

# Boer war scenes spiced up with Vlok and shacks

STAR 18/5/91

**T**here are talks. And there are talks about talks. There are even the Ultimate Talks which will bring peace to South Africa. And there is always television coverage of talks.

Watching CNN "Head line News" on Thursday was a strange experience. The Secretary for Ireland had been trying to arrange talks between the Unionists and the British government for the past 16 months. Eventually he got the Reverend Ian Paisley to Number 10 Downing Street and in the inevitable press statement outside its morbid railings it was announced that talks about the violence were "a possibility rather than a probability".

Later a caller to a radio station in Belfast prayed that the talks would "begin" (he did not even venture to use the word "succeed") so that an end could be made to the bloody violence.

It was all very familiar. So much like all the calls for talks to end the violence in South Africa that we see every day on television or hear on Radio 702.

As far as one could make out on television news Buthelezi seems to have taken a winter rental in Tuynhuis. And unless he and FW have taken to chatting about the prospects for the sardine run, one would imagine that occasionally they would have talks about the violence. Or at least speculate on the 800 or so hostel dwellers that possessed the remarkable powers of covering the 5 km in and around Kagiso *en masse* without being observed.

One also presumes that Adriaan Vlok had a word or two with Eugene TerreBlanche and Piet "Skiet" Rudolph in the vicinity of Ventersdorp last Saturday afternoon. Perhaps they also speculated on the remarkable powers that Vlok had of arriving on the scene of white-on-white violence so soon after it had started?

## On the Box

JOHN VAN ZYL



Or then again they might just have had talks on the commando tactics that Veldkornet TerreBlanche had borrowed from the Anglo-Boer war.

Mounted on their horses, hovering on the horizon, clutching their Martini-Henry's, dressed in khaki (Oops! A little blaps by the art director!) the brave commandos watched while farmers made short work of shacks with

their Mercedes trucks.

Then, of course, there was the talk that did not happen at Tukies and the talk that almost did not happen at Maties. But in both cases there was lively discourse between the students involving a lot of body language, not to mention a short seminar on freedom of speech between Mr Mandela's bodyguards and some students.

However, dominating all else is the talk about the violence that is engulfing South Africa, which is carried daily by television, radio and newspaper news.

Thinking I would gain a different perspective on all of this I had a look at the pilot programme of "South Africa Now" the weekly news programme that was broadcast in the United States for three years. It has just ended its run and is now trying to start up in South Africa. That is some measure of the more relaxed conditions locally.

The people who make inserts of the programme are well-known progressive filmmakers, most of whom have had at least one film or video banned. What I was looking for was a different kind of talk. People talking about their experiences.

I found a lot of it. A returned exile talking about the way a pre-primary school had turned her away in horror when they learned that she had been trained in Cuba! Or what it was like to meet her 13-year-old daughter that she had last seen as a three-year-old toddler.

A man in Alex talking about the experience of being attacked by hostel-dwellers.

Yet, although this programme gave a voice to some of the voiceless, it still fell into the trap of not giving itself time to analyse an issue in depth. What we miss more than anything else is a programme like the BBC "Panorama" with television commentators or journalists that we can trust.

People that can fearlessly and with the utmost integrity investigate a question such as violence and not simply talk about it.



# THE CITIZEN COMMENT

18/5/91

## Stop bombings

THE planting of a limpet mine in a restaurant in Hillbrow, injuring seven people and causing extensive damage to the restaurant, is outrageous.

And if that were not bad enough, the bombers planted a limpet mine in a toilet in a downtown store, injuring at least seven people.

Other limpet mines were found, one in front of a bank, and another at John Vorster Square police headquarters, both of which were defused.

There was also a bomb scare at the Inkatha offices in Johannesburg.

We do not know who was responsible for the blasts.

Some will put the blame on the ANC, since limpet mines were customarily used by the ANC in its terrorist campaign.

Those who favour this theory suggest it might be a warning that unless the government takes firm action to end the present wave of violence, it can expect a renewal of terrorism.

The last limpet mine blast in Johannesburg — at the Witwatersrand Medical Command building in Braamfontein — was in February 1989.

In the year to February there were 139 attacks with limpet mines, all attributed to the ANC.

