The Negotiation Tactics of Nelson Mandela

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The Negotiation Tactics of Nelson Mandela

Cover Page Footnote
Thank you to Professor Maureen Weston for her guidance and support through writing this paper.
The Negotiation Tactics of Nelson Mandela

“If you want to make peace with your enemy, you have to work with your enemy. Then he becomes your partner.” This quote by Nelson Mandela accurately describes his life’s work, in which he used his negotiation skills to end the unjust regime of Apartheid and achieve long sought-after racial reconciliation in South Africa. Analyzing this quote, it is easy to understand why Mandela was such a great negotiator—he worked with those who were against him, ultimately making them his partners. His story provides an extraordinary definition of negotiation: “the process of communication used to get something we want when another person has control over whether or how we get it.” The South African government was in total control over the racial inequities taking place, but despite this Mandela used his whole life as an ordained testimony against it. Through this paper, I will be exploring Mandela’s background to display the development of his skills, as well as covering in-depth the negotiations he made—and how they connect to the skills we learned in this course. To conclude, I will be analyzing the lessons learned through Mandela’s negotiation style and discussing how they could potentially be used to help solve our current racial issues and injustices.

Background and Familial Negotiations

Nelson “Rolihlahla” Mandela was born in Transkei, South Africa on July 18, 1918. His African name translates to troublemaker, which is ironic considering all of the good he brought to the world. Mandela’s negotiation skills and political activism began at an early age, mostly due to his father, Hendry Mphakanyiswa, passing. After his father died, he moved into the home of Chief Jongintaba Dalindebo, the acting regent of the Thembu people. His previous life of relative poverty was drastically changed by the wealth of the Dalindebo family. Alongside the Chiefs’ sons, Mandela received excellent education, which piqued his understanding and disturbance regarding white peoples’ occupation of South Africa and the ways this led to disharmony within their union. However, he didn’t begin to act on this until he went away to college. Mandela attended University College of Fort Hare and joined a student protest against the school, despite his position as an elected Student Representative. The school expelled him, which infuriated Chief Dalindebo. As a result, the Chief gave him two options—either go back to school, or the Chief would arrange for Mandela to be married. Mandela decided to run away and move to Johannesburg, South Africa. In this decision, whether he was aware of it or not, he was practicing positional bargaining. Positional bargaining is “the traditional model of negotiation, where each side takes a position, argues for it, and makes concessions to reach a compromise... the result is often an agreement that is less satisfactory to each side than it could have been.” Mandela’s position was to continue boycotting the college that was not providing him and his peers with the services they needed. However, Chief Dalindebo’s position was to ensure that Mandela was back in school, mainly to protect his own reputation. This led them to an impasse, where Mandela had to eventually resort to using his personal worst alternative to a negotiated agreement (WATNA)—escaping from home. In the future, he would use his experience with WATNA to create a strong best alternative to a negotiated agreement (BATNA). As we will begin exploring, these skills were necessary for him to lead South Africa into a harmonized state.

The Prison Talks

Much to the Chief’s despair, Mandela’s political activism was only just beginning after his expulsion. Mandela did graduate with his Bachelor of Arts from University of South Africa. Shortly afterwards, in 1943, he joined the African National Conference, a South African political party determined to bring an end to Apartheid. Alongside with other activists, Mandela created the African National Congress Youth League, which provided an outlet for the younger generation to express their frustrations and rally together. At first, the group practiced non-violent means of rallying, such as peaceful protests and sit-ins. However, this all changed after “South African police at Sharpeville, an African township of Vereeniging, shot into a crowd of about 5,000 unarmed protesters, killing at least 69 people... and wounding more than 200.”

Commonly referred to as the Sharpsville massacre, this led Mandela to adopt new ideas regarding the necessity of violence in the fight against Apartheid. He began a new form of the African National Congress, the Pan African Congress, in which “[he] turned to Marxism-Leninism for political guidance. In the 1950s and early 1960s, he found its focus on armed revolution and anti-colonial struggle very appealing and embraced Marxist-Leninist ideology as an interpretive frame.”

He was arrested and convicted twice by the South African government on charges of treason and sabotage. Because of this, he received a sentence for life in prison at Robben Island. At Robben Island, each prisoner had “a single cell some seven foot square around a concrete courtyard, with a slop bucket...they were allowed no reading materials.” However, Mandela used his negotiation skills to help get him out of the neglect in Robben Island and moved to his own private villa in Victor Verster prison.

