birthday and demand his freedom. Hence, the ANC Free Mandela campaign movement was often used to personalize anti-apartheid protest, while doing this, it put a face to the movement by choosing to make Mandela a lone symbol of heroism, sacrifice and power and he became the hero pitted against a generic oppressive system. Finally, due to heavy external and internal pressure via economic, political and military boycotts which had a tremendous impact on white ruling regimes, notwithstanding, the vision and persuasion skills of Nelson Mandela, NP leaders had to release Mandela and his fellows in 1990.

3.1.1.2. Mandela's Personal Motives and Capacities for Reconciliation

Despite the prophetic name he had been given – Rolihlahla, 'trouble-maker', throughout his lifetime, Mandela became a person with integrity, sound principle and exceptionally rare peacemaker leader. Mandela became fighter to equal footing called himself as 'stubborn sense of fairness', in which the terms of inferiority and superiority have never existed in his glossary. One of the fundamental traits of Mandela is being a 'unitive'[200] and national leader, so he moved from a self-focused responsibility (such as his own

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[200] Shawn O'fallon, "*Nelson Mandela and Unitive Leadership"*, Integral Leadership Review, 08-20, 2012, p. 1

freedom) to a socially oriented responsibility (i.e., freedom for all).[201] Hence, he did not speak as a dissident that is a representative of a minority view, but projected a national vision to the people of South Africa and the world at large. Also, even in his prison years, he always used the word 'We' rather than 'I', which is further proof of his dedication to his people.[202] While Mandela's personal characteristics and political philosophies evolved considerably during his eight and a half decades, the lifelong influences of his childhood and education are apparent in several distinctive aspects of his personality, such as his strong sense of self-efficacy, self-confidence, and self-discipline and his propensity to trust others.

Under this topic, I am going to propose three sets of personal characteristics that have motivated Mandela's reconciliatory initiative: self-control and propensity to forgive, empathic capacities, and intellectual training that includes respect for historical precedent and discourages radicalism and dogmatic thinking.

If forgiveness were applied as a distinction to Nelson Mandela it would seem that he was a man of forgiveness, says Shawn O'Fallon.[203] In fact forgiveness by itself is not an often-used term in Mandela's writings and speeches. For instance, in his second autobiography and in nearly 1200 electronically collected speeches and interviews of Nelson Mandela only 19 examples of the uses of forgive or forgiveness were found. Mandela seldom applies the term of forgiveness due to the constructed nature of the boundaries around forgiveness. Instead, he talks about the spirit of forgiveness rather than forgiveness.[204] One quote widely attributed to Mandela is: "*If there are dreams about a beautiful South Africa, there are also roads that lead to their goal. Two of these roads could be named Goodness and Forgiveness.*"[205] For instance, when Mandela was released from prison, he invited his jailer or his prosecutor to have lunch with them shows how he solely got rid of his bitterness and believed in forgiveness. After all, he was able to treat those that unjustly imprisoned him for 27 years with dignity, kindness, goodness and forgiveness.

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[201] Morserlli & Passini., op. cit., p. 312.
[202] O'fallon, op. cit., p. 3.
[203] O'fallon., op. cit., p. 4.
[204] Ibid., p. 5.
[205] Ibid., p. 6.

Lack of outward vindictiveness toward adversaries is also another characteristic of Mandela. Saths Cooper who shared a cellblock with Mandela for five years, says about Mandela: ''*Mandela was able to get on with every person he met. He played a vital role in dampening conflicts that broke out at the Robben Island prison. Despite having ideological disagreements, he was always able to maintain personal contact*.'' Another prisoner noted of Mandela, ''*It doesn't matter if you differ, he is always polite. He never gets angry. All he will do is try to have the discussion as amicable as possible*''.[206] Despite other fellow prisoners' notions about the difficulty of negotiation with the apartheid regime, Mandela recalled, *''I had to sit down with my colleagues and say, 'Let us talk with our enemies. Let us suppress our feelings*''. Therefore Stengel who worked with Mandela on his autobiography says, his great achievement as leader is the ability to hide that bitterness. To show the smiling face of reconciliation not frowns of bitterness and lost opportunity.[207]

Another significant feature of Mandela *is emphatic capacities* which helped him in his political efforts and also inclined him to forgive others. One of the respectful historians who worked on Mandela's life story is Lodge who says, Mandela possesses "*a genuine capacity for empathy, to shift from one kind of social etiquette to another, an ability that indicates an unusually imaginative capacity for empathy*"[208] He not only approached the conflict issue from a white perspective, but also from the black side. Alongside with criticizing both side's armed struggle, in one interview he said his own actions from the past were unforgivable.[209] He believed that the Afrikaners had a right to be in South Africa, and never threatened to drive whites from the country. Mandela recognized the Afrikaners' difficult story and he recognized their humanity such as Afrikaners' suffering in concentration camps during the Anglo-Boer Wars at the end of the 19th century.[210] Thus, Mandela maintained an empathic awareness of how isolated whites were and that they tended to know Blacks only as servants. He continually sought to educate government representatives concerning ways to talk with Africans as fellow

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[206] Lieberfeld, op. cit., 2009, p. 37

[207] While in prison, Mandela lost his son and mother and he asked to attend their funeral, but prison authorities refused Mandela permission. Mandela still transcend his anger and bitterness toward prison workers.

[208] Lieberfeld, 2009, op. cit., p. 39

[209] O'fallon., op. cit., p. 5.

[210] Jeff Warner, "*Different Lessons from the South African Experience*", Palestine-Israel journal, 74-79, 2008, p. 78.

human beings.[211] Mandela especially realized early on how critical it was to understand his opponent and to also make him feel that empathy. While applying the skill of empathy, he always sought mutual ground that united the nation under the same flag. The mutual respect for hierarchical authority, the shared anti-colonial Afrikaner/African identity and even smaller symbols such as joint pipe smoking, shared "sundowners" in the game reserve, a good joke enjoyed together and whisky poured for one's opponent went a long way to building the joint investment in a new South Africa and generated a mutual pride in making the miracle work.[212] Briefly, during his reconciliation years, he often applied his empathy traits to establish a coexistent society.

Another substantial capacity of Mandela to run reconciliation is his *intellectual orientation* which developed through his legal training, as well as his extensive reading in history which further influenced policies of reconciliation. The intellectual background of Mandela is based on his own study and attendance at schools. After achieving his bachelor's degree, he enrolled at the University of Witwatersrand to study for an LL.B. – the bachelor of laws degree which prepares students to become lawyers. When he finished, he started a legal training. This training and practice had a crucial impact on Mandela's political development. As a result of long tough educational times, arguably, he developed the analytic intelligence to evaluate his plan and to fine-tune it as it was implemented. He, in addition, had the practical intelligence to implement the plan with great success and to persuade a very broad range of people. Such persuasion was no mean feat, particularly preventing a massive exodus of white people and also in convincing black people that reconciliation rather than retribution was the key to success in the new democratic South Africa.[213] In this sense, he most importantly convinced whites to stay in South Africa after apartheid. Mandela was appreciative of the economic accomplishments of the Afrikaners, he recognized that they were necessary for the South African economy to grow and raise the living standard of black people. Thus, Mandela's intellectual skill clearly reflects that his vision is quite broad that he not only think black community but also future of South Africa as well.

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[211] Lieberfeld, 2009, op. cit., p. 42

[212] Mark Young, "*Playing Red and Playing Blue: The 1990–94 Negotiation Miracle in South Africa*", Martinus Nijhoff Publisher, International Negotiation, 295–310, 2007, p. 308.

[213] Sternberg, 2009, op. cit., p. 39.

Briefly, as it has been identified some of personal qualities of Mandela's reconciliation orientation yields hypothesis, Lieberfeld put forward three major consequences regarding traits of reconciliation orientated leaders.[214] First, such leaders can sublimate personal feelings in service of political goals. They are not saints who are never angry or retributive but they have developed capacities for mastering these emotional responses such that they do not influence policymaking. Second, they have a high sense of self-efficacy and confidence in their ability to influence others, but also understand their own fallibility (In this regard we can give an example of Mandela's own magnetism that he got support from black and whites as well). And lastly, they will typically be well practiced in reasoned debate and dialogue. Mandela, during his years in prison, noticed the merit of negation to transcend conflict. Their intellectual background includes a vast knowledge of history, and the cultural and professional traditions they have absorbed tend to discourage hubris, radicalism, and militarism. Although their goals may be revolutionary, their political style is incremental and pragmatic.

In a nutshell, Mandela exhibited the merit of gentleness, compassion, hospitality, openness to others and knowing that one's life is closely bound to all other lives. Thus, he always spoke of *ubuntu*, an African concept of human brotherhood, mutual responsibility and compassion. One of his life proverbs are '*A person is a person because of other people*'.[215] Hence, this idea helped Mandela while in prison to transcend anger, bitterness, and vindictiveness and instead reach out to the heart of his enemies.

3.1.2.MANDELA'S RECONCILIATION INITIATIVES THROUGH GALTUNG'S CONFLICT TRAINGLE

The release of Nelson Mandela from prison on February 11, 1990 was surely one of the most iconic moments of the 20th century. Local time at 4.15 p.m. Mandela walked out of the Victor Verster Prison Farm near Cape Town and an announcer of broadcasting said: "*the moment that the majority of South Africans and the world have been waiting*

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[214] Lieberfeld, 2009, op. cit p. 45.
[215] Beck., op. cit., p. 196.

for."[216] Yet, there was a long way still to travel to heal society due to the intensive ethnic division wounds. So, at first, trust had to be built - trust that the white government would keep its word, trust that the liberation groups would not seize power once they became unbanned and trust that the divided community would maintain peace. Therefore, Mandela had developed a theory of reconciliation and negotiation while still in prison, and developed that theory into policy when he was released. For most of the 27 years that he spent in the Robben Island jail, he must have been thinking how the country would survive this awful tradition of racial hatred and bitterness. He raised the issue of reconciliation soon after he was released, but the issue was not seriously considered by the ANC leaders in the beginning.