However, the ANC has suspended the armed struggle and this suspension remains in force.

The ANC also denies it planted the limpet mines.

The suggestion that it might have been a Right-wing group that was responsible is highly unlikely, since the Hillbrow restaurant in which the first limpet mine was placed is mainly frequented by Whites — and all the victims were White.

The Right-wing extremists would not select a target in which Whites might be the victims — and they use commercial explosives, not limpet mines.

The extreme Right, it is argued, might plant bombs to derail the peace and constitutional negotiations, but this is quite unnecessary, since the ANC is doing a pretty good job of that itself.

Whoever was responsible, they stand condemned as inhuman monsters who place the lives of innocent people in danger.

We have enough of bombings and certainly do not want to see a return to this kind of indiscriminate attack.

It cannot even be argued, as the ANC previously did, that civilians are unfortunately caught in the crossfire.

There is no crossfire at this point in time, and the limpet mines were planted deliberately to cause civilian casualties.

What the purpose is remains unclear, but the public will not be cowed by bombings. They never were at the height of the ANC blasts and they won't be now.

All that a renewal of bombings will do is to harden the hearts of people against those organisations that are found to be responsible.

It will also put the pressure on the government to be less lenient towards bombers who are already imprisoned, especially those who are or were in death row.

There was a cut-off date for amnesty for so-called political prisoners. The new bombers will not qualify for that amnesty, and it would be a rash government that showed any clemency towards them.

We hope those who engaged in or plotted terrorism and have now been freed will appreciate the revulsion most people feel about limpet-mine attacks.

We call on whoever is responsible to stop the bombings now, before innocent people are killed.

We call upon them to stop the bombings now, because this country needs to negotiate its future in peace.

We call upon them to stop the bombings now, because we have had enough of violence, the violence of AK-47s, of pistols, spears, pangas, sticks and other weapons, and we cannot have the planting of limpet mines as an added dimension to the violence.

And we call upon them to stop the bombings, because it is the most inhuman, indiscriminate form of political terrorism.

Let the bombings end now.



# I'm no Uncle Tom, says Black Nat

CITIZEN 18 May 1991

By Rich Mkhondo

DURBAN. — South Africa's ruling National Party made Black businessman, Dan Makhanya a second-class citizen, but in a multiracial election it would get his vote.

"I am no Uncle Tom," said Mr Makhanya, one of the first Blacks to join the party which invented the system of racial segregation that became known to the world as apartheid.

"President FW de Klerk has done what none of his predecessors could do. He is very brave because he has successfully challenged the wrath of Afrikaners who for years imbibed apartheid from cradle to grave," said Mr Makhanya, who runs a small industrial relations consultancy.

## Sizeable

"De Klerk has been criticised left and right, but he has simply invited people to come forward with solutions. I feel this man needs support."

No figures are available for the number of Blacks who have joined the National Party since it opened its doors to all races last July but political analysts believe a sizeable number would support Mr De Klerk in a non-racial election.

Two non-White National Party branches have been formed recently, one in the Coloured township of Eersterus near Pretoria and the other in Tembisa east of Johannesburg. Plans for more branches in black areas are advanced.

"The National Party does not go out of its way to recruit members," said Joggie Boers, the party's regional secretary for Pretoria.

"People come to us to join. And if people in the area want it, we form a branch. I am astounded by the brotherly love which our new Black members have shown."

Mr Makhanya believes the National Party and Mr Nelson Mandela's African National Con-

gress have a lot in common.

"It is only their strategy which differs, their direction is much the same, so I have opted for the National Party which has an advantage because it is the government of the day," he said.

"What is wrong with what I have done? Blacks send their children to White schools, some have White people fronting their businesses. I have just engaged in White politics. I wish to teach my White colleagues something about Black aspirations and perceptions."

## 200 Coloureds

In Eersterus, about 200 Coloureds signed up in two weeks after the NP branch was formed and applications are flooding in, branch treasurer Gershwin Jones said.

"I would like to see many Eersterus residents joining the National Party so we can prosper. The National Party is the only party which can give the country peace and stabi-

ty," said Mr Jones, a businessman.

"I am very optimistic about the future of this country. Mr De Klerk has taken the bull by the horns and is doing what we have always asked."

