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Bernard Cros

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Winnie Mandela, the Iconoclastic Icon of South African Reconciliation

Bernard CROS

Université Paris X-Nanterre

Few women have enjoyed a national profile in South African history, except as wives or mothers of politicians and soldiers, i.e. as secondary figures to dominant men. Nomzamo Winifred Madikizela, aka Winnie Mandela, who became famous as the wife of a man once dubbed 'the most famous political prisoner in the world', is now changing this. Her current public image is not just the product of her good deeds: once the unsullied icon of anti-apartheid struggle, a suffering mother, wife and activist, she now appears in the eyes of many as a cold-blooded criminal. Winnie has become a downgraded icon, an icon of violence, and the epitome of all the wrongs of South Africa – once 'Mother of the nation', now 'Mugger of the nation'.

Since 1990, she has or revelled in doing what she was good at under apartheid: defying the established dominant norms. But systematic opposition can no longer be perceived as during the years of struggle. First because since the mid-80s, Winnie Mandela has been the most powerful woman in South Africa, as one of the country's highest ranking politicians (elected to the ANC's National Executive in 1991, member of the South African National Civic Organisation (SANCO), chairwoman of the ANC Women's League (ANCWL), MP and government member as deputy minister of arts, culture, science and technology) and as a popular figure with great charisma. Second, because South Africa has been faced with the challenge of building a new nation. To carry out this task, the actors of the 'transition period' had to set up institutions, symbols and even a brand new political language to justify and pass the new message. A new orthodoxy emerged, embodied in the icon of Nelson Mandela and based on new

values, broadly those of liberal democracy, and new symbols, which Winnie also contradicts¹.

The object of this paper is therefore to illustrate how and why Winnie Mandela has confronted the principles of nation-building and reconciliation (the new institutions, her husband – the greatest icon of all – the ANC leadership and even South African women) both in word and deed, so as to understand in what way she has been the ‘fly in the ointment’ of the ‘New South Africa’, and how she became an iconoclastic icon.

The iconization of Winnie Mandela

Winnie Mandela is a multifaceted icon. For most blacks, Winnie is first a heroine of the struggle in which she was directly involved from the end of the 1950s, especially after her wedding to Nelson. She suffered from white repression, stood trial several times and served several sentences in prison where she claims to have been tortured. She took on another dimension in the wake of the Soweto rising of June 1976 as the leader of the Soweto Black Parents Association, the first time she had been given a major position in a political organisation solely in her own right, not because of her husband. She was loved by Soweto students because she echoed their position against the system. Her physical courage, especially towards the police, was admired. At the time, she was practically the only person in South Africa who was brave enough to express ANC principles openly. Winnie was the perfect icon of the supporting wife, a modern incarnation of Penelope waiting patiently for the return of her warrior husband, left alone with her children, unfairly suffering the blows of the cynical ruthless hounds of a heartless political clique. Jailed after the Soweto rising, she was banished for 8 years with her children to a small town in the Orange Free State where she found herself totally isolated. According to some, this was when she became aggressive and paranoid².

Politically, she was always identified with the ANC radicals. Like all left-wing intellectuals (she has a diploma in social work, and a BA in political science), she was always uncompromising with the apartheid authorities. But her ideology has been cultivated through constant contact with the people. As a leader, she has always reflected the mood of the masses. She has a natural gift with people, understands them, speaks their

¹ For an interesting analysis of the construction of the new national symbols, see Benoît DUPIN, ‘Dans un arc-en-ciel de symboles’, in Dominique DARBON (ed.), *L'Après-Mandela, Enjeux sud-africains et régionaux*, Paris et Bordeaux, Karthala-MSHA, 1999, p. 103-136.

² Emma GILBEY, *The Lady: The Life and Times of Winnie Mandela*, Vintage, London, 1994.

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language. When she returned to Soweto from exile in 1985, all this tended to coalesce into populism. She built a large house to accommodate her family and provide help to anyone in need, cultivating her image as 'Mother of the Nation', a nickname that has stuck ever since.

Winnie has nurtured her popularity with demonstrations of personal charity, giving out blankets and food after fires and other accidents³. This explains why her supporter base is so strong in the weakly structured squatter camps where the poorest try to survive. Hundreds of apologists demonstrated outside the Pretoria courtroom where she was tried in 2003, chanting and toyi-toying (doing the shuffling liberation dance). Populism is a keystone of her rhetoric⁴. In the recent fraud and theft trial, Winnie argued that many of her actions were dictated by a desire to help the people (to which the prosecutor answered that she was 'no modern-day Robin Hood')⁵.

