it s T Boer B Cabhas A man in Alex talk

the experience of being attacked

spiced up with Vlok and shack

ve a voice to some of the /%:iceless, it still fell into the trap of not giving itself time t(; | analyse an issue I depth. Wha here are talks. And there are talks about talks. There are even the Ultimate Talks which will

i hing we miss more than aqyt else is a programme like the \mid BBC $200\234$ Panorama $200\235$ with teleyi-

bring peace to South Africa. And there is always television coverage of

sion commentators or journ ;
talks.

ists that we can trust. Watching CNN \hat{a} 200\234Head

On the

Box it.

JOHN VAN ZYL

_ Or then again they might just

People that can fearlessly and line Newsâ\200\235 on Thursday was a

ith the utmost integrity inves :Yllgt:te a question such as Vvi0-lence and not simply talk abopt 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 $\hat{a}\200\230$

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 $a\200\234a$ possibility rather than a probability $a\200\235$.

Later a caller to a radio station in Belfast prayed that the talks would a^200^234 begina 200^235 (he did not even venture to use the word a^200^234 succeeda $200^235!$) 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 F W have taken to chat-

ting 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 pos-

sessed the remarkable powers

of covering the 5km 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 â\200\234Skietâ\200\235 Rudolph in the vicinity of Ventersdorp last Saturday afternoon. Perhaps they also speculated on the remark-

white violence so soon after it had started?

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-Henryâ\200\231s, 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 Tuk-ki_es and the talk that almost did not'hiappen 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 Mandelaâ\200\231s bodygrards and some students.

However, dominating all else is the talk about the violence that is engulfing South Africa, which is carried daily by televi-

- sion, radio and newspaper news.

Thinking I would gain a different perspective on all of this I had a look at the pilot pro-

. gramme of $\hat{a}\200\234$ South Africa Now $\hat{a}\200\235$ $\hat{a}\200\234$ 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.

0 1

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

able powers that Vlok had of ar- about their experiences.

riving on the scene of white-on-

1 I found a lot of it. A returned â\200\230exile 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.

THE CITIZEN

j 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 bombersplanted 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 $\hat{a}\200\224$ at the Witwatersrand Medical Command building in Braamfontein $\hat{a}\200\224$ 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 $\hat{a}\200\224$ and all the victims were White.

The Right-wing extremists would not select a target in which Whites might be the victims $a\200\224$ and they use commercial explosives, not limpet mines.

The extreme Right, it is argued, might plant $\hat{a}\geq00\geq30$ bombs to cerail the peace and constitutional negotiations, but this is quite unneccessary, 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 wonâ200231t be now.

All that a renewal of bombings will do is to harden' the hearts of people against those or-

- : $_$ ganisations that are found to be responsible.
- * It will also put the pressure on the government
- to be less lenient towards bombers who are

already imprisop"gké, especially those who are or were in death row.

There was a cut-off date for amnesty for socalled 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 1.lope those who engaged in or plotted terrorism and have how 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

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 $a\200\230$ them to stop the bombings,"

- becatuse it i\$' the â\200\230miost inHuman, indiscrimi.â\200\231

nate form of political terrorism.

I'm

C/"Z@"

- Sda

By Rich Mkhondo

DURBAN. South Africaâ\200\231s rulmg\,

ional Party made Black
businessman, Dan

Makhanya a secondclass citizen, but in a multiracial election it would get his vote.

 $\hat{a}\200\234I$ am no Uncle Tom, $\hat{a}\200\235$ said Mr Makhanya, one of the first Blacks to join $\hat{a}\200\230$ the party which invented the system of racial segregation that became known to the world as apartheid.

â\200\234President FW de
Klerk has done what none
of his predecessors could
do. He is very braye because he has successfully
challenged the wrath of
Afrikaners who for years
imbibed apartheid from
cradle to grave,â\200\235 said Mr
Makhanya, who runs a
small industrial relations
consultancy.

Sizeable

â\200\234De Klerk has been criticised left and right, but he has simply invited people to come forward with solutions. I feel this man needs support.â\200\235

no

,_,fâ\200\234 '

No $\[\]$ \[\] 201qures are available \[\] \[\] cm\[\] \[\] 234have a lot in com-

. for the number of Bla ackssâ\200\231 who have ioingdiine Nat- \hat{A} «lonal 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.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ The National Party does not go out of its way to recruit members, $\hat{a}\200\235$ said Joggie Boers, the party $\hat{a}\200\231$ s regional secretary for Pretoria.