While in prison, Mandela had already committed himself as the facilitator for negotiation between the black majority and the white minority to draw up a national reconciliation process. Thus, his first mission was to convince the black community to conduct peaceful negotiations. However, his positive actions to promote reconciliation were not always accepted by his followers. Several questions have arisen such as: was Mandela the same man who went to prison 27 years before, or was this a different Mandela? Had he survived or had he been broken? Some whispered, "*Mandela has become soft. The authorities have bought him off. He is wearing three-piece suits, drinking wine and eating fine food.*"[217] Besides, Zulu Chief Buthelezi and certain other homeland chiefs were disagreeing with the policy of Mandela in this negotiation process with whites[218]. Thus, one of the first tough deeds placed before Mandela was to convince ANC leaders to come around the table, however, ANC leaders had released several pre-conditions to participate in negotiations: the regime must release all political prisoners, lift all bans and restrictions, remove all troops from the townships, end the state of emergency and stop all political trials and executions.[219] In fact, the entire pre-conditions could be acquired through talking, so the ANC realised that the political stalemate would not be won through armed struggle and consequently there will be no

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[216] Keyan Tomaselli and Ruth Tomaselli, "*The Media and Mandela*", Safundi: The Journal of South African and American Studies, 4:2, 1-10,2007, p. 9
[217] De Klerk, op. cit., p. 324
[218] Safty, op. cit., p. 67
[219] Mark Gevissser, "*Moving to the Next Stage, Liberation in South Africa*", December 4, 1989, p. 677

solution in South Africa without the consent of the country's 5 million whites.[220] So, Mandela convinced the ANC members that the struggle could be best pushed forward through negotiations, otherwise both sides would soon be plunged into bloodshed, violence and war. Starting negotiations was one of the substantial turning points of national reconciliation in South Africa, because armed struggle has replaced with 'political talking' between white and black community. Yet, this process was extremely sensitive because both sides regarded diplomatic discussion as a sign of weakness and betrayal.[221] Therefore, even though Mandela was getting permission from his ANC leadership while negotiation were ongoing, he was well-aware of the risk that his comrades could turn their backs on him, so he took his own future at risk to run negation and he said*: "There are times when a leader must move out ahead of the flock, go off in a new direction, confident that the he is leading his people the right way."*[222]

Another tough challenging condition during the reconciliation process was to convince the white community to stay in South Africa in harmony without fear, because prejudice was rampant on all sides. Particularly, Mandela envisaged that there is no future in simply replacing white with black domination because if the white community left the country they would be taking their skills and capital with them. More likely, it would lead to conflict – perhaps civil war. To this extent, Mandela noticed that some of the Afrikaners would try to set up a separate state if they felt there was no future for them in a South Africa governed by the ANC- that was real danger faced by South Africa.[223] What was needed was a way to bring the Afrikaners 'on-side'. Political negotiations were one thing, leaving an Afrikaner in charge of the army was a critical concession on the part of the ANC, but Mandela needed something that would resonate throughout the Afrikaner community. Thus, through the spirit of reconciliation, Mandela put forward three major elements to resolve conflict.[224] First of all, there would be respect and understanding for each group's position, as well as for the distress and anger that has arisen. Secondly, he exhibited a willingness to resolve differences through negotiation, seeking a resolution that was both just and reasonable. Thirdly, he subscribed to the

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[220] Ibid., p. 677.
[221] Ibid., p. 678.
[222] Mandela, op. cit., p. 627.
[223] Paul Wellings, *"Playing the Enemy: Nelson Mandela and the Game that Made a Nation",* The International Journal of the History of Sport, 28:13, 2011, p. 1918.
[224] De Klerk, op. cit., p. 324.

principle of being prepared for mutual acceptance and cooperation in a spirit of humanity, wisdom, economic and social practicality, not denying the history that had brought each side to the point of collision, but not allowing it to obstruct the path to a harmonious and sensible future.[225] All these unitive conditions were taken into account by Mandela's carefully thought out initiatives. Now that we know the motivation behind Mandela's methods of conducting reconciliation, the following headlines will deal with his implementations.

3.1.2.1. Reconciliation Through Normative Statements

"I stand firm in the belief that we are one country and one nation, whether coloured, Asian, White or African. That is what we must promote in this country from now on."

Nelson Mandela, 1994

Normative statements are made to disclose an ambience and a perception that present a kind of atmosphere between victims and perpetrators for reconciliation. This category builds on John Paul Lederach's argument about the '*need to generate within the conflicted settings the space to envision a commonly shared future*'[226] In other words, while making normative statements a general picture of society is painted, yet no moral or ethical considerations are taken into account. Therefore, in this part, a picture will be drawn of South African society during Mandela's years, known as the reconciliation period. In fact, the period between Mandela's release and his inauguration was tumultuous, threatening to usher the country into a state of sustained bloodshed.[227] For instance this period was characterised by sporadic bombings, unprecedented violence between the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and ANC supporters in KwaZulu-Natal and Gauteng, white right-wing insurgency, massive white flight from South Africa[228], and turmoil within the ANC itself such as accusing negotiators of betraying the ideals of the

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[225] Ibid., p. 324
[226] Brouneus, op. cit., p. 301 (cited in Lederach, 1997)
[227] Evans, op. cit., p. 315
[228] According to Economics, it has been estimated 70,000 South Africans are thought to have left the country between 1989 and 1992 (quoted to Martha Evans, op. cit., p. 324.

struggle. In the early days of the national election, the biggest threat to the country's transition came with the assassination of Chris Hani, the general secretary of the South African Communist Party on 10 April 1993. Hani was one of the fierce opponents of the apartheid regime and he was chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe (The armed wing of the ANC). Historically, the assassination was a turning point in the process of the national reconciliation period. Soon after the assassination serious tensions followed that lead to fears among whites and blacks as well. In this hard time, Mandela played key role in calming the situation down thus preventing the direct violence between white and black and placing his life in danger for the sake of South Africa. Mandela addressed the nation appealing for calm, in a speech regarded as 'presidential' even though he was not yet president of the country. Thanks to Mandela's charismatic leadership, the case has been transcended with fewer casualties. Even this case proves how Mandela's leadership was significant and his power of speech was influential among all ranges of people (black-white-colour) living in South African.

Prior to the 1994 elections, the two sides were slowly achieving reconciliation but there remained several issues waiting to be resolved, such as granting amnesty to past combatants. However, a major threshold had been crossed on 27 April 1994, when the ANC won South Africa's first democratic election under the leadership of Mandela by polling 62,65 percent of the votes, the NP then followed with 20,39 percent of votes respectively. As Mandela came to power, reconciliation became the first priority of his government as was the case when he was released from prison. In his inaugural address on 10 May 1994 he made a remarkable speech:

> *"The time for the healing of wounds has come, the moment to bridge the chasms that divide us has come, and the time to build is upon us. We have, at last, achieved our political emancipation. We pledge ourselves to liberate all our people from the continuing bondage of poverty, deprivation, suffering, gender and other discrimination. We understand that there is no easy road to freedom. We know it well that none of us acting alone can achieve success. We must therefore act together as a united people, for national reconciliation, for nation-building, for the birth of a new world, Let freedom reign. We enter into a covenant that we shall build the society in which all South Africans, both black and white, will be able to walk tall, without any fear in their hearts, assured of their inalienable right to human dignity _ a rainbow nation at peace with itself and the world"[229]*

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[229] Daleen Zaaiman (eds), "M*any Cultures, One Nation: Inauguration of the President of South Africa 10 May 1994*", South African Communication Service, 1994, p. 29.

Once the new ANC-dominated government was installed in 1994, the key danger was a likely conflict between parties due to bitter revenge, the Afrikaners who saw no future for themselves in a country governed by the black majority and either wanted civil war or the secession of an Afrikaner state.[230] Therefore, after his victory in the first democratic election in 1994, he wanted a government of true national unity and he determined his cabinet with white and black ministers which illustrated to the white community that they had nothing to fear. So despite his 27 years in prison at the hands of the former apartheid government, with its first cabinet and parliament made up exclusively of whites, nothing could move him from the belief that all people were born equal, regardless of race, colour or creed, and should, therefore, be treated as such. Of the 23 politicians who served in the cabinet of the last president F.W. de Klerk, four of them retired, 15 were re-elected to the first parliament of free South Africa. De Klerk himself became one of the deputy presidents.[231] However, Mandela denied de Klerks' request for some of the important Cabinet posts such as police and defence minister due to their strategic importance.[232]

3.1.2.2. Reconciliation Through Symbolic Acts

Symbolic acts point out remorse to promote national reconciliation and have been an increasingly frequent phenomenon in the peace process. The behaviour category, consisting of symbolic and judicial acts, require concrete action be taken for reconciliation. This could be in the form of making an apology, establishing a truth commission, national flag or anthem so as to run national coexistence. Bar-Tal and Bennink emphasized the importance of acts of reconciliation to create a new climate of relations and positive spirals of behaviour.[233] An important initiative in the national reconciliation process is to move away from conflict identities to a more inclusive and constructive national identity. This process can be put in motion by the introduction of new national symbols. In South Africa, new symbols, notes and coins had been

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[230] Wellings., op. cit., p. 1918.
[231] Yadav., op. cit., p. 66 and B. J. De Klerk, op. cit., p. 323
[232] Beck., op. cit., p. 195.
[233] Brouneus, op. cit. p. 300.

introduced and a new national flag and anthem were created in this national reconciliation process.