Negotiations with Coetsee

In order to negotiate himself into a significantly better situation, Mandela applied the principles of positional bargaining, combined with a deep knowledge of the specific interests of who he was negotiating with. According to one of his colleagues in the ANC, Mandela said, “You can't dream of ambushing the enemy if you can't understand the general commanding the forces. You have to read their literature and poetry, you have to understand their culture so that you get into the mind of the general.” This displays his understanding of the necessity of going below the line in negotiations, “consciously exploring the interests underlying the other party's positions on the issues.” While he was still in Robben Island, Mandela talked with National Party leader P.W. Botha, and they discussed the government’s newfound openness to potentially


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releasing Mandela. However, the release remained under condition: that “he renounced the armed struggle and agreed to return to his hometown of Qunu.”

Mandela, being a tough negotiator, quickly struck down that offer, as it went against everything he worked so hard for. He sought out an alternative--“an outcome that can be achieved by completing a different deal with a different party,” and contacted the Minister of Justice, Kobie Coetsee. Mandela’s understanding of the importance of seeking alternatives when a negotiation reaches an impasse is a component of what makes him an effective negotiator as well as one of the primary lessons he took away from his earlier negotiation with Chief Daliendyebo. Mandela raised his desires to Coetsee; he wanted to be moved to a higher quality prison and eventually be released with no restrictions on his freedom. Through expressing this, he also mentioned many of the other key factors at play: foreign Western powers also calling for Mandela’s release, the ethical duty of the South African government, and displaying the inhumane environment and conditions him and other prisoners were subjected to with journalists. Collectively, creating a strong moral argument and highlighting the worldwide increase of negative attention South Africa received as a result of this was a large part of his strategy. Fortunately, this strategy worked, and Coetsee began to further the negotiations. He got President P.W. Botha involved, and Coetsee acted as a representative on Botha’s behalf during these negotiations. They continued negotiating, following the traditional path of stages and phases: “preparation, relationship building, information gathering, information using, bidding, closing the deal, and implementing the agreement.”

Following traditional negotiation stages was not easy though, especially because Botha required that ANC formally end their ties with the South African Communist Party. While Mandela felt hesitant because he valued his connection with the SACP, the negotiations continued on. However, simultaneously, Mandela’s health was deteriorating. He suffered a severe case of tuberculosis that necessitated his hospitalization. Consequently, this moved the negotiations along much quicker. Mandela’s health was an intangible factor, or an “underlying psychological motivation that influences a negotiation, such as maintaining a precedent, defending a principle, or reaching agreement at any cost.” The South African government as a whole could not leave Mandela in an establishment where his health would only continue to become worse. Their psychological motivation was to keep Mandela alive in order to protect South Africa’s international reputation. Thus, a couple months later, Mandela was moved into a significantly nicer prison, Victor Verster, where he received his own apartment. While Mandela originally wanted total freedom, he was able to make concessions; “the compromises you make after your opening offer to move the negotiation forward.”

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a much safer and relaxed environment. Eventually, Mandela used this as a stepping stone to full freedom.

**Negotiations with Coetsee: to Freedom**

After Mandela moved into Victor Verster, negotiations still continued. The whole time, Mandela’s ultimate goal was to achieve complete freedom in order to fight against Apartheid. However, he understood that this was a large ask, so he was willing to be patient. Mandela and Coetsee, along with others, continued to deliberate on four main issues: “ANC’s continuation of the armed struggle, ANC’s alliance with the Communist Party, the goal of majority rule (which was mostly about the needs of the white minority including their fears that their private property would be nationalized), and racial reconciliation.” The most pressing issue pertinent to Mandela’s release from jail was the South African government’s fear that black South Africans would begin retaliation and attacks against white South Africans, who were the minority. As the negotiations became more intense, Mandela had the opportunity to show his strengths, which were advocating the ANC’s interests, addressing the government's interests’, creating strong alternatives to negotiations for the government, and building relationships with his counterparts. 