However, her left-wing beliefs skidded towards a sanguinary rhetoric in the late 80s. In 1986 she made a notorious statement at a township rally which embarrassed even her most faithful supporters, encouraging the use of the necklace, a petrol-soaked tyre placed around a victim's neck and set alight, against blacks who had collaborated with apartheid⁶. In the context of apartheid, much of this violent demagoguery was popular and gained her many supporters. But she kept to it during the transition from apartheid, adopting a much less conciliatory attitude than her husband toward the previously dominant white community. The argument ran like this: whites had always had the best of both worlds (oppressing the black man and not being punished for doing so), it was time for the black man to enjoy some advantages. At the very least, whites should not be allowed to get away with it all. The rhetoric of revenge is still one of her pet subjects and very popular with the masses in the townships and even more in the squatter camps.

In the 80s, Winnie Mandela became as popular as her husband. For the rest of the world, her husband came to exist thanks to her, because she was the closest person to him that could be reached and interviewed, albeit not always easily. As a consequence, she was often in the news of the western world after 1976 when South Africa started to make front page material. She became the symbol of the apartheid regime's brutality, her

³ 'ANC Factionalism: Curse or Blessing?' *Focus* 29, March 2003, The Helen Suzman Foundation. http://hsf.org.za/focus29/focus29lodge_print.html

⁴ In February 2003, she claimed that she wanted to travel to Iraq to be a 'human shield' so as to protect Iraqi children from American attacks. 'Winnie Wants to be Human Shield in Iraq to Stop US attack', *Port Elizabeth Herald*, February 19, 2003.

⁵ 'Winnie Mandela Sentenced to Jail for Fraud, Theft', Reuters, April 25, 2003.

⁶ 'We have no arms. But we have stones. We have our boxes of matches. We have our bottles... With our necklaces, we will liberate this country!' Munsieville, April 13, 1986. Quoted in *The Daily Dispatch*, November 29, 1997.

name was used by the anti-apartheid movements, quoted in pamphlets, raised like a standard at radical black American political rallies, while politicized bands wrote songs about her or quoted her in the lyrics.

Two books published to promote Winnie as part of the international struggle at the height of the repression in the mid-80s belong to the same strategy. 'Part of my Soul Went With Him' is made of letters and interviews, collected and adapted by Mary Benton, a famous anti-apartheid fighter and a close friend of the Mandelas⁷. As the title indicates, the figurehead of the struggle was Nelson ('A part of my soul went with *him*', italics mine), but Winnie had a little bit more than a supporting role. 'Mother of a Nation, We Are With You', a biography published the same year in Britain, emphasises Winnie's own life and brings a personal epic-heroic dimension which made her a more identifiable character. The back page of this rags-to-riches story, although by black standards she was not exactly born into a poor family, opens like this: 'From her barefoot childhood... this extraordinary and powerful woman has emerged as an international figure...' *The Guardian's* column is also quoted on the back page: 'In a world where plastic Princesses and ego-tripping movie stars are regularly presented as everyday heroines, how nice to find a real-life heroine of immortal stature'. Logically, the two books failed to address more controversial issues, although she was already rumoured to have had affairs, to be a heavy drinker, and to be very moody – one day charming, the next abusive.

Winnie the iconoclast

As long as Winnie's troubles were with the law, she could be treated as any other citizen. In this way, however, she chose to pit herself against the great enterprise of reconciliation and nation-building. Her iconoclasm targeted the ANC and her former husband, the main promoters of this far-reaching agenda. And while the transition period was accompanied by a redefinition of the national and civic symbols which a whole people divided by centuries of racial feud could identify with, she has been an antidote to the process and to the values it conveyed. Her constant appeals to rebellion in all guises have sounded like a license to disregard all the rules of the new society⁸.

Her general principle is: follow the rules – and certainly not the rule of law. The rule of law is a core principle of liberal democracy: the law

⁷ Interestingly, Benson published a biography of Nelson Mandela only two years later.