â\200\234People 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.â\200\235

Mr Makhanya believes the National Party and Mr Nelson Mandelaâ\200\231s African National Con-

mon.

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.â\200\235 he said.

â\200\234What 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. 1 wish to teach my White colleagues something about Black aspirations and perceptions.â\200\235

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.

â\200\234I 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 stabili-

e g o ¥

ty, \hat{a} \200\235 said Mr Jones, a businessman.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$] 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. $\hat{a}\200\235$

Political scientist Willie

" Breytenbach said Nat-

ional Party policies could
be acceptable to most
Blacks.

â\200\234Opening National
Party branches in Black
areas is a logical move for
the party, taking into account the results of most

recent Opllen â\200\230surveys.

â\200\234The opinion polls have been showing all along that De Klerk is the second most popular leader in the country after Mandela,â\200\235 Dr Breytenbach said.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ The National Party has three times more support among Coloureds and Indians than among Whites.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ Now that the pillars of apartheld are gomg, there is nothing standmg in the way of canvassing support among people of other races, $\hat{a}\200\235$ he said.

Uncle Tom, s Black Nat .

â\200\234But it would bé amis take 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.â\200\235

Win most

One recent survey said the ANC would win most votes in South Africaâ\200\231s 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.

 $\hat{a}\200\234I$ know Blacks, they are usually reluctant to jump into something new.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ They say we will tiptoe to look around the corner to see what is in store for us. $\hat{a}\200\235$ $\hat{a}\200\224$ Sapa-Reuter

tenced to six y

or not, there are

between them and both are, in a manner of speaking, fallen angels.

Of course, they

different backgrounds,

with different levels of success.

 $a\200\230$ But they have had to face very different challenges, and they arouse curiously i opponents. v Watching from South Africa, many expatriate supporters of Mrs Thatcher have found her political de-| mise inexplicable. She seemed unassailable, surrounded by grey functionaries like John Major. She had transformed the British economy.

bour 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 $\hat{a}\200\234$ the cuts $\hat{a}\200\235$, a perceived lowering of public spending in traditionally sensitive areas like health and education. (In fact, her govern-. ment 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 same balanced people would narrow. From the corners of their thin lips would hiss the $\hat{a}\200\230$ words

jons in their .

She would clearly see off the La-

a m

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_If you then tried to use your for-
 eignerâ\200\231s wisdom and explain the
henefits of having Mrs T in 10 Down-
" ing Street, they would snarl and turn
arply away or start talking "about
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. 24
But, like Mrs Thatcher, Mrs Man-
dela 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 Britianâ\200\231s .
longest-serving Prime Ministers.
Mrs Mandela, through her long
and hard battle against apartheid,
earned the honoured title \hat{a}\200\234mother of
ga\200\231round for
aggie J\
a\200\230ca a\200\224 both countries where she is
 still assured of a welcome befitting a
even, perhaps, as the wife of our first
the nation\hat{a}200\235. LETLs
" Among, the .younger a\200\230members_of
the ANC, shie 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 Afri-
head of government.
There is pathos in this.
Winnie Mandela has just endured
a 44-day trial, been found quilty of
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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 $a\200\224$

black President \hat{a} 200\224 hands will go up to mouths, hiding the whispers. There is pathos here, too. -

The Supreme Court has $\tilde{}$ pronounced hÃ@r 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 $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 24$ but if they do, they might surprisingly find a lot in common. &

@ Chris Gibbons is the presenter of Radio $702 \hat{a} \times 200 \times 231 \hat{s}$ Ni ewstalk.

Discredit

We refer to your editorial of May 11 1991 entitled: $\hat{a}\200\234$ Police and priorities $\hat{a}\200\235$. $\hat{a}\200\230$

 $a\200\230$ We wish to begin by replying

to the following sentence: a\200\234Here was a stunning revelation of how misguided are the crime fighting priorities of the policea\200\235.

â\200\230As you are no doubt aware, | the South African Narcotics Bureau (SANAB) deals specifically with crimes involving drugs, liquor, prostitution, gambling and so forth.