Political scientist Willie Breytenbach said National Party policies could be acceptable to most Blacks.

"Opening National Party branches in Black areas is a logical move for the party, taking into account the results of most recent opinion surveys."

"The opinion polls have been showing all along that De Klerk is the second most popular leader in the country after Mandela," Dr Breytenbach said.

"The National Party has three times more support among Coloureds and Indians than among Whites."

"Now that the pillars of apartheid are going, there is nothing standing in the way of canvassing support among people of other races," he said.

"But it would be a mistake for the National Party to concentrate only on Coloured and Indian support. They would have to gain support among the Blacks, where Mr Mandela is still by far the most popular leader."

## Win most

One recent survey said the ANC would win most votes in South Africa's first democratic election, but would fail to get an outright majority.

Research Surveys said the Nationalists could emerge as the biggest multiracial party and could pick up a significant number of votes from Blacks, who were disenfranchised under apartheid.

Mr Makhanya said that although many Blacks would vote for the National Party, few would actually join.

"I know Blacks, they are usually reluctant to jump into something new."

"They say we will tip-toe to look around the corner to see what is in store for us." — Sapa-Reuter



# Common ground for Winnie and Maggie

STAR 18 May 1991

It's ironic that Margaret Thatcher is visiting South Africa in a week which also saw Winnie Mandela sentenced to six years in jail. Believe it or not, there are distinct similarities between them and both are, in a manner of speaking, fallen angels.

Of course, they come from vastly different backgrounds, and have met with different levels of success.

But they have had to face very different challenges, and they arouse curiously similar passions in their opponents.

Watching from South Africa, many expatriate supporters of Mrs Thatcher have found her political demise inexplicable. She seemed unsailable, surrounded by grey functionaries like John Major. She had transformed the British economy.

She would clearly see off the Labour Party and Neil Kinnock in any coming election.

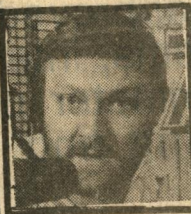
But set foot on British soil and you would quickly get a very different picture. Mrs Thatcher was associated with "the cuts", a perceived lowering of public spending in traditionally sensitive areas like health and education. (In fact, her government spent more on both of these than any other British government in history.)

Personally, she was either loved unquestioningly or hated.

In conversation, the eyes of normally sane and balanced people would narrow. From the corners of their thin lips would hiss the words

## Notebook

CHRIS GIBBONS



"that woman".

If you then tried to use your foreigner's wisdom and explain the benefits of having Mrs T in 10 Downing Street, they would snarl and turn sharply away or start talking about the weather.

So it is with Winnie Mandela. She is either loved or hated, and there is no need to examine the reasons. They are too well known.

But, like Mrs Thatcher, Mrs Mandela is driven. As Mrs Thatcher hates socialism and its effects, so Mrs Mandela hates apartheid and its effects.

Critics of both women would say their hatred has gone beyond the bounds of normality. Both remained unswerving in their determination to rid their countries of these wrongs.

And, just as they produce vitriol in their opponents, both command great loyalty.

Mrs Thatcher won elections three times, and became one of Britain's longest-serving Prime Ministers.

Mrs Mandela, through her long and hard battle against apartheid, earned the honoured title "mother of

the nation".

Among the younger members of the ANC, she is held in great esteem.

Both women now face hard times. Mrs Thatcher, in a recent interview, admitted she had been shattered by the speed and brutality with which her party dumped her. She agreed she was having difficulty picking up the pieces.

She regularly visits the United States, and now she is in South Africa — both countries where she is still assured of a welcome befitting a head of government.

There is pathos in this.

Winnie Mandela has just endured a 44-day trial, been found guilty of kidnapping and of being an accessory to an assault on four teenagers. While the case will almost certainly go to appeal, both her name and reputation have been damaged, perhaps beyond repair.

In the future, wherever she goes — even, perhaps, as the wife of our first black President — hands will go up to mouths, hiding the whispers. There is pathos here, too.

The Supreme Court has pronounced her guilty, a verdict which the Appeal Court may reverse, but either way, there is pathos here, too.