⁸ She is as famous for her political radicalism as for her personal excesses: she likes to be driven in a long white Mercedes and surrounded by bodyguards, and her eccentric hats are an object of popular jokes.

applies equally to every citizen. Make an exception, and no one will ever respect the law again, even less so if the exception comes from an icon. Under the influence of Nelson Mandela, the newly legalized ANC accepted the idea that the organisation should be 'exemplary' and that none of its members should have a reprehensible attitude in any way, so as to serve as a civic model for the people to look up to. But Winnie would not play that part and has kept breaking the rules with a vast range of transgressions, from absenteeism in Parliament to charges of corruption and murder.

For instance, blacks campaigned for equal political rights and representation for many years, so the least a black elected MP can do is attend Parliament. Winnie attended Parliament only 4 days in 2002, undermining the image of the institution in people's minds. She justified her attitude by saying that it was very difficult to 'share the chamber with politicians from the apartheid era who have the blood of black children on their hands'⁹. The ANC agenda also included a 'zero tolerance' policy against corruption. Yet, since 1994, the ANC has been caught in the midst of several corruption scandals, some involving very high ranking ANC officials, such as Deputy President Jacob Zuma – and Winnie. In the most recent trial, she was found guilty on 43 counts of fraud and 25 of theft in April 2003, and sentenced to five years (one suspended) in prison for obtaining more than R1m (>130,000 euros) in loans in the name of fictitious Women's League employees (including one of her daughters). She pleaded 'philanthropy' and said that she merely lent her name to help poor people.

She was involved in much more serious crimes before the official end of apartheid when her Soweto house became a place where interrogations were carried out by a gang which she founded in 1986, the Mandela United Football Club, whose members became notorious for their violence. No one, not even the security police, dared oppose her and her friends. Her death, probably envisaged at some point, would have triggered immense chaos on a considerable scale which the state was not ready to cope with, and she probably knew it. Her thugs felt the right to enter any house at any time in search of police informants. She was accused of being an accessory to the abduction of four alleged police informers, and to her bodyguards' murder of one of them, 14-year-old Stompie Seipei Moketsi, in January 1989. A witness even claimed that she cut the boy's throat herself. She was found guilty in 1991 of kidnapping the boy and of being an accessory to assault, and sentenced to a six-year suspended prison sentence. The kidnapping conviction was upheld in appeal in 1993, but the sentence was changed to a fine. A recent book about her life deals

⁹ *Herald, op. cit.*

extensively with the murder, but also explains how her paranoia can probably be accounted for by years of police harassment.¹⁰

In spite of overwhelming evidence, she always meets accusations with defiance and anger and never seems to admit failure or mistakes. 'Others' are always responsible, she never is. Her attitude before the Truth & Reconciliation Commission is particularly revealing. The TRC, chaired by Archbishop Desmond Tutu, was set up to investigate apartheid-era human rights violations committed for political reasons. It was 'not a court of law but a commission of enquiry – attempting to understand events rather than establish guilt or innocence'¹¹. Its investigations carried essentially symbolic weight. Winnie's activities, as well as those of the Mandela United Football Club, became one of its most publicized cases. One of the principles of the TRC was that authors of political crimes should come forward to explain what they did. In exchange, if their confession was proved true, they received forgiveness and freedom from prosecution.

Winnie refused to come forward since she claimed she was innocent. But since her name came up in the inquiry, she was subpoenaed to appear before the TRC. At the hearings, she made 'a blanket denial of all allegations against her'¹², sometimes even refusing to answer their questions. She dismissed all her accusers as liars, lunatics and apartheid-era collaborators. 'Honestly, for me to have to sit here and answer such ridiculous allegations is great pain'¹³. The TRC was quite upset by her attitude. At one point, an exasperated truth commissioner told Winnie that if her version of events was true, it implied that 'everyone else who testified at this hearing [had been] lying'. To which Winnie replied bluntly, 'Yes, it is true that most of the witnesses who testified here were lying'. A frustrated Archbishop Tutu, a companion and close friend of the Mandela family, asked her to acknowledge responsibility and apologize. She eventually agreed to say reluctantly that 'things went horribly wrong', but, although it was proved that most of the crimes were conducted with her complicity in or near her house and that she refused to disband the club, she did not admit to personal responsibility. Her apologies were not personal. ('For that part of those painful years ... I am deeply sorry'). Winnie was described as 'a reluctant witness at both the in camera and the public hearings'¹⁴ who refused to conform to the rules of the symbolic ceremony of national apologies and play the game of reconciliation, which had been expressly described as essential for the country and the perpetrators of

¹⁰ Emma GILBEY, *op. cit.*

¹¹ TRC Report, 2, 6, 'Special Investigation into the Mandela United Football Club', §20.