 $\hat{a}\200\230$ 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.

â\200\230Several 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

RIS Ing po

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 we cannot be actioned as the compare the police action.

derly 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: $\hat{a}\200\234As$ we said two weeks ago: The battle between cops and robbers is over $\hat{a}\200\224$ the robbers won. No more do prowl cars patrol sub-

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

® Address your letters to Saturday Star, PO Box 1014, Johannes-

burg 2000. IR

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 $a\200\224$ and even then they will probably not be accompanied by a detective $a\200\235$. 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

lice makes battle againsfk"KC%e harder

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 po-

 $\hat{a}\200\230$ lice. 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-

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ quest the public concerned to respect and heed the law.

 $\hat{a}\200\230\hat{A}\$ As a closing thought, the following quotation is left with you

 $^{\sim}$ X(this was part of the opening ad- $^{"}$. â\200\234dress of the Minister of Law and

Order during his Budget speech in Parliament):

â\200\234The 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.

Be kilâ\200\230ld,â\200\230

ST RS\

, â\200\230\

a tough time ..

she ha

T is possible to sympa- .

thise with Mrs Winnie

Mandela without in any Through
way condoning the MY Eyes
crimes for which she was
recently convicted. Very OSCAR
few young and newly- married women could DHLOMQ
have survived what she - :
went through during the past group of young men who were

30 years.

At a young age and newly-married, she was deprived of

* her greatest natural supporter

 $\hat{a}\200\224$ 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 â\200\224 the most notorious of which was the â\200\234necklaces and boxes of matchesâ\200\235 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

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. i

~ When the UDF leadership of jthe time condemned her and alled on the community to os-

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 com-

munity 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 $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 24$ a blessing which many married couples take for granted $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 24$ but which was denied Winnie Mandela virtually throughout her young $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 30$ married life.

tracise her, it was ironically

Aim é\gt to cr

rifts within blac

1.WISH to refer again to the article in the Saturday Star dated May 11 1991 about the emergence of a $200\234$ new force $200\235$ in South African politics which was written by Mr Abbey Makoe.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ The article is not based on fact. j

- . My interview with Mr I_Aakoe 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 ap-

rs in the article.
It became obvious that I was treated. unjustly by this article

 $\tilde{\text{LA@hd}}$ I wish to put on record my

te or widen AU g politics T

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.

T trust you will act accordingly.:
Molwane Patrick Lephunya

UDF National Civic Coordinator

Why Winn e probably wonâ\200\231t go to jail

WINNIE Mandpla is unlikely to â\20272~

serve a single day of her sixyear jail sentence, even if she loses her appeal.

A conjunction of political forces seems set to save her from the mdlgmty of incarcera-

tion 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 $\hat{a} \geq 200 \geq 224$ both premised on the entirely theoretical assumption that ther appeal will fail $\hat{a} \geq 200 \geq 224$ shows how political con-

Rle

first, an ANC statement describing the trial as $a\200\234$ part of the pattern of harassment and persecution directed at $a\200\234$ Comrade Winnie $a\200\234$ for the past 30 years; second, the more recent decla-ration by Chris Hani, chief of staff of the ANC $a\200\231$ 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 Haniâ\200\231s declamation 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

siderations 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 Con- .

gress 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:

Mrs Mandelaâ\200\231s appeal is heard and â\200\224 for argumentâ\200\231s sake â\200\224

- lost, the chances of her going to

jail are miniscule.

South Africaâ\200\231s 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

essure on President de Klerk to pardon her. The ANC's politi-

. cal clout, and the indispensabil-

ity 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 sim-fty:-the Appeal Court may up-hold Mrs Mandelaâ\200\231s appeal and

set aside the sentence imposed

 $\hat{a}\200\230$ on her by Rand Supreme Court $\hat{a}\200\230$ 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, Stom-

" pie Moeketsie Sepei, from the

Methodist manse in Soweto in December 1988.

Even before Mr Justice Steg-mannâ\200\231s damning judgment â\200\224 he labelled her an â\200\234unblushing liar and a woman who had no compassion for her victims â\200\224 Mrs Mandelaâ\200\231s influence was on the wane.