It's unlikely Margaret Thatcher and Winnie Mandela will sit down together and have a cup of tea — but if they do, they might surprisingly find a lot in common.

● Chris Gibbons is the presenter of Radio 702's Newstalk.



STAR 18/5/91

# Discrediting police makes battle against crime harder

We refer to your editorial of May 11 1991 entitled: "Police and priorities".

We wish to begin by replying to the following sentence: "Here was a stunning revelation of how misguided are the crime fighting priorities of the police".

As you are no doubt aware, the South African Narcotics Bureau (SANAB) deals specifically with crimes involving drugs, liquor, prostitution, gambling and so forth.

Your article creates the impression that the police should ignore crimes such as gambling and concentrate on other crimes. It should be noted that there are many other people who disagree with this view. The SA Police receives many complaints from members of the public concerning gambling and gambling dens.

Several other crimes are associated with these institutions, inter alia, drug abuse, liquor offences and disturbance of the peace. Often men squander their salaries and wives complain bitterly to the police about these

illegal gambling institutions.

These problems are conveniently ignored in this unwarranted attack on the police.

As much as the police regret the cowardly attacks on the elderly, we cannot prevent all such attacks from taking place. No police force in the world can, no matter how many policemen are available. Thus, it is unfair to compare the police action in respect of the gambling institutions with the attacks on the elderly persons mentioned in the article.

The SA Police has done a lot in its efforts to safeguard the elderly. The detectives who participated in the special police action, performed these duties after normal hours and for a limited period only. They continued their ordinary duties at their specific units once this action was finalised.

The following paragraph also needs to be addressed: "As we said two weeks ago: The battle between cops and robbers is over — the robbers won. No more do prowling cars patrol sub-



**DUTY CALLS:** The police has appealed to critics to stop slating them for doing their duty.

Letters to  
the Editor



● Address your letters  
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urban streets, no more do the police come immediately they are told of a serious crime. They might come four hours later, or the next day — and even then they will probably not be accompanied by a detective".

There are no winners or

losers in the fight against crime. Since time immemorial there has been crime and crime will remain with us until the end of time.

There is no instant solution. The police, with the assistance

of the public (and the support of the media) can try to make society as crime-free as is humanly possible. However, to denigrate the police by making generalised allegations, does not help matters.

There have been numerous instances reported in the media where the police have responded promptly to calls for assistance and on a number of occasions, crimes have been thwarted and arrests made. Why no mention of this?

In conclusion, it must be pointed out that crime prevention is a community responsibility and not only that of the police. One of the cornerstones in this regard, is a respect for law and order. However, when certain organisations and individuals (and even certain newspapers) continually attack and attempt to discredit the police, this becomes almost impossible. The bottom line is this: Stop slating the police for carrying out their duties (no matter how unpopular you may consider the particular law to be) and re-

quest the public concerned to respect and heed the law.

As a closing thought, the following quotation is left with you (this was part of the opening address of the Minister of Law and Order during his Budget speech in Parliament):

"The world is too big for us. There is too much doing, too many crimes, casualties, violence and excitements. Try as you will, you get behind the race in spite of yourself. It is an incessant strain to keep pace, and still you lose ground. Science empties its discoveries on you so fast that you stagger beneath them in hopeless bewilderment.



Discrediting police  
makes battle against  
crime harder

The political world witnesses new scenes so rapidly that you are out of breath trying to keep up with them. Everything is high pressure. Human nature cannot endure much more."

The above appeared in the *Atlantic Journal* in 1837. How much more relevant is this today?

Major Crewe  
SA Police Public Relations  
Pretoria



# Be kind, she had a tough time ...

IT is possible to sympathise with Mrs Winnie Mandela without in any way condoning the crimes for which she was recently convicted. Very few young and newly-married women could have survived what she went through during the past 30 years.

At a young age and newly-married, she was deprived of her greatest natural supporter — her husband, who was sentenced to life imprisonment in the early 60s.

Even after this emotional trauma, she was not spared any psychological assault by the Security establishment and the Bureau of State Security (Boss). she was hounded and tailed by the Security Police until she was eventually banned and exiled to Brandfort in the Free State.