¹² Ibid. §98.

¹³ 'Winnie Mandela Denies Fault, Voices Regrets', Reuters, December 5, 1997.

¹⁴ TRC Report, 2, 6, §110.

crimes to heal their wounds and move forward. Both dimensions are emphasized in the following lines:

*It is regrettable that Ms Madikizela-Mandela did not use the hearings as a forum to take the Commission and the nation into her confidence in order to shed light on the circumstances that resulted in the chaos and violence that emanated from her household. This would have assisted in the process of separating wild allegation from the morass of claims made against her.*¹⁵ (emphasis mine)

She was eventually involved in almost 20 violations, including 8 murders, and the TRC found her 'politically and morally accountable for the gross violations of human rights committed by the MUFC ... by omission'¹⁶.

In a recent corruption and theft trial, Magistrate Peet Johnson reaffirmed the new South Africa's political and moral principles in his sentencing comments: 'The message has been sent out that this type of behaviour is unacceptable and will not be tolerated no matter who the transgressor'¹⁷. As the state's counsel in the trial explained, being an MP forced Winnie to be even more exemplary than other citizens. 'She started to act as if she was above the law. She has no respect for institutions of state, *inter-alia* Parliament'. Johnson: 'We expect those who make the law to respect it'. The magistrate delivered his verdict in another fit of reconciliation rhetoric: 'After a short period of imprisonment you will be released so that you can use *your many talents to serve the public*' (italics mine). Reconciliation includes forgiveness: even at the core of the most hardened criminal, there is good which can come out if given the chance. Society demands punishment, but the future demands redemption. She may not have wanted it, but she was caught up in the nation-building ideology. Concretely, she will serve 1/6th of the sentence (8 months), whereas the rest will be converted to 'correctional supervision'.

Winnie's replies to accusations are part of her populist strategy. She is not vocal in courtrooms and keeps her comments for outside, for the media to amplify her attacks on the 'system', a non-identified mass of threatening faceless enemies – once the apartheid authorities, now the ANC – guilty of brutalizing and framing her¹⁸. During her TRC hearings in 1997, she contended that 'the TRC had colluded with the ANC'¹⁹ to torpedo her bid to become one of the ANC's deputy-presidents, forcing her

¹⁵ TRC Report, 2, 6, §114, *op. cit.*

¹⁶ TRC Report, 2, 6, §110, *op. cit.*

¹⁷ 'Winnie Mandela Sentenced to Jail for Fraud, Theft', *op. cit.*

¹⁸ The ANC is rather embarrassed by her behaviour. Winnie's biography on the ANC website ends in... 1977. Two sentences sum up the last 26 years.

¹⁹ TRC Report, *op. cit.*, §109.

hearing to coincide with the election, a dirty trick meant to destroy her politically. Of course, 'the Commission denied this allegation emphatically and reaffirms that position. ... The dates for the hearing were settled with her legal representatives. ... While the Commission was obliged on occasion to present to her allegations that may have appeared far-fetched, it became evident at times that *she regarded this as a personal vendetta being waged against her by the Commission*. This might also explain her contemptuous attitude towards certain witnesses and her reprimands to those who asked her questions that she did not like'²⁰ (italics mine).

On leaving the courthouse after hearing her conviction in the corruption trial, dressed in a traditional African dress, with a beaded necklace, bracelets and head band, she made it clear that she was the victim of a witch-hunt:

*I'm afraid I have to admit it – my ANC, brothers and sisters, have succeeded in many ways in making the new South Africa a successful democracy, but I'm afraid when it comes to the judicial system, they have downright failed. ... It seems the government are letting the judiciary trample into our personal matters and hauling us up for public scrutiny. Where is the democracy in that? Surely in our new democracy we would have done away with mediaeval notions of trial and punishment by now.*²¹

Winnie made a list of her violated rights, 'including that she was rudely escorted by uniformed bureaucrats into that torture chamber of the apartheid government, the court room'.²² The words were carefully chosen: apartheid South Africa was officially a place where the rule of law applied, an argument used by those who defended the regime with a clean conscience, but since the law was indeed flawed, it was anything but a democracy. 'The torture chamber' had just changed masters, with the ANC government as chief inquisitor and identical 'bureaucrats' who had nothing better to do than live off the people. This echoed some of her supporters who shouted during her trial: 'Tortured by apartheid, and now by our own ANC'. Comparing the ANC to the apartheid authorities – how much more iconoclastic can you get?