Unarguably, symbols promote national reconciliation by representing multiculturalism and unity in spite of diversity. For instance, in the 1992 Barcelona Olympics the South African team, consisting of both white and coloured athletes, flew in an aeroplane completely covered by the new national flag, and also Nelson Mandela attended these games. This took place before the first democratic elections, and at a time when the negotiations between the ANC and the National Party were experiencing a crisis.[234] This being the first time South Africa had taken part in the Olympic Games since the 1960s, when international protest had barred it from participation. Besides, the hosting of the Rugby World Cup in 1995 which was won by South Africa is regarded as a highly symbolic event, depicting the Rainbow Nation. The handshake between team captain Francois Pienaar and President Nelson Mandela, wearing a Springbok jersey, is widely portrayed throughout South African society. Notwithstanding, the black society involved in the Olympic Games as part of the South African national team in which medals were won by some. The symbolism of this event can be viewed from different perspectives, perhaps the most interesting being the fact that black athletes can succeed just as well as white ones.[235]

Moreover, Nelson Mandela's symbolic actions may seem insignificant but they had a tremendous impact on building national trust.[236] He continued to reach out to non-African groups, becoming the embodiment of democratic and inclusive principles, so he performed an array of symbolic gestures, in the first months of his presidency. He paid a visit to Percy Yutar, the prosecutor who had sent him to jail, held a tea party for all the wives of the former white prime ministers and presidents, hosted a dinner party for the former commander of Robben Island, and met with Verwoerd's widow Betsie Verwoerd and former president Botha.[237] These actions may seem insignificant but they had a tremendous impact on building trust within white community. Yet, many ANC

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[234] Hoglund and Sundberg, op. cit. p. 807 (cited in R Mac Ginty, *'Role of Symbols in Peacekeeping'* , 2003)
[235] Ibid. p. 808.
[236] J. M. Vorster, *"Nation Building in South Africa. Has Progress Been Made?"* The Ecumenical Review, Vol. 57 No.4. 2005. p. 482.
[237] Beck., op. cit., p. 196.

members opposed these gestures of goodwill, despite this Mandela kept going, also most of Mandela's former persecutors came away from their meetings awed and overwhelmed by his magnanimity. In fact, Mandela believed that given time, the Afrikaners would accept the new South Africa and make a significant contribution to the Rainbow Nation.[238]

In addition, though symbolic gestures have contributed to national reconciliation, more significant than these symbolic actions was the acceptance of a new national flag and anthem consisting of a popular African liberation song "Nkosi Sikelele" and parts of the old anthem "Die Stem".[239] Over the past decade the new anthem was modified to reflect hope in post-apartheid South African society and which became commonly accepted by the whole South African population. In itself this anthem is a good example of the new spirit of reconciliation, because it addresses the entire society living in South Africa irrespective of colour, race and ethnicity. Even though the old flag was still used by some people at international sports events in the first few years after the abolition of Apartheid to make a statement against the new dispensation, this phenomenon has disappeared and the new flag has established itself deeply in the new South African ethos.[240] Equally important was the introduction of a new national flag as a symbolic initiative provided by Mandela.

In addition to efforts aimed at national reconciliation, there are a number of symbolic initiatives for grassroots and mid-level reconciliation that are important for national unity in South Africa. In general such initiatives entail the rebuilding of positive interactions between groups, thusinitiatives took place in several spheres of society: in work places and the economic market, in schools and the education system, etc. For instance, introducing a quota system (aimed to give the same opportunity for black players in sporting activities) which has been abolished in 2002 when the government felt that transformation had been achieved. Other symbolic actions were '*The project Kicking*' for Peace and '*The NGO Hoops*' for hope uses platform to attract schools youth for reconciliation. The idea behind these programmes was that it is only through

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[238] A phrase popularized by Archbishop Desmond Tutu that suggested the uniting of all racial groups in the new South Africa.
[239] Evans., op. cit., p. 317.
[240] Vorster, op. cit., p. 482

contact divided between groups that reconciliation and integration can be promoted. In this regard Lederach says, programmes like the ones mentioned above, *'engage the sides of a conflict with each other as humansin-relationship.*[241] These symbolic actions and sport programmes helped in the process of national reconciliation in South Africa.

When Mandela became president of South Africa, his objective was to implement the idea of 'rainbow nation'. To this regards, he perfectly used religion as unitive instrument that could also be categorized as symbolic actions. For instance, just two weeks after the general elections, he visited three main religious leaders. He visited the Bo-Kaap mosque in Cape Town and was hosted by Muslim religious leaders where he addressed worshippers and praised the Muslim faith for using its resources to better the lives of those who had suffered or were broken by their misery. The following day he spoke to one of the oldest Jewish congregations in Cape Town during the Sabbath morning prayers. Finally on the following day he met with the Christian Community and addressed a crowd of approximately 5000 and said *"let's heal the wounds, hold hands and begin the task of building a new country"*[242].Therefore, he effectively used all instruments to achieve national reconciliation and one of these tools that he applied was religious. Another substantial reconciliation instrument that Mandela applied was through sport where he envisaged the potential power of sport to break prejudice.

3.1.2.3. Reconciliation Through Sports

According to Kristine Hoglund, four processes are identified through which reconciliation can be promoted and one of these elements is *the application of sport policies.*[243] Sport has long been thought of as an arena in which the highest call of patriotism to fight for one's country. Thus, Mandela seemed aware of sport's potential to support the issue of national reconciliation and his interaction with sporting heroes in the media did much help in this process of South Africa. Particularly sporting teams have been the source of much tension because their status as the winning representatives

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[241] Hoglund and Sundberg, op. cit. p. 807
[242] Zaaiman, op. cit., p. 26
[243] Kristine Höglund & Ralph Sundberg : "*Reconciliation through Sports? The case of South Africa*", Third World Quarterly, 29:4, 805-818, 2008, p.806.

of the nation is complicated by racial diversity. With soccer perceived as black, cricket as white and English, and rugby as white and Afrikaans, representative teams have been a bit thin on the ground.[244] Thus, Mandela was well aware of how important rugby was among the white community during his years in prison. Some scholars assert that due to the influence and high popularity of rugby among whites, the international rugby boycott during apartheid years was viewed as an effective tool at the disposal of the ANC to put pressure on the white government.[245]

Another turning point regarding national reconciliation was in June 1995 when the South African rugby team, called the Springboks, defeated New Zealand in Johannesburg to win the World Cup. This world cup presented an opportunity to demonstrate the government's commitment to support a cause close to the Afrikaner's heart and bring black and white together.[246] However, there was a risk that black South Africans would ignore the competition or, perhaps worse, turn up to support the opposition. And also, many blacks called on Mandela to boycott the games and also change the Springbok mascot. It was just one year after Mandela's inauguration of presidency and the South African rugby authorities were famously conservative and may not have cooperated with the government's strategy due to insufficient trust. It was also necessary to politicise the players, who were not well known for their progressive politics, to get them to understand that they were representing their country and not just the white minority. Yet, Mandela refused to do either, not only attending the game but wearing a Springbok rugby jersey and presenting the winner's trophy to the Springbok captain. His visits to the players were made, and well publicised. The players were taught to sing the new national anthem Nkosi Sikelele, and at the end of the game new national anthem signed, also the handshake between team captain Francois Pienaar and President Nelson Mandela –wearing a Springbok jersey- is widely portrayed throughout South African society. Mandela received wild applause from thousands of Afrikaner rugby fans chanting 'Nel-son, Nel-son'.[247] After that, the white English speaking singer P.J. Powers sung new lyrics echoing the official slogan, 'One team, one country':[248]

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[244] Evans., op. cit., p. 320.
[245] Wellings, op. cit., p. 1918.
[246] Ibid., p. 1918.
[247] Beck., op. cit., 197.
[248] Evans, op. cit., p. 321.

Gathering together,

One mind, one heart

Every creed, every colour

Once joined, never apart

In brief, sport was one of the instruments that Mandela wisely utilized to increase social cohesion in South Africa after being wrecked by apartheid laws. Several formal and informal measurements have been taken to construct society on a fair justice system such as the 'Programme of Sport Unity' which aimed to create a completely new system based on unity, equality and empowerment. Also sport codes and quotas have been initiated to give more opportunity to the black community in order to promote coexistence. For example, during the Rugby World Cup in 1996, only one of the players in the South African squad was black, but in 2007, when South Africa won the Rugby World Cup in France, only two of the players were from the white community.[249]

3.1.2.4. Reconciliation Through Judicial Acts

Judicial acts are one of the most intuitive indicators for reconciliation initiatives, because law has a pivotal role to play in the reconstruction and empowerment of society. As John Hatch says *'justice equals reconciliation'*, therefore after the demise of the apartheid regime the question of how to deal with past atrocities emerging from interstate conflict was critical and complex. A balance had to be found between the necessity for tribunals to punish perpetrators and giving perpetrators amnesty to avoid disturbing a fragile peace. Thus, in the early days of the newly elected South African government, the primary issue was how to deal with the human rights abuses committed during apartheid years. The negotiations to end apartheid was resulted to accepting the Interim Constitution of 1993 that established institutions to confront the legacy of

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[249] Höglund & Sundberg., op. cit., 807.

human rights abuses during apartheid would contain an amnesty provision for parties who were responsible for offenses committed for political reason.[250]

There were several suppressive and racial legislations that had to be abandoned so as to take up a national reconciliation process. One of the racist acts was 'The Act of Union' that created a single nation with a population of 1,275.000 whites, 150.000 Indians, 500.000 coloureds and 4 million Africans but only white South Africans were truly citizens. In addition to the Act of Union (1910), there were several more of these kinds of acts which deepened segregation and discrimination among people living in South Africa. For instance, "The Native Act" of 1913 that has allocated 87 per cent of land to whites and moved to prohibit native land purchase. Notwithstanding, between 1910 and 1924, several racial segregation laws known as the 'bedrock legislation' had been introduced.[251] Some of them were: 'The Mines and Works Act' (1911) which established a white job reservations in mines, 'The Defence Act' (1911) established a White Active Citizen Force, 'The Native Affairs Act' (1920) created a separate and segregated administrative and legal system for the reserves, and The Group Areas Act (1950) which segregated residential areas. Therefore these racial Acts had to be abolished that were standing as a hindrance in the face of Mandela's vision of a New South Africa.