One clear sign was her crushing defeat in last month $\hat{a}\200\231s$ contest for the presidency of the ANC Women $\hat{a}\200\231s$ 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 con-

demned her in February 1980,

In its now celebrated statement the MDM accused her of violafing the â\200\234spirit and ethos of the democratic movementâ\200\235, of allowing the Mandela Football Club to conduct a â\200\234reign of terrorâ\200\235 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 â\200\234a dignified man-

it - e

Its statement led to â\200\234bad bloodâ\200\234 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 $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 24$ alleged-

ly from above $\hat{a}\200\224$ as an ANC leader.

But now, in the aftermath of Mrs Mandelaâ\200\231s 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 ANCâ\200\231s 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 Mande-laâ\200\231s wife to go to jail, they will probably thwart any attempt she may make to assert herslf

_politically.

Mrs Mandela, however, is a formidable and resourceful woman who should not be un-

_derestimated.

Worldâ\200\231s spotligh falls on three {Sgal cagles

THREE key legal men in Sou - Africaâ\200\231s T to journalists had a powerful $a\200\234$ pres enceâ\200\235 in

much publicised trial $\hat{a}\200\224$ that of Winnie 7 _ PAT DEVEREAUX $|8'\ Q|$ the courtroom drama which unfolded.

Mandela and her co-accused $\hat{a}\200\224$ have fo- ; $\hat{a}\200\234$ Where the course of Justice requires the

cused intense world interest on this coun- DI : s $\operatorname{\hat{A}SHON}$ truth, no man has the right to with old

tryâ\200\231s judicial system. FLE A .,The s;lence Was quickly broken by Mr it,â\200\235 he said during the trial, â\200\230

Occupying centre stage is the judge, Mr Bizosâ $200\231s$ announcement that pe would lodge S enior council and advocates say this

Justice M S Stegmann, the man who dared an application for leave to appeal. -Judge, possibly selected because of a track

to impose a six-year jail sentence on, some At th : e trial there were ru- poooc in judging complicated commercial

believe, $\hat{a}200\234$ South $\hat{a}200\235$ Africa $\hat{a}200\231$ s most politically mours that the fear factor had become so non-political trials, has a pristine record in

powerful womanâ $\200\235$. : e w.lqespreadthat it threatened the entjre JU- terms of politica l bias, R

Then there is George Bizos fc, delscribed . dicial system. e -Mr Justice Stegmann has a reputa

as $200\234$ one of the Barâ $200\231$ s most co ourful advo- , among lawyers for being $200\234$ meticulous

cates \hat{a} 200\235, the man who defended Winnie Man- Powerful pmonte conscientious and devoting considera

dela, accused No 8, with every bit of verbal The trial was seriously hampered by time and energy to hisâ\200\230judfgzn'egx;â\200\230sâ\200\235{.;\ 7Rt iy

Wweaponry he could whip out from beneath events outside the courtroom. It was said His sent encing of Winnje Mandela has $\operatorname{un-}$

his legal cloak, that the impact of these events including: Jeashed criticism of the judic ial system

The other major player was Deputy < four missing accused, the apparent kidnap- from some q uarters. 18 iy torney General of the Witwatersrand {ung of key witness Gabriel Megkwe and But although the

assignment of judges to

division, Jan f-S\ \hat{a} \200\230unepoel SC, the man, whe & he re \tilde{A} Oalcittance= of witnesses Kenne th cages is controversial in itself and certain

prosecuted Mandela and her co-accused Kgase and Barend Pelo Mono, threatened judges have be en said to be specifically se-

with surgeon-like precision. to subvert the course of Justice. $^\prime$ - lected to sit on politic al trials, most Human |

Stunned silence greeted Judge Stg $\ddot{}$ ¬\201- But Mr Justice Stegmann handled these Rights lawyers dismissed this possibility in

 ${\rm mann \hat{a} \setminus 200 \setminus 231s}$ six-year sentence imposed on Win- major disruptions with ease and according sych a high-profile criminal case.