Still, this did not break her moral resolve to fight for what she believed in. She continued to play a prominent leadership role in the struggle of the ANC and later the UDF and MDM.

While all this was happening to her, she also had to create a home and bring up her children, virtually as a single parent. It is clear that somewhere down the line bitterness did catch up with her, as is evident from some of her fiery speeches — the most notorious of which was the "necklaces and boxes of matches" speech.

Her husband being in jail and the senior leadership of the ANC being exiled, imprisoned or banned, it appears that there was no-one of influence available to counsel and advise her on what a public figure could and could not say or do.

Obviously concerned about her security, owing to the unrelenting attention she received from the police over many years, she eventually surrounded herself with a

## Through My Eyes

OSCAR  
DHLOMO



group of young men who were completely unhelpful to her, to say the least.

Horrible stories of barbaric and criminal behaviour began to surface in the local media, casting serious aspersions on the characters and actions of these young men. The stories culminated in the tragic death of Stompie Sepei and the subsequent conviction of Jerry Richardson.

When the UDF leadership of the time condemned her and called on the community to ostracise her, it was ironically Inkatha and the ANC that came to her rescue. Inkatha reminded those who condemned her that she had had to endure unprecedented hardships in the past, when amongst other things, she lost her husband through imprisonment. The ANC, on the other hand, appealed to the community not to ostracise her but rather to bring her into the flock and counsel her.

It would appear that is still the challenge facing the community today. It would be easy to throw stones and socially bury Winnie Mandela because of her mishap, but it would be more humane to accept what has happened to her and assist her to rehabilitate herself and be re-absorbed into normal socio-political life.

Fortunately, she now has her husband to lean on and seek advice from — a blessing which many married couples take for granted — but which was denied Winnie Mandela virtually throughout her young married life.

# Aim not to create or widen rifts within black politics

I WISH to refer again to the article in the Saturday Star dated May 11 1991 about the emergence of a "new force" in South African politics which was written by Mr Abbey Makoe.

The article is not based on fact.

My interview with Mr Makoe held at your offices was simply based on the event of the weekend and we talked for a very long time about the discussions that have been taking place within the civic movement.

We spent a significant amount of time discussing the whole question of the Civil Society.

None of this discussion appears in the article.

It became obvious that I was treated unjustly by this article and I wish to put on record my

objections.

It is common knowledge that there are different opinions in black politics just like within any other community, but the way it is projected by the media is unfortunate.

I want to put on record just like I did the last time that I do not want to be involved in creating or widening the rift that is suggested by Mr Makoe or the rift that Mr Makoe seems to be waiting to exploit, and I also hope that any serious-minded South African like you would not like to be party to this, hence my second letter to you.

I trust you will act accordingly.

Molwane Patrick Lephunya  
UDF National Civic  
Coordinator



# Why Winnie probably won't go to jail

WINNIE Mandela is unlikely to serve a single day of her six-year jail sentence, even if she loses her appeal.

A conjunction of political forces seems set to save her from the indignity of incarceration for kidnapping and being an accessory to severe assault and not, as in the past, for political opposition to apartheid.

It is operating quite independently of the legal forces set in motion by the application for leave to appeal launched by her lawyer, George Bizos, SC, only minutes after she was sentenced.

Examination of two possible developments — both premised on the entirely theoretical assumption that her appeal will fail — shows how political considerations are likely to rescue her from internment.

Her appeal may take as long as three years to be heard by the Appeal Court, although it is not likely to take as long.

If it takes three years, however, it is possible that the present minority regime may have been replaced by then by either an African National Congress administration or by one in which the ANC is a major component.

If so, it is a betting certainty that the new government will not allow Mrs Mandela to go to jail; it will persuade the head of state, who may well be ANC leader Nelson Mandela, to exercise, in favour of Mrs Mandela, his prerogative to pardon felons.

It is relevant to recall two positions taken by ANC on Mrs Mandela in recent months:

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first, an ANC statement describing the trial as "part of the pattern of harassment and persecution" directed at "Comrade Winnie" for the past 30 years; second, the more recent declaration by Chris Hani, chief of staff of the ANC's guerilla army, pledging that Mrs Mandela would be freed by an ANC government if she was in jail when it acquired power.