To this regard, the interim constitution was ratified on December 22, 1993, and implemented on April 27, 1994. This constitution was accepted to provide for governing over five years, while a new constitution was to be implemented in 1999 that was drafted by the Constitutional Assembly. The aim was to make a distinct break from the previous political and constitutional dispensation, thus a centralized constitutional court model had been chosen. This has been done in spite of the country's common-law tradition and a general preference for a decentralized model which existed in the early periods of the 1990-93 transition period. The Court's principle was to protect basic human rights and individual rights without discrimination therefore the constitution contained a chapter on fundamental rights, and it required a constitutional court to invalidate any new law or government action that might unreasonably restrict these basic human freedoms. Human dignity and rights became the hub of the constitution's

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[250] Murphy, op. cit. p. 4
[251] Beck, op. cit., p. 113.

main tenets so it guaranteed freedoms including the right to life and human dignity, freedom of religion, freedom of expression, the right of free association, language and cultural rights, and other internationally accepted human rights.[252]

In addition to introducing a new phase to newly-born South Africa, the interim constitution also defined the government's authority; reaffirmed its sovereignty, the supremacy of the constitution, and existing national symbols; and defined the national executive (a president, at least two deputy presidents, and the cabinet), the judicial system (the Constitutional Court, the Supreme Court, and lower-level courts), the Office of the Public Protector, the Human Rights Commission, the Commission on Gender Equality, the Commission on Restitution of Land Rights, and the Public Service Commission.[253]

Other important initiatives were the Land Restitution Programme and the Affirmative Action Programme. The former intends to grant access to farming land for the black population which has been disowned by laws since 1913. The latter aimed to introduce black people into areas in the fields of labour and the economy which were not accessible to them in the past. Therefore a land reform (known as land restitution programme) had been prepared to tackle land issues. This programme also shows some encouraging results, for instance, of the 79000 claims nearly 58000 have been solved amicably up to 2005.[254] Though there is some improvements regarding land restitution, however, one of the strong criticisms are toward the implementation of this programme. Many black people claim that the land issue is one of the slowest programmes that has not appeased them and government is still challenging this issue. Unlike the land restitution programme, a convincible positive result can be seen in the Affirmative Action Programme. In the civil service, mining and other corporations, the black community have been involved at all levels of management and labour due to this Programme. Surely several other programmes like this have maintained quite a huge measure of social engineering in the process of national reconciliation.

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[252]History of South Africa, Interim Constitution, http://www.mongabay.com/history/south_africa/south_africa-the_interim_constitution_constitutional_change.html, (accessed on 07.12.2012)

[253] Ibid., (accessed on 07.12.2012)
[254] Vorster, op. cit., p. 475.

Unarguably, creating a new society in which they have deeply divided in long period was one of the tough deeds for political leaders, thus one of the significant commitments was establishing an Interim Constitution. Following the emerging model of previous transitional societies, the South African Parliament, under the leadership of Mandela, has passed the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act No.34 of 1995 and established the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC).

3.1.2.5. National Unity Act and Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC)

By far one of the most important and controversial of all the initiatives undertaken by Mandela and his government was the passage in 1995 of the National Unity and Reconciliation Act, which provided for the establishment of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). In November 1995, Mandela was selected together with Archbishop Desmond M. Tutu (Chairman) and Alex Boraine (Vice-Chairman) to serve as head of the TRC. The TRC mandate, as set forth in the Act, was very ambitious: its objectives were 'to promote national reconciliation and unity in a spirit of understanding which transcended the conflicts and divisions of the past by three sub-commissions' (one addressing human rights violations, one dealing with amnesty and one focusing on reparation and rehabilitation).

Truth commissions have emerged in most cases as part of transitions from authoritarian regime (military, civilian dictatorship or minority rule) to a democratic political system. It temporarily establishes investigative bodies to display the truth about atrocities and events that have been done during repression or conflict. These commissions are non-judicial bodies that generally prepare a report of their investigation with recommendations for future reform. However, some truth commissions have implemented additional activities including naming perpetrators, granting amnesty or providing reparations. According to Anderlini, Conaway and Kays, there are five main objectives of truth commissions. These are: 1- highlighting the root causes of the conflict and the institutions involved, 2-providing accurate documentation of human rights abuses and violations, 3-allowing a space for victims to share their stories, 4-officially recognising and condemning the wrongdoings; and 5-making

recommendations to prevent future violence, reform institutions and enhance justice, accountability and respect for human rights.[255] As can be seen that the ultimate goal of reconciliation is attainment of durable peace but while doing this, the past cannot be forgotten, members of that society must learn lessons from the past so as not to repeat the same tragedies. Nearly 25 truth commissions have been or are being established worldwide in countries ranging from East Timor to Argentina, from Sri Lanka to Sierra Leona.[256] However, the best known among these commissions is the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) that was officially established in South Africa in 1995 after the abolition of apartheid.

In South Africa, soon after the falling of apartheid, which lasted nearly 45 years, the negotiations took place between the ANC and the National Party in 1990. During these negotiations, the idea of establishing a Unity Act and Reconciliation Commission was on the table. The reason behind this was that South African's first democratic government was confronted with the necessity to deal with atrocities because the past could not be done away with, but the truth behind apartheid had to be faced. So, the South African Parliament passed the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act, No.34 establishing the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) in May 1995. The objectives of the TRC was to investigate the gross human rights violations committed within or outside South Africa in the period 1960-1993 which was the period of legalized apartheid.[257] The specific violations under investigation were killing, torture, abduction and severe ill-treatment.

The primary objectives of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission was 'to promote national unity and reconciliation in a spirit of understanding, which transcends the conflicts and divisions of the past in our ways:[258]

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[255] Anderlini and et al, op. cit. p. 5.

[256] Ibid. p. 5

[257] Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa Report, 5 vols., Legal Information Institute, http://www.law.cornell.edu/wex/south_african_truth_commission (accessed on 11.12.2012)

[258] Annelies Verdoolaege, *"Media Representations of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission and Their Commitment to Reconciliation"*, Journal of African Cultural Studies, Vol. 17, No. 2 , p. 181-199,Belgium, 2005, p. 185 (cited in TRC of South Africa Report 1998, 1/4: 54), see more about Poul Van Zyl, op. cit, 1999, p. 654

(a) Establishing as complete a picture as possible of the causes, nature and extent of the gross violations of human rights which were committed during the period from the 1st of March 1960 to the 5th of December 1993 (10 may 1994);

(b) Facilitating the granting of amnesty to persons who make full disclosure of all the relevant facts relating to acts associated with a political objective and compliance with the requirements of this Act;

(c) Establishing and making known the fate or whereabouts of victims and restoring the human and civil dignity of such victims by granting them an opportunity to relate their own accounts of the violations of which they were the victims, and by recommending reparation measures in respect of them;

(d) Compiling a report providing as comprehensive an account as possible of the activities and findings of the Commission contemplated in paragraphs (a), (b) and (c), and which contains recommendations of measures to prevent the future violation of human rights'

In order to achieve national reconciliation, The Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act designed the TRC to work in three interconnected committees: the Committee for Human Rights Violations (HRV Committee), the Amnesty Committee, and the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee (R&R Committee). The TRC also had its own investigative unit and witness protection programme.

The Human Rights Violation Committee (HRV Committee) was authorized to take, investigate, and verify victim testimony, to establish the identity of individual and institutional perpetrators and to designate accountability for gross human right violations.[259] This committee were responsible for collecting statements from victims and witnesses recording the extent of these violations, and the Committee invited the victims to talk about their suffering. The committee had to discover whether each deponent should officially be declared a victim according to the definition written in the TRC Act. Names and relevant information of the victims were then forwarded to the R&R Committee. The Committee took the testimony of over 21,000 victims, and nearly 10 % of testimony, which are almost 2,000, whom were giving testimony at public

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[259] TRC Report 1998, 1/10: 276.

hearings such as on TV, in churches and town halls.[260] The public hearing started on the 15th April 1996 and it lasted for two years.

The role of women was interestingly of utmost importance in that they provided important information about crimes committed against themselves and their family members to the Truth Commission and in court. In the South African TRC, 52.9 percent of witnesses were women. The reason behind this was that mothers could speak and cry on behalf of their children, unlike men who were not as comfortable showing emotions publicly.[261]

The second subcommittee of the TRC was the Amnesty Committee that aimed to grant amnesty to apartheid perpetrators under the some strict conditions. The crime had to be committed between May 1th 1960 and May 10th 1994 so the act had to occur within the specified time period. Another condition was that the violation had to be "associated with a political objective", so there had to be a political motive and the applicant had to be an affiliate of one of the political parties during the conflict. And the last condition was, "the perpetrator had to admit fault" (possibly with an excuse/justification like self-defence), so he/she had to disclose the full truth. According to the amnesty procedure, if one person was eligible for amnesty; the committee had to consider the person's motive as well as the nature and context of the act.[262] The TRC Act specifies that any person who acted for personal gain would not qualify for amnesty. If the crime was a gross violation of human right, the Amnesty Committee had to conduct a public hearing before granting amnesty.[263]

In fact the amnesty programme was a controversial issue and the ANC faced a massive dilemma in this regard.[264] However, as the ANC negotiator Dullah Omer says: *'without the amnesty agreement there would have been no election'*. Therefore, it can be clearly asserted that amnesty was the main instrument that opened the transition door in South Africa. Furthermore, if the amnesty would not be happened, many qualified white

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[260] Verdoolaege, op. cit. p. 185.
[261] Andelini and et al. p. 9
[262] TRC Act, sec. 20 (3) ,Ibid. p. 655.
[263] Ibid. sec. 19(3)(b)(iii)
[264] Paul Van Zyl, "*Dilemmas of Transitional Justice: The Case of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission*" Journal of International Affairs, 52, No. 2, New York, 1999, p. 650

people would leave South Africa and their occupation and skill would never filled in due to lack of trained black society.