0 ~f

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IT.had to be the most miserable moment in Win- nie Mandelaâ\200\231s life, but she -â\200\230emerged fromâ\200\231the Rand Su-â\200\234preme Court building, having just been convicted on â\200\234charges of kidnapping and 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 nationâ\200\231s cata-

strophic affairs to be by his $\tilde{\text{wifea}} \geq 00 \geq 30 \text{ side}$, looked as if his mother had just died. :

I>taincoat, she in black suit \hat{a} 200\224 said lmuch about thisymost ill-matched

of couples, about the difference in -their perceptions of reality. This $a\200\230t)$ ic spectacle, on a cold day in

more what a child Mrs Mandela p on reality.

5s as a whole has tended to inabit a mythological revolutionry world, full of the motifs of

surrectionâ\200\235 but little of the sub-

'»i\e than Mrs Mandela. ire and bombast, her politi-

s ol CAll

incts of the adolescents who
rovide the ANC with so much of
ifs energy but so little useful
jought. - '

She ranits and postures while Pr grave husband $a\200\224$ the very sonification of the ANC with afl its pr?ent troubles and its dorthy principles of oid $a\200\224$ at-

mpts to wrestle with the complex nitty-gritty of political life in Sputh A, Afx:.i,. $i^2 201ch_, i^2 201to$ hammer out the dÃ@tails of His' peopleâ200 231s future and af the same tifne seek an end to

 \hat{a} \202¬ worst bloodshed the country

s endured since the Boer War.

AS Never before can a 72-year-old dan, who has spent so mucl} of his

P â\200\224

| After nearly 28 years in jail, Nelson wifeâ\200\231s disgrace? For the sake of his ' " been covering the South African

 \hat{a} \200\234decessory to assault, with a

)5The contrast \hat{a} 200\224 he in white

10hannesburg, reminded us once is, how tenuous, how fantastic, her:

(4f the African National Con-

 \hat{a} 200\234armed struggle \hat{a} \200\235 and \hat{a} \200\234popular in-

stance rightly appropriated in their time by Fidel Castro, the Sandinistas, the Vietcong, no one | h& presented a more caricatured -

c@ image has rested on appealing
to the most facile, most crude in-

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

And now this. No more tragic

- Spectacle \hat{a} 200\224 tragic in the classical

Greek sense of the word $a\200\224$ must exist anywhere in the world right now. The heroic individual brought iow 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 $a\geq 0$ 234darling ≥ 0 235. She stood by him, as he sees it, during

 $a\200\230$ his long imprisonment, and sh

can do no wrong. i
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 $\hat{a}\200\224$ which was the ANC until the ANC was legally unbanned last year $\hat{a}\200\224$

who on February 16 1989 publicly
' denounced Mrs Mandelaâ\200\231s â\200\234reign

of terrorâ\200\235 in Soweto, a position that has not changed to this day among those who shunned exile and avoided jail to fight the good fight.:

tion been to his wife that deadbedts in the movement $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 24$ like ANC secretary general Alfred

Nzo \hat{a} \200\224 have sought to preserve

their dubious hold on their posi-

 $\tilde{}$ tions by slavishly proclaiming their loyalty to \hat{a} 200\234the mother of the .nation \hat{a} 200\235.:

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

Such has Mr Mandelaâ\200\231s d;adica-.

Mandeia emerged triumphant; can he now survive his people, he must find a wa

Y, says John Carlin, who has

scene for The Independent, London.

-under apartheid. ks
For in this vexed marriage is
dramatised the fundamental problem Mr Mandela and his fellow
members of the ANCâ\200\231s National
Executive Committee confront â\200\224
the perception amon'g}tâ\200\230hg:,:;MDM
people, the lifeblood of the â\200\230ANC

- 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. W; The NEC is perceived, in turn, to be out of touch with the feelings and aspirations of $a\200\234$ the masses $200\235$ it says it represents.

THE recent tough line
against the Government on the
_issue of the township violence has

- helped, but the gâ\200\230riev#ncÃ@s run

deep. k73 ¢

And few things have helped spur those grievances more than Mr Mandelaâ\200\231s â\200\224 and, by extension, the' NECâ\200\231s â\200\224 insistence on standing by the self-professed

- $\hat{a}\200\234$ mother of the nation $\hat{a}\200\235$. | :

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. q

For he is the very image of the

- leadership and if he falls, they all $\tilde{}$ do $a\200\224$ with potentially catastroph-
- :; AND, \hat{a} \200\230indeed, Mr Nzo, for

cate 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. y - What he must now do is break a spell that has held him since the

ic consequences at this ; most deli-

- day 33 years ago when he aban-

doned his quietly spoken first wife, Eveline \hat{a} 200\224 she might have been forgiven a little gloating this week \hat{a} 200\224 for a beguiling-Delilah 16

- years his ju'niqr.