The logic of Mr Hani's declaration is that if the ANC can pre-empt imprisonment with a timely pardon, it will do so.

But even if President de Klerk is still in power when Mrs Mandela's appeal is heard and — for argument's sake — lost, the chances of her going to jail are miniscule.

South Africa's settlement negotiations will, in all likelihood, be well advanced three years or even 18 months from now. Mr Mandela, judging from opinion polls and barring the unforeseen, will be looming large as the man most likely to succeed President de Klerk.

It is preposterous to visualise Mr Mandela preparing himself for the role as president while Mrs Mandela readies herself for life in prison.

The ANC will certainly put pressure on President de Klerk to pardon her. The ANC's political clout, and the indispensability of its approval to any lasting settlement, make it virtually certain that Mr de Klerk will accede to ANC pressure to pardon Mrs Mandela.

The whole issue may, of course, be resolved more simply: the Appeal Court may uphold Mrs Mandela's appeal and set aside the sentence imposed on her by Rand Supreme Court judge M S Stegmann.

Mrs Mandela thus seems likely to escape imprisonment, one way or another.

It does not, however, seem possible for her to recover the esteem and power she wielded in ANC circles before disclosures were made of her role in the kidnapping of three young men and a teenage boy, Stompie Moeketsie Sepei, from the Methodist manse in Soweto in December 1988.

Even before Mr Justice Stegmann's damning judgment — he labelled her an "unblushing liar" and a woman who had no compassion for her victims — Mrs Mandela's influence was on the wane.

One clear sign was her crushing defeat in last month's contest for the presidency of the ANC Women's League: Gertrude Shope won twice as many votes as she did.

Another was the conspicuous absence of support from high profile ANC leaders at the end of her trial; they did not demonstrate their sympathy by attending the trial on Monday when judgment was given or Tuesday when sentence was pronounced.

Mrs Mandela, of course, has enemies in the ANC, many of whom occupied key positions in the Mass Democratic Movement, which unequivocally condemned her in February 1989.

In its now celebrated statement the MDM accused her of violating the "spirit and ethos of the democratic movement", of allowing the Mandela Football Club to conduct a "reign of terror" in Soweto and of refusing to co-operate with black leaders in the crisis committee who tried to mediate a reconciliation between her and aggrieved people in the black community.

The MDM statement ended with a call to the black community to distance itself from Mrs Mandela in "a dignified manner".

Its statement led to "bad blood" between Mrs Mandela and MDM leaders associated with the statement, some of whom were pushed to the side after the ANC was unbanned, Mr Mandela released and Mrs Mandela reinstated — allegedly from above — as an ANC leader.

But now, in the aftermath of Mrs Mandela's trial and the nadir in her political fortunes, election of a new ANC national executive by secret ballot is imminent. It will take place at the ANC's national conference in July.

The probabilities are strong that the election will see the rise to positions of prominence of former MDM leaders; while they will not allow Mr Mandela's wife to go to jail, they will probably thwart any attempt she may make to assert herself politically.

Mrs Mandela, however, is a formidable and resourceful woman who should not be underestimated.



# World's spotlight falls on three legal eagles

THREE key legal men in South Africa's much publicised trial — that of Winnie Mandela and her co-accused — have focused intense world interest on this country's judicial system.

Occupying centre stage is the judge, Mr Justice M S Stegmann, the man who dared to impose a six-year jail sentence on, some believe, "South Africa's most politically powerful woman".

Then there is George Bizos SC, described as "one of the Bar's most colourful advocates", the man who defended Winnie Mandela, accused No 8, with every bit of verbal weaponry he could whip out from beneath his legal cloak.

The other major player was Deputy Attorney General of the Witwatersrand local division, Jan Swanepoel SC, the man who prosecuted Mandela and her co-accused with surgeon-like precision.

Stunned silence greeted Judge Stegmann's six-year sentence imposed on Win-

PAT DEVEREAUX

nie Mandela after a dramatic four-month trial. The silence was quickly broken by Mr Bizos's announcement that he would lodge an application for leave to appeal.

At the start of the trial there were rumours that the fear factor had become so widespread that it threatened the entire judicial system.