In July 1989, Mandela was finally invited to negotiate directly with President Botha, after mostly interacting with Coetsee. To begin, Mandela acknowledged Botha’s main concerns that seemed to be slowing the negotiation down: the ANC requesting majority rule within the South African democracy and National Government’s wanting full acknowledgement of the effect this will have on White South Africans. Mandela recognized their interdependence, or “need they had for each other to accomplish their goals,” and was able to display to Botha why he shouldn’t worry about those issues. Mandela is quoted as saying, “[T]he majority would need the minority. We do not want to drive you to the sea.” This quelled some of President Botha’s concerns, and along with the strong rapport Mandela developed with many members of the staff, the negotiations were looking up. It was seeming highly likely that Mandela would soon be seeing freedom. 

However, life had a twist in Mandela’s path. Botha resigned from the presidency shortly after this meeting because of a stroke. Thankfully, this allowed Mandela to understand the importance of flexibility within negotiations. You must be able to adapt and adjust, dependent on the situation. Botha’s replacement was F.W. de Clerk. Initially, Mandela was nervous to begin another round of negotiations with someone new. He began by trying to build a connection with him. Through these efforts, he learned de Clerk was a pragmatist, and was able to adjust to accommodate that way of thinking. De Clerk was open to the negotiations, because he received the details of the previous meetings former President Botha and Mandela had. In fact, de Clerk began lifting previous restrictions and was being very accommodating. He “systematically dismantled” many of the building blocks of apartheid, including dissolving many segregated facilities like beaches and restaurants. He also released unconditionally seven former Robben

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Island leaders including his close and long-term friend, Walter Sisulu.”¹⁹ These were huge steps, specifically because of the release of prisoners. He interpreted it as a signal, “[conveying] information to the other party through one's pattern of concessions,”²⁰ that his release was forthcoming. Mandela was quick to thank him for his commitment to progress and how he was making significant concessions to appeal to his desires. The negotiations continued on, and Mandela continued to practice strong skills. For example, he worked with de Clerk to discuss life after his release from prison and how he would ensure the safety of the white minority.

On February 11th, 1990, de Clerk finally released him from jail. After 27 long years, Mandela was finally free. His release is a testament to the power of negotiation and the patience and fortitude of Mandela as a negotiator. Needless to say, Mandela was excited for this newfound freedom, but recognized his work was nowhere near done. Now, it was time for him to begin negotiations to end Apartheid, once and for all. Despite de Clerk’s loosening of Apartheid rules, this would be a much harder sell than anyone imagined.

**Negotiations to End Apartheid**

After Mandela’s release from prison, he came out and made a speech thanking the South African people for their continued support and acknowledging the struggles he went through during 27 years of imprisonment. While Mandela’s message was one of great hope, he recognized the amount of work that would now need to be done in order to end Apartheid. Him being released from prison was only the beginning of what would undoubtedly be a long, arduous journey. Mandela’s freedom signaled a definite turning point in the tone of the negotiations, as now “formal negotiations occurred between the governing National Party and the [ANC], and in 4 May 1990, the two groups agreed to end armed struggle and focus on having political negotiations.”²¹ This was an important concession on Mandela’s side. At the start of these negotiations, while Mandela was still in prison, he was against the idea of giving up armed weapons. However, he understood the National Parties interest to ensure white people remained safe if Apartheid ended. He was able to apply one of his greatest skills- being able to see his counterparts interests’ and responding accordingly. Unfortunately, this did not stop all violence. An incident where the Afrikaner Resistance Movement rammed into the building where the negotiations took place nearly set all progress back further. It re-emphasized the government’s fear that an end to Apartheid would lead to civil unrest and disobedience. Mandela spoke directly to all African people, urging them to stop violent actions, and even halting the negotiations as a response to this act and others. He recognized that Black South Africans were primary stakeholders, or “the people or groups that stand to be directly affected, either positively or negatively, by an effort or the actions of an agency, institution, or organization.”²² Because of

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²² “Section 8. Identifying and Analyzing Stakeholders and Their Interests.” Chapter 7. Encouraging Involvement in Community Work | Section 8. Identifying and Analyzing Stakeholders and Their Interests | Main Section |
this, it was important to show the South African government that Black South Africans understood their role in this in order to advance negotiations. Thankfully, he had the gift of unifying people together for a cause. Even though attitudes towards increased violence were vastly different among Black South Africans, they were able to understand Mandela’s concern and a majority of people heeded his request of responding peacefully to the aggressions of the groups like the Afrikaner Resistance Movement.