Anyone not fitting her ideas is therefore a potential enemy, whether they defended apartheid or support the ANC government, the two now being equated with one another since they both seek to crush her. To her, the ANC is betraying the cause of revolution and black power, and is at best trying to find ways to adapt to aspects of capitalism, as any centre party would. She therefore believes that it is her duty to denounce this drift

²⁰ TRC Report, *op. cit.*, §110.

²¹ 'Winnie Mandela Disappointed with Legal System', AP, April 25, 2003.

²² *Ibid.*

and she thrives on the government's incapacity to deliver what it promised to bring, saying aloud what many people think in silence – a classic of populist rhetoric – 'I understand the people, you don't'. ('You are the ANC, Mama' a supporter shouted in the fraud and theft trial courtroom.)²³ Contradicting the unwritten rule of government solidarity, she did not hesitate to denounce the government's failures even when she was herself a government member. The concessions which the ANC had to make during the negotiations in 1990-1994 and the compromises which the government has been forced to pass ever since are sitting ducks for her. Her criticisms were devastating since she was shelling her own camp with 'friendly fire'.

Even her 'iconized' husband was targeted and she is partly responsible for his loss of credibility. Nelson supported his wife for as long as he could, claiming that she was innocent and saying that she had been framed in the Mandela United FC case. 'As far as I'm concerned, verdict or no verdict, her innocence was not in doubt'.²⁴ They were the perfect couple united in the struggle, whose love never waned over the years. But their separation (April 1992) and divorce (March 1996) were devastating blows to both. She was used to scandals, so it did not affect her as much as Nelson, who suffered his first major setback with public opinion. Faced with her inflexibility and her repeated mistakes, he had no choice but turn his back on her in 1994.

Basically, the two icons stand for two different conceptions of the nation. Nelson has always had a humanistic, universal, non-racial approach to the 'nation', in the wake of the Freedom Charter of 1955. His inclusive definition of the nation is reflected in the new institutions and in the Constitution which establishes South Africa as a multiracial society where no one should suffer from any form of discrimination by reason of his or her skin colour, religion, language or gender. Winnie's conception is much more exclusive. When she is dubbed 'Mother of the nation', the 'nation' is reduced to the poor blacks. Only those who suffered as she did, who stood up and defended them, and do not have white skin, deserve to be part of the 'nation'. Obviously, the cross-party Government of National Unity that was set up in 1994 to represent the nation did not serve 'her' nation.

Winnie's icon destroyed

Winnie also refuses to conform to the very patriarchal mentality of South African society. First, the ANC has been traditionally dominated by men, so that Winnie's aura and stamina were definitely a threat. But South

²³ 'Winnie Mandela Sentenced...', *op. cit.*

²⁴ Nelson MANDELA, *Long Walk to Freedom*, Abacus, London, 1995, p. 711.

Africa as a whole is patriarchal. Winnie defies the male establishment and proves that women can do as well as men, offering millions of South African girls her image as a role model, even in politics where women were used mainly for catering and mobilisation. Unfortunately, Winnie also proves that women can be as bad as men. The two periods in her life seem to contradict each other. The first part was in keeping with what can be expected of a strong, modern woman trying to reconcile her private and working lives. She got married, had two daughters, was a student and became the first ever black social worker. Politically, she was also an activist in a women's rights group, before reaching the world of high politics. But after 1976, as circumstances changed her to a very aggressive character, Winnie seemed to behave more like a man than a woman. 98% of all those who came forward to confess crimes at the TRC mentioned as criminals were men. The only black woman was Winnie Mandela.