The third subcommittee of the TRC was the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee (R&R Committee) whose task was to provide recommendations on reparations to victims. The R&R Committee members were mostly medical doctors and mental healthcare professionals. It was also charged with the responsibility of evaluating the statements and applications provided by the Human Rights Violations Committee and the Amnesty Committee. If the HRV Committee decides as victims to those who apply, then those people with their family could apply to the R&R Committee for reparation. Then the R&R Committee made recommendations to the president about how to restore human and civil dignity of victims. The 1998 report made extensive recommendations for financial, symbolic and community reparations. In addition to that, the Committee decided that only those who testified to the TRC about their harm were eligible for reparations, therefore, after this decision the number of testimonies increased significantly.[265] The Committee recommended that each victim or family receive approximately $3,500 USD each year for six years, for an aggregate grant of $640 million.[266] In order to balance the inequality and degrees of suffering would be difficult to price, the committee recommended the same reparation for each individual. The TRC Act also provided for a small scale Witness Protection Programme that protected those who applied to testify in front of the commission. From this programme, over 150 witnesses have been provided with protection.[267]

The mission of the Human Rights Violation Committee was finished in June 1998. The proceedings of the Amnesty Committee continued until 2001 due to the overwhelming number of amnesty applications. The Final Report of the TRC was finalised in 2003 and was presented to President of Thabo Mbeki. Regarding the general outcome of TRC, in the HRV Committee, there were more than 22,000 registered victims, of which 2,500 have received the opportunity to testify. Over 8,000 South Africans (including members

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[265] TRC of South Africa Report, Volume- Six, p. 92-165, http://www.info.gov.za/otherdocs/2003/trc/rep.pdf , (accessed on 11.12.2012)

[266] Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa Report, 5 vols., Legal Information Institute, http://www.law.cornell.edu/wex/south_african_truth_commission (accessed on 11.12.2012)

[267] Zyl. op. cit. TRC Act. Sec. 35., p. 656

of the South African government and resistance groups) have applied for amnesty. The TRC pardoned several hundred of these applicants.[268] The good thing is both whites and blacks confessed to apartheid crimes. Whites confessed to police brutality and collective punishment during the apartheid years, and blacks confessed to terrorist acts against civilians while working with militant groups.[269]

However, the positive contribution of the TRC toward reconciliation process has remained controversial. Some people claiming that TRC may have resulted in less than perfect justice, without the agreement that led to the TRC there would have been no reconciliation. In addition, building trust was critical to run lingering peace in society. During the reconciliation process, the TRC publicized hearings, which were broadcasted on radio and summarized on television, providing a catharsis for black South Africans and building trust between the two races.[270] Inevitably, releasing the truth (from both the black and white perspective), paved the process of nation building, and also provided South Africa with a common history for all South Africans both black and white. There has always been a comparison between the role of the TRC and the International Criminal Court. The TRC was not intended to be a court of law, it was not created to make judgement; it was created to help ventilate the evidence, establish the truth and bring about reconciliation. Furthermore, the TRC contributed more to national reconciliation than the war crimes tribunal such as compared former Yugoslavia and Rwanda in terms of time and cost[271] To this regard, Archbishop Desmond Tutu said that South Africa needed an option "*between Nuremburg and national amnesia*", and he explained that not only were Nuremburg-like trials impractical for South Africa due to the cost and time such trials would consume, but many trials would falter under the lack of evidence.[272]

In addition, thanks to Mandela and Desmond Tutu, the merit of forgiveness had often been applied by the people of South Africa. Mandela had initiated a spirit of forgiveness by forgiving the judges who sentenced him to 27 years and also apartheid regimes

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[268] Timothy M. Bairstow, "*Amnesty, Reintegration and Reconciliation*", Military Review March-April 2009, p, 93.
[269] Warner., op. cit., p.78.
[270] Bairstow, op. cit., p. 94.
[271] O. Lerche, op. cit., 24.
[272] Bairstow, op. cit., p. 94.

politicians, South African society had then followed his example. Because forgiveness is the core element in reconciliation and also it is certainly healthy, it is far from clear that a nation should ever forget even the most painful aspects of its past while forgiving. As Bloomfield remarked that reconciliation does not necessarily mean to develop love for each other, but rather to coexist under the flag of peace. While doing this, the past cannot be done away with, on contrast, it must be remembered to learn lesson from it.

The TRC and other initiatives had a tremendous effect on the national reconciliation process. Inevitably, several decades are necessary to see the actual result of those initiatives in the reconciliation of South Africa. However, to this extent, Gibson's interracial reconciliation index is worth examining. Gibson used the replies of 3727 respondents in nine survey statements regarding other racial groups (African, White, Colords, and Asian) about racial reconciling in 2004. Nearly half of the black respondents are scored as 'less reconciled'. Yet, Gibson has also found in the same research that more than half the whites and coloureds in South Africans expressed some form of reconciliation, while only one third of black South Africans did.[273]

Unlike those who supported the TRC's initiatives, some have stated that granting amnesty has "re-victimized" those who suffered under apartheid.[274] Besides, some argued that the TRC denied victims true justice by circumventing trials and allowing the perpetrators to walk out of the hearings as free men.[275] The scholar Grybill argued that the TRC mandated reparation assistance for those directly victimised, but, many saw the apartheid perpetrators as the main beneficiaries, some of them had come forward and been humiliated in public, but the majority had run the risk of keeping quiet.[276] Some observers have criticized that the government's initiatives was not really establishing reconciliation among South Africans, but rather beginning the process of reconciliation.[277] Also, there were numerous critiques that called into question the TRC's justifiability. Some of the harshest criticisms were towards amnesty and reparation.

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[273] Meierhenrich, op. cit. p. 218
[274] Ibid.,, p. 93
[275] Ibid., p. 94
[276] Yadav, op. cit., p. 75.
[277] Verdoolaege, op. cit. p. 186.

During the reconciliation process, despite the willingness of many victims to forgive, the granting of amnesty and uncertainty regarding payments of reparations were real and potentially explosive issues in South Africa. Furthermore, although amnesty was necessary it contributed to the impression that the TRC had favoured perpetrators over victims and perpetrators had more to gain by receiving amnesty than victims had through reparation.[278] Thus, some arguments are about the inequality between perpetrators and victims.

Another criticism was underlying the rationale of the truth commission which tasked with investigating and facilitating reconciliation. Some scholars have discussed whether pursuing reconciliation without punitive justice would facilitate reconciliation.[279] They argue that when punishment is denied it leads to resentment and vigilantism, therefore the TRC failed to save respect and dignity of victims when it encouraged them to forgive and reconcile with perpetrators. Besides, it has been argued that the pursuit of reconciliation by the state was fundamentally illiberal so several questions about the achievements of the TRC and national reconciliation initiatives have not been resolved.[280]

Though there are several critics and counter-critics towards Mandela-led initiatives of the TRC, Mandela's irrevocable effort precisely turned the South African fate towards a positive direction. When Mandela accepted the Nobel Peace Prize in 1993, he pronounced that "*when that moment comes, we shall, together, rejoice in a common victory over racism, apartheid and white majority rule*", and he listed the goals of a just future without apartheid: "*We will have created a society which recognizes that all people are born equal, with each entitled in equal measures to life, liberty, prosperity, human rights and good governance.*"[281]

In a nutshell, arguably, Nelson Mandela played a significant role to eradicate racial discrimination in South Africa since his adolescence (joining the ANCYL),

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[278] Charles O. Lerche, *"Truth Commissions and National Reconciliation: Some Reflection on Theory and Practice"*, International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 1-24, 1998, p. 6
[279] Murphy, op. cit., p. 5.
[280] Ibid., p. 7
[281] Darrell D.Irwin, *"Awards for suffering: the Nobel Peace Prize recipients of South Africa, Unorthodox Criminologist: A Special Issue-part III"*, Contemporary Justice Review Vol. 12, No. 2, June 2009, 157–170, p. 166.

imprisonment, and presidency and even after the presidency years. He always tried to develop the idea of reconciliation among various sections of the South African society. Even though his prime years were spent in jail, he turned these years into a fruitful period in which he developed a high degree of control, mastering his anger and other emotions and developing a steely toughness. Though Mandela was a follower of the Gandhian technique of non-violence, he also had taken training in guerrilla warfare, but he never lost the merit of negotiation and pushed the country forward via the means of negations. When he established the first non-racial government in 1994, a multi-racial, coloured and lingual society was essential for peace and democracy so despite his 27 years in prison at the hands of the former apartheid government, he allowed to de Klerk and some of whit politicians who have served during apartheid regime. He performed an array of symbolic gestures that precisely paved the way to reconciliation. Furthermore, sport was one of the instruments that Mandela wisely utilized to increase social cohesion in South Africa after being wrecked by apartheid laws.

Finally, he established the Truth and Reconciliation Commission to bring out the terrible truths of the apartheid regime as a result of TRC actions, the 22,000 registered victims, and 2,500 that received the opportunity to testify. Over 8,000 South Africans applied for amnesty. Certainly neither leader within his life time could have eradicated the legacy of bitter civil conflict. Given their situational constraints, however, Mandela's contributions to reconciliation-oriented policies were undeniable and indispensible.

3.2. F.W. DE KLERK IN NATIONAL RECONCILIATION PROCESS

Frederik Wilhelm de Klerk, the last State President of the apartheid-era in South Africa, are one of the few world leaders to have voluntarily set in motion events resulting in the inevitable surrender of his personal power. De Klerk is best known as pioneering the end of apartheid and the demise of his government. By the time he became president of South Africa, the country was in its worst crises ever, just a few months after de Klerk became leader, he embarked on as Andrew Johnson emphasized, a *bold gamble which ushered in an era of rapid transformation*" that saw the nation reinventing itself after

more than three decades of apartheid rule.[282] Even though de Klerk came from the conservative wing of the National Party, interestingly enough, he broke the mould of race-based politics by releasing Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners and by striving for peaceful negotiations.[283] When many observers believed the country of South Africa was headed for a period of strife and interracial conflict, F.W. de Klerk pioneered South Africa's peaceful revolution, hence, de Klerk is seen as South Africa's Gorbachev.[284]

His contribution to overthrow the apartheid regime and sustain a national reconciliation was significant. Indeed, in order to run non-racial and equal opportunity for all citizens, apartheid had to be abolished from the constitution and the daily life of South African people. Therefore, de Klerk's presidency years from 1989 to 1994 was the turning point in South African history where de Klerk initiated a multi-racial democracy by entering into the negotiations that resulted in all citizens, including the country's black majority, having equal voting and other rights. Most importantly, when we consider the situation of those years that de Klerk was under pressure by his cabinet to resist transition, his initiatives regarding reconciliation can be understood more precisely.