**Primary Interests in the Negotiations**

Once the violence was under control, the two parties were able to re-examine the most pressing interests. Due to the change in presidents and in the political direction of the country (F.W. de Clerk was providing increased freedom), the critical interests on both sides changed and therefore needed to be re-addressed. On the government’s side, their primary interests were to “ensure special minority right to favor White South Africans…[and] a power sharing strategy based on group rights so they could have an opportunity to serve in the government.”

Realizing that white people would be the minority and lose their societal privileges with the ending of Apartheid, the government wanted to make sure they would be protected from any oppression. By adding this to the negotiation, it forced Mandela to truly display empathy for his oppressor, which is an incredibly difficult skill, but one that made him such a strong negotiator. He used this as part of his negotiation tactics, “short-term, adaptive moves designed to implement one’s broader strategy,” to convince de Clerk of the reality of an equitable South Africa. They also wanted to ensure that white South Africans were still represented in government politics. Because they were a minority, this could be easily taken away by the sudden influx of black South Africans voting. Again, Mandela had to empathize- despite knowing what the sting of oppression felt like. On behalf of the African National Congress, Mandela represented the interest of ending Apartheid- he wanted full rights granted to all black South Africans, as well as other people of color, but especially voting. Mandela understood the barriers that prevented minority citizens from voting was leading to many years of oppressive regimes. In order to see real change in South Africa, new leaders needed to be elected. Even though de Clerk was relatively open, the government as a whole was not. They saw the hostility and aggression of the white people and wanted to quell those emotions by continuing Apartheid. Also, they enjoyed and benefited from Apartheid policies and were able to use that as leverage, or a “power advantage over Mandela and the ANC.” It is human nature to want to preserve what benefits us- which explains why this was such a difficult negotiation for Mandela to prove.

**Negotiations with CODESA #1**

With all the interests of each side laid out on the table, they sought outside sources to help finalize the deal to end Apartheid and create the guidelines for what equality will look like.

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This team was known as CODESA- Convention of Democratic South Africa, and according to the dictionary of South African English it means: “two successive all-party conventions held between 1991 and 1993 to determine guidelines for a new constitution and a democratic franchise for a multi-party government of transition.”26 This team included 19 different organizations and interests, including President F.W de Clerk and Nelson Mandela, who were among some of the leaders and the most vocally active in the group. Some groups included the South African Communist Party, the Colored Party, the Indian National People’s Party, and the Democratic Party. “It is a significant event as it democratically produced the Declaration of Intent, which committed all parties to “united, democratic, non-racial, and non-sexist state,” thereby signaling an eventual end to Apartheid.27 It showed the desire of different parties to move South Africa forward. They began meeting December 21, 1992. They split into five different working groups “and a Management Committee [which] were elected and mandated to deal with specific issues.”28 During this meeting, Mandela created a large compromise between the ANC’s view and the National Parties view. He created an “all-party congress” to negotiate the way to a constituent assembly. This presented a basis for compromise, as there would be the multi-party convention that the National Party was advocating.”29 Mandela understood the importance of figuring this out and made concessions to what he originally wanted, which were single party conventions and majority rule elections. By the end of CODESA #1, it “played a significant role in laying the foundation for multi-racial discussions...The convention resulted in a significant amount of confidence and enthusiasm, reflected in the behaviour of participating parties and in the views expressed by economists and editorials in the media.”

Negotiations with CODESA #2

During CODESA #1, the stage was set the return and make more progress. Strong groundwork was laid, but now it was time to move into the official details. The second session began on January 20th, 1992. The negotiations in each working group were making slow progress until the unthinkable happened- the Boipatong Massacre. This took place June 17th, 1992, where the Inkatha Freedom Party killed 45 people without any reason. Shortly after, it was revealed that the South African police were also involved in this plan. After this, the “African National Congress called off multilateral negotiations at Codesa and bilateral negotiations with government until it met a list of 14 demands.”30 Mandela felt incredibly betrayed by the South African government, especially F.W. de Clerk. The South African government blatantly allowing citizens to be murdered was his resistance point, or any “negotiator's bottom line, the point beyond which he will not go,”31 Mandela recognized “the liberation movement gaining ascendency over the apartheid regime, both internally and internationally.”32

refused to settle for a government that was fully not protecting his rights. To be a good negotiator, you must understand when you should make concessions, and when you should walk away. Mandela understood this and despite his ability to make concessions and see the sides’ interests, he had to do what was in the best interest of the ANC and walk away.