## Powerful presence

The trial was seriously hampered by events outside the courtroom. It was said that the impact of these events including: four missing accused, the apparent kidnapping of key witness Gabriel Megkwe and the recalcitrance of witnesses Kenneth Kgase and Barend Pelo Mono, threatened to subvert the course of justice.

But Mr Justice Stegmann handled these major disruptions with ease and according

to journalists had a powerful "presence" in the courtroom drama which unfolded.

"Where the course of justice requires the truth, no man has the right to withhold it," he said during the trial.

Senior council and advocates say this judge, possibly selected because of a track record in judging complicated commercial non-political trials, has a pristine record in terms of political bias.

Mr Justice Stegmann has a reputation among lawyers for being "meticulous and conscientious and devoting considerable time and energy to his judgments".

His sentencing of Winnie Mandela has unleashed criticism of the judicial system from some quarters.

But although the assignment of judges to cases is controversial in itself and certain judges have been said to be specifically selected to sit on political trials, most Human Rights lawyers dismissed this possibility in such a high-profile criminal case.



# Can Samson survive Delilah?

STAR 18 MAY 1991

After nearly 28 years in jail, Nelson Mandela emerged triumphant; can he now survive his wife's disgrace? For the sake of his people, he must find a way, says John Carlin, who has been covering the South African scene for The Independent, London.

IT had to be the most miserable moment in Winnie Mandela's life, but she emerged from the Rand Supreme Court building, having just been convicted on charges of kidnapping and accessory to assault, with a broad smile of triumph, her fist raised in response to the muted cheers of a crowd of barely 100 supporters.

Nelson Mandela, who had loyally taken the day off from attending to the nation's catastrophic affairs to be by his wife's side, looked as if his mother had just died.

The contrast — he in white raincoat, she in black suit — said much about this most ill-matched of couples, about the difference in their perceptions of reality. This tragic spectacle, on a cold day in Johannesburg, reminded us once more what a child Mrs Mandela is, how tenuous, how fantastic, her grip on reality.

If the African National Congress as a whole has tended to inhabit a mythological revolutionary world, full of the motifs of "armed struggle" and "popular insurrection" but little of the substance, rightly appropriated in their time by Fidel Castro, the Sandinistas, the Vietcong, no one has presented a more caricatured spectacle than Mrs Mandela.

All fire and bombast, her political image has rested on appealing to the most facile, most crude instincts of the adolescents who provide the ANC with so much of its energy but so little useful thought.

She rants and postures while her grave husband — the very personification of the ANC with all its present troubles and its worthy principles of old — attempts to wrestle with the complex nitty-gritty of political life in South Africa, to hammer out the details of his people's future and at the same time seek an end to the worst bloodshed the country has endured since the Boer War.

Never before can a 72-year-old man, who has spent so much of his

life locked in prison, have had to bear so impossibly heavy a political burden.

And now this. No more tragic spectacle — tragic in the classical Greek sense of the word — must exist anywhere in the world right now. The heroic individual brought low by the fatal flaw. The question now is, how low?

Will Mrs Mandela go to jail and will, then, the ANC leader be psychologically and politically crushed in the process?

He dotes on his wife. He hugged her in court just moments after the verdict. He kissed her on the lips and called her "darling". She stood by him, as he sees it, during his long imprisonment, and she can do no wrong.

He suspends his reason and, blinded by love, ignores the howls of protest from within his own movement, from those in the Mass Democratic Movement — which was the ANC until the ANC was legally unbanned last year — who on February 16 1989 publicly denounced Mrs Mandela's "reign of terror" in Soweto, a position that has not changed to this day among those who shunned exile and avoided jail to fight the good fight.

Such has Mr Mandela's dedication been to his wife that deadbeats in the movement — like ANC secretary general Alfred Nzo — have sought to preserve their dubious hold on their positions by slavishly proclaiming their loyalty to "the mother of the nation".

AND, indeed, Mr Nzo, for one, has been rewarded by Mr Mandela, who makes a point of publicising his esteem for the man.

Mr Mandela now faces as challenging a political test as he has ever endured.

At a time when the ANC leadership faces an internal crisis, essentially a crisis of confidence among its own rank and file, he must rise above his personal difficulties, place them in perspective alongside his far graver task of doing battle for the rights of those

millions who have had no rights under apartheid.