3.2.1. De Klerk's Background and Early Career

Frederic Willem de Klerk (known as F.W.) was born in Johannesburg on 18 March 1936 as the son of Senator Jan de Klerk, later a minister in the South African government. The name 'de Klerk' is derived from Le Clerc, which refers a great surname reflecting the French Huguenot refugees who settled in the Cape in the beginning of the 17th century alongside the Dutch, after they escaped religious persecution in France. But, De Klerk also mentioned that he is of Dutch decent who settled in Cape Town in the 18th century. His paternal great-grandfather was minister too. During his childhood, due to his family in which the conservatism of traditional white South African politics was deeply ingrained, he strongly been educated as

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[282]Nuclear Age Peace Foundatition., http://www.wagingpeace.org/menu/programs/youth-outreach/peace-heroes/deklerk-frederik.htm (accessed on 04.05.2013)
[283] Şahin, op. cit., p. 40 (cited in Allister Sparks)
[284] Tomaselli & Tomaselli, op. cit., 2007, p. 3

apartheid rules loyalty. This is an interesting fact; because in his later life he became the person who fought for the idea that he had been taught.

De Klerk graduated in the law faculty from Potchefstroom University in 1958 and practised in Vereeniging in the Transvaal. He was skilful, analytical thinker who rose rapidly through the Transvaal NP becoming member from Vereeniging by the early 1970. From this time he was actively involved in politics thanks to his family who were parliamentarian cabinet minister for the National Party.[285] In 1978, Prime Minister Vorster appointed him minister of Post and Telecommunication. After that, he held several positions under Prime Minister P.W. Botha including, Mines, Energy and Environmental Planning (1979–1980), Mineral and Energy Affairs (1980–1982), Internal Affairs (1982–1984), and National Education and Planning (1984–1989). As minister of Education, he was a supporter of segregated universities but was committed to increasing resources for non-whites.[286] After holding a wide variety of positions in the South African government, he became president in the final term of the apartheid era, in September 1989. Even though he was an enthusiastic proponent of apartheid during his early political career, he was the first South African president who openly conceded that apartheid was unworkable and destroying the country.[287] Therefore, from 1989 to 1994 (General election), he served as president and between this period, he achieved significant progress.

3.2.2. De Klerk's Reconciliation Initiatives Through Normative Statement, Symbolic and Judicial Acts

F.W. De Klerk became the president of South Africa in September 1989, at a time where the entire country was in the state of a political stalemate. At the onset of his presidency sporadic bombings, unprecedented violence between Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and ANC supporters, external and internal boycotts were strongly influencing not only NP leaders but also whole white communities. The NP leaders, surely de Klerk

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[285] Irwin, op. cit., 2009, p. 169
[286] Butler, op. cit., 2009, p. 27
[287] South Africa's New Leadership, "*President Mandela Leads team of Racial and Ethnic Diversity*", EBONY 1994, p. 90.

too, were under strong oppression by his fellow so as to implement harsh measurements against rebel groups. Nevertheless, nobody was expecting that de Klerk would be recognised as one of the great transformers of South Africa as he was a loyal supporter of the apartheid policies of the Afrikaner Nationalist party. He later defended why he was involved in the NP in his autobiography, '*The Last Trek: A New Beginning'* (1999). He writes:

> "*The National Party has not invented racial discrimination. Segregation laws had been firmly in place throughout most of South Africa since the nineteenth century. Apartheid, by whatever name, had been applied almost as a matter of course by the former British colonial administrations and Boer governments alike. However, the new government applied segregation much more methodically and systematically than any of its predecessors.*"[288]

While internal and external sanctions were ongoing, it was thought by many that white conservative leaders would response to this boycott, arguably surprising for many when De Klerk made his historic speech on 2 February 1990, announcing the release of Nelson Mandela, the unbanning of the ANC and freedom of political activities. De Klerk describes that moment: "*My colleagues and I spent a great deal of time identifying our problems and wrestling with the need for fundamental change. In open and often brutally frank discussions we examined the hard and unpalatable facts that confronted us. Our greatest challenge in managing the transformation process was to acknowledge these realities, to admit our failure to bring justice to all South Africans and to confront our fear of radical change*".[289]

Besides, at that time, for the first time a NP leader was talking about a settlement based on votes for all.[290] In his famous speech he remarked: "*my aim is a totally new and just constitutional dispensation in which every inhabitant [of South Africa] will enjoy equal rights, treatment, and opportunity in every sphere and endeavour - constitutional, social, and economic*".[291] Yet, the discussion regarding 'one person-one vote' system has been acquired after long negotiations between the ANC and NP due to De Klerk and

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[288] D.Irwin, op. cit., 2009, p. 168.

[289] Global Leadership Foundation, "*The Role of Leadership during South Africa's Transition*", *Oxford, 17 May 2011(*http://www.g-l-f.org/index.cfm?PAGEPATH=&ID=34172 accessed on 05.05.2013)

[290] Şahin, 2003, op. cit., p. 41.

[291] Nuclear Age Peace Foundatition., http://www.wagingpeace.org/menu/programs/youth-outreach/peace-heroes/deklerk-frederik.htm (accessed on 04.05.2013),

the nationalists wanting to protect minority rights by allowing whites to keep veto power.

On 2 February 1990, De Klerk presented a new vision to the South African Parliament of a peaceful and democratic solution to their problems. He set goals that included, a new and fully democratic constitution; the removal of any form of discrimination and domination; equality before an independent judiciary; the protection of minorities as well as of individual rights; freedom of religion; and universal franchise. He was simply addressing the abolishment of apartheid regime rules that were the substantial blockage in front of the reconciliation process.

A major development that precipitated the transformation process in the changes that South Africa had was the year of 1991's onwards. At the opening session of the racially segregated parliament of South Africa in 1991, president de Klerk delivered a dramatic speech. He promised to support legislation that would scrap the remaining laws of apartheid such as Population Registration Act of 1950, "The Native Act" of 1913 that had allocated 87 per cent of land to whites and moved to prohibit native land purchase, the"Native Land and Trust Act "(1936) which reserved 87 % of South Africa's land for the white minority and "The Group Areas Act" (1950) which segregated residential areas. In fact, the repeal of those acts was the outcome of negotiations between the ANC and NP, so as a result of negotiation, the same year, ANC decided to suspend its armed struggle against the White minority government. De Klerk also said that he would propose a new law to let communities work out integrated government for them. Finally, he said that a "multiparty conference" should be called to discuss writing a new constitution for the country. Because de Klerk was the leader of the National Party, which had a clear majority of votes in Parliament, it was evident that the proposed laws would be passed quite easily.[292] But, de Klerk's proposal did not go far enough to please Mandela and ANC leaders, because as ANC leader Walter Sisulu expressed: *'we still do not have the vote'* which means if the constitution is being prepared, then the whole South African must freely involved in it, merely a white's only or black's only constitution cannot represent all societies, hence Sisulu and his fellow boycotted the plan of de Klerk to write a constitution in 1992. This issue led to the breakdown of

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[292] South African Report,1991, op. cit., p. 3

talks, but the deadlock was overcome by a summit held between Mandela and De Klerk. Two leaders were agreeing upon the principle of drafting the new constitution by an elected constituent assembly and the installation of an interim government which means that there was progress regarding the 'one person-one vote' issue. Thanks to agreement between parties regarding to the constitution, a larger threshold has been exceeded.[293]

By then, de Klerk took several decisions including legalising opposition organisations, multiple unbanning of individuals and selected releases of detainees, permitting public protest marches. Soon after, de Klerk permitted political exiles to return and lifted the State of Emergency that had been imposed in 1986. Also, within six months of his inauguration, de Klerk lifted the banning order on the African National Congress, which was the main enemy of the NP that practiced strikes, civil disobedience, and non-cooperation, of which Mandela was the leader. In one speech, he drew a new vision to his government as supporting a non-racial constitution, he later said: *"Exactly one year later, to the day, I rose to make the speech in Parliament that launched the democratic transformation of South Africa. I announced the release of Nelson Mandela from prison and the unbanning of all political parties and organisations. I said that all of us would have to work together to negotiate a new non-racial democratic constitution".*[294] It could be comprehended that the new vision of de Klerk was to deal with issues by negotiation and he believed in the merit of democracy which requires listening, respect and empathy to others so that a democratic South Africa can be sustained. Without doubt, the construction of a new South Africa together with all the ethnic groups living in South Africa was in favour of de Klerk's future, in other words, the new South Africa must contain all ethnic races in a fair situation. So de Klerk has initiated direct negation with ANC leader.

To this regards, in fact, the key questions are why de Klerk abruptly abandoned his apparent commitment to apartheid and started to negotiations with Mandela and ANC. Concerning this issue, there are serious criticisms made by a wide range of scholars. According to Jeff Warner, there were three substantial reasons that led to de Klerk's

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[293] Şahin, 2003, op. cit., p. 42
[294] Global Leadership Foundation, *"The Role of Leadership during South Africa's Transition*, op. cit.,(accessed on 05.05.2013)

change.[295] 1- Fear of black violence and labour stoppages or a similar situation to what was unfolding in Zimbabwe, 2- International Pressure- sanctions and boycotts, especially sports boycotts and 3- pressure from progressive whites who were unhappy with apartheid and its excesses. Similar to Warner, Mark Gevisser has criticised the change in de Klerk. He said: *"If de Klerk has begun to consider the possibility of negotiation, it is because his primary motivation is the survival of his volk (people)."*[296] Also, Mark Phillips from the University of the Witwatersrand supports the similar opinion so he expressed that: *"If the government were under less pressure internally and externally, negotiations could become just another in the long line of strategies which successive governments have pursued to defend the white minority state."*[297]

When we look at the reasons that precipitated de Klerk's change, the fear of black violence and labour stoppages was the most important driving force.[298] In fact, with time the regime became more repressive, and protests grew stronger. Hence, labour stoppages were a significant drag on the economy. Regarding the economic sanctions that seemed to have had little effect, because South Africa developed an independent economy and there always seemed to be routes and sources to get around the sanctions. Some people even assert that economic sanctions played no part in convincing de Klerk that apartheid was untenable, but others thought that economic sanctions were starting to take a toll on day-to-day life.[299] However, sports boycotts have had much impact on white community due to South African (majority of whites) are quite sports-minded (rugby, football and cricket) therefore the sports boycott was an important factor to push NP to take the initiative for change.