Deadline gets closer for the ANC and state |working grou%!K: ? By GAYE DAVIS $\N =$ CapeTown 05!\%\ $\hat{a}\200\230$,'I'HEworkinggroupof $\ddot{a}\202$ nes 1 $a\200\230$ ment and the African National Conss held sittings in Pretoria and ; ;hisweekasMondayâ\200\231sdead# : line for it to complete its work ap-Sachod: P " Established in terms of the agreeat the historic $a\200\234$ talks about talks $a\200\235$ in Cape Town earlier this month, the working groupâ\200\231s task isto: _ @Make recommendations on a definition of political offences; political prisoners and the grantin, immunity, in respect of political of-_ fences, to people both inside and out-The ANC team is being led by Jacob Zuma and includes fellow ANC ? | national executive members Aziz Pa-

5 hadandJoeNhlanhla.aswellas

members Mat-

United Democratic Front national i Curnick Ndlovu.

The names of the government $a \ge 00 \ge 31$ s members in the group haven $a \le 1$, been $a \ge 00 \ge 30$ announced, but a constitutional adviser in the department of constitutional development, SS van der Merwe, is

y leading the team.

; â\200\234Jt 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,â\200\235 a department representative told the Weekly Mail. v

The acting head of the ANCâ\200\231s department of information and publicity inside South Africa, Ahmed Kathra-

da, said: $\hat{a}\200\234$ Even if we knew something, we wouldn $\hat{a}\200\231$ t be able to tell you. $\hat{a}\200\235\hat{a}\204$ ¢. He added that the teams would first

report back to their leaderships. :

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Dwellers Association, apparent-
ly representing more than -
50000 hostel dwellers in Natal
iand the Transvaal, is o be
jaunched at a mass rally in \hat{A}^{\circ}
- Durban tomorrow. '
! \hat{a}\200\234The association was formed last
wmonth. According to_the interimâ\200\231
a\200\230committeea\200\231s general secretary; .- \
;Bo_nganiimongwa,â\200\230it is pom-politi-. .-
feal and exists- to attend to hostel
dwellersâ\200\231 grievances. Sl
: Mr Hlopgwa yesterday said the 2550
a\200\230riation was formed last month after a
â\200\230number "of representatives from no-
» â\200\230Disagree
13
e oan s
mpolitical organisation. \hat{a}\200\234Wwe' re there 10
\hat{a}\200\234help hostel dwellers, 10 matter what
\hat{a}\200\230Poli\ddot{a}\200\235 he said. -
Mr Hlongwa said the press had often
wreported a\200\230a\200\234a\200\230tnings about the hostel
idwellers which they (hostel-dwellers)
1did not-agree withâ\200\235. :
These and problems snch as Tiving =
" conditions in hostels world bAe_m"ad:
\hat{a}200\230merons hostels in Natal came together. -
i 70T - be addressed.\hat{a}\200\235
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I URBAN â\200\224 The SA Hostel

He said it was not affliated to any

- " dressed, hesaid. . . "The organisation will be formally
 â\200\234 laupched fomorrow -at the amphithe" atrejin the railway hostel at Remnion at _ MrHlongwa said the assoriation was |
 presently forussing on two ro@in issnes: .
 The prevention of the demoliion. of |
 _ hostels and the Government summit.- |
 onviolence. - . e
 7 Problems -
- . $\hat{a}\200\234$ we need to prevent the. demolition of hostels. We want io continue liwing in the hostels. $\hat{a}\200\235$ ST $\hat{a}\200\234$ Rut. onee this is achieved, we then peed to look at.all the problems we are -stels zmd these need to
- facing ifi the hos
- -7 Mr Hlongwa said the association was 3 . hoping to send a a^200^230 delegation to next : -weel a^200^231 s smnroit-on violenc to. a^200^234 put forward their case a^200^235 . Aigh
- $\hat{A} \odot$. Tt represented. more than 50 600 hos- .

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