For in this vexed marriage is dramatised the fundamental problem Mr Mandela and his fellow members of the ANC's National Executive Committee confront — the perception among the MDM people, the lifeblood of the ANC as expressed in the unions and the recently defunct United Democratic Front, that their leaders are motivated more by petty vanities and personal ambition than by a sincere wish to do justice to the cause which originally inspired their rebellion.

The NEC is perceived, in turn, to be out of touch with the feelings and aspirations of "the masses" it says it represents.

THE recent tough line against the Government on the issue of the township violence has helped, but the grievances run deep.

And few things have helped spur those grievances more than Mr Mandela's — and, by extension, the NEC's — insistence on standing by the self-professed "mother of the nation".

So Mr Mandela must rise above his personal calamities, forget his wife and get on with the far more serious business at hand, if the image of the ANC leadership is not to be eroded still more.

For he is the very image of the leadership and if he falls, they all do — with potentially catastrophic consequences at this most delicate of times.

Mr Mandela has had to dig into his deepest reserves of courage and dignity.

For his own mental and physical health are tied to the health of the ANC and the black nation as a whole, whose dreams he represents.

What he must now do is break a spell that has held him since the day 33 years ago when he abandoned his quietly spoken first wife, Eveline — she might have been forgiven a little gloating this week — for a beguiling Delilah 16 years his junior.



16/1/11

## Deadline gets closer for the ANC and state working group

By GAYE DAVIS  
Cape Town

THE working group of the government and the African National Congress held sittings in Pretoria and Durban this week as Monday's deadline for it to complete its work approached.

Established in terms of the agreement reached between the two sides at the historic "talks about talks" in Cape Town earlier this month, the working group's task is to:

- Make recommendations on a definition of political offences;
- Discuss time scales;
- To advise "on norms and mechanisms" for dealing with the release of political prisoners and the granting of immunity, in respect of political offences, to people both inside and outside South Africa.

The ANC team is being led by Jacob Zuma and includes fellow ANC national executive members Aziz Pahad and Joe Nhlanhla, as well as ANC legal department members Matthew Phosa and Penwell Maduna and United Democratic Front national chairperson, Curnick Ndlovu.

The names of the government's members in the group have not been announced, but a constitutional adviser in the department of constitutional development, SS van der Merwe, is reportedly leading the team.

"It was stated in the Groote Schuur Minute that the proceedings (of the working group) would be confidential. It follows therefore that there will be no statements emanating from the working group or about its activities," a department representative told the *Weekly Mail*.

The acting head of the ANC's department of information and publicity inside South Africa, Ahmed Kathrada, said: "Even if we knew something, we wouldn't be able to tell you." He added that the teams would first report back to their leaderships.



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# Durban rally to launch hostel body

DURBAN — The SA Hostel Dwellers Association, apparently representing more than 50 000 hostel dwellers in Natal and the Transvaal, is to be launched at a mass rally in Durban tomorrow.

The association was formed last month. According to the interim committee's general secretary, Bongani Hlongwa, it is non-political, and exists to attend to hostel dwellers' grievances.

Mr Hlongwa yesterday said the association was formed last month after a number of representatives from numerous hostels in Natal came together.

## Disagree

He said it was not affiliated to any political organisation. "We're there to help hostel dwellers, no matter what political party they belong to," he said.

Mr Hlongwa said the press had often reported "things about the hostel dwellers which they (hostel-dwellers) did not agree with".

These and problems such as living

conditions in hostels would be addressed, he said.

The organisation will be formally launched tomorrow at the amphitheatre in the railway hostel at Remon at 9 am.

Mr Hlongwa said the association was presently focussing on two main issues: The prevention of the demolition of hostels and the Government summit on violence.

## Problems

"We need to prevent the demolition of hostels. We want to continue living in the hostels."

"But once this is achieved, we then need to look at all the problems we are facing in the hostels and these need to be addressed."

Mr Hlongwa said the association was hoping to send a delegation to next week's summit on violence to "put forward their case".

It represented more than 50 000 hostel dwellers and "had a right to be heard as much of the violence was directed against them," he added. — Sapa.