Apparently, the reaction of De Klerk and his cabinet towards international and national boycotts could be different due to surrounding circumstances. To this regard, he later emphasised that:

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[295] Warner, op. cit., p. 75.

[296] Mark Gevisser, *"Moving to the Next Stage, Liberation in South Africa",* The Nation, December 1998, p. 676

[297] Ibid., p. 676

[298] Ibid., p. 75

[299] Warner, op. cit., p. 75

"The environment in which we found ourselves was disastrous. We were facing international isolation and a growing downward spiral of conflict and repression. Our ability to trade and attract foreign investment was severely limited by sanctions – and as a result our economy was in deep trouble. We could have tried to resist change. Many within my party's support base wanted to do just that. We could have remained in power for many years to come. We could have weathered sanctions and withdrawn into a grim fortress of national isolation. After all, this is the kind of option that many other embattled states have chosen. However, the greatest risk that I can take is often refusing to take the risk of changing"[300]

As can be seen, De Klerk's biggest challenge was accepting the merit of transition, yet it was inevitable. His vision, and broad sense of political acumen have substantially shaped the future of the country and he took the right track in favour of 'A New South Africa' in which all races live in harmony. However, his 'Opening a new Phase in South African History' did not go sit well with many whites, therefore right-wing Afrikaners (South Africans of Dutch background) were horrified and even during de Klerk's speech they shouted, "Traitor to the nation" and "Hangman of the Afrikaner" Andries Truernicht and the forty other Conservative Party representatives angrily marched out of Parliament.[301] However, international societies have welcomed this inevitable transition that opened a new phase in South Africa. For instance, In the United States, the administration of President W. Bush had declared that its policy toward South Africa was working and one State Department official described the situation that South Africa was undergoing as *"It's the equivalent of the fall of the Berlin Wall."*[302]

When we look at the leadership skills of de Klerk that he wisely applied during the reconciliation was quite important. De Klerk's political experience and intellectual acumen are well used to govern conflict management, because he studied law, he was skilled in the art of compromise. He was a pragmatic politician[303] rather than an ideologue, eager to press the flesh and do the deal. He has stubborn streaks and strong, entrenched opinions, shaped in large measure by his very different South African pasts.

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[300]Global Leadership Foundation, *"The Challenges of Change in Africa"*, *Speech by FW De Klerk to Institute of Economic Affairs, Accra, 27 August 2012,* http://www.g-l f.org/index.cfm?PAGEPATH=Members/Bins/Speech_Bin/Speech__FW_DE_KLERK_The_Challenges_ of_Change_in_Africa&ID=44780 (Accessed on 05.05.2013)

[301]South African Report, *"Great Events 1988-1992, De Klerk Pledges to Topple Apartheid Laws"*, World History-New Century, New Challenges, vol.10, 1991, p. 3

[302] Ibid.,3

[303] Safty, op. cit., p. 66 (see also Paul Gray, *"Nelson Mandela and F.W. De Klerk"*, Vol. 143 Issue 1, 1994, p. 32)

Apparently, for De Klerk, being a fourth-generation Afrikaner and hence a beneficiary of white privilege under the old system, transformation and change in South Africa has meant revoking the legacy of his forebears.[304] He vehemently denies the critics toward him, however he claims that his father, who died in 1979 after serving in three apartheid-enforcing governments, ``*would agree with me today with the things what I have done*"[305]

De Klerk became a leader who was caught between the rock of international resistance and the hard place of international condemnation, obtained reward with the Nobel Peace Prize in 1993. His efforts were successful, and his great "enterprise" brought peace and non-racial democracy closer to South Africa, so as a result of the efforts of both de Klerk and Mandela, they received a joint Nobel Peace Prize on October 15, 1993. The joint peace prize was controversial, because through many long years, the two leaders were in conflict and exhibited enmity toward each other. A journalist from the New York Times referred to them as being "*peacemakers who have never been friends*."[306] This statement was confirmed by de Klerk, "*Ours has never been a marriage of love*." As Winnie Madikizela says, the joint peace prize was an "insult," and de Klerk was "*an angel of death, whose hands are covered with the bloods of innocents Blacks*."[307] F.W. de Klerk did manage to redeem himself. In an interview with the National Review, de Klerk made his defence clear: "*My hands are not dripping with blood, I am using my hands and my energy and I am giving everything I have to work for peace*."

By the day of the Nobel Prize, Mandela and De Klerk made a historic speech which opened a new phase in the fate of South African history. De Klerk remarked: "*I trust that the awarding of this prize ... will motivate all South Africans to rededicate themselves to the peaceful resolution of our problems and that it will inspire us all to work for a new and better society*," and also Mandela made similar speech: "*I dedicate this award to all the courageous people of my country, black and white, who have*

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[304] Paul Gray, "*Nelson Mandela and F.W. De Klerk*", Vol. 143 Issue 1, 1994, p. 32
[305] Ibid., p. 32
[306] Nuclear Age Peace Foundatition., http://www.wagingpeace.org/menu/programs/youth-outreach/peace-heroes/deklerk-frederik.htm (accessed on 05.05.2013)
[307] She was spouse of from 1957 to 1996 and divorced in 1996.(Nuclear Age Peace Foundatition, op. cit., cited in Winnie, 1993,)

suffered and endured so much, and pledge in whatever time remains to me I will spare no effort to bring peace, freedom and justice for all to South Africa."[308]

The years of de Klerk's presidency was dominated by the negotiation process, mainly between his NP government and Mandela's ANC, which resulted in the democratisation of South Africa. During these negation years, in 1992, de Klerk held a whites-only referendum, with the result being an overwhelming "yes" vote to continue negotiations to end apartheid. He later stated that: *"The Conservative Party claimed that we had lost our mandate to continue with our new course. I decided - against the advice of some of my closest advisers - to call a referendum among the white electorate to renew and strengthen my mandate for reform. In the event, the referendum resulted in a two-thirds victory for the continuation of our transformation policies. If I had lost the referendum I would have had to resign."*[309] As a result of this referendum, de Klerk continued on with negotiations with the ANC with full motivation.

One of the substantial initiatives of de Klerk's to in national reconciliation process was to overthrown apartheid regimes rules which deeply segregated people based on race. To this regard, on June 5, the South African Parliament voted to repeal the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936 and the Group Areas Act. Now all South Africans had the legal right to buy property and live where they pleased. On June 17, Parliament repealed the Population Registration Act; the white House of Assembly voted 129 to 38, with 11 abstaining. This meant that South Africans would no longer be assigned to the racial categories given at birth. De Klerk was the driving force behind reform initiatives such as a new and fully democratic constitution, the removal of any form of discrimination and domination, equality before an independent judiciary, the protection of minorities as well as of individual rights, freedom of religion, and universal franchise, legalising opposition organisations, multiple unbanning of individuals and selected releases of detainees and permitting public protest marches. Therefore, de Klerk's presidency should be seen as the period in which the reform process in South Africa was decisively consolidated.

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[308] Mandela and de Klerk Share Nobel Peace Prize, The International Journal of Humanities and Peace, 1995

[309] Leadership Foundation, *"The Role of Leadership during South Africa's Transition*, op. cit.,(accessed on 05.05.2013)

In conclusion, white fears concerning revenge and their future in the new South Africa were addressed both by the 'sunset clause'[310] included in the new constitution. Besides, Mandela's conciliatory and Tutu's forgiving approach were some of the most important aspects which managed to prevent the large-scale exodus of whites[311] and established a proverbial 'rainbow nation of many races with one homeland. Internally, unlike many observers who addressed South African transition by means external elements, without De Klerk, apartheid would surely survive longer due to the superiority (economic, military and technological) of white government. As de Klerk said "*we could have tried to resist change. Many within my party's support base wanted to do just that. We could have remained in power for many years to come. We could have weathered sanctions and withdrawn into a grim fortress of national isolation. After all, this is the kind of option that many other embattled states have chosen. However, the greatest risk that I can take is often refusing to take the risk of changing*". Hence, especially, NP's police and security departments were so strong compared to blacks arms wing 'Umkonto we Sizwe', so the apartheid regimes could survive much more than longer if de Klerk did not take radical step. Therefore, the national reconciliation of South Africa in which all political stakeholders were more or less involved, should be relatively seen as a success case to the world.

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[310] Sahin, op. cit., p. 51 (the clause guarantees apartheid era state employees jobs until their retirement, cited in Leonard Thamson)

[311] Unlike, Mandela and De Klerk's effort to convince a large-scale exodus of whites, according to Economics, it has been estimated 70,000 South Africans are thought to have left the country between 1989 and 1992 (cited in Martha Evans, op. cit., p. 324)

CONCLUSION

The goal of this thesis has been to analyse the national reconciliation of South Africa and the role of leadership in this process. The substantial issue investigated throughout this thesis is to examine to what extent a leader can contribute towards the national reconciliation process, focusing mostly on Mandela and De Klerk's implications in the process of national reconciliation in South African. The thesis consists of three chapters; the first chapter drew up a conceptual framework of reconciliation and leadership. As noted in the previous paragraph that the concept of reconciliation changes from person to person and from case to case, therefore a general definition of reconciliation is not uniquely available. Although different definitions of the term exist, a general understanding is that reconciliation is a process that involves mutual acknowledgment of past suffering (emotion) and the changing of destructive attitudes and behaviour into constructive relationships. Thus reconciliation can be delineated into three parts: emotions, attitudes, and behaviours. Furthermore, the chapter one has outlined the traits of reconciliation that are apology, forgiveness and reparation. In fact, the list can be extended; however, there is consensus by scholars about those three traits of reconciliation.

The second chapter of this thesis has covered a historical overview of South Africa that examined root causes. While investigating the historical background of South Africa, several formal and informal implementations that have been taken by the white government which has divided parties over 80 years have been shown. Although Apartheid rules existed as de jure since 1948, it has been implemented as de facto from 1910. Thus the second part of this thesis has clearly demonstrated how parties have been divided by means of judicial. The results that have been drawn up from the second chapter are that, without abolishing political and judicial hindrances in society, the effort of reconciliation would not be achieved.