Her involvement in the murder of Sompie Seipei in particularly atrocious circumstances lost her a lot of public sympathy. The particularly gruesome nature of the crimes played against her – how could a woman be associated with that? Today, the most famous South African woman both inside and outside South Africa, stands out also as a *counter-model* for women. Winnie was expected to be an exemplary woman, not just an exemplary female politician, because women were put at the heart of the reconstruction project of the ANC-led government. But the public roles they were expected to hold were generally confined to the community level, at best as social workers. Winnie, of course, does not correspond to the image of the traditional black South African woman: a demure, humble, hard-working – and silent – mother and wife. The examples given by the humble anonymous black women at the TRC hearings provided a foil for Winnie's unrepentant attitude. They were seen as particularly important in the reconciliation process because of their position at the heart of the communities, as 'grassroots reconcilers'. As mothers and wives, they were the unknown, unsung heroines of apartheid's dark times from whom reconciliation would come. Desmond Tutu regularly gave them credit when they came to hear or testify. Finally, Winnie was also pitted against Graça Machel, the former wife of Mozambique's president and since 1994 Nelson's younger demure partner, a woman who is famous for her dedication to the cause of children and who flees media attention.

As a consequence of the positive discrimination programmes and of women's own changing attitudes, women are slowly being integrated into all sectors of society, ready and able to embrace public duties at the highest level. Many women have been appointed to boards of public corporations, others have entered the political fray since 1990 (currently 8 of them are in the government, many with serious ANC credentials, generally as activists before the 1990s in positions of responsibility, often in exile) with a lot of

efficiency and reliability. This should develop in the wake of a '50/50' campaign for government parity launched in 2001 by the ANCWL to secure 50% of women in government by 2005. Winnie stands in opposition to all of these women, whether humble or powerful – hopefully *they* provide a counter-example to her.

Conclusion

The advent of a free press has certainly played a considerable role in Winnie Mandela's iconoclasm, but it has also contributed to the secularisation of once immaculate icons. Many stopped being mere images to become men and women with their finer points and flaws. This was meant to be part of the process of reconciliation: showing the dark aspects was needed to start afresh. It was as if no one could be spared, as if symbols had to be brought down. Yet, despite all her legal troubles, Winnie's image seems not to have suffered among the poor South African blacks or throughout black Africa. Wherever she goes, as the ANCWL chairwoman, minister, MP or former freedom fighter, she is 'the Mother of the Nation' and is received in a manner befitting a head of state – just as her husband would be ²⁵.

Winnie is simply a bare-boned populist who revels in exacerbated tensions, whether inside the ANC, between men and women, rich and poor, blacks and whites etc. Her world is still as polarized as it was under apartheid. If her proud and defiant posture at the various trials she faced during apartheid was morally justified, her reaction in and after the recent criminal trials sound outrageous and outdated. She is fighting an uphill battle against what South Africa is now supposed to be about. She can no longer be regarded as an example, not according to the new rules. Her rebellious attitude is undermined by the fact that she came under attack for common law crimes, not politically-motivated actions of the kind which the TRC could amnesty. Her outraged denials do not meet with the same kind of support as that of ANC activists who claimed that they had no intention of apologizing for actions, including murders, committed in the name of the liberation struggle. Like them, Winnie Mandela seems to have internalised the notion of victimhood so deeply that she is unable to criticise her own

²⁵ In April 2001, Congo President Denis Sassou Nguesso welcomed 'Maman Winnie'. The mayor of Brazzaville said: 'Je me permets de vous attribuer le titre honorifique de Première Dame africaine de la lutte contemporaine'. The female minister of Civil Service said: 'C'est Winnie qui a fait de son époux, Nelson Mandela, qui croupissait dans les geôles de l'Afrique du Sud, une figure de l'Histoire contemporaine, un symbole'. *Les Dépêches de Brazzaville*, May 2001, <http://www.brazzaville-adiac.com/ImagesCongo/html32/t06_a.html>

wrong actions because she does not recognize the new norms. Unfortunately it is true that those who have been oppressed often make bad democrats. She faces the traditional challenge of former freedom fighters who have to adapt to pacified circumstances in which being an opponent is no longer enough. The test of power is always complicated for such people, and she is finding it impossible to switch from struggle politics to democracy politics.

What was once a guarantee of popularity – ruthlessness, resistance, iconoclasm, even violence – had become a recipe for jeers and exasperation with many former admirers. The magistrate in the corruption trial summed up Winnie's dilemma very well: 'Only a fool would underplay the important role you played in our history. But these facts *are not a free ticket to get away with the crimes committed*. Many of your years have been spent at the side of the most loved, most respected statesmen of modern times and there's no doubt that you've played a great role in the liberation struggle, but somewhere it seems that something went wrong. *You should set the example for all of us*' (italics mine).



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