**Negotiations Continue: Apartheid’s End**

Despite removing himself and the ANC from the CODESA negotiations, ultimately it was important to begin discussions once more, to dismantle Apartheid once and for all. Protesters filled the streets over the injustices done at the hands of the government. Mandela realized that if he didn’t act soon, they would reach a point of no return. Therefore, he decided to reach out the de Clerk personally to resume the negotiations. De Clerk was also worried about the intensity of the protests and agreed to continue. However, they looked significantly different than they did in CODESA. This time, the ANC and National Party deliberated amongst themselves, instead talking with 17 different other parties. During these deliberations, de Clerk made a significant concession to restore Mandela’s trust in him and re-build rapport. He released detainees from prison who were arrested as political prisoners. This action reduced some of the tension between him and Mandela and allowed them to negotiate easier. The issues were still the same as in the earlier negotiations, except there was now more pressure to come to a decision. After multiple talks, they finally settled upon a Record of Understanding, in which it “set up a timetable for establishing a constitutional assembly, an interim government and dealing with political prisoners, amongst others. The government and the ANC agreed that all political prisoners, whose release could make a contribution to reconciliation, should be released. They agreed that the release of prisoners who had committed offences with a political motive on or before 8 October 1990 shall be carried out in stages.”

This agreement would not have been possible without both sides making concessions, but especially Mandela after more South Africans were killed partly at the hands of the South African government. This highlights the necessity of forgiveness in negotiations, one of Mandela’s greatest assets.

**The End of Apartheid**

The Record of Understanding gave the South African government and the ANC the ability to create another negotiation board, this one called the Multiparty Negotiating Forum (MPNF). A new requirement enforced that ANC and National Party must come to an agreement first, then share this with the other parties involved. This development allowed negotiations to go smoother and was a big part of the reason why an interim constitution was finally ratified on November 18th, 1993. Months later, Mandela became President of South Africa through an election where Black South Africans were finally able to vote.

**Lessons Learned from Mandela**

Through Mandela’s countless negotiations with the South African government, he gave many applicable lessons to become a stronger negotiator. The first is the ability to work with people who hurt him. He sat alongside his oppressors, who stole 27 years of his life due to his imprisonment, and still managed to work and bring the highest good to the South African people. He even built relationships with many of them that lasted for the rest of his life. Additionally,
Mandela consciously made an effort to understand his counterpart and their interests. He then could actively apply these interests and negotiate in a way that was tailored to suit his counterpart while protecting his own interests. Furthermore, Mandela was not afraid to reach out to “both sides of the table,” meaning he would not hesitate to ask for help from outside sources if he felt like he was reaching a stalemate. An example of this is when he reached out to the Minister of Prisons, Kobie Coetsee after not hearing back from President Botha, as described earlier. His persistence helped to begin much needed conversations. Finally, Mandela strategically applied negotiation tactics, such as applying concessions, to best help his case. His counterparts respected him more because of this.

Applying Mandela’s Negotiation Strategies to Current Racial Injustices

In our present day, there are also numerous incidents of racial tensions and profiling. The most important lesson that can be applied from Mandela’s negotiation skills is the ability to work with people who may be against your whole being. Mandela recognized that all humans were created equal and therefore deserving of respect, even the ones who did not respect him. If people apply that attitude regarding current racial injustices, it would make difficult conversations about race relations and the need for change much easier to have. While this is understandably an incredibly difficult attitude to have, it would bring change into our society and reduce hatred. Lastly, Mandela built relationships with his counterparts. Sometimes, this action was more important than the whole negotiation itself. The relationships we build are crucial to changing narratives and hearts. If all people seek to get to know those who are different than them, they would find at our core, we aren’t very different at all. Building these relationships also helps develop empathy and a sense of personal responsibility to improve the circumstances of the people we love.

Conclusion

To close, I will end with a quote from Nelson Mandela-- “We must use time wisely and realize the time is always ripe to do what is right.” Mandela’s negotiation skills left a lasting mark on the world. Through the lessons he taught through his negotiations, future generations of leaders can apply his ideals. Beyond that, his legacy as a humanitarian will live forever. All negotiators have the power to make the world a more peaceful and just place through their work, just like Mandela did.

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