The final chapter has outlined the case of South Africa's national reconciliation initiatives by focusing on Mandela and de Klerk's endeavours. In other words, the third chapter has operationalized the national reconciliation initiatives that were taken in the hands of Mandela and De Klerk with the mythology of Galtung's conflict triangle. As

expressed in the third chapter, national reconciliation is the formulation or demonstration of either *attitude* or *behaviour* by national political leaders. Therefore, while setting an operationalization of national reconciliation in South Africa, Galtung's conflict triangle was compatible within the case. In short, the third chapter has responded to the research question of this thesis that is: to what extent can leaders contribute on national reconciliation? So the thesis has argued that Mandela and De Klerk (considerably less effective compared to Mandela) were two important figures who maintained national reconciliation and their initiatives have tremendously contributed on this process. However, the thesis did not take into consideration the result of national reconciliation initiatives' as success or failure, but it rather analyses this national reconciliation process within political, personal and judicial means. In other words, the thesis identified the initiatives which started from détente years to the Mandela era (1989-1999). Briefly, the thesis did not reply to the questions 'has national reconciliation initiatives been made regarding nation-building in South Africa over the past decade or has reconciliation initiatives reached its success? Arguably, several decades are necessary to see perpetual changes in the attitude of parties toward eachother after long suffering. In order to evaluate the result of Mandela and De Klerk's initiatives, at least a few decades are needed to see actual outcomes of their initiatives. Yet, by examining narrow period that asks whether reconciliation initiatives were sufficient during the De Klerk and Mandela era (1989-1999), as it has been pointed out throughout the thesis, the answer is both positive and negative, yet positive outcomes are more convincible. he debate also revolves around these two arguments.

The first argument that has been asserted during the thesis, as is mentioned in the third chapter, is the negative criticism against the role of the TRC, judicial acts and initiatives of both leaders. Of course, the reconciliation initiatives have not been satisfied by some groups from white to black. For instance, some scholars say both leaders' initiatives never really established reconciliation among South Africans, but rather they started a process of reconciliation. Another criticism is underlying the rationale of the TRC, because the TRC has provided amnesty and forgiveness for perpetrators, therefore they argue that when punishment is denied it leads to resentment and vigilantism, so the TRC failed to protect respect and dignity of victims when it encouraged them to forgive and reconcile with perpetrators. Furthermore, during the reconciliation process, despite the

willingness of many victims to forgive, granting amnesty and uncertainty regarding payments of reparations were real and potentially explosive issues in South Africa. Likewise, although amnesty was necessary it could contribute to the impression that the TRC had favoured perpetrators over victims and perpetrators had more to gain by receiving amnesty than victims have through reparation. Thus, some arguments turn around the inequality between perpetrators and victims.

On the other hand, unlike those who see the initiatives as insufficient and inconclusive, the majority of scholars are in favour of them. I remain on the same side of this notion as well. Of course, every reconciliation process contains several negative outcomes; however, the overall results are always in favour of people. Also the initiatives of Mandela and de Klerk must be comprehended within the atmosphere of those years, then the actual difficulties of their missions and their leadership role can be better understood. Throughout the reconciliation process, the negotiation and initiatives of all the parties involved succeeded in creating a new, non-racial society and a constitution based on the needs of all groups present in society, established a new spirit of hope and willingness to proceed. For instance, the TRC marked a decisive turning point in South African history by providing public testimony to relief bitterness should be seen as success result of reconciliation process. In this testimony from 23.000 victims and of 2000 to who appeared in public hearing and over 7.000 individuals applied for amnesty. Amnesty has been a necessary prerequisite for a commission to contribute to national reconciliation. In addition, introducing the interim constitution that defined the government's authority; reaffirmed its sovereignty, established the supremacy of the constitution, and existing national symbols; defined the national executive, the judicial system, the Office of the Public Protector, the Human Rights Commission, the Commission on Gender Equality, the Commission on Restitution of Land Rights, and the Public Service Commission that all have contributed to the national reconciliation process positively. Moreover, even though the legacy of Apartheid has yet to be abolished in South African society, this cannot be attributed to particular failures of the national reconciliation initiatives and the TRC.

In addition, during the Apartheid years, primary schools, secondary schools and tertiary educational institutions were segregated on the basis of race. Access for blacks to the

best training facilities was impossible due to the segregation policy and economic factors. However, many of these obstacles have been abolished which triggered the national reconciliation process. Schools are now open to all races; the constitution recognizes the right to establish private schools and access to institutions of higher education has improved as a result of large financial incentives by the government. Furthermore, the right of every individual to receive education in his or her own language has also been recognized constitutionally and now there are 11 official languages in South Africa.[312]

The citizenship of black people is protected by laws which guarantee freedoms, including the right to life and human dignity, freedom of religion, freedom of expression, the right of free association, language and cultural rights, and other internationally accepted rights. Also 'The Act of Union (1910)' which classified only white South Africans' as true citizens had been abolished within the Interim Constitution. Now all citizens living in South Africa are accepted with the same equality irrespective of race, ethnicity, colour and religion. Notwithstanding, The commissions such as the Office of the Public Protector, the Human Rights Commission, the Commission on Gender Equality, the Commission on Restitution of Land Rights, and the Public Service Commission, provided a tremendous contribution to national reconciliation. In this regard, the land restitution programme in which of the 79000 claims nearly 58000 have been solved, equality in education, the work arena and on the social platform can be given as positive examples of national reconciliation initiatives that were run by the South African government. Therefore national reconciliation in South Africa was a success rather than a failure.

All positive developments, fully or partially, are thanks to Mandela and de Klerk's initiatives so I would clearly say that the role of both leaders in the national reconciliation process was fundamental. Mandela, since his adolescent years, has always tried to develop the idea of reconciliation among various sections of the South African society. His well established motivation has led to the transformation of very

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[312]The official languages of South Africa: Afrikaans(Dutch), English, Ndebele, Northern Sotho, Sotho, Swazi, Tswana, Tsonga, Venda, Xhosa and Zulu

dark years (27 years in jail) to a fruitful period in which he developed a high degree of control, mastering his anger and other emotions and developing a steely toughness. As he established the first non-racial government in South Africa in 1994, a multi-racial and multi-lingual society was essential for peace and democracy. For this purpose, despite his 27 years in prison at the hands of the former Apartheid government, he permitted the inclusion of white leaders who were politicians in Apartheid regimes. For instance, he allowed the attendance of 15 politicians who served in the cabinet of the last president F.W. de Klerk entry into the first parliament of free South Africa. Furthermore, he performed an array of symbolic gestures in the first months of his presidency that fast tracked national reconciliation; he paid a visit to Percy Yutar, the prosecutor who had sent him to jail, he held a tea party for all the wives of the former white prime ministers and presidents and hosted a dinner party for the former commander of Robben Island.

Certainly neither leader within his life time could have eradicated the legacy of bitter civil conflict. Given their situational constraints, however, Mandela's contributions to reconciliation-oriented policies were undeniable and indispensible. His life encompassed the transformation of South African justice expressed through various social justice philosophies including the Freedom Charter on to the new South African Constitution where a colour-blind society finally emerged.

Another significant contribution came from the last Apartheid era president F.W. de Klerk. Frederik Wilhelm de Klerk is one of the few world leaders who have fought to set a peaceful resolution in the inevitable surrender of his personal power. As a condition for transition, led by F.W. de Klerk' government, who became leader of the ruling National Party in South Africa, with his personal endeavours, he broke the mould of race-based politics by releasing Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners and by striving for peaceful negotiations. Through dialogue with Mandela, they had a positive transcendence that amnesty in return for complete public truth and efforts toward genuine reconciliation. Of course, there are some counter arguments regarding De Klerk's contribution towards reconciliation, however, when we look at his period, majority cabinet member were nationalist wings whom were against detente and negotiation with ANC. So he e could have maintained the Apartheid system for many

more years thanks to white's strong military capacity. Rather, he surprisingly challenged his family and government's policy of Apartheid even though he knew that he may lose the power of presidency. Many scholars agree that De Klerk's era was detente years and he is one of the pioneers who paved the reconciliation process of South Africa.

The fact that the process of national reconciliation, which is such an important ingredient of nation-building, was well-established in the Mandela era, but it has lost impetus and motivation when Mandela stepped down from government. Of course, a new revival of the old spirit is essential for progress in nation-building and the present government must take the lead by promoting a common South Africanism and by being sensitive to the interests of minorities. Leaders of the different communities as well as churches and religious institutions must assist by convincing people that reconciliation is more important than sectional interests. Although since 1995, more than one million low-cost houses have been built and more than 700 healthcare clinics opened, more than 2 million people have received access to electricity and 7 million to water, all these positive developments are still far behind the real picture that Mandela dedicated his 27 years behind bars for.

Finally, has progress been made regarding reconciliation in South Africa through the initiatives of Mandela and De Klerk? The answer is both positive and negative. The positive consequences can be sequenced as follow: restitution and in particular affirmative action, land restitution and black economic empowerment, constitutional development, the measure of reconciliation that has been reached, the Truth and Reconciliation process, the removal of political violence and the transformation of the educational system. On the other hand there are certain crucial areas in reconciliation need specific attention in the immediate future, such as the following: the unhealthy widening of the gap between rich and poor, the racial undertones and injustices that occur in the current affirmative action programme, the nurturing of an ethos of human dignity, equality and freedom, the slow pace of land restitution, the high crime rate, the remaining obstacles in the way of the effective administration of justice, the unacceptable level of corruption in the private and the public spheres and sexual immorality. All these obstacles hinder the reconciliation process in South Africa.

In a nutshell there are many words that can be said about reconciliation in South Africa; however that is beyond the scope of this thesis. Currently, the South African reconciliation process is living in her adolescent years, yet in ten years time it will be in the adult years, especially the generation who were born after Apartheid (described as born-free) will pave the reconciliation process of South Africa under the flag of the 'Rainbow Nation